PUBLIC INITIATIVES IN HOUSING
THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO SECURITY IMPROVEMENT AND CRIME PREVENTION.
THE CASE OF MONTREAL NEIGHBOURHOODS

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. OBJECTIVE AND METHODOLOGY

The main purpose of our study was to examine to what extent public initiatives in housing can help to improve security and prevent crime in Montreal neighbourhoods. For our study, we selected three different neighbourhoods: Côte-des-Neiges, Petite-Patrie and Saint-Michel.

The three neighbourhoods included examples of all public initiatives in housing carried out under various housing programs between 1989 and 1996: the acquisition/renovation program of the Office municipal d'habitation de Montréal (OMHM - Montreal Municipal Housing Board), the Rental Building Renovation Program (RBRP), the Private Non-Profit Housing Program (PNHP), the Index-Linked Mortgage (ILM) Co-operative Housing Program, and the Rental Housing Acquisition Program (RHAP). These initiatives, all of which included renovations, covered a wide range of buildings featuring various types of building management: housing co-operatives, low-income housing (LIH), buildings managed by non-profit organizations (NPOs), and privately-owned rental buildings.

The study was principally based on a survey administered to three groups of respondents (totalling 1,006 persons) in each of the selected neighbourhoods: residents in buildings targeted by a housing initiative (*residents in initiative zones*), their *neighbours* and residents in zones unaffected by these housing initiatives (*respondents in control zones*). Since it was not possible to analyze the situation before and after completion of the projects, our study sought by comparing the various groups of respondents in the three neighbourhoods, to identify common elements which might be related to public initiatives in housing and which previous studies had identified as promoting security and a sense of security among residents. In addition to providing a profile of the respondents, the main objective of our survey was to gather information on the respondents' perceptions and opinions on these issues.

Several of the elements we examined stem from the situational approach to crime prevention, that is, improvement of the physical condition of the buildings, building maintenance and tenants' sense of responsibility for building maintenance, the installation of security devices, and informal surveillance of the premises. Other elements, such as residents' sense of involvement and mutual

aid between neighbours, can be related to the community approach, which emphasizes social awareness and social development.

2. Profile of the neighbourhoods and the respondents

a) Neighbourhoods

Côte-des-Neiges features a multiethnic population (including many recent immigrants) and a relatively large proportion of elderly people, whereas Saint-Michel, which also shows ethnic diversity, is characterized by a substantial number of families with children. The percentage of immigrants in Petite-Patrie is lower, more closely approximating that of the City of Montreal as a whole (23% in 1991). In the latter two neighbourhoods, household incomes are significantly below the Montreal average, but in all three neighbourhoods, there is a marked need for social housing.

In all three neighbourhoods, the population density is high, there is little room for new construction, and a large number of the multi-family buildings are deteriorating. The *initiative zones* in these neighbourhoods all include sectors where there is a significant need to bring dilapidated buildings up to standards. Residential renovation thus emerges as a priority in initiatives targeting housing problems.

According to community workers and the police, the levels of crime in these neighbourhoods are no higher than elsewhere, despite the predominantly negative image of Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel. The problems mentioned most often are youth gangs, drugs, break-ins and physical aggression; however, the evolution and the frequency of these problems and how they are perceived by the respondents differ in each of the neighbourhoods.

b) Respondents

In our study, the profiles of the respondents in the three neighbourhoods show both similarities and differences. There is a fairly equal distribution of the entire population of respondents, all of whom are tenants, among various types of buildings, with residents in the initiative zones usually living in buildings of six to eleven units. Most of the respondents have been in their building for less than

seven years, although they have generally been living in their neighbourhood for a much longer period of time.

Women made up 60% of the respondents and men, 40%. Petite-Patrie has a higher proportion of persons living alone compared to the other two neighbourhoods, where there are more families with children. In the initiative zones in all three neighbourhoods, most of the households (residents and neighbours) report annual incomes below $20,000 (in 1996), with income levels slightly higher for respondents in the control zones.

3. STUDY RESULTS

The survey findings show a number of significant differences between zones using cross-tabulation tables. Logistic regression analysis was also used on the survey data, enabling the researchers, among other things, to control for certain variables: the results of this analysis are shown in italics. Finally, the findings of focus groups (from a subsample of the respondents) are used to complement the main findings.

a) Initiative zones

• Compared to other tenants, residents in initiative zones were more likely to have security devices in their buildings.

The renovations generally helped to improve the condition of the dwellings, and the security devices in rental buildings. For every group of respondents, most of the tenants indicate that they are satisfied with the renovations carried out and with the security devices installed in their buildings. Nevertheless, *the level of satisfaction regarding renovations is no higher for residents in initiative zones than for other tenants.* However, *the installation of security devices is more frequent in buildings targeted by a housing initiative ("initiative" buildings).* In the three neighbourhoods, most of the residents in these buildings attribute the improvement of security devices to the renovation work.

We can say that the renovations carried out in the context of the housing programs clearly improved the condition of the dwellings as well as their physical appearance in the Côte-des-Neiges and Petite-Patrie areas. In these neighbourhoods, *residents in the initiative zones identified markedly*

fewer need for repairs in their dwellings and often indicated that their buildings had a better appearance than other buildings nearby. The findings are not the same for the Saint-Michel area, despite similar tendencies, undoubtedly due to the higher-quality buildings in the immediate area and in the control zone.

A greater proportion of respondents in the initiative zones than in the other groups felt that there have been positive changes, which they generally ascribed to the renovations. Long-term tenants (five years or more) in "initiative" buildings more often mentioned an improvement in the living conditions in their building. The other groups of respondents perceive little difference, with most indicating that their living conditions are unchanged, especially in the control zones in Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel.

• **Compared to other groups of respondents, residents in the initiative zones view their neighbourhood in a more positive light.**

Overall, *residents in the three initiative zones express more confidence and optimism than other respondents regarding the evolution of the quality of life in their neighbourhood.* But this does not mean that they necessarily view their present situation more favourably. The differences in perceptions more clearly centre around the ongoing dynamics and changes that residents foresee occurring in their neighbourhood.

Residents in the initiative zones more often consider that there has been an improvement in the quality of life in their neighbourhood over the past five years. And a greater proportion of these residents expect that the quality of life will continue to improve in the next two years. Although they in part share this positive outlook, their neighbours more often tend to perceive the situation as unchanged. On the other hand, a greater proportion of residents in the control zones believe that the quality of life in their neighbourhood is deteriorating, especially in Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel; in Petite-Patrie, residents in the control zone view the quality of life as unchanged.

Nevertheless, the results do not indicate that residents in the initiative zones have a greater sense of security. There are also differences in terms of the types of building management in "initiative" buildings and differences between neighbourhoods.

b) Types of building management

• The installation of security devices and satisfaction with security devices are less frequent in privately-owned buildings targeted by housing initiatives.

Of all the residents surveyed, tenants in privately-owned buildings renovated in the context of the RBRP tend to benefit the least from security devices: fewer of them have such devices in their buildings (66%) and a greater proportion of them are dissatisfied with the security devices installed by their landlord (21%).

• Tenants' sense of responsibility for building maintenance, mutual aid between neighbours and informal surveillance of the premises are more frequently found in housing co-operatives than in other types of "initiative" buildings.

There are considerable differences in maintenance responsibilities according to the type of building and building management in the study areas. For neighbours of "initiative" buildings and for respondents in the control zones, landlords are most often responsible for building maintenance, except in Côte-des-Neiges, where janitors play an equally important role. In "initiative" buildings in Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel, janitors are most often responsible for maintenance, whereas in Petite-Patrie, janitors, landlords and maintenance committees in housing co-operatives are equally likely to be responsible for building maintenance.

The results of the survey show that, despite the positive changes brought about by the renovations, residents in initiative zones do not tend to feel more responsible for maintenance of their building's entrance and grounds than other tenants. Differences are however found according to the type of management in "initiative" buildings. In general, members of housing co-operatives more often see themselves as "very responsible" for the maintenance of their building, with this attitude found among 60% of co-op members, compared to about 40% of other types of residents. Only 5% of co-op members feel that they have no responsibility for maintenance, compared to nearly 20% of respondents in buildings managed by non-profit organizations (NPOs), low-income housing (LIH), and privately-owned buildings renovated in the context of the RBRP.

Members of housing co-operatives also differ from other types of tenants in terms of their relations with their neighbours, with three quarters of them indicating that they are friendly with or talk to other tenants and that they feel that people in their building try to help one another. In contrast, over 60% of residents in LIHs and privately-owned RBRP buildings say that tenants merely greet one another, have no other form of contact, do not know each other at all and generally keep to themselves rather than helping one another. In buildings managed by NPOs, residents are more similar to co-op members in their views on relations between tenants, but are divided on the question of mutual aid. According to participants in the focus groups, mutual aid between neighbours would seem to be on the rise in the initiative zones. However, in the Saint-Michel area, LIH residents appear more mistrustful of other tenants and tend to avoid contact with other residents as much as possible.

With regard to informal surveillance of the premises, the attitude of co-op members and residents in non-profit housing is in sharp contrast to the attitude of LIH residents and tenants in private buildings renovated under the RBRP. A large majority of the residents in the co-ops and non-profits say that they can count on their neighbours to keep an eye on their place when they are away, whereas this is true for only half of the residents in the other types of housing. This aspect is probably related to the different levels of concern shown by these residents in terms of the risk of a break-in occurring in their dwelling. Members of housing co-operatives are less concerned about this risk than people in low-income or non-profit housing: only 42% of co-op members are concerned about such a risk, compared to 64% of LIH residents and 58% of residents in non-profit housing.

• **LIH residents are more aware of problems related to drugs, family violence and physical aggression than other types of residents.**

Overall, the crime situation appears less problematic for tenants in privately-owned RBRP buildings than for members of housing co-operatives or LIH residents, whose concerns may be linked to a greater sense of insecurity or a greater awareness of what is going on in their area.

LIH residents are markedly more concerned about problems related to drugs than are other types of residents in the initiative zones. Most LIH residents feel that drugs are a major problem or somewhat of a problem. Most of the other types of residents do not see drugs as a problem in their immediate neighbourhood. LIH residents are also more concerned about family violence, about half of them

consider this a problem. As for the fear of being attacked or robbed in their immediate neighbourhood, this is mentioned by 58% of LIH residents, compared to 40% of other residents.

c) Neighbourhoods

The results of the survey show similarities between groups of respondents in the same neighbourhood. These similarities suggest that neighbourhood particularities may influence factors related to improving security in the area and the specific ways in which local communities react to crime.

• **In Côte-des-Neiges, the level of satisfaction of tenants in "initiative" buildings regarding security devices in their buildings and their stability of residence clearly distinguish them from other groups of respondents; however, for respondents in this neighbourhood, building maintenance and waste disposal represent major problems.**

In Côte-des-Neiges, the level of satisfaction with security devices clearly differentiates residents in the initiative zone from their neighbours and respondents in the control zone, who show an especially high level of dissatisfaction. *This difference is less evident in the other two neighbourhoods.* Thus, in Saint-Michel, the high level of satisfaction of tenants in buildings targeted by a housing initiative seems to be shared by the other respondents, a positive perception confirmed by participants in the focus group.

In terms of tenants' sense of responsibility for maintaining their building's entrance and grounds, there are greater differences between neighbourhoods than between groups of respondents. Thus, more tenants in Côte-des-Neiges than in Saint-Michel and Petite-Patrie feel that they are "not at all responsible" for maintenance, especially in the control zone in this neighbourhood. Differences between neighbourhoods are also seen in the respondents' perceptions about waste disposal in their area. In Côte-des-Neiges, far more residents in the initiative zone believe this to be a major problem, especially in the area around Barclay Street. Cleanliness influences the way residents perceive their neighbourhood and the neighbourhood's overall image. Almost all the participants in the Côte-des-Neiges focus group mentioned the poor management of waste in their area and saw this as a sign of an attitude of neglect and even abandonment, on the part of citizens (landlords, building managers, tenants) and the City of Montreal.

Nevertheless, residents in the initiative zone in Côte-des-Neiges show greater stability of residence than their neighbours and respondents in the control zone, a finding that does not apply to the other two neighbourhoods. As in Saint-Michel, low rents encourage people to stay in the area. The main factor prompting tenants in the "initiative" buildings to move is the size of the dwelling, whereas for the other groups of respondents, the poor condition of the dwelling is frequently cited as the reason for moving.

• **Residents in the initiative zone in Petite-Patrie show a stronger sense of involvement and solidarity than their neighbours and respondents in the control zone; and a greater proportion of them believe that the quality of life is good in their area.**

In Petite-Patrie, a stronger sense of involvement and solidarity is seen among residents in the initiative zone than among their neighbours or respondents in the control zone, but similar results are not found in the other two neighbourhoods. Thus, in the initiative zone in Petite-Patrie, most residents say that people in their building help each other, whereas in the initiative zone in Saint-Michel, most of the residents feel that people in their building prefer to mind their own business. Informal surveillance by neighbours in the same building is also more common among the first group of residents than among residents in the other two initiative zones. Relations between neighbours vary according to the neighbourhood: they are rather distant in Saint-Michel, either distant or friendly in Côte-des-Neiges, and quite friendly in Petite-Patrie. Keeping an eye on a neighbour's place when no one is home is also less common in Côte-des-Neiges than in the other two neighbourhoods.

Of all the groups of respondents, residents in the initiative zone in Petite-Patrie most often take a favourable view of the quality of life in their neighbourhood. According to participants in the focus group, there are signs of revitalization in the area, especially in the business district. In contrast, a quarter of respondents in the Saint-Michel area feel that their neighbourhood is deteriorating, compared to less than 15% of respondents in the other two neighbourhoods. The negative changes are attributed to the presence of youth gangs and higher unemployment, which residents associate with an increase in crime in the area.

• There is a more negative perception of the level of crime in Saint-Michel than in the other neighbourhoods.

Residents in the initiative zone in Saint-Michel have a more negative perception of the level of crime in their area than those in Côte-des-Neiges, who more often feel that the level of crime in their neighbourhood is lower than elsewhere, and those in Petite-Patrie, who think that it is about the same. However, compared to the other respondents, a greater proportion of residents in the initiative zones in Saint-Michel and Côte-des-Neiges believe that crime has gone down in their area, whereas in the initiative zone in Petite-Patrie, residents and their neighbours are more critical of the level of criminal activity in their area, and think that it has increased.

In the focus groups, differences between the neighbourhoods were apparent from the very first question: in Saint-Michel and Côte-des-Neiges, the participants immediately highlighted problems linked to violence, crime, vandalism and lack of security. However, participants in Côte-des-Neiges associated the positive changes observed in their area with improved security (less drug-related gang activity). Concerns about crime were markedly more visible in Saint-Michel, where nearly two thirds of the residents pointed to the rise in violence and crime as factors in the deterioration of the quality of life in their neighbourhood.

4. Conclusions

The results of the study show that the renovations help to improve the condition of the dwellings and the security devices in rental buildings. But beyond these physical measures, the type of management in buildings affected by public initiatives in housing has a greater influence on residents' sense of responsibility for building maintenance and on informal social control, and are most often found in housing co-operatives. Physical measures do not seem to be enough: we must also look at the internal organization of tenants within their buildings. The differences between the three neighbourhoods also underscore the need to take the particularities of each community into account. Our findings accentuate the importance of assessing problems on a neighbourhood level and the need for a comprehensive approach in analyzing the factors that contribute to crime and fear of crime, and in implementing initiatives targeting these problems.

The confidence and optimism expressed by a substantial number of residents in the initiative zones regarding the past and future evolution of their neighbourhood suggests that, given the proper encouragement, these residents might be induced to play a more active role in their communities. The study in fact shows the need for more activities in the initiative zones which would be helpful not only in terms of crime prevention, but also and especially in promoting communication between neighbours, active community involvement and participation in community development. Moreover, the pessimism manifested by many respondents in the control zones regarding the evolution of their neighbourhood points to the need to take preventive action in these zones before the problems intensify.

The results thus indicate the value of other approaches more closely aimed at strengthening the social fabric in the neighbourhoods. They also highlight the importance of efforts targeting people's perceptions about crime, since the fear of crime is often greater than the actual level of crime. Our findings show that residents in a neighbourhood need to be well informed and to have effective means of interaction and communication, as mentioned by many participants in the focus groups. It is important that citizens be aware of problems, be genuinely concerned about preventing these problems, and become actively involved in finding lasting solutions.

Public initiatives in housing must not be limited to situational prevention; they must be combined with social development and community mobilization. In neighbourhoods, these efforts must be coordinated and accompanied by other types of action, so as to develop targeted strategies that include housing in a broad approach aimed at improving security and preventing crime on a neighbourhood level.

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Francine Bernèche, head researcher.

INTRODUCTION

Since the late nineteen eighties, security and crime prevention interventions have been increasingly oriented toward local communities. In the summer of 1994, members of the National Council for Crime Prevention recently created by the Government of Canada adopted a common objective : the development of "safer communities". Various research projects have identified key factors in the improvement of security among communities, including building maintenance, residents' sense of responsibility, neighbourhood solidarity and inter-agency cooperation. As pointed out by several writers for whom the neighbourhood is the preferred intervention area, crime reduction and prevention, as well as increased sense of security, are closely linked to the improvement of neighbourhoods conditions.

There are two ways to approach the role *housing* plays in the promotion of urban security :

1) the housing unit is perceived as the very core where the sense of security can be increased and later extended to the street and the neighbourhood (Tandem Montréal, 1992) ;
2) the "residential decay of a growing number of neighbourhoods" is considered as an important constraint on the improvement of residents' living conditions and social crime prevention (Chalom et Kousik, 1993).

This suggests that improving residents' living conditions in a given neighbourhood may contribute to crime reduction as long as this improvement is part of a urban security plan which includes local initiatives, residents' mobilization and cooperation with local organizations. This research on the role of public initiatives in housing with respect to security improvement and crime prevention is based on the results of a survey of residents' views and examines relations between housing and neighbourhoods, and between various types of intervening factors and actions.

The first three chapters of this report outline the research, describe the study areas and the survey respondents. The subsequent chapters examine the results of the survey in relation to the proposed hypotheses : namely, renovations and security devices (Chapter IV) ; maintenance and sense of responsibility (Chapter V) ; social cohesion and informal control (Chapter VI) ; quality of life and crime level (Chapter VII) ; and perception of problems and sense of security (Chapter VIII). The concluding chapter offers a general summary of the results and attempts to determine the contribution of public initiatives in housing to security improvement and crime prevention.

1 - RESEARCH OUTLINE

A - OBJECTIVES

This research stems from a previous study of the impact of the Rental Housing Acquisition Program (RHAP)[1] on the revitalization of Montreal neighbourhoods (Bernèche and Serge, 1994). Some results of that study demonstrated the existence among RHAP building residents of a relatively high level of confidence and optimism regarding changes in their neighbourhood. This positive view seemed also to embrace their perception of crime. This prompted us to look more closely at the role of public initiatives in housing in relation to improvement of urban security and crime prevention in Montreal neighbourhoods.

The initial objectives of the study were :

1. to examine the connections between public initiatives in housing (renovations, security devices, residents and community empowerment) and the improvement of security and feelings of security among the resident population ;
2. to identify the interrelations between these initiatives and those directly aimed at fighting and preventing crime (police action, urban security program, etc.) ;
3. to determine conditions favourable to urban security and crime prevention with respect to public initiatives in housing in Montreal neighbourhoods.

Overall, the attempt is not to find out how these initiatives could affect crime reduction, but rather to understand how they contribute to preventing crime and promoting security in Montreal neighbourhoods. Our goal is to identify the positive factors or favourable conditions which stem from these initiatives and might be utilized elsewhere.

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[1] This housing program is described in Appendix A.

B - REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Crime prevention follows two general trends : on the one hand, the predominant approach aims at explaining individuals' behaviours, criminals as well as victims, and at modifying these behaviours rather than the situations (Poyner, 1983) ; on the other hand, the situational approach tries to understand crimes and their variations both in time and space (Reiss, 1986) and refers generally to methods aimed at reducing crime opportunities.

In the first approach, it is assumed that crime prevention may follow from the identification of crime-triggering factors, factors which cover a wide spectrum from heredity to education. From this perspective, crime prevention measures deal mostly with the implementation of social policies affecting the family, school and employment. The treatment of offenders is also considered important and may include : prison programs, reintegration programs, probation, etc. Although they have not been considered among the main areas of intervention, urban policies can be included in social policies. As crime situations represent a high risk in "severely dispossessed, isolated and poor" families (Graham and Bennett, 1995 : xv), every initiative aimed at improving the conditions of underprivileged areas (housing, transportation, employment, public services, leisure, business) could help prevent crime. However, the impact of urban policies on crime still needs to be explored. As pointed out by Graham and Bennett (1995), little research has been conducted which examines the role of these policies and their connections to crime prevention, which are also difficult to demonstrate. Thus, the evaluation of projects on the social mix of urban neighbourhoods has shown their positive impact on residents' education and employment without, however, measuring their effect on crime reduction and victimization.

The second approach to crime prevention raises the recurrent issue of crime and/or criminal concentration in given geographical sectors. In the early 40's, ecological research based on the observation of common trends among groups living in similar areas, viewed "social disorganization" as the causal factor of high crime rates : "High crime rates [...] are associated with the diminished capacity of local institutions and organizations to control the behavior of residents - a condition often termed 'social disorganization'" (Shaw and McKay, 1942, quoted

by Reiss, 1986). Although frequently criticized,[2] this approach is often endorsed by housing organizations (Bannister and Kearns, 1995). And these earlier studies have been superceded by situational approaches to crime prevention. This review of the literature focuses on the **situational approach** and its critique, and on the **community approach** which reflects recent developments.

- **Situational Approach**

  - Environmental Design

Published in 1961, Jane Jacobs' book, The *Death and Life of Great American Cities*, stressed the importance of residents' surveillance, in the control of local criminal activities and relationships between citizens (*public acquaintanceship*), for the development of common values necessary for neighbourhood stability. In addition to inspiring the "Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPED)" movement, these ideas have been pivotal in low-rental housing (LRH) studies regarding the influence of environmental design in crime prevention.

Oscar Newman' study (1973) of New York housing projects[3] identified three factors making offences easy to commit and hard to prevent. He assumed that offenders assess potential risks and gains prior to perpetrating a crime. They are as follows :

- *anonymity,* which facilitates the entry of strangers into the area and lowers residents' control over public spaces. Anonymity is related to the size of the housing project, the number of building floors, and the number of people using the main entrance ;
- *lack of surveillance*, whose adverse effects can be emphazised by various design components (type of hallway, position of the entrance, landscaping features) reducing visibility and possible informal surveillance ;
- *presence of alternative exits*, whose greater number may encourage perpetrators by offering easy escape routes.

In order to alleviate this situation, Newman suggested four types of solutions :

- promoting "territorial appropriation" in developing residents' feelings of ownership ;

---

[2] Particularly the link between social organization and neighbourhoods socio-economic status.

[3] Study of 169 housing projects, 4,000 buildings and half million residents.

- improving natural surveillance (for example, the position of windows and entrances) ;
- changing low-rental housing image in order to minimize stigmatization and negative identification ;
- building new projects in the vicinity of safe neighbourhoods in order to reinforce positive aspects.

Coleman's subsequent study[4] (1985) of low-rental London housing largely reinforced these conclusions. According to this study, the number of units per building and per main entrance, as well as the number of floors, are the design elements which encourage crime the most. Among socio-economic variables, however, the number of children seem to be the only contributing factor more significant than the design elements.

However, attempts to implement crime prevention through environmental design have not always met the anticipated results. For example, a British study (Cowan, 1988) points conclusively to poverty and youth unemployment, rather than environmental design, as factors affecting crime. Several cases demonstrate that Newman's proposed solutions, when implemented, yield unconclusive and contradictory results : the rapid damage of intercom systems in large buildings, lack of response to landscaping modifications, ongoing vandalism, bitterness following the loss of public spaces (converted in "semi-public" areas), destruction of landscaping, etc. In the United States, initiatives such as street closures have a relative success : a decline in theft, shift of theft to other streets or neighbourhoods. However, as social organization and informal surveillance have improved (Poyner, 1983), many studies stress the importance of social organization as an important factor associated with environmental design. One study concludes :

> [...] defensible space design may lead to disappointing results when the social fabric necessary to defensive behaviour and the institutional supports for effective intervention, such as an adequate police force, are absent. Defensible space design appears to be a necessary but not sufficient condition for crime prevention.
>
> Merry, 1981

A recent study (Cisneros, 1995) seems to indicate a renewed interest in solutions associated with environmental design and highly positive results regarding crime reduction in LRH - at least in the short run - in various American cities. It should be noted that the measures put in

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[4] Study of 52 housing projects and 4,099 buildings.

effect in these LRH do not merely involve environmental design but also include other changes (programs encouraging property ownership, procedures promoting respect for housing codes), and closer ties between police forces and neighbourhood residents.

- Incivilities and Social Disorder

Social disorder has been the common theme in analyses of neighbourhood decay, as well as the exodus of residents and funds. These analyses have also emphasized the role of minor property crimes such as vandalism and graffiti. Such incivilities may signal underlying problems, such as difficulties of integration into the socio-political system. This situation is particularly experienced by some residents in French suburbs where large LRH areas are often associated with exclusion and racism (Roché, 1991). According to some authors, offences associated with "social disorder" would have a significant impact :

> Perhaps even more than street crime, soft crimes lead to the depopulation of organizations as well as people from the central city and other business districts, particularly as they contribute substantially to fears for victimization by crime.
>
> Reiss, 1986

Therefore, perceived "disorder" can be directly associated with feelings of insecurity. When facing this type of problem, measures such as police foot patrols may reassure residents, even if the crime rate does not decrease accordingly (Wilson and Kelly, 1982).

Manifestations of disorder and criminality come often in clusters : a broken window left unrepaired indicates lack of maintenance and carelessness from building authorities (*broken window syndrome*) leading in turn to negative effects :

> [...] Vandalism can occur anywhere once communal barriers - the sense of mutual regard and the obligations of civility - are lowered by actions that seem to signal that 'no one cares'.
> We suggest that 'untended' behaviour also leads to the breakdown of community controls. A stable neighbourhood of families who care for their homes, mind each others children, and confidently frown on unwanted intruders can change, in a few years or even a few months, to an inhospitable and frightened jungle.
>
> Reiss, 1986

Reiss uses the term "collective victimization" to refer to the behaviour of residents who finally flee from neighbourhoods deprived of order or social control. Skogan states more directly the connection between "social disorder" and neighbourhood decay :

> Disorder not only sparks concern and fear of crime among neighbourhood residents ; it may actually increase the level of serious crime. Disorder erodes what control neighbourhood residents can maintain over local events and conditions. It drives out those for whom stable community life is important, and discourages people with similar values from moving in. It threatens house prices and discourages investment. In short, disorder is an instrument of destabilization and neighbourhood decline.
>
> Skogan, 1990

According to Skogan, negative neighbourhood characteristics,[5] criminal or deviant activities may attract new residents in place of those driven out by the climate of disorder in the neighbourhood.

Other authors have suggested that feelings of fear are more likely to appear within a widely diversified population (Kennedy and Silverman, 1985) and that this heterogeneity may act as a factor of "social disorder" : "Since the heterogeneity of the population maintains anonymity and a fragmented social structure, it also undermines neighbourhood social order" (Merry, 1980).

- Critical Examination of the Situational Approach

Although the situational approach to crime prevention addresses mainly the physical elements of the environment (building location, position of the entrance, building maintenance), it also considers neighbourhood life ; residents and communities behaviour (Jacobs) ; territorial appropriation and neighbour relations (Newman) ; and neighbourhood stability as social structure (Skogan). Thus, this approach does not completely ignore the social dimension and recent trends demonstrate that changes affecting housing tenure and relations between the police and the community are important (Cisneros, 1995). Some of these measures may also resemble those suggested by the community approach discussed in the following section.

However, the situational approach is open to a great deal of criticism. Some critics emphasize the displacement of crime to other more vulnerable neighbourhoods when crime rate is lowered in an area (Weiss, 1987 ; Elsinga and Wassenberd, 1991). In fact, this approach tends to benefit neighbourhoods with less severe crime problems.

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[5] Surveys have identified several indicators of "social disorder" : public alcohol consumption, youth "loitering" and rumours of drug use ; other indicators include the presence of the homeless, prostitution, harassment and physical decline of the build-up area (vandalism, building deterioration and desertion) and finally, poor waste management (garbage, rubbish, discarded applicances, mattresses, etc.).

Other critics claim that the situational approach may have negative effects on residents' feelings of security : they may become more fearful and display a "siege attitude" (opinion of the Minnesota Crime Prevention Center Inc., quoted by Weiss, 1987). The American "gate cities" represent an extreme case of that situation. Unintended effects may result such as feelings of fear leading to dwindling activites and economic losses, thus initiating the process of neighbourhood decay.

The most basic criticism, however, concerns the encouragement of a defensive attitude toward aggressors who are perceived as "outsiders" and not part of the *community* :

> There may be some disagreement as to whether it is victimization itself which destroys communities, or whether crime merely acts as a potent symbol of neighbourhood decline which is occurring for other, primarily economic, reasons (Lewis and Salem, 1982), there nevertheless seems to be a common theme of the 'invasion' of crime into the community from persons or agencies who come from a largely unspecified elsewhere.
>
> Hope and Shaw, 1988

Critics of the situational approach thus question this narrow interpretation of the concept of *community* : "these offenders against law and civility are *members* of a community - some community - like the rest of us." (Currie, 1988). According to Currie, such a difference between victims and criminals explains among other things why the situational approach makes no comment on the prevention of domestic or conjugal violence.

- **Community Approach**

Foster (1995), among others, stresses the need to consider the environment where crimes and offences occur. She insists on the importance of understanding the various aspects of criminality within its specific context in order to set up more efficiently appropriate crime prevention methods. She also notes that residents living in an environment seemingly favourable to crime may have a different perception from those of "outsiders" based on the observation of higher-than-average crime rates. That residents may not view their high crime neighbourhood unfavourably stems from several factors such as : a relative level of residents' control over crime ; a sustained and acceptable quality of life ; tolerance toward a familiar

range and level of crime ; or, the feeling of being able to cope with the situation (as opposed to the loss of control associating crime with "social disorder").

In neighbourhoods with high crime rates, some local ability to control crime, both formally and informally, must still be acknowledged. The effects of crime in these areas may be alleviated by various factors, whether social (support network, familiarity), demographic, spatial and geographical. Above all, such neighbourhoods require support to strengthen their confidence in their own ability to control crime.

Furthermore, Hope (1995) pointed out the importance of determining the underlying dynamics of change within a community. This can be achieved through micro-social analysis. While defining the relations between explanations at various levels (general and individual) and focusing on social interaction patterns, this analysis may enable researchers to identify the process by which these interactions are generated. The identification of "crime flows" which are changeable over time and space, reveals the impact of modifications in the makeup of neighbourhood populations. The types of offences occurring, resident groups (types of households, age groups) and environmental characteristics are all significant factors. According to Hope, determining the circumstances leading to convergent elements favourable to crime, at a given time and place, is a task of utmost importance.

- Community Organization

Many researchers believe that crime related problems do not only depend on environmental design components, but are associated with poor social organization. Crime-related problems are then perceived as "a lack of personal involvement [...] People see a disturbance and turn the other way, out of fear, apathy, or simple uncertainty about how to do anything about it [...]" (Schindler, 1994). Consequently, various initiatives have been designed to encourage active citizen participation (Fourcadot and Prévost, 1991) and re-enforce neighbourhood structure, as well as neighbour surveillance and local policing. The community and residents' associations and relationships are the cornerstone of these initiatives.

Thus, the solutions envisaged aim mainly at increasing residents' sense of responsibility. The means to achieve this range from giving tenants association increased planning powers

(Netherlands example quoted by Elsinga and Wassenberg, 1991) to creating associations devoted to security (e.g., American *Neighbourhood Watch* movement whose positive influence in reducing the number of criminal offences is outlined by Schindler, 1994).

The community organization approach has also been criticized however. The main criticism is that the effectiveness of this approach is most clearly demonstrated in neighbourhoods with lower crime levels. It fails to work in areas of high crime, and those with the poorest social organization. Furthermore, crime prevention, should it be oriented toward environmental design or community organization, encourages a defensive attitude towards outsiders perceived as a threat to the community (Hope and Shaw, 1988).

- Social Development

According to many researchers, traditional institutions such as the family, school and employment as well as organized religion have weakened over time, and the social controls which constrain delinquency have loosened. Reinforcing these institutions might help to reduce delinquency but would also impose enormous coordination demands on a large number of organizations (Linden and Prairie Research, 1990). Without strengthened institutions, attempts to rally the community may be futile :

> Perhaps the most intriguing possibilities for community crime prevention lie in the recognition [...] that real communities thrive or fail to thrive, become healthy or pathological, mainly as a result of the strength or weakness of these basic institutions - work, family and kin, religious and communal associations, a vibrant local economy capable of generating stable livelihoods. When these are weak or shattered, all the Neighbourhood Watches or 'hassling' of street kids on the corner will not put the community back together.
>
> Currie, 1988

Thus a number of writers argue that crime prevention requires a more fundamental attack on the roots of crime - and the social institutions which affect it. For example, greater job availability and real job opportunities could prove to be more effective at fighting drug use and drug crime than police intervention (Dunworth and Saiger, 1993). The first goal beyond crime reduction is the creation of a more positive society (Bottoms and Wiles, 1988).

Overall, the community approach to crime prevention embraces social intervention methods which may be less appealing than those entailed in the situational approach, since they are

more difficult to identify, apply and assess. Inter-agency cooperation tends to favour situational approaches, even when social methods are also considered (Gilling, 1994). Gilling argues for a balance between the two types of approach. In his opinion, such a balance can only come from their integration in a broader strategy resulting from a conscious political committment. In the same vein, Young (1992) argues that the exclusive or excessive use of a single approach or method, generally oriented toward crime prevention rather than the social conditions fostering crime, can impair effectiveness and create an imbalance in the intervention taken.

C - Reference Framework and Hypotheses

The review of the literature identified a number of direct and indirect relationships between public initiatives in housing, and the improvement of urban security and crime prevention. This research project utilizes both situational and community approaches to crime reduction rather than tackling more fundamental issues which would aim to reduce individual propensity for crime (e.g., the adoption of policies affecting the family, education or employment), although some aspects of the latter are discussed under social development approaches.

• Situational Approach[6]

Three major types of relationships can be discussed :

1) The improvement of security measures (usually accompanying renovation) is designed to reduce opportunities to commit offences. Installing security devices and controlling access to "targets" has a deterrent effect on crime. Their importance in the public initiatives examined will probably fluctuate depending on the time at which the renovations were carried out (upgrading and increasing the range of devices over time) ; the size of the buildings ; the amount of money allocated to renovation ; and project constraints (e.g., funding conditions). Assuming proper use, security measures probably improve building security and contribute to a greater sense of security for most residents (unless they aggravate fear levels among some, e.g., senior citizens).

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[6] Discussion of these approaches is drawn from Graham and Bennett (1995).

2) Building maintenance may also act as a crime deterrent. There is no doubt that renovation programs have greatly improved the outward appearance of restored buildings. However, the quality of the work done on buildings as well as their maintenance may vary. Maintenance is considered an important component in upkeeping renovation benefits and depends on the following factors : buildings size and money available (hiring a janitor, capacity to undertake necessary repairs) ; residents' involvement (task-sharing in housing co-operative) ; quality and age of renovations (varying degree of deterioration over time) ; tenants' profile (presence of children, teenagers or seniors).

3) Action increasing the risks for a potential offender include the surveillance of the premises by employees or residents. We assume that surveillance is better in medium sized buildings (presence of a janitor or resident superintendant) or in buildings where residents are well-acquainted, and where they show solidarity and better control over their environment (e.g., in housing co-operative).

• Community Approach

This approach, combining both situational and community measures, comprises three aspects : organization, community defence and development. Out of the three, community defence represents the form of collective action more likely to be seen in the public initiatives examined. Community defence implies that residents act in a concerted manner for better protection, especially through the surveillance of the premises. Housing co-operatives and buildings with a majority of senior residents may foster this activity. However, growing residential mobility and social fragmentation may decrease participation. Thus, differences may be noticed depending on the type of public initiative in housing and the residential neighbourhood.

Organization and community development indicators in particular areas could eventually emerge from this study, although the connection with crime prevention remains hard to establish. Community development goes hand in hand with "rebuilding the social fabric" or neighbourhood revitalization. The profiles of both the population living in the buildings under study, and the surrounding population are key elements : household composition (families, singles) ; homogeneity or population mix ; length of residence in the neighbourhood, etc. In various ways, public initiatives in housing can alter the population composition in given areas.

These changes may "trickle down" and affect neighbourhood crime prevention as well as business and services revitalization. "Interrelationships" between police action and other types of actions directed against crime (e.g., Tandem Montreal[7]) can also be included in this perspective. Such initiatives help maintain order by the action of local police, or by solving "community order" related problems (e.g., incivilities) among others.

• **General Hypotheses[8]**

1. The improvement of security measures usually accompanies renovation in public initiatives in housing. Thus, positive effects on safety and feelings of security would be generated among residents of the buildings affected by these initiatives. Housing units, buildings and their immediate environment are directly affected by these measures.

2. Renovation and subsequent maintenance inhibit signs of social disorder, indicating that the building is well kept and increasing residents' feelings of security. First, building appearance is improved ; second, the willingness to retain renovation benefits may stimulate residents' sense of responsibility regarding maintenance. These effects may affect a larger area, given similar building and population characteristics, and a significant number of initiatives (number of housing units).

3. Depending on the type of management, public initiatives in housing can prompt authorities to improve the surveillance of the premises (formal and natural) and encourage residents' involvement and solidarity regarding crime prevention. In the long run, heightened feelings of security may result from these initiatives.

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[7] Tandem Montreal is a municipal crime prevention program established in 1989 ; present in all neighbourhoods, it employs roughly 50 staff who work together with residents, community organizations and the MUC police force. Regular awareness and prevention activities take place ; in addition, upon specific requests, staff assess situations, make recommendations, initiate actions and ensure their follow-up.

[8] These hypotheses are derived from Foster and Hope (1993).

4. While primarily targeting improved housing conditions (quality, affordable and adequate housing supply), most public initiatives in housing seek to retain residents in their environment. The initiatives can have an indirect impact on the stability of the population in the neighbourhoods and on the development of a sense of community which can affect crime prevention. The nature of programs, management types, client profiles and the scope of the initiatives determine these effects.

These general hypotheses could not be thoroughly tested in this study, due to time and resource constraints and the methodological approach which priviledged some aspects rather than others. The hypotheses can be seen as broad ones and the study results as a preliminary test of specific elements. The nature and the scope of the more specific hypotheses are specified in the data processing of the regression analysis (Figure 1 in the Methodology section) .

D - METHODOLOGY

The main data source used for this research was a survey of groups of people living in three Montreal neighbourhoods. Additional information was obtained from other sources, including interviews with *resource persons,*[9] focus groups with residents, and crime statistics. The approach used for the survey and the focus groups will be discussed following the outline of the study areas. The other information sources will be addressed in the next chapter.

• Study Areas

Three Montreal neighbourhoods were selected for this research : Côte-des-Neiges, Saint-Michel and Petite-Patrie (Map 1). These neighbourhoods reflect different situations in the city (location, population, building types) and had previously been examined in a resident survey[10] assessing the impact of the Rental Housing Acquisition Program (RHAP). It was hoped that the

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[9] Community workers and members of police.

[10] Petite-Patrie is an exception : we selected it instead of the adjacent Rosemont neighbourhood (considered in the RHAP study) in order to include some other types of housing initiatives (buildings under PNHP and ILM housing co-operatives).

previous findings could benefit the current research, and conversely expand the earlier analysis by examining relations between public initiatives in housing and crime prevention in those neighbourhoods.

For comparison purposes, two zones were selected in each of these neighbourhoods, one with public initiatives in housing (*initiative zone*), and a *control zone* without.

Selection criteria for the zones were as follows :

Study Areas per Neighbourhood	Public Initiatives in Housing[11]	Crime and Urban Security Inerventions
Initiative zone	Buildings renovated between 1989 and 1996 under government programs : • buildings under OMHM acquisition/renovation program ; • private rental buildings renovated under the RBRP program ; • PNHP buildings (housing co-operatives, NPO management) ; • ILM housing co-operatives ; • RHAP buildings (housing co-operatives, NPO management).	• MUC's police force action • Tandem Montreal's action
Control Zone	• No public initiative in housing from 1989 to 1996. • Rental buildings with characteristics (type, age, condition) similar to buildings located in initiative zones. •	• MUC's police force action • Tandem Montreal's action

As each neighbourhood comprises two study zones, the research will cover six zones. Overall, the selected zones include areas identified by the City of Montreal urban plan as «priority areas for upgrading (maintenance) and residential environment improvement», i.e. the most deteriorated zones where city administration wanted to encourage and support building maintenance and building upgrading standards. Difficulties experienced in identifying the study zones led to compromises in terms of their location and delimitation.

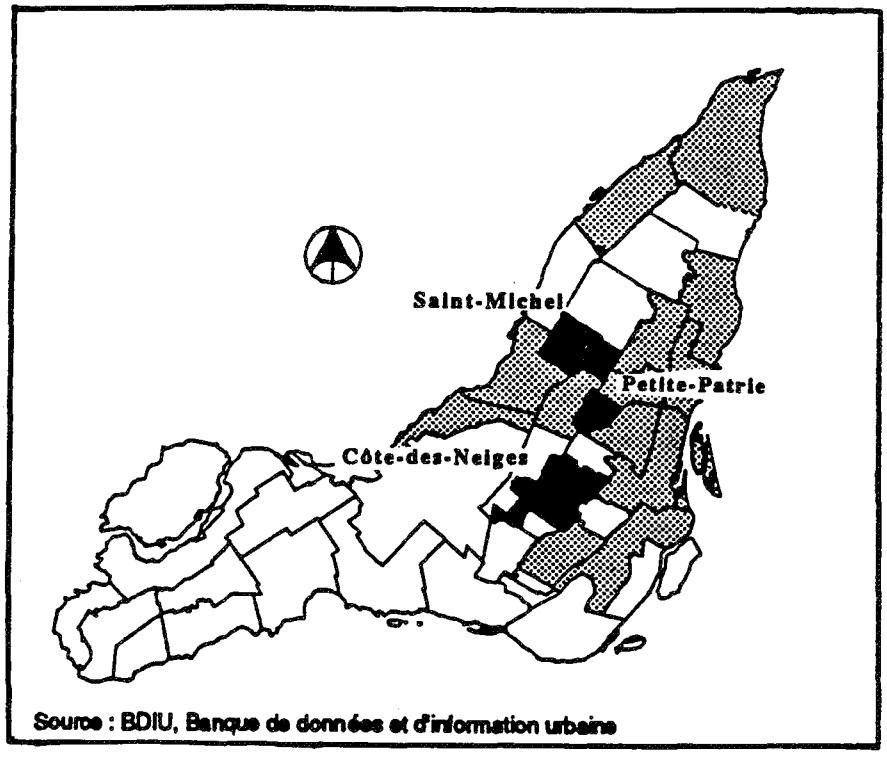
[11] A short description of the programs under which these initiatives took place is given in appendix (see Appendix A).

On the one hand, the need for an adequate number of buildings with public initiatives in housing located in initiative zones (which we have called *housing project buildings*) and none in control zones required the delimitation of large zones for the former and limited areas for the latter. Due to the uneven geographical distribution of these initiatives, the initiative zones had to be divided in sub-zones called «sectors» corresponding to a more or less intense concentration of housing project buildings (see Maps 2, 3 and 4).

On the other hand, in Côte-de-Neiges and Petite-Patrie, control zones without initiatives but with comparable buildings could not be found. However, these initiatives are marginal and represent less than 3% of the total number of housing units. The Saint-Michel control zone is free of public initiatives in housing, but it is also the only zone with no priority sector for housing upgrade, suggesting that residential structures are in good condition.

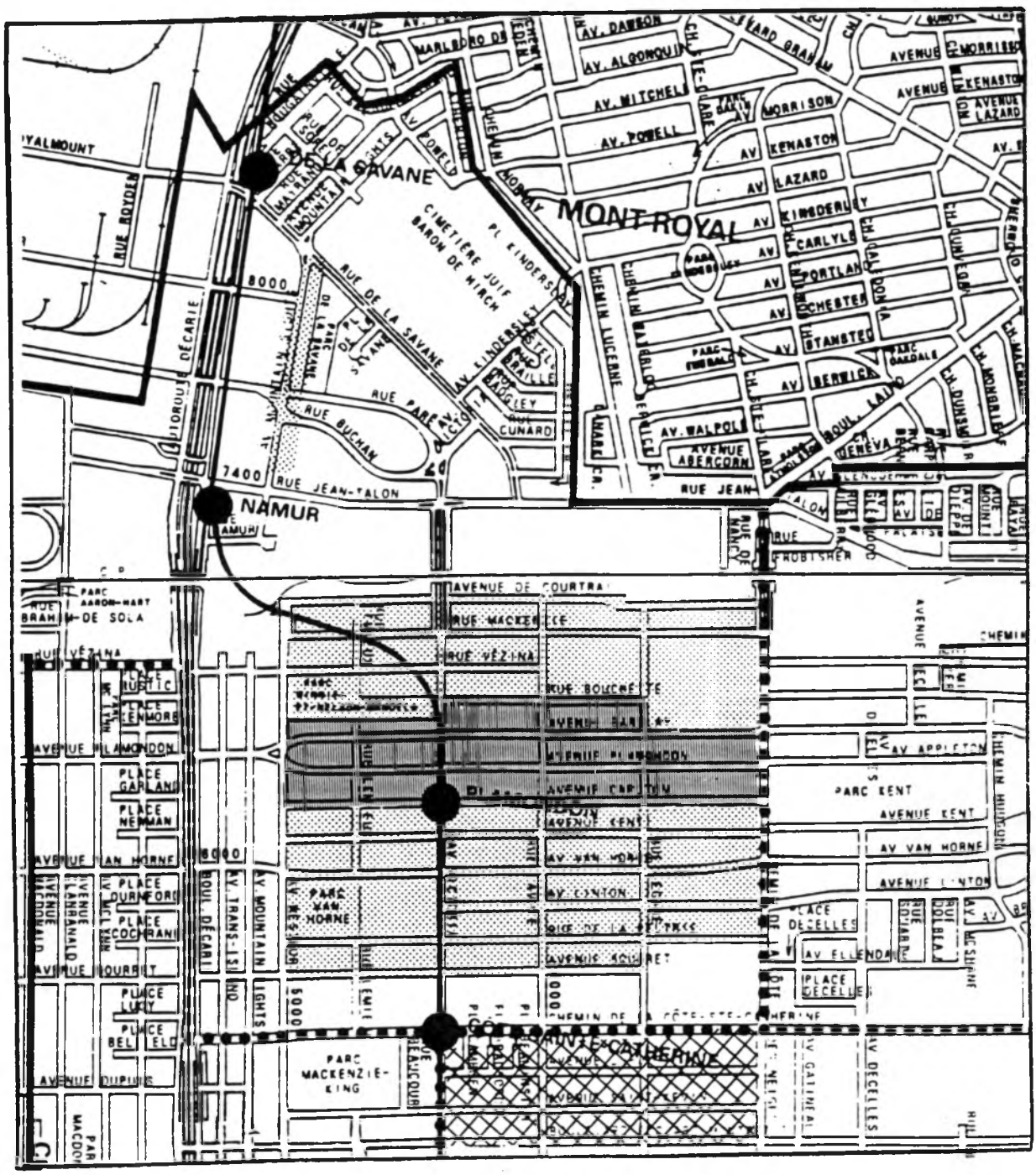
MAP 1

Location of Study Areas in the City of Montreal



MAP 2

Côte-des-Neiges Neighbourhood : Study Area



INITIATIVE ZONE

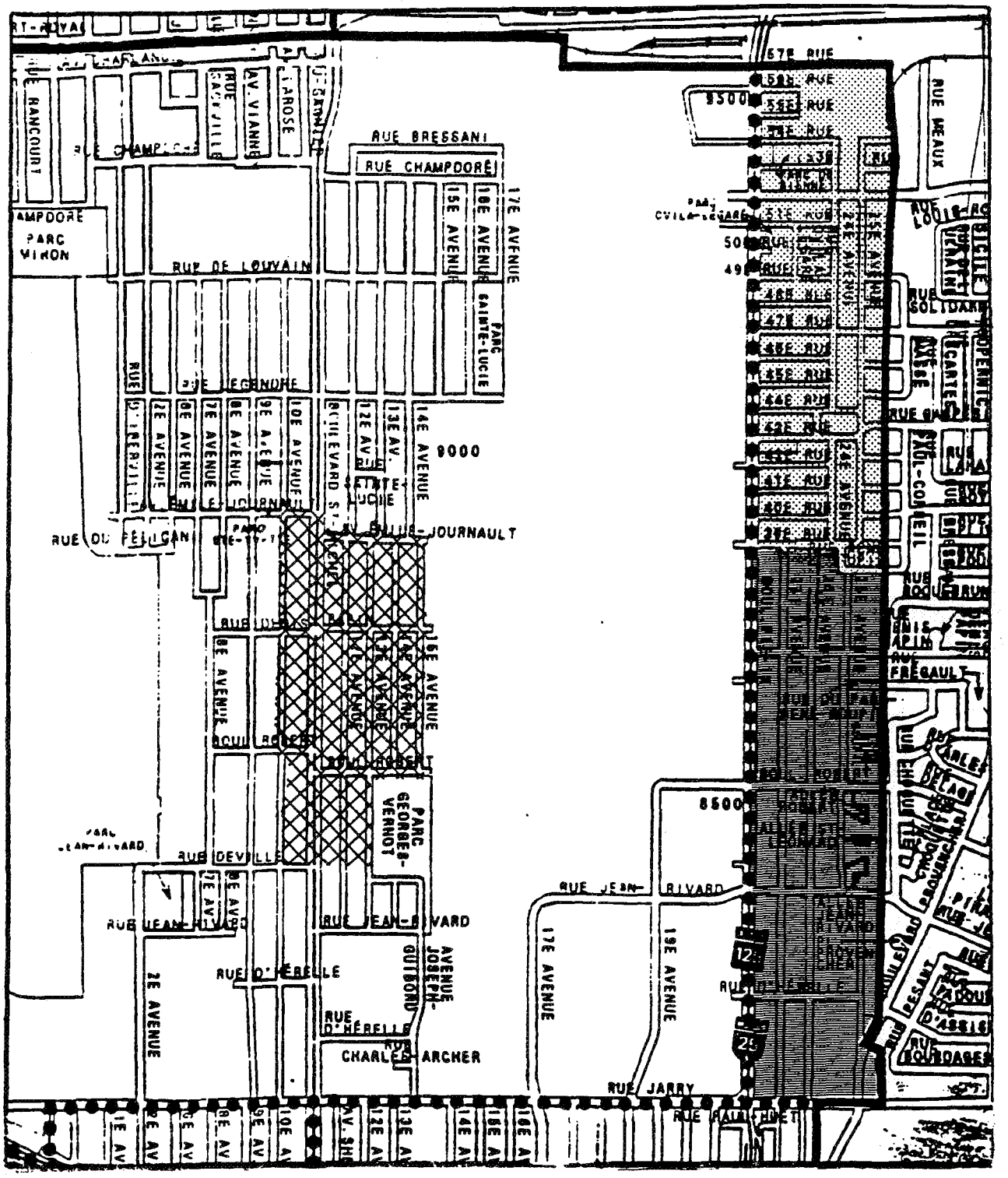
Barclay sector
(concentration : 55% of the 172 units in housing project buildings in the zone)

Outlying sector

CONTROL ZONE

MAP 3

Saint-Michel Neighbourhood : Study Area



INITIATIVE ZONE

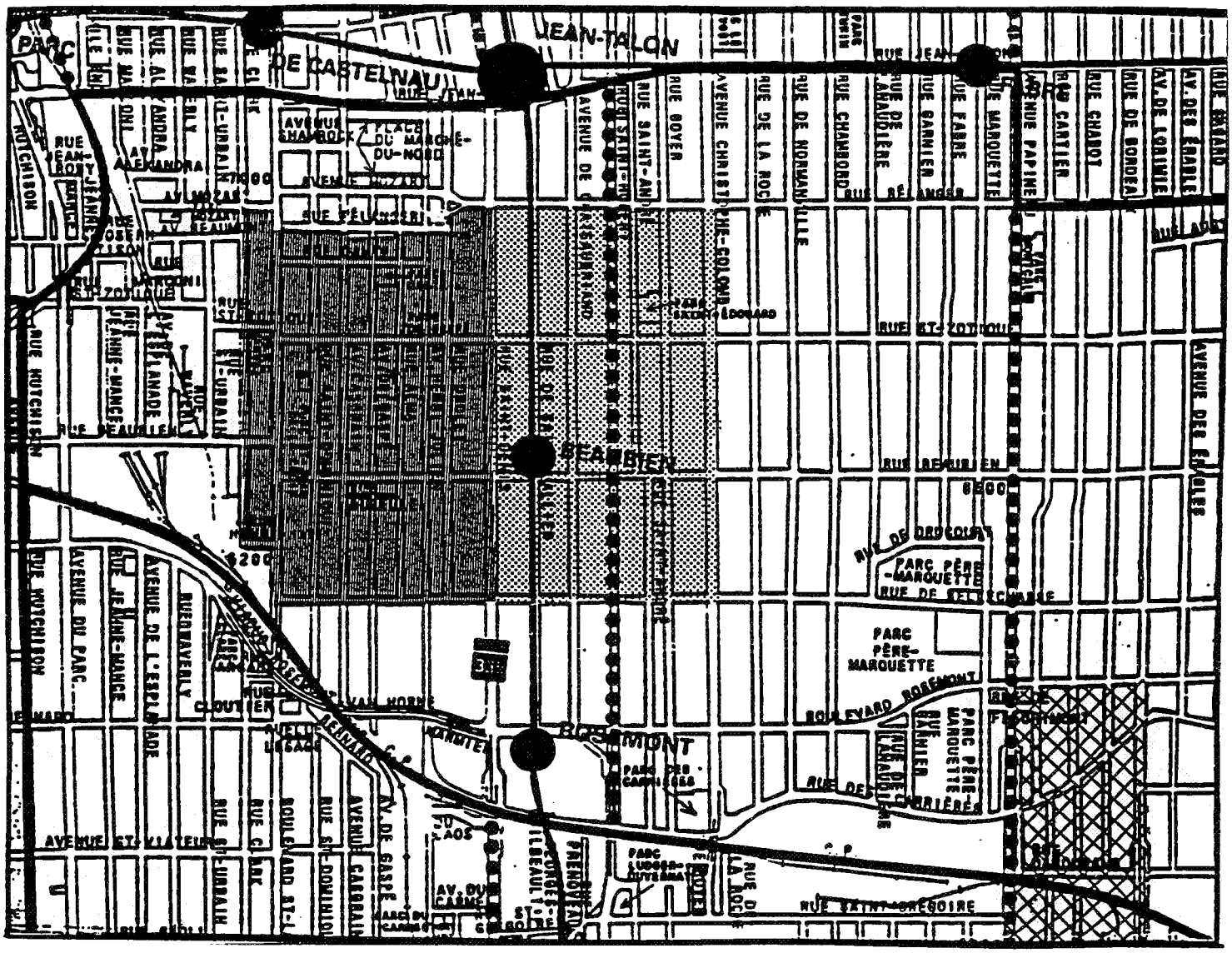
South of 39th Street
(concentration : 87% of the 533 units in housing project buildings in the zone)

North of 39th Street

CONTROL ZONE

MAP 4

Petite-Patrie Neighbourhood : Study Area


JEAN-TALON
PARC DE CASTELNAU
RUE HUTCHISON
AVENUE DU PARC
AVENUE DE L'ESPLANADE
RUE JEANNE-MANCE
RUE WAVERLY
AVENUE ST-VIATEUR
RUE CLARK
BOULEVARD ST-LAURENT
AVENUE GARNIER
AV. DE GASPÉ
RUE SAINT-DENIS
AVENUE DE L'HÔTEL-DE-VILLE
RUE BOYER
AVENUE CHRISTOPHE-COLOMB
RUE DE LA ROCHE
RUE DE NORMANVILLE
RUE CHAMBORD
RUE DE L'ANNONCIATION
RUE FABRE
RUE MARQUETTE
AVENUE PAPINEAU
AV. DES ÉRABLES
AV. DE LORIMIER
RUE CHABOT
RUE CARTIER
RUE DE BORDEAUX
RUE BELANGER
RUE BEAUBIEN
RUE DE CHATELLENIE
RUE DE CHAMPLAIN
RUE DE GASPÉ
RUE DE LA ROCHELLE
RUE DE LA FONTAINE
RUE DE LA PLAISANCE
RUE DE LA PRAIRIE
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- **Survey**

Three respondent groups in each neighbourhood were part of the survey, they include :

1) initiative zone residents, i.e. people living in a building with a public initiative in housing ;
2) those residents' neighbours ;
3) people living in the control zones.

Since three neighbourhoods are included in the study, the survey comprises nine respondent groups. This methodology allows a comparison between these groups, assuming that there could be similarities between initiative zone residents throughout the neighbourhoods and disparities between these residents and other respondent groups within the same neighbourhood.

The survey was conducted over the phone, and the interviews lasted roughly 15 minutes. French, English and Spanish were most often used for the interviews, but other languages were used when required. Only one person was interviewed per housing unit, as the household is the sampling unit. The person interviewed was the head of the household[12] or his/her partner, or, when needed, an adult normally living there.

- Questionnaire

The questionnaire,[13] in French and in English, was designed to collect relevant information on the two main research issues, namely housing and crime. In relation to housing, information was sought on housing characteristics ; presence of renovations and security devices ; maintenance ; satisfaction regarding renovations, security devices and general housing/building conditions ; comparison of the building with neighbouring ones ; and intent to move.

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[12] Person who signed the lease or, if there is no lease, deals with the landlord or the janitor when needed.
[13] The questionnaire is appended (see Appendix B).

Questions relating to crime sought respondents' perceptions regarding potentially problematic events in the neighbourhood, such as youth gangs, drugs, domestic violence, etc. Information on victimization was sought concerning residential break-ins and physical assaults. Individuals' fears were taken into account, especially those concerning the neighbourhood (walking alone at night, thefts or assaults, etc.). Questions on the neighbourhood (quality of life and crime level), neighbour relations and respondents' involvement (surveillance, for example) were also asked.

The third and last section of the questionnaire addressed the household profile : its composition, the characteristics of the person interviewed (age, country of origin, level of education), the language spoken at home, and the houshold income.

- Survey Procedures

JTD Inc., a subsidiary of the SOM survey firm, was commissioned to conduct the survey. The various steps of the survey, from sampling to building the data bank, were carried out over a four month period, from June to September 1996. The sampling was based on address lists that we have provided to the survey consultant. Each neighbourhood included three different lists as follows :

1. addresses of housing units in housing projects buildings ;
2. addresses of housing units in the neighbouring buildings, i.e. the one opposite and those either side of a building targeted ;
3. addresses of housing units located in control zones.

These addresses were also matched to their corresponding phone numbers by the survey consultant with the assistance of Tele-Direct and the SOM survey CD-ROM. Difficulties encountered at the start of the procedure justified this matching (only the phone numbers corresponding to individual civic addresses could be identified[14]). The consultant remedied the situation by matching the phone numbers to apartments located in buildings. Despite this corrective measure, the final sampling has been affected by this problem. Dwellings located in

[14] Having noted the problem, the survey firm was informed by Télé-Direct that, from now on, all apartments numbers in multifamily buildings must be given, not only the building's civic address.

plex-type buildings[15] are over-represented in control zones, mainly in Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel where apartment buildings are found in large numbers. Weighted calculations were applied to the data in order to ensure the actual representation of various types of buildings in the initial address lists.

The following table shows the response rate for each respondent group, after elimination of non-response and refusals. The average response rate was 65% but higher among residents of initiative zones, especially in Saint-Michel and Petite-Patrie. The difficulty of reaching residents in Côte-des-Neiges and in Petite-Patrie control zones (roughly 25% non-response) largely explains these disparitities. Only "neighbours" in Saint-Michel show a refusal rate clearly higher than the others (26%).

TABLE 1

Survey : Number of Respondents, Response Rate and Margins of Error

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Number of Respondents[a]	Response Rate	Margins of Error[b]
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**163**	**63.3%**	**±7.22**
		Neighbours	92	58.0%	±11.01
	Control Zone		94	58.5%	±11.82
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**148**	**82.1%**	**±7.02**
		Neighbours	92	60.8%	±9.98
	Control Zone		108	56.9%	±13.03
Petite-Patrie	Inititiative Zone	**Residents**	**132**	**75.5%**	**±9.34**
		Neighbours	98	66.7%	±10.67
	Control Zone		79	57.3%	±14.16
TOTAL			**1006**	**64.8%**	**±4.24**

[a] The actual number of respondents is 1034. In accordance with the survey consultant, this number has been randomly reduced during the first sampling step, in groups with an over-representation of dwellings with individual civic addresses.
[B] Margins of error : 19 out 20.

Source : *Rapport méthodologique*, JTD Inc., December 1996.

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[15] Plex-type buildings : buildings that have generally less than six housing units with an individual civic address.

Although the number of respondents totals 1006, the comparison between respondent groups is obviously restricted due to margins of error particularly in control zones. This constraint has been taken into account in data processing and analysis.

- Data Processing and Analysis

Due to the problem of over-representation already mentioned, weight factors were applied to the data. Compared to unweighted data, the differences remain small and marginal. Therefore, the original unweighted data is shown in cross-tabulations while taking into account in their analysis the differences associated with building types. The weighted data were nevertheless used in the logistic regression analysis.

Since percentages in cross-tabulations were calculated from relatively small numbers, the differences between these percentages were tested for significance, to determine that they did not occur randomly.[16] Only differences considered significant will be discussed in this report, although some non statistically significant differences will be mentioned since they raise some potentially interesting avenues of inquiry.

The findings of the telephone survey are related to the hypotheses discussed above. They are summarized in the five following themes (chapters IV to VIII) : renovation and security devices ; maintenance and sense of responsibility ; social cohesion and informal surveillance ; quality of life and crime level ; perception of problems and sense of security. The analysis of the results first compares respondent groups within neighbourhoods, and between neighbourhoods. Next, possible differences among initiative zone residents are considered according to building management and the geographical distribution of the initiatives (whether concentrated or not).

An analysis based on multinominal logistic regression has been performed in order to determine if public initiatives in housing have had a positive impact on feelings of security and on how initiative zone residents perceived their neighbourhood. The logistic regression has been chosen because the dependent variables are non-continuous, categorical data.

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[16] To do this, a table has been used ; this table was prepared with the classic significance test of a difference between two percentages for random samples of different sizes and confidence intervals of 95%.

This analysis assumes that improving security measures and housing conditions as a result of renovation ; keeping renovation benefits through the maintenance of dwellings and buildings ; developing solidarity and involvement in the environment may increase residents' feelings of security and have a positive influence on their perceptions of the neighbourhood (see the diagram shown in Figure 1). If public initiatives in housing produce the anticipated effects, the following intervening factors should be found :

1) more security devices in housing project buildings[17] located in initiative zones in each neighbourhood ;
2) more renovation and maintenance in housing project buildings located in initiative zones ;
3) more involvement and solidarity among residents in initiative zones.

The occurrence of these effects is not enough ; residents' satisfaction regarding renovation and security devices is crucial as dissatisfaction can possibly taint their feelings of security and their views vis-à-vis the neighbourhood. If public initiatives in housing produce the anticipated effects and if the residents are satisfied, it is expected that, first, feelings of security will be heightened, and second, the perception of the neighbourhood will be more positive in initiative zones.

The results of our analysis mostly account for respondents' perceptions and attitudes. These are in turn shaped by their demographic and socio-economic characteristics. The present study acknowledges the fact that the types of buildings where residents live, their experience of victimization and knowing victims of crime, may all affect their perceptions and attitudes. Consequently, any conclusion drawn about the possible impact of public initiatives in housing must have considered the effects of these elements, i.e. consider them as *control variables* in the regression models.

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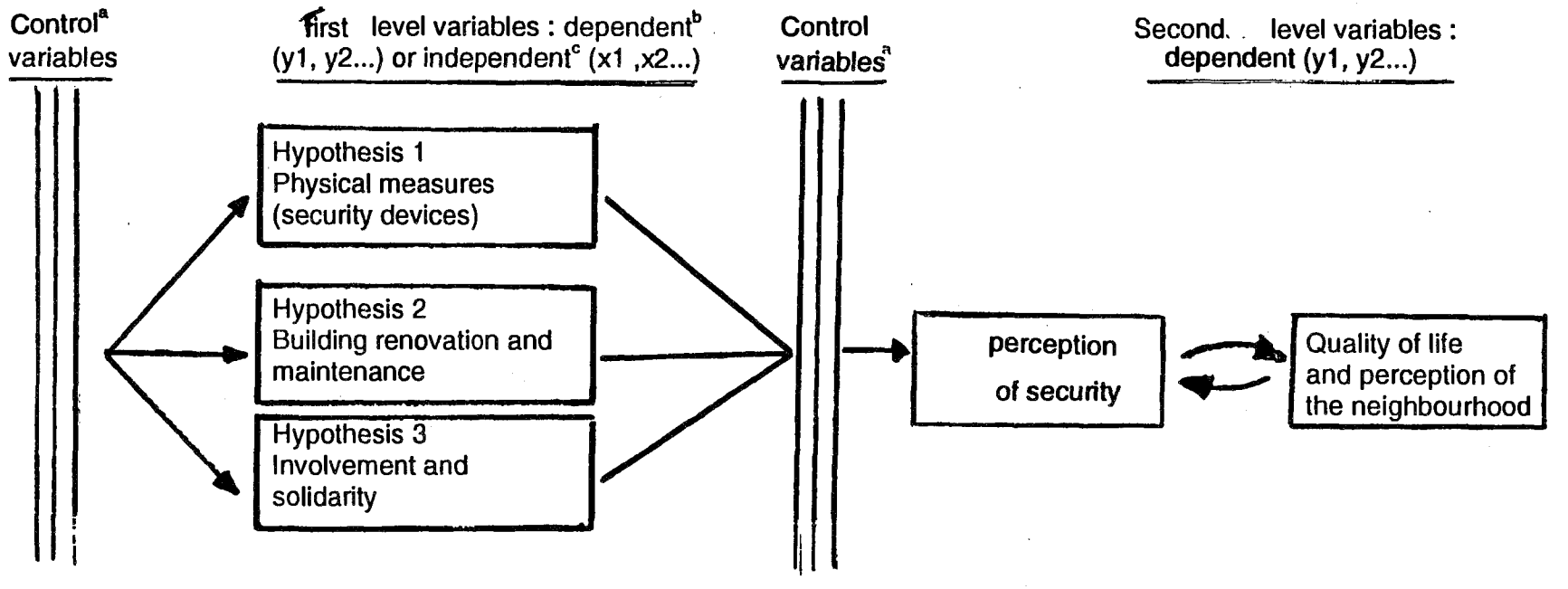
[17] Buildings with public initiative in housing.

FIGURE 1

Regression Analysis Hypotheses



[a] Control variables : independant variables used at both levels of the analysis.
[B] Dependent variables at the first level of analysis used to determine if the zone (v^{97}) is a significant variable.
[C] Independant variables at the second level of the analysis used to determine if the first level variables are significant variables in explaining the variability of perception regarding security and the neighbourhood.

The logistic regression analysis defines the independant variables *(control variables)* in a way which takes into account the characteristics of the residents capable of altering their perceptions and attitudes : sex ; age ; country of origin ; income ; education level ; type and size of the household ; building type. The independant variable relative to public initiatives in housing (v97) refers to the nine respondent groups of the survey, i.e. for all three neighbourhoods, the initiative zone residents,[18] their neighbours and the respondents living in control zones.

The dependent variables are divided in three groups :

1) variables measuring the effects of renovation and the levels of satisfaction ;
2) variables showing if feelings of security are more pronounced in initiative zones ; i.e residents' perception vis-à-vis crime levels and their worries regarding certain types of crime ;
3) variable measuring residents' perception of the neighbourhood, i.e. is this perception more positive in initiative zones.

When testing every dependent variable (it varies with every hypothesis[19]), the regression analysis identified the independant variables which can explain a significant portion of the variance (*P-values* of .05 or less). In selecting the most adequate regression models, we concluded that public initiatives in housing have the greatest impact when the identification variable v97 is included in the models.

- **Focus Groups**

Focus groups were designed to provide a better understanding of the issues seen as important to residents, in a climate favourable to in-depth discussions. Two themes[20] were explored : the first dealt with neighbourhood revitalization from the residents' viewpoint : understanding the indicators of change as perceived by residents ; identifying a catalyst responsible for these changes ; learning how people experience these changes ; and uncovering possible gaps. The second theme, crime, was tackled from the perspective of informal surveillance, existing levels

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[18] Resident of a building with public initiative in housing.

[19] New variables were also created : see Appendix D.

[20] The focus group outline is appended (see Appendix E).

of confidence and mutual support in the neighbourhood, as well as their impact on residents' security.

The telephone interview gauged respondents' willingness and availability to participate in a focus group. The participants were selected from the list of interested respondents. People who had lived in the neighbourhood for less than five years or residing outside the neighbourhood initiative zones were excluded. As much as possible, we tried to keep a gender balance ; an even age distribution ; and an equal proportion of social housing residents (co-operatives, NPO and LRH), tenants of privately restored buildings and neighbours of buildings with public initiatives in housing. Out of 15 to 20 people invited in each neighbourhood, from 8 to 10 participated in the focus group. Meetings lasted from two and a half to three hours.

Residents and neighbours represented respectively two thirds and on third of focus group participants. Most of them originated from "high density initiative sectors" within each neighbourhood. In Petite-Patrie, the gender balance was respected. In Saint-Michel, five women and four men took part in the focus group and only one man participated in Côte-des-Neiges. The composition of all the groups reflected the differential composition of the neighbourhood according to building type and residents' ethno-cultural origin.

II - OUTLINE OF STUDY AREAS

In this chapter, we briefly portray the study areas in order to situate the results of the survey. After a short description of each zone and their location in the City of Montreal, information gathered from resource persons is used to outline people's perception of crime, and the main crime prevention activities. The last section gives an overview of public initiatives in housing carried out in these neighbourhoods over the past few years.

A - DESCRIPTION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOODS

- **Côte-des-Neiges**

Next to several other municipalities (Outremont, Westmount, Town of Mount Royal, etc.), Côte-des-Neiges is located at the west of the City of Montreal. Its population totals 90,210 inhabitants in 1991 or 9% of Montreal's population. A rural village at the beginning of the century, Côte-des-Neiges has experienced a rapid and steady growth since 1910. A constant influx of immigrants has contributed to its increasing human density and created its current image of a neighbourhood which is both a transition and an establishment area whose ethnic vocation is well-assumed and growing (Blanc, 1995).

Multi-ethnicity is the neighbourhood's major feature. In 1991, immigrants represented 47% of its population as opposed to 23% in the whole city. Recent immigrants[21] account for one quarter of this number. There are as many people whose mother tongue is French as people whose mother tongue is neither French nor English (36%). Additionally, Côte-des-Neiges is characterized by an aging population : 17% seniors (65 years old and over) as opposed to 15% in Montreal as a whole.

Although the average income is slightly higher than in Montreal, families and singles below poverty level are overrepresented in Côte-des-Neiges. These data capture the disparities between the various neighbourhood sectors. As far as residents are concerned, Côte-des-

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[21] Arrived between 1988 and 1991.

Neiges can be divided in two large areas (Blanc, 1995) : the North,[22] major receiving area for immigrants, and the South, host of numerous institutions. Housing characteristics, displaying greater diversity and quality, parallel the income disparities favouring the South. In the North, the residential fabric shows more monotony and deterioration.

The North, where the initiative zone is located, includes all the priority sectors for housing upgrade (maintenance) designated in the neighbourhood by the City of Montreal. Most of the residential structures are apartment buildings of variable size, including *walkups*[23] built after 1945. Afflicted by inadequate maintenance and completing a first life cycle, many of these buildings have deteriorated over time.

Housing issues for underpriviledged households in this zone revolve around accessing an affordable housing. In recent years, the demand for social housing has been on the rise and comes mostly from families. Given the scarcity of affordable land in the neighbourhood, public initiatives in housing must explore alternative avenues, like residential renovation, in order to create new social housing opportunities. Due to deterioration in this zone, multifamily buildings require initiatives intended to keep them in good condition.

- **Saint-Michel**

Located near Montreal-Nord and Saint-Leonard, Saint-Michel housed 55,560 people or 5% of Montreal's population in 1991. Saint-Michel was annexed to Montreal in 1968. Then more densely populated, Ville Saint-Michel's 68,000 inhabitants were distributed on a territory of rapid residential growth interspersed with industrial pockets. Two derelict quarries converted by landfill and snow dump leave a mark on the neighbourhood's life and landscape : heavy traffic, unpleasant smells, sizeable physical barriers, dust and particles (*Vivre Saint-Michel en santé*, 1991).

Despite a significant decline in its population, younger age groups are well represented in Saint-Michel ; in 1991, children of five years old and less accounted for 7% of its population as

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[22] From Chemin de la Côte-Sainte-Catherine to the CP rail.

[23] *Walkups* : buildings of four floors or less (generally wood frame), with no elevator and four apartments or more.

opposed to 5% for Montreal. The steady input of new immigrants, originating mainly from Haïti and Southeast Asia, adds to a population including many residents of Italian descent. The latter are concentrated in the Western sector of the neighbourhood, along Saint-Michel boulevard, while more recent immigrants settle in the Eastern sector. In 1991, immigrants made up one third of Saint-Michel population.

Annual average incomes in Saint-Michel are clearly lower than in Montreal, i.e. roughly $10,000 lower per familly in 1991. In fact, the number of families and singles living below poverty level is noticeably high. The average family comprises more individuals and more children than elsewhere in Montreal.

An enclave located between the quarries and the city of Saint-Leonard, the initiative zone considered in this study is bordered by the CN railway tracks on the North, and the Metropolitan Highway on the South. This area includes all the priority sectors for housing upgrade in Saint-Michel. Most residential buildings are *walkups* largely built between 1946 and 1960 ; high housing density and little vacant land available challenge further residential development. The highest percentage of tenants in the neighbourhood is concentrated in this enclave (80%) ; owners represent 30% of the Saint-Michel population compared to 27% in Montreal.

In the Saint-Michel initiative zone as well as in Côte-des-Neiges, high tenant and owner (successive sales) turnover rate and absentee landlords have gradually led to lack of maintenance and dilapidation of multifamily buildings. Once again, housing issues in Saint-Michel involve more social housing, upgrading and maintenance of existing dwellings.

- **Petite-Patrie**

With its 35,090 inhabitants in 1991 (only 3% of Montreal population), Petite-Patrie is one of the most densely populated neighbourhood, due to its location in the city core and its almost entirely built up area.

Unlike Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel, Petite-Patrie is largely populated by residents of French descent followed by residents of Italian descent (10%) chiefly located in the so-called

"Little Italy". Immigrants represent 22% of the total neighbourhood population, close to immigrants statistics for Montreal as a whole (23%).

Less affluent than the rest of Montreal, Petit-Patrie resembles Saint-Michel on this regard. In fact, neighbourhood average incomes, especially family incomes, stagnate well below Montreal's average. As in Saint-Michel, single-parent families make up for nearly one quarter of neighbourhood families as opposed to 20% in Côte-des-Neiges and in the City of Montreal.

Consistent with the other neighbourhoods, the population consists mainly of tenants. Characterized by a high proportion of plex-type buildings (especiallyduplex and triplex) most of them built before 1946, the residential fabric shows more ageing signs compared with the rest of Montreal.

Petite-Patrie could then be designated a priority area in terms of increasing social housing from the existing supply, upgrading and maintenance. There are several priority sectors for housing upgrade in the neighbourhood and two of them are included in the initiative zone and the control zone.

B - CRIME : CURRENT SITUATION

In each neighbourhood, information was gathered from three types of resource persons : community workers in crime prevention (Tandem) ; police officers responsible for crime prevention or well-acquainted with the study areas ; and youth workers. A summary of their comments outlines their perceptions regarding crime levels and changes in each neighbourhood, as well as the underlying causes and residents' feelings of insecurity. These comments also helped trace major crime prevention action taken during recent years, so as to determine important issues and priority sectors.

In each neighbourhood, statistics relative to burglaries committed between 1993 and 1996 were examined and compared between initiative zones (concentration sectors) and control zones. However, as the annual data for each zone are relatively low (ranging from 50 to 300 burglaries), widely-variable fluctuations in the data must be interpreted with caution. Furthermore, these data may hide significant disparities, especially in large areas. Finally, one

cannot assume that these numbers accurately reflect the crime level within a zone. In fact, police statistics are often attacked on that ground, mainly because of the significant number of unreported offences. This explains why researchers often prefer victimization surveys to police data.

Initially it was hoped to collect data for several types of offences. The criticisms cited above suggested that the survey was a better source of information. Other factors justified restricting data collection to burglaries as indicators of crime changes in study areas. Statistics on assaults had to be excluded since their small numbers made comparison between zones difficult. Vehicle thefts also had to be discarded since information was available for one neighbourhood only. Finally, other statistical data related to drugs and prostitution were excluded since their spatial coverage was too large.

- **Côte-des-Neiges**

  - Resource Persons' Views

Despite its bad reputation, the crime level in Côte-des-Neiges is about average compared with other neighbourhoods in Montreal. Over the past five years, the number of burglaries in private houses and businesses has diminished, although vehicle thefts have risen.

According to the Tandem representative, the major problems are associated with drugs (organized crime and shooting galleries) and gangs. As far as drugs are concerned, police action leading to the expulsion of many offenders often involved in organized crime seems to have alleviated the situation. Problems remained, however, in some sectors located in the initiative zone, as drug-related activities have only been temporarily displaced.

Based on one youth worker's account, gang-related problems are not of particular significance since the gangs are not organized. Another youth worker is of the opinion that assaults mainly victimize teenagers and young adults. Vandalism, however, is spread over the whole neighbourhood and includes damage to parked cars, setting off alarms, etc., and bicycle theft is common since youths in the neighbourhood do not consider it a serious offence.

Concerning feelings of security, community workers shared the view that residents' perceptions could be more negative than actuality, especially when a crisis situation arises or when a problem is ill-defined.

- Crime Prevention Actions

During the past three years, Tandem has undertaken several initiatives in Côte-des-Neiges, including information sessions with schools, local organizations and resident groups. Safety inspections are also carried out upon tenants' requests in some buildings (LRH, for example). Tandem also participates in all the community activities and cooperates in other organizations' projects.

One of the most important projects brings together the following partners : the Police force (ACES program) ; the City of Montreal ; Tandem ; the CLSC (public health), the Youth Centre and Jeunesse 2000 ; ethnic associations and several local organizations. Initiated in 1995, this project is designed to improve feelings of security in Victoria and Mountain Sights sectors, designated as priority areas following a survey of neighbourhood inhabitants. Among other achievements, the project has fostered the creation of the Victoria Avenue merchants' association which undertook to revitalize this commercial street. Claims have been submitted to the City of Montreal concerning the inspection of dilapidated buildings ; the City has also proceeded to repair streets and sidewalks, improve lighting and install new waste bins. The Police force has organized regular foot patrols in the two sectors;[24] meetings have taken place with the merchants ; and contacts have been established with various ethno-cultural communities. Youths took an active part in the project and staged a Christmas party in 1995.

According to the police officer interviewed, the participants' combined efforts on the project have helped reduce the crime rate in both sectors, and increase feelings of security. Unfortunately, some administrative decisions, like the transfer or the failure to replace an officer, may jeopardize the continuation of particular activities such as foot patrols, and hence may adversely affect the follow-up of the project.

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[24] Chiefly Mountain Sights where the *Centre local de services communautaires (CLSC)* has set up an outlet ; through the CLSC, contacts were made between foot patrol policewomen and women residents.

- Statistical Data

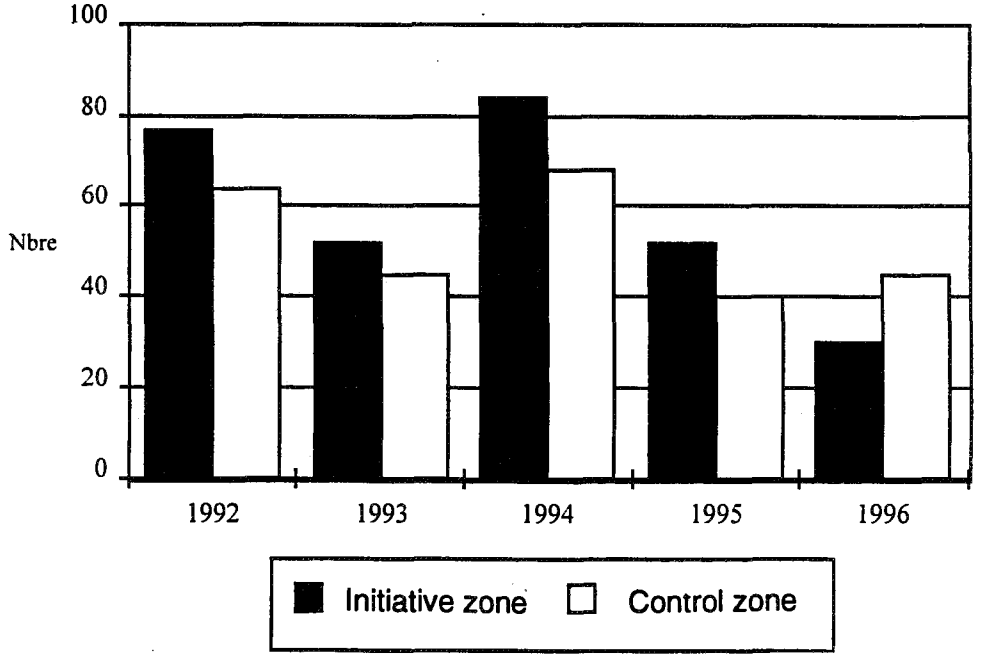
MUC police statistics reveal that the crime rate has decreased throughout the Montreal Urban Community in recent years, resulting in changes in the number of burglaries in every study zone. As these zones differ in size, we cannot compare the number of burglaries but only their relative importance over time.

Based on Côte-des-Neiges 1992-1996 data, a comparison of changes in burglaries was made between the "Barclay sector" located in the initiative zone - the sector with the highest concentration of housing projects - and the control zone (Figure 2). This indicated that the number of burglaries has dropped in both areas with however a steadier decline in the Barclay sector since 1994.

This data confirms community workers' comments regarding the overall reduction of burglaries in Côte-des-Neiges ; however, a comparative analysis of the data would need to be carried out for a significant time series.

Figure 2

Number of Burglaries in Housing Units, 1992-1996[a]
Côte-des-Neiges : Initiative zone (Barclay Sector) and Control Zone.



[a] Data collected for 1996 covering a 10 month period ending in October.
Source : MUC Police, Station 31

- **Saint-Michel**

- Resource Persons' Views

Acccording to the Tandem representative, crime related problems in Saint-Michel resemble those in other neighbourhoods. Burglaries and assaults are the leading problems. Youth gangs, already identified as a social problem five years ago, have resurfaced. In his opinion, the crime rate has remained steady, but the severity of the offences has increased.

The resource persons interviewed felt that feelings of insecurity are pronounced in some sectors of the initiative zone. However, fear does not prevent residents participating in local activities ; in fact, participation is now on the rise.

- Crime Prevention Actions

In the northern section of Saint-Michel (northern portion of the initiative zone), street gangs between 14 to 18 years of age are the major problem. In midsummer 1995, an action plan was implemented by police officers, Tandem representatives and various local organizations. With residents' agreement, police officers increased their presence in the designated sector and organized foot patrols and controls. Tandem distributed several brochures on drugs and prostitution. "Eco-quartier" also set up a waste collection project. Finally, a meeting involving landlords and tenants was organized. Tenants, however, took little part in prevention activities ; according to the police officers interviewed, they are completely engrossed in meeting their basic needs. Police officers reckoned that the action was beneficial even though it was discontinued, and that the gang moved to another sector.

Citizens' involvement is the major goal of these actions and can take different forms including : 1) clean-up projects, such as Ovila Légaré Park Project in the summer 1996 ; 2) residents' claims to City Hall regarding burned-out street lights or other faulty equipment. New ways of reaching people are needed in order to encourage interaction and increase their collective power. For example, people avoided the Rene-Goupil park due to the presence of gangs, so in August 1996, a "family day" was held in the park to demonstrate the intention of citizens and support groups to "take back the park". A neighbourhood party organized to encourage neighbourliness and good citizenship was also a success.

In 1996, Saint-Rene-Goupil parish (included in the initiative zone) was given a provincial grant for the development of the "Project 1, 2, 3, Go" orientated towards young children from underpriviledged backgrounds. Following a parents' survey, the project focused on security ("living in a less violent environment") in the sector located West of Pie IX Boulevard and South of 30th Street. Other actions were anticipated for the summer of 1997.

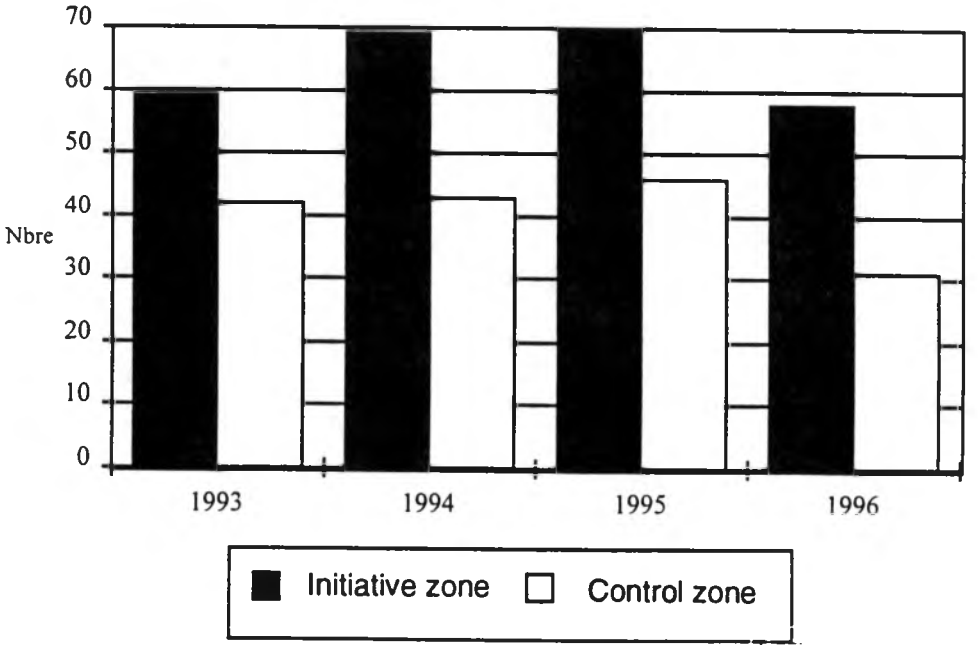
- Statistical Data

Taking note of the data restrictions previously discussed, the number of burglaries in Saint-Michel has not fluctuated much between 1993 and 1996 (Figure 3), and 1996 data are incomplete.

Despite the variation in the number of reported burglaries, the sector in which public initiatives in housing are concentrated (located South of 39th Street in the initiative zone) and the control zone both seem to have similar experiences during these four years.

Figure 3

Number of Burglaries in Housing Units, 1993-1996[a]
Saint-Michel : Initiative Zone (South of 39th Street) and Control Zone.



[a] Data collected for 1996 covering a 10 month period ending in October.
Source : Tandem Villeray/Saint-Michel/Parc-Extension (MUC Police Department data).

- **Petite-Patrie**

- Resource Persons' Views

According to Tandem representative, the number of burglaries has declined in the neighbourhood during the past five years. On the other hand, drugs and "taxing" of youths were identified as major problems in the neighbourhood. This respondent also felt that prostitution and "organized gangs" are less common that in other Montreal neighbourhoods. Five years ago, however, newspaper headlines about rising prostitution and drug-related activities mobilized many citizens living near Saint-Denis Street.

Based on the views of community workers, residents' perceptions have probably remained unchanged over the past years. In spite of this, people walk less on empty commercial streets at night. Fear among young people was thought to be more prominent than before. Street activity plays a key role here : the greater the activity, the lower the criminal offences. For instance, children's presence would discourage burglaries or thefts due to the presence of parents and their vigilance and interest in keeping the streets safe for their children.

- Crime Prevention Actions

The Tandem representative argued that their crime prevention initiatives have had a positive impact on the neighbourhood. A reduced number of burglaries or thefts could be attributed to the awareness programs organized by Tandem. For example, Tandem noticed an important residential mobility (turnover rate : 40%) in the neighbourhood ; it also noted that many thefts occur during the moving period. Tandem then set up a "moving blitz" to reduce thefts at that time.

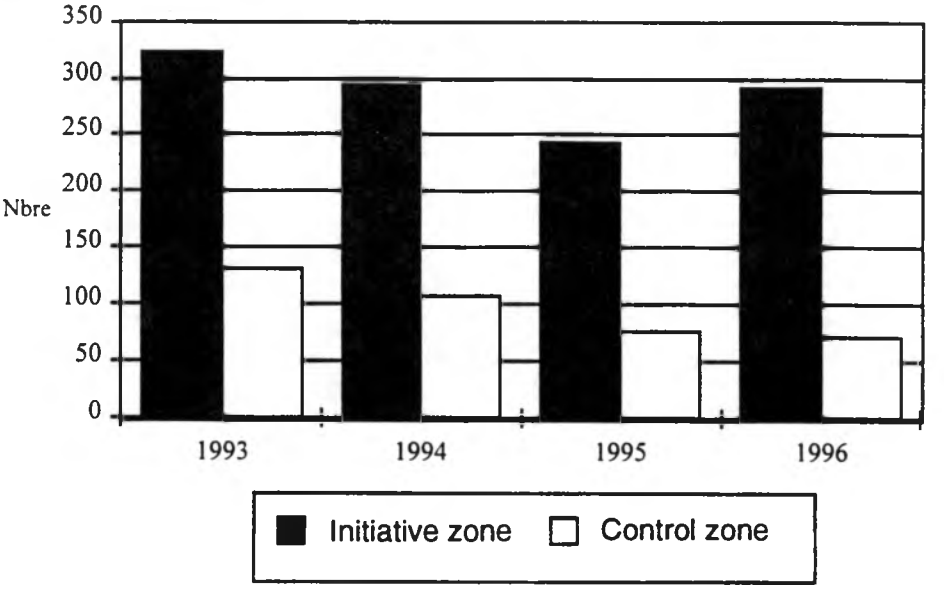
In 1996, a pilot project was also carried out by the City of Montreal and the Regional Health and Social Services Board to assess the situation of women, and to promote their security in the urban environment.

- Statistical Data

Figure 4 compares the number of burglaries in Petite-Patrie initiative zone (West of Saint-Hubert Street) and in the control zone from 1993 to 1996. In both cases, the areas covered by the statistics go beyond the study area. However, the data indicate a steady decline in the number of burglaries perpetrated in the control zone, while this number rises in the initiative zone in 1996.

Figure 4

Number of Burglaries in Housing Units, 1993-1996[a]
Petite-Patrie : Initiative zone (West of Saint-Hubert Street) and Control Zone.



Source : Tandem Petite-Patrie/Rosemont (MUC Police Department data).

C - PUBLIC INITIATIVES IN HOUSING

The neighbourhoods selected for this study are part of those areas throughout the city showing the widest gap between the need for social housing and actual supply (*Modèle d'arbitrage*, SHDM, 1993). Moreover, the initiative zones within the neighbourhoods largely overlap with the priority sectors designated by the new revitalization program of inner city areas.[25] Thus the

[25] This program was launched in April 1996 and is jointly funded by the City of Montreal and the Government of Quebec. The program has five components : residential renovation, restoration of vacant buildings, improvement of security in residential rental buildings, demolition of sheds, development of new housing units.

major housing issues identified in the study neighbourhoods include accessing an affordable housing (for low-income households) and upgrading dilapidated residential buildings.

Since the end of the last decade, various public intiatives in housing have been undertaken in Côte-des-Neiges, Saint-Michel and Petite-Patrie. As shown in Table 2, these initiatives are unevenly distributed in the initiative zones. The relatively sizeable proportion of rental buildings with private owners (who restored their property via the RBRP program) remains constant across the sample. Neighbourhoods however differ according to when the RBRP program was used. In Petite-Patrie, owners tapped the program resources from the late 80's up until recently ; in Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel, its utilization was concentrated between 1992 and 1995.

Otherwise, PNHP and ILM related projects are limited to these areas : almost non-existent in Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel, they make up for nearly one third of the housing units in Petite-Patrie. Moreover, wide differences exist between the type of implementation : new construction, restoration, renovation, this latter accounting for a small percentage (17% of total PNHP units).

TABLE 2

Distribution of Public Initiatives in Housing [a]
by Type of Program and Initiative zone, 1989-1996.

Initiative zones (per neighbourhood)	**LRH Acquisition-Renovation**	**PNHP** (coops and NPO)	**RHAP** (coops and NPO)	**ILM** (coops)	**RBRP** (private owners)	**TOTAL** (number of housing units)
Côte-des-Neiges	11.1%	- -	48.3%	- -	40.6%	772
Saint-Michel	17.3%	2.3%	26.9%	- -	53.5%	533
Petite-Patrie	7.1%	21.6%	12.9%	8.9%	49.5%	449
TOTAL	12.0%	6.2%	32.7%	2.3%	46.8%	1,754

[a] The housing programs are described in Appendix A. Initiatives due to older programs, such as Program 56.1, are not included in this study and this table.

Source : Office municipal d'habitation de Montréal (OMHM) ; Société d'habitation du Québec (SHQ) ; Société d'habitation et de développement de Montréal (SHDM) ; Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) ; City of Montreal (Housing Department).

The relative preponderance of RHAP housing units in each initiative zone parallels the implementation steps of this program in the three neighbourhoods. In fact, from the start Côte-des-Neiges has been a priority area with initiatives targeted to a largely immigrant population. The first building purchases located on Barclay Street (roughly 400 housing units) date back to 1990 and mainly comprise *walk-ups* with less than 10 apartments. In Saint-Michel, initiatives are more recent and mainly focus on a large building complex (Terrasses Saint-Michel) renovated in 1992. The acquisition and the renovation of housing units in the Petite-Patrie initiative zone in 1994 and 1995 are the latest RHAP projects.

Several LRH units (roughly 160) were first purchased through the RHAP program and later renovated by the Office municipal d'habitation de Montréal (OMHM). Their renovation reveals funding disparities between the two agencies : the RHAP renovations, funded by the RBRP program, are visibly more modest.

These differences between the extent of program-related initiatives in each neighbourhood suggest other differences associated with the nature and the magnitude of the renovation as well as the management type. In areas where RHAP and RBRP projects dominate, such as in Côte-des-Neiges, renovations are often more basic, but co-operative or community management is more widely spread. In contrast, Saint-Michel is polarized as follows : on the one hand, private buildings ; and on the other hand, buildings under public agencies (LRH) or non-profit organizations (NPO). Petite-Patrie offers the widest range of housing projects which are scattered throughout the initiative zone. Although housing co-operatives and buildings managed by local organizations are well represented, private ownership still remains the major building management type in the neighbourhood.

III - PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

For research purposes, the sample consists of three respondent groups per neighbourhood, randomly selected according to their location in the study areas, i.e. :

1) in the initiative zone, people living in a building with a public initiative in housing (called *residents*) ;
2) those residents' neighbours in the initiative zone (called *neighbours*) ;
3) people living in a control zone (called *control zone respondents*).

The demographic or socio-economic profile of the respondents varied. The purpose of this chapter is to portray their profile in order to capture the similarities and the differences between groups, neighbourhoods and management types (buildings with public initiatives in housing).

The majority of respondents are women,[26] i.e. 59% compared to 41% men. This gender distribution runs throughout all respondent groups expect for Côte-des-Neiges where men accounted for 52% of respondents.

Although 14% of respondents own their housing unit (Table C-1),[27] most of them are tenants. These owners represent a small proportion of initiative zone residents but a fairly important percentage of other respondent groups. Well represented in Saint-Michel, they make up roughly one third of the initiative zone neighbours and control zone respondents. Similarly, one quarter of the respondents in Côte-des-Neiges control zone are owners. The over-representation of buildings with less than six apartments in the sample of these zones explains this particular distribution. Despite our interest in owners' perceptions and our initial intention to consider them, the need to make comparisons between initiative zones led to priority being given to data on tenants. Time constraints limited our ability to run in-depth analyses of all the data collected for this study. Thus this profile refers only to tenants.

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[26] An equal number of men and women were targeted.

[27] All tables on respondents' profile can be found in Appendix C.

A - TYPE OF MANAGEMENT

Initiative zone residents live in buildings reflecting the range of public initiatives in housing in the study (Table C-2). Since the initiatives are unevenly distributed across neighbourhoods, management types follow a similar pattern. Overall, nearly half the residents rent their apartment from a private landlord who renovated the building with the Rental Building Renovation Program (RBRP) assistance. This type of landlord predominates in the Petite-Patrie initiative zone.

The remaining residents are more or less evenly distributed between low-rental housing (LRH), housing co-operatives, and buildings managed by non-profit organizations (NPO). In Saint-Michel, less than on tenth of residents live in housing co-operatives, while LRH and NPO tenants are under-represented in Petite-Patrie.

B - TYPE OF BUILDING

In general, rental buildings are of three types : less than six units ; from six to eleven units ; twelve units or more (Table C-3). In Saint-Michel and Petite-Patrie control zones, most respondents live in plex-type buildings, as do the neighbour group in Petite-Patrie. Most initiative zone residents live in larger-size buildings, mainly *walk-ups* of six to eleven units in Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel. Only Côte-des-Neiges control zone respondents predominently rent their apartments in buildings of twelve units and more.

C - TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD

Overall, nearly half of tenant households have children (Table C-4). Couples with children and single-parent families lived mainly in Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel ; in Petite-Patrie, however, less than one third of the households in all respondent groups, have children. One quarter of tenants live alone, particularly in Petite-Patrie resident group. Finally, co-tenants (two people or more, related or not) or multiple families households are few ; they are mostly found in the Petite-Patrie neighbour group and in Côte-des-Neiges control zone.

Among initiative zone residents, nearly three quarters of LRH tenant households are families with children ; for the other residents, this percentage does not go beyond the 60% mark. Residents living in buildings managed by NPO and in LRH respectively have a higher proportion of two-parent and single-parent families. People living and alternative households, i.e. roommates and more than one family households, are concentrated in privately-owned buildings.

D - COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

The three neighbourhoods show clear differences with respect to tenants' country of origin (Table C-5). In Côte-des-Neiges, the vast majority of initiative zone residents and neighbours were not born in Canada, while the reversed situation occurs in Petite-Patrie with Saint-Michel at mid-way between the two. A similar pattern is found in the control zones. Overall, immigrants mostly originate from Asia and the Caribbean, followed by European and Latin-American countries.

E - HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Most tenant households declared annual incomes below $20,000 (Table C-6) including residents of the three initiative zones and their neighbours. Control zone respondents seem slightly more affluent, at least half of them have annual incomes of $20,000 or more. The differences were significant especially in Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel. Not surprisingly, LRH tenants were the largest group with low incomes, 90% had annual incomes of under $20,000.

F - LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

The vast majority of respondents have lived in their building for six years or less, i.e. since the early 90's (Table C-7). Residents in all the initiative zones are more recent tenants than their neighbours, although most respondents have lived in the neighbourhood longer (Table C-8). Saint-Michel has the highest proportion of long-time residents, especially in the control zone (Table C-8). Two thirds of residents in Petite-Patrie initiative zone have moved within the neighbourhood in recent years.

CONCLUSION

The table at the end of this chapter summarizes the results and highlights each neighbourhood's particular characteristics. Cross-tabulations were examined (by sex, age, building type and length of residence) to check for major disparities between the respondent groups. The findings are not discussed in this report since the regression analysis used in the study took into account the possible influence of these factors (control variables).

Profile of Respondents : Summary Table

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>Côte-des-Neiges</th><th>Saint-Michel</th><th>Petite-Patrie</th></tr>
<tr><td>• Management Type (initiative zone residents)</td><td>Distribution between the four management types : co-operatives, LRH, NPO and private owners</td><td>Distribution between three management types : LRH, NPO and private owners.
Few co-operatives</td><td>Mainly privately-owned rentals.
Noticeable proportion of co-operatives.
Few LRH and NPO</td></tr>
<tr><td>• Building Type</td><td colspan="2">Residents in initiative zones :
mainly buildings with 6 to 11 housing units</td><td>Residents : spilt between buildings with less than 6 units and with 12 units and more.</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Control zone :
mainly buildings with 12 units and more</td><td>Control zone :
mainly buildings with less than 6 units</td><td>Neighbours and control zone : mainly buildings with less than 6 units</td></tr>
<tr><td>• Household Type</td><td colspan="2">Residents : mainly families with children</td><td>Residents : nearly half living alone</td></tr>
<tr><td>• Country of Origin</td><td>Majority of respondents born out of Canada</td><td>Nearly half of respondents born out of Canada</td><td>Minority of respondents born out of Canada</td></tr>
<tr><td>• Household Income</td><td colspan="3">Initiative zones : annual income below $20,000
for the majority of residents and neighbours</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2">Control zone respondents more affluent
than initiative zone residents</td><td>Control zone respondents more affluent than neighbours</td></tr>
<tr><td>• Length of Residence in the Building</td><td colspan="3">Vast majority of respondents having lived in the building for 6 years or less.
Initiative zones : residents arrived more recently than neighbours</td></tr>
<tr><td>• Length of Residence in the Neighbourhood</td><td>No significant difference between groups</td><td>Control zone : longer length of residence than for residents</td><td>Residents : shorter length of residence than in the two other neighbourhoods</td></tr>
</table>

IV - RENOVATIONS AND SECURITY DEVICES

INTRODUCTION

All the public initiatives in housing examined in this study aimed at bringing buildings up to standard conditions by upgrading the building shell or modernizing interiors. Given that the primary aim of residential renovation is to improve residents' living conditions, it has also provided an opportunity to install security equipment, especially in recent years.

Renovation can thus have direct and indirect effects on security and crime prevention. Installing security devices in buildings (e.g., intercoms, exterior bells, locked main door) and in apartments (e.g., safety locks on doors and windows, peep-holes, etc.) may, when properly used, increase security or at least increase residents' feelings of security. Other measures involving the immediate environment may increase surveillance, mark off "private" spaces e.g., by putting up fences) or restrict exits which might be used by potential offenders.

According to our hypothesis, improved security measures following renovations would increase security and feelings of security among residents of these buildings. In the first place, it is crucial to verify if the improvement of security measures, such as installing appropriate devices, was generally included in renovation work. **The findings of the survey reveal that the relative importance of security devices and the tenants' satisfaction with respect to these devices are higher in resident group than in neighbour and control groups.**

A - FREQUENCY OF RENOVATIONS

Unexpectedly, the frequency of renovations was not a differentiating factor between residents of housing project buildings and other respondent groups. In fact, regardless of the group considered, approximately 60% of tenants in Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel reported that renovations have taken place in their buildings over the past five years. The only significant difference can be noted in Petite-Patrie where fewer renovations were reported in neighbour group (65%) than in the resident (79%) and control (83%) groups.

Two conclusions can be drawn from these findings :

1) residents in intiiative zones are not always aware or informed of the renovations being done and thus underestimate their frequency ;
2) renovations cover a wide range of possibilites, from major system repairs (heating, electrical plumbing) to slight cosmetic alterations designed to improve the building appearance ; the latter inflated the relative significance of renovations among other respondent groups.

Unfortunately, the nature and the date of the renovations[28] were not explored in the questionnaire. The focus groups however supported our conclusion that the nature of the renovations varies widely. A tenant in Côte-des-Neiges initiative zone lives near buildings which have been renovated under a public housing program ; this tenant stated that each year his landlord undertakes some renovation work. In fact, this so-called renovation involves work quickly and poorly done which overlooks important elements like balconies, and about which the tenant had to make complaints. Another tenant couple, with the landlord's support, has undertaken their own renovations of their apartment in Petite-Patrie initiative zone ; the landlord's death has forced them to stop the work. In other instances, housing units in initiative zones have been entirely renovated with more or less success according to tenants.

In order to compensate for the lack of direct information on renovations and their effects, questions were asked about the need for repairs to the housing unit (Table 3) and the outward building appearance (Table 4). In reply to these two questions, initiative zone residents reported more positive effects than the other groups. Therefore **in each neighbourhood, more initiative zone residents felt that their dwelling required no repairs.** This difference in tenants' perceptions is significant with regard to the neighbour group in Côte-des-Neiges and to the neighbour and control groups in Petite-Patrie. **In both neighbourhoods, a greater number of initiative zone residents also felt that their building looked better than those in the immediate vicinity.**

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[28] Although the recency of the work could have influenced respondents, they do not tend to report an absence of renovation when their house occupancy is recent.

TABLE 3

Need for Repairs in Housing Units
(Tenants - Q-3.2)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Required Repairs (%)			(N)
			Major	Minor	None	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**13.7**	**38.5**	**47.8**	161
		Neighbours	24.0	44.3	31.7	79
	Control Zone		16.4	47.8	35.8	67
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**10.3**	**34.9**	**54.8**	146
		Neighbours	12.9	45.2	41.9	62
	Control Zone		13.1	37.7	49.2	61
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**7.1**	**25.2**	**67.7**	127
		Neighbours	22.8	45.6	31.6	79
	Control Zone		18.2	48.5	33.3	66

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

TABLE 4

Comparison of Outward Building Appearance with Neighbouring Buildings
(Tenants - Q-14.1)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Outward Appearance (%)			(N)
			Better	Same	Worse	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**64.8**	**28.3**	**6.9**	159
		Neighbours	26.9	44.9	28.2	78
	Control Zone		37.1	54.3	8.6	70
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**37.5**	**52.8**	**9.7**	144
		Neighbours	39.3	47.6	13.1	61
	Control Zone		30.8	64.6	4.6	65
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**63.2**	**31.2**	**5.6**	125
		Neighbours	25.0	58.8	16.3	80
	Control Zone		40.0	52.3	7.7	65

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

We may conclude that renovations made under public initiatives in housing have undoubtedly improved housing conditions and physical building appearance in Côte-des-Neiges and Petite-Patrie. In Saint-Michel, these differences are in the same direction but not statistically significant, probably because the neighbouring and control zone buildings are of higher quality.

B - SECURITY DEVICES : IMPORTANCE AND SATISFACTION

Better security features are characteristic of housing project buildings in initiative zones. Nearly three quarters of residents in Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel reported that security devices (lock, peep-holes, etc.) were installed in their apartment by the landlord. Pronounced differences can be noted in the Côte-des-Neiges initiative zone ; less than half the neighbours reported the landlord had installed security devices (Table 5), and quite a few felt that the security features in their building were worse than others (Table 6).

Throughout the initiative zones, improved security features are largely attributed to renovation by residents of housing co-operatives and NPO-managed buildings (80% response). Other respondent groups whose buildings have been restored were less likely to attribute this improvement to renovation.

In all three neighbourhoods, the majority of tenants expressed their satisfaction with the security devices in their dwelling (Table 7). The only significant difference is found in Côte-des-Neiges were high levels of dissatisfaction were found in the control zone (very or somewhat dissatisfied : 38%). **Of all residents, tenants of privately-owned buildings renovated under RBRP program were least satisfied with their security devices** : fewer of these tenants have security devices in their apartment (66%) and their dissatisfaction with regard to devices installed by the landlord is greater (quite or somewhat dissatisfied : 21%).

TABLE 5

Security Devices Installed in Dwellings by Landlord
(Tenants - Q-9.1)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Security Devices (%)		(N)
			Yes	No	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**71.1**	**28.9**	156
		Neighbours	42.0	58,.0	81
	Control Zone		65.4	34.8	69
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**77.1**	**22.9**	140
		Neighbours	71.0	29.0	62
	Control		65.2	34.8	66
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**55.9**	**44.1**	127
		Neighbours	41.5	58.5	82
	Control Zone		50.8	49.2	85

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

TABLE 6

Comparison of Building Security Devices with Neighbouring Buildings
(Tenants - Q-14.3)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Security Devices (%)			(N)
			Better	Same	Worse	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**54.7**	**35.9**	**9.4**	128
		Neighbours	20.3	37.5	42.2	64
	Control Zone		37.8	48.7	13.5	37
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**39.4**	**54.3**	**6.3**	127
		Neighbours	46.2	42.3	11.5	52
	Zone contrôle		30.8	59.6	9.6	52
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**34.3**	**58.6**	**7.1**	99
		Neighbours	16.7	68.1	15.3	72
	Control Zone		32.7	61.5	5.8	52

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors N= Number of respondents

TABLE 7

Satisfaction with Dwelling Security Devices
(Tenants - Q-13.1)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Satisfaction Level (%)					(N)
			Very Satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Neither satisf. Nor Dissatisf.	Somewhat dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**29.7**	**44.5**	**7.1**	**9.0**	**97**	155
		Neighbours	24.2	43.9	10.6	15.2	61	81
	Control Zone		21.0	33.3	7.4	17.3	21.0	66
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**33.8**	**51.7**	**6.2**	**6.9**	**1.4**	145
		Neighbours	29.0	48.4	4.8	6.5	11.3	62
	Control Zone		42.9	41.3	1.6	6.3	7.9	63
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**30.5**	**44.5**	**10.9**	**10.2**	**3.9**	128
		Neighbours	23.5	42.0	18.5	12.3	3.7	81
	Control Zone		42.4	25.8	15.1	10.6	6.1	66

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

In focus groups, Saint-Michel residents pointed to changes in housing quality, for example, a burned down building purchased and renovated by the SHDM[29]. They were of the opinion that their security has been improved by security devices (intercoms, better doors). The study revealed that among all tenants of housing project buildings, Saint-Michel residents showed the highest satisfaction level with regard to security ; the other Saint-Michel respondents also shared this positive perception.

C - REGRESSION ANALYSIS

The logistic regression analysis applied to selected variables largely confirmed the preceeding results. For renovations and security devices, the following dependent variables were :

- renovations to the building during the past five years (Q- 10) ;
- need for dwelling repairs (Q-3.2) ;
- security devices installed in dwellings, in the entrance and outside the building (Q-9.1, Q-9.2 and Q-9.3) :

[29] Several participants lived in buildings owned by the *Société d'habitation et de développement de Montréal (SHDM)* who administers the RHAP (Rental Housing Acquisition Program).

- satisfaction with regard to security devices in the dwelling and in the building (Q-13.1 and Q-13.2) ;
- improvement of security devices following renovations (Q-14) ;
- comparison of the building security features with neighbouring buildings (Q-14.3).

The **results**[30] show that public initiatives in housing contributed to the improvement of housing conditions and security ; given respondents' perceptions, differential effects on neighbourhoods are also found. Therefore, compared with the other respondent groups :

1. *Dwellings located in Côte-des-Neiges and Petite-Patrie initiative zones required less repairs. Saint-Michel however does not follow this pattern.*
2. *Buildings in initiative zones are better equipped with security devices.*
3. *Satisfaction regarding security devices is higher in the Côte-des-Neiges resident group. Saint-Michel and Petite-Patrie exhibit somewhat lower satisfaction levels.*

[30] Regression results are appended.

V _ MAINTENANCE AND SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY

INTRODUCTION

Residential renovation benefits can only be maintained through the appropriate maintenance of restored dwellings and buildings. This maintenance is three-fold : regular cleaning of the premises ; proper waste management ; timely repairs. Maintenance requires tenants, managers and owners to have some *sense of responsibility* and ownership for a property. Beyond basic maintenance, landscaping can also encourage pride in properties and respect for residents.

While being vital for preserving residential renovation benefits, maintenance may help prevent crime by reducing signs of neglect and social disorder. Thus, the quality of renovations (facilitating maintenance and limiting future repairs), residents' sense of responsiblity (depending, among other things, on feelings of appropriation), and maintenance are all important factors. Positive images about one's living place may promote respect for goods and properties, and possibly, tenants' participation in preserving dwellings and buildings in good condition. A concentration of public initiatives in housing may also foster a domino effect in the neighbourhood.

According to our initial hypothesis, satisfaction with regard to renovation and the willingness to preserve its benefits could encourage maintenance (especially among landlords and managers, and possibly tenants). **The study indicates however that despite positive changes created by renovations, initiative zone residents do not show more sense of responsibility regarding maintenance than other respondent groups. Differences can be noticed though according to management type and the level of concentration of initiatives.**

A - SATISFACTION WITH RENOVATIONS

Regardless of respondent groups, more than three quarters of tenants reported their satisfaction with renovations in their dwelling or in their building. The lowest satisfaction levels are concentrated in Côte-des-Neiges neighbour and control groups. **Moreover, the regression**

analysis shows that satisfaction levels regarding renovations in resident groups are similar to those in other respondent groups.

Establishing a direct connection between renovations and general tenant satisfaction with housing conditions (Table 8) is a difficult task. Although residents in housing project buildings demonstrate higher satisfaction levels than their neighbours, the difference between these satisfaction levels is small, except in Petite-Patrie. The crosstabulation table of renovations and satisfaction with dwelling does not reveal a direct link between the two but suggests that other factors influence this satisfaction, e.g., reasons for moving including dwelling size seem to affect satisfaction levels (see Chapter VII).

TABLE 8

Satisfaction with Housing Unit
(Tenants - Q-3.1)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Satisfaction Level (%)					(N)
			Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Neither satisf. Nor dissatisf.	Somewhat dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**28.8**	**46.3**	**8.7**	**5.6**	**10.6**	160
		Neighbours	29.9	41.5	6.5	10.4	11.7	77
	Control Zone		29.0	46.4	11.6	7.2	5.8	69
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**21.8**	**57.8**	**12.0**	**5.6**	**2.8**	142
		Neighbours	29.0	48.4	6.5	12.9	3.2	62
	Control Zone		38.5	46.2	6.1	3.1	6.1	65
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**38.1**	**50.0**	**6.3**	**3.2**	**2.4**	126
		Neighbours	29.6	48.2	12.3	3.7	6.2	81
	Control Zone		39.4	40.9	13.6	4.6	1.5	66

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

Although their assessment of living conditions in their building may fluctuate, residents of housing project buildings were always more likely to perceive improvement of these conditions during the past five years. Of long-term residents (five years and more), these percentages range from roughly half in Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel to two thirds in

Petite-Patrie. In most cases, renovations are credited for the positive changes. Comparison with other respondent groups indicate that the latter noted little change : improvement has been reported by less than one third while most felt that the living conditions were stable, particularly in Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel control zones.

B - RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTENANCE

Responsibility for maintenance varies according to neighbourhoods and respondent groups, predominent building and management types. Janitors are chiefly responsible for maintenance in Côte-des-Neiges (56%) and Saint-Michel (53%) initiative zones ; two thirds of them live in the building where they work. In Petite-Patrie, however, housing project buildings are kept by both janitors (28%) and landlords (32%). A sizeable part of the maintenance is shared by committees in housing co-operatives (21%), except in Saint-Michel.

Landlords responsible for maintenance dominate in neighbour and control groups (75% to 80%). Côte-des-Neiges is the exception as responsibility for maintenance is roughly split between janitors and landlords (approximately 40% each).

No significant difference regarding tenants' satisfaction with building maintenance has emerged between respondent groups or neighbourhoods. Nearly 85% of respondents in Saint-Michel control zone compared to 75% in other groups have expressed their satisfaction. Furthermore, more people living in initiative zones throughout the three neighbourhoods feel that their building maintenance and property landscaping outmatch those in their close vicinity.

C - TENANTS' SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY

Overall, there was little variation between respondent groups in terms of their sense of responsibility for maintaining the building entrance and its surrounding grounds (Table 9). More differences are found at the neighbourhood level : more tenants in Côte-des-Neiges (21%). than in Saint-Michel (16%) and Petite-Patrie (8%) feel that they are "not at all responsible" for maintenance. The only significant difference between respondents is attributable to tenants located in Côte-des-Neiges control zone ; a high percentage of these tenants (29%) acknowledged no responsibility at all for maintenance.

TABLE 9

Sense of Responsibility for Maintenance of Building Entrance and Surrounding Grounds (Tenants - Q-6)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Sense of Responsibility (%)				(N)
			Very responsible	Somewhat responsible	Not very responsible	Not at all responsible	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**43.1**	**34.0**	**4.6**	**18.3**	153
		Neighbours	45.2	30.1	5.5	19.2	73
	Control Zone		31.8	31.8	7.6	28.8	66
Saint-Michel	Initiaitve Zone	**Residents**	**37.2**	**42.1**	**5.0**	**15.7**	140
		Neighbours	36.1	36.1	8.2	19.6	61
	Control Zone		45.4	34.8	4.6	15.2	66
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**49.6**	**36.8**	**3.2**	**10.4**	125
		Neighbours	47.6	37.8	6.1	8.5	82
	Control Zone		50.8	39.7	4.8	4.7	63

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

Noticeable differences emerge when the management type and the geographical distribution of initiatives are considered. On the one hand, members of housing co-operatives more often feel concerned about maintenance : 60% feel "very responsible" as opposed to roughly 40% for other residents. Only 5% of co-op members feel that they have no responsibility for maintenance, compared to nearly 20% of respondents in buildings managed by non-profit organizations, low-rental housing, and privately-owned buildings renovated in the context of RBRP.

A trend can be noticed in the selected areas : the more concentrated the public initiatives in housing, the more pronounced the sense of responsibility. Therefore, residents of Barclay sector in Côte-de-Neiges feel more responsible for maintenance (very or somewhat) compared to people living elsewhere in the area, i.e. 83% compared to 66%. In Petite-Patrie initiative zone, a greater number of residents (58%) located west of Saint-Denis Street are "very" concerned about maintenance compared to those who live east of Saint-Denis and who happen to be "somewhat" concerned about it. In Saint-Michel initiative zone, neighbours living south of 39th Street report more often than those located in the northern part that they feel

"very" responsible for maintenance (47% as opposed to 17%) ; in the northern part, tenants feel "somewhat" responsible.

In Côte-des-Neiges focus group, one woman raised the contribution of her housing co-operative towards cleaning the environment. Participants also talked about various improvement efforts : for example, the landlord of the building across the street takes care of the lawn and grows flowers... In another participant's building, tenants work collectively to clean up the backyard and grow vegetables. Others mentioned free flowers sent each year by the City of Montreal, and beautification contests. Saint-Michel participants pointed out that the City provided free flowers until the initiative was discontinued in 1996. Keeping the flowers however was a challenge : *"Teenagers would come the day we planted the flowers and pouf !, they would pull them up".*

D - PERCEPTION OF NEIGHBOURHOOD CONDITIONS

Respondents' perceptions regarding waste and dustbin management parallel neighbourhood differences (Table 10). **In Côte-des-Neiges, 35% of residents in housing project buildings consider that waste management is a major problem, especially in the area around Barclay Street, compared with 23% in Saint-Michel and 17% in Petite-Patrie.** No differences however stand out between respondent groups or within neighbourhoods, except for Saint-Michel initiative zone where neighbours perceive garbage and dustbins as a major problem (56%).

Cleanliness plays an important role in the perception residents have of their neighbourhood. In Côte-des-Neiges, nearly all participants complained about garbage brought to the street at all hours ; waste lying around for months (mattresses, for example) ; and "cockroaches" in apartments ; they considered these a source of nuisance and signs of neglect by both the citizens and the City of Montreal ; *"We pay our taxes too, but nobody cares. Why don't we get the same services ?"*. Some streets in Saint-Michel are also considered dirty and deserted ; people there do not feel that safe. On the other hand, Petite-Patrie residents who compared their neighbourhood to others said : "*The neighbourhood is clean. People here take care.*". This attitude seems to be new.

TABLE 10

Perception of Rubbish or Dustbins as a Problem in the Neighbourhood
(Tenants - Q-17.3)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Rubbish or Dustbins (%)			(N)
			Major Problem	Somewhat a problem	Not a problem	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**34.8**	**23.4**	**41.8**	158
		Neighbours	32.9	21.5	45.6	79
	Control Zone		28.6	20.0	51.4	70
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**23.0**	**14.9**	**62.2**	148
		Neighbours	34.4	21.3	44.3	61
	Control Zone		21.5	7.7	70.8	65
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**17.2**	**27.3**	**55.5**	128
		Neighbours	26.8	20.7	52.5	82
	Control Zone		23.1	20.0	56.9	65

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

Focus group participants in Côte-des-Neiges considered garbage a major problem and they believed that responsibility vis-à-vis its management should be shared. First, some people do not comply with the instructions regarding garbage collection or throw them out anywhere. Second, people felt that the City of Montreal has given up its responsibilities regarding waste management in the neighbourhood.

In closing the meeting with Côte-des-Neiges focus group, several participants have strongly expressed their dissatisfaction vis-à-vis the physical condition of the neighbourhood talking of a "shameful" situation unprecedented anywhere else. "*I don't even invite people home, I am ashamed of my environment, there is something wrong there.*" People were generally pleased with their apartments but as one participant put it :"*It's true too that I don't invite many people either. I like my apartment, it's cute, it's nicely arranged, well-decorated, but it's true... often when friends come over they don't stop asking : 'How can you live here ? Move out ! Why are you living here ?' They make remarks.*" A third person separated dwelling and environment quality : "*When I invite my friends, I invite them over to my place. They know that what's happening outside has nothing to do with me.*"

One might ask if the greater sense of responsiblity of the tenants living in Côte-des-Neiges high density initiative zone may create an oversensitiveness to waste management in the neighbourhood. We must note that although the City of Montreal has already conducted awareness programs in the neighbourhood, there is a place for increasing landlords', managers' and janitors' sense of responsibility.

VI - SOCIAL COHESION AND INFORMAL CONTROL

INTRODUCTION

The review of the literature has stressed the importance of social control in crime prevention approaches. This social control takes different forms including : respect for behavioural standards ; informal surveillance of the premises ; denunciation of illicit activities ; residents' involvement in situations related to their security. Such informal social control can be facilitated or hindered by various factors such as : feelings of appropriation and tenants' organization (e.g., tenant associations), or adversely residents' anonymity and indifference. This raises a question : do public initiatives in housing stimulate the emergence of tenants' informal social control in a building ?

On the surface, programs designed to set up housing co-operatives seem to have the upper hand in this regard. Housing co-operatives are often associated with characteristics like better acquaintance between residents ; collective decision-making ; and sharing of community tasks. The vision of co-operatives also include members' solidarity. Given this, one can assume that co-operatives offer an environment favourable to informal social control.

Landlords and building managers can also assure control, with or without tenants' participation. Behaviour rules are issued by authorities in LRH and buildings managed by NPO. This type of management may, however, contain coercive or paternalistic tendencies if not supported by actual residents' agreement. This is why tenant associations can prove pivotal in maintaining informal social control.

Public initiatives in housing can foster the emergence of informal social control to the extent that they encourage the development of neighbours' relationships and residents' sense of responsibility regarding the quality of life in the building. Other factors not related to public initiatives may also affect social control in a building. Building size is one of them, regardless of management type ; control may be weakened with a high number of dwellings. Tenants' length of residence is another important factor to the extent that the time spent in a place may strengthen the feelings of belonging. The homogeneity of the population may also support

social control. Finally, there may be people in a building who participate in neighbourhood activities, and who may exercise a certain leadership in the residence.

As the review of the literature suggested the heterogeneity of resident population would encourage anonymity and social fragmentation creating negative effects on social cohesion[31] and control. This assumption must be tested ; social cohesion may take place in areas smaller than the neighbourhood, i.e. in the street or portion of the street, or in the buildings themselves (for example, housing co-operatives).

According to our hypothesis, public initiatives in housing may improve social cohesion among residents and encourage informal surveillance of the premises. Study results show the existence of these differences between both management types and within neighbourhoods.

A - SOCIAL MIX

On the whole, people living in buildings with public initiatives in housing share a similar socio-economic status (low or modest incomes) and socio-demographic composition (most are family households with children and adults). However, this is not a rule, as particular initiatives and neighbourhoods may have specific situations. For instance, friction may occur in a building according to the income level or the household type (for example, seniors and families with children).

Social mix is not a constitutive element of housing projects. The eligibility requirements of some programs may encourage homogeneity (for example, selecting co-operatives members). Ethnic diversity may vary with programs, and especially in residential neighbourhoods. Recent studies have demonstrated that LRH and housing co-operatives associated with the PNHP tend to be characterized by ethnic diversity (Dansereau et Séguin, 1993). The ethnic profile of people living in RHAP buildings is also characterized by diversity. At the neighbourhood level, Côte-des-Neiges shows a pronounced multi-ethnic composition ; Saint-Michel multi-ethnic

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[31] Cohesion is defined as "solidarity between group members resulting from the mutual attraction or complementarity of the individuals who make the group, of common goals, actions, standards" (*Lexique des sciences sociales*, Dalloz, 1994, p. 66).

composition is dominated by certain groups, namely Italians and Haïtians ; and although hosting a sizeable and growing proportion of people from different backgrounds, Petite-Patrie is mainly populated by French descent inhabitants.

Concepts and facts buttressing social cohesion are not clear and cannot be taken for granted. On the other hand, one should not assume that social mix will create adverse impacts. If they do not stem from residents' characteristics, factors of social mix may come, among others, from incentives related to initiatives (setting up co-operatives, for example) ; circumstances associated with project implementation ; collective responses with respect to adverse events ; or responsible action taken by a resident group.

Participants in focus groups are aware of cultural diversity in their neighbourhood and believe it is positive. Speaking of her neighbourhood, a woman living in Côte-des-Neiges said : "*I like a lot this cosmopolitan aspect, small restaurants, I love it, it's like travelling all the time. I feel that I always live in another country.*" Petite-Patrie residents also perceived the presence of different cultures, especially multi-ethnic restaurants, as an asset.

Nevertheless, cultural diversity may also challenge people to the extent that they feel less connected with their living environment and experience communication difficulties, particularly in Côte-des-Neiges. According to a Saint-Michel participant, the arrival of large number of Asians made a major change in both the composition of residents in some buildings and in the opening of businesses :"*The atmosphere has changed pretty much. When I walk around there, it's like I'm not quite at home... I am bewildered, but not negatively. These people are extremely discreet, silent. These people don't bother you at all, but I was bewildered anyway.*" Another person continued :"*We feel out of place and it is difficult to fit in.*"

Participants who perceived the positive impact of multi-ethnic neighbourhoods were also aware of its down side. For instance, in Côte-des-Neiges, one woman continued : "*I like it but communication with people is quite limited. I find that people in the neighbourhood are very, very individualistic ; everybody minds its own business.*" For that matter, waste management problems experienced by residents in Côte-des-Neiges were largely attributed to these communication difficulties : "*When we say responsibility... I think that the greatest difficulty in the neighbourhood... comes from the fact that there is a great number of communities and*

people throw the ball back and forth... people have different ways of living... for sure, on the Plateau, people are more alike... there is a feeling of belonging... from the moment you feel you belong to the place, the street, the area, the block, you want to participate, you want to be responsible for your environment... Here, in Côte-des-Neiges, being so different means 'Who cares".

Often mentioned in focus groups, being able to know one another and to talk to each other reinforces security and informal surveillance among residents. This wish, common to all, was restated whenever people suggested possible ways to solve security problems. A person from Saint-Michel said : "*We don't know each other, we make generalizations and we judge*". Another from Petite-Patrie added : "*Provoking cooperation is sometimes difficult because some people come from foreign countries, they have had their experiences in their country... they are suspicious, it's not their fault, they want no trouble*". Often enough, finding means and opportunities to meet came out in the discussion : "*There are different values, different believes... so we have to find things that bring us together... we must not do things centered on Quebec or Canadian culture because cultural communities may feel isolated by such things.*"

B - NEIGHBOURHOOD RELATIONS AND SURVEILLANCE OF THE PREMISES

- **Contacts and Mutual Assistance**

From time to time, residents of a building are in contact with each other. Their reaction to the contact is a first indicator of the climate which prevails in the buiding. Therefore, some residents maintain friendly relations while others speak occasionally or merely nod. Some people ignore one another or do not know each other.

Throughout the areas selected for this sudy, approximately one quarter of respondents considered other building tenants as "good friends" ; no significant differences between neighbourhoods and groups were noted. On the contrary, less than 15% of respondents reported that they do not know people living in the building or have no contact with other residents. Different from the other groups on that aspect, Côte-des-Neiges control zone had the highest percentage (25%) for this variable. The bulk of respondents fell into intermediate

positions, with a general tendency to salute the others rather than talk to them (36% versus 28%), especially among Saint-Michel initiative zone residents (45% versus 23%).

Past the initial contacts, neighbourhood relations may develop into genuine assistance between tenants in some buildings, while in others, people might prefer to mind their own business. On the whole, respondents' opinions were evenly split between these two behaviour types. In Saint-Michel, resident and control groups differed from the rest of the sample ; most residents claimed that tenants in their building prefer to mind their own business (64% and 62% respectively). In Petite-Patrie initiative zone however, most residents considered that mutual assistance prevailed in their building (58%).

Management types show noticeable differences across the initiative zones. **Members of housing co-operatives are distinct from others : three quarters of them claimed to maintain friendly relations (28%) or talk (45%) to other tenants and believed that people in their building try to help each other.** On the other hand, slightly more than 60% of residents in LRH and private RBRP buildings felt that residents only salute one another, have no contacts with other tenants or simply do not know them ; furthermore and in equal proportion, they thougth that people in their building mainly mind their own business instead of trying to help each other. In NPO-run buildings, opinions regarding relations between tenants (friendly relations or conversations for the most) resemble those of housing co-operatives, but they diverge on the mutual assistance issue.

Many focus group participants reported living in buildings where there is mutual assistance, where people know and trust each other (e.g., leave keys with the neighbour during holidays). Mutual assistance seemed to be developing everywhere. It is, however, in Saint-Michel that LRH residents appeared to be the most suspicious toward other tenants and avoid contacts as much as possible. Otherwise, in housing co-operatives, mutual assistance appears quasi de facto except for one in Côte-des-Neiges where people do not know each other that well. Finally, some tenants in privately-owned buildings felt that it is the landlord's responsibility to create opportunities for people to meet and discover one another.

In Saint-Michel, focus group participants believed that they have been instrumental in increasing the quality of life by "harassing" troublemakers ; calling the police proved to be

effective in such cases. LRH residents have also gained from making complaints to the administration resulting in steps being taken to improve situations. As demonstrated by a participant, residents in Petite-Patrie have clearly assumed their place and responsiblity. Representatives from Tandem, a housing co-operative, a NPO for seniors and a youth centre (*La Maison des jeunes*) met in order to find a solution to youth vandalism in the neighbourhood. Youths were identified and their parents informed of the situation. Finally, *La Maison des jeunes* had to evict some teenagers who were a threat to its survival. This initiative has not gone unnoticed in the neighbourhood : *"just seeing the agencies present a united front...impresses them."*

- **Surveillance and Initiative**

Surveillance by neighbours living in the same building plays a key role in the informal social control relative to crime prevention. The study results revealed significant differences in this matter between residents of the three initiative zones (Table 11). This behaviour is more widely spread in Petite-Patrie than in Saint-Michel and Côte-des-Neiges.

Here again, the attitude of residents in housing co-operatives and NPO-managed buildings diverged from that of people living in LRH buildings or RBRP privately-owned and renovated buildings. The vast majority of them (respectively 85% and 66%) can rely on their neighbours to keep an eye on their apartment during their absence, while the others can count on this service only half the time.

Differences are not that evident between other respondent groups. Within neighbourhoods, they do not indicate clear tendencies : behaviours converge in Petite-Patrie ; in Côte-des-Neiges neighbour group and Saint-Michel control zone, respondents reported more often being able to rely on other tenants' surveillance when absent from home.

TABLE 11

Surveillance of Dwelling by Neighbours
(Tenants - Q-33)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Surveillance (%)		(N)
			Yes	No	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**47.2**	**52.8**	142
		Neighbours	59.7	40.3	72
	Control	Zone	46.8	53.2	62
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**58.1**	**41.9**	136
		Neighbours	63.3	36.7	60
	Control	Zone	81.7	18.3	60
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**73.5**	**26.5**	117
		Neighbours	69.6	30.4	79
	Control	Zone	69.4	30.6	62

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

In focus groups, people's opinions vary a lot regarding their ability to react in cases of criminal activity or their confidence in their neighbours' reactions if they were assaulted or broken-into. In Côte-des-Neiges, people repeated often and clearly that they had no confidence in their neighbours and that they would not intervene given a crime situation. This attitude often originates from people's experience : for instance, a Côte-des-Neiges resident expressed her feelings of betrayal when a neighbour refused his assistance during a robbery, while she had watched over his apartment. Other Côte-des-Neiges participants shared similar experiences. Among others, a woman reported that she screamed during an attempted robbery but nobody came to her rescue ; likewise, following her intervention in a situation of domestic violence, she was told to mind her own business. She closed with :"*As far as I am concerned, I won't help anymore*".

In Saint-Michel focus group, some people showed a marked tendency to intervene. First, there are situations where nobody seems to be willing to get involved, such as a situation of domestic violence happening in the street where people fear being chased by the aggressor if they intervene. Second, in a residential complex[32] where some participants have lived for a long

[32] Residential complex renovated under RHAP and now managed by a NPO.

time, residents know each other, share an attitude of surveillance and feel responsible. The same happens in another section of the neighbourhood consisting largely of tenants and landlords of Italian descent : people know each other and spot strangers on the street.

As in the other neighbourhoods, Côte-des-Neiges participants stressed how important knowing people is for facilitating action and trust : "*If I don't know a person, I don't know if I would call...The more I know a person, the more I would tend to be involved*". Others watch what is happening outdoors, especially when youths are setting fire to dead leaves or breaking trees. A person had also a word of caution regarding the climate in housing co-operatives : "*It's true that co-operatives are born... but the existence of co-operatives, there is a feeling that they don't belong to anyone. There are coops where people are willing to invest.. but I look at this... and I see it from the outside, I feel that co-operatives are not alive, the property is fine, but there's nothing more to it..*"

A Saint-Michel participant described his difficulty to make contacts with other tenants in the building : "*One is Asian, you could say he keeps for himself... an other just arrived, I don't know him... the girl downstairs is very shy... the one upstairs, maybe. It should be better than that.*" In Petite-Patrie initiative zone, participants experience the same difficulty : one person trusted the neighbours except for one family of different origin who, he said, does not socialize at all : "*they have a close-minded attitude toward everybody... I think it is a shame.*"

Several Petite-Patrie participants declared that they would get involved : "*I don't know if I can rely on others, but I know they can depend on me*". Quite a few had already gotten involved in various situations (domestic violence, vandalism, car accidents). One participant testified that after having been broken-into several times, tenants of a LRH building started to talk together to feel safer. They agreed to call the police department if an unusual situation was noticed and to follow the instructions regarding the use of intercom systems. Petite-Patrie participants were also of the opinion that programs promoting security should first inform residents and encourage them to get involved.

C - REGRESSION ANALYSIS

In order to determine if social cohesion and informal control are more pronounced in initiative zones, the following dependent variables were used :

- types of contact with other building residents (Q-19) ;
- mutual assistance in the building (Q-18) ;
- participation in community activites (Q-20) ;
- surveillance of the dwelling (in case of absence) by neighbours living in the same building (Q-33).

Results[33] indicate that residents' involvement and solidarity in the initiative zone in Petite-Patrie are stronger than in the neighbour and control groups ; they do not support the same conclusion for Saint-Michel and Côte-des-Neiges.

Neighbour relations take a different form in different neighbourhoods : rather distant in Saint-Michel ; mixed in Côte-des-Neiges ; and warmer in Petite-Patrie. While mutual assistance follows similar trends, dwelling surveillance iin case of absence is variable. Its lowest occurrence is in Côte-des-Neiges, as already mentioned by focus group participants. On the other hand, dwelling surveillance, is very frequent in Saint-Michel control zone, even higher than in Petite-Patrie. In this latter neighbourhood, household type could explain residents' involvement, i.e. people living alone and co-tenants households are more represented there.

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[33] Regression results are appended (see Appendix D).

VII - QUALITY OF LIFE AND CRIME LEVEL

INTRODUCTION

Better dwelling conditions may positively impact on residents' satisfaction and the quality of their living environment. A favourable perception may generate various domino effects such as : a desire to keep the premises in good condition ; incentive to stay in the building ; pride in the premises. They can help prevent crime to the extent that they command respect for goods and premises, residence stability, and possibly, feelings of belonging.

According to the survey analysis, initiative zones residents have a heigthened perception of positive changes than other respondent groups vis-à-vis the quality of life and crime in their neighbourhood. This does not mean that their assessment of the current situation is more positive than the other neighbourhood respondant groups. These differences in perception are manifested especially in terms of neighbourhood dynamics.

A - PERCEPTION OF QUALITY OF LIFE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Of all respondent groups, residents of Petite-Patrie initiative zone most often express a positive opinion regarding the quality of life in their neighbourhood (Table 12). They clearly differ from respondents of Petite-Patrie control zone and residents of the two other neighbourhoods. By contrast, a high proportion of residents in Saint-Michel, unlike their neighbours, consider that the quality of life is poor.

Although not unanimous, initiative zone residents are generally more optimistic than other respondent groups about their quality of life. First, more of them feel that the quality of life in the neighbourhood has increased during the past five years (Table 13 ; this difference is significant compared to the control group respondents in Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel and the neighbour group in Petite-Patrie). Second, a high proportion of residents thought that their quality of life would improve the coming two years as opposed to other respondent groups (Table 14).

TABLE 12

Perception of Quality of Life in the Neighbourhood
(Tenants - Q-25)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Quality of Life (%)			(N)
			Good	Neither Good Nor Bad	Poor	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**47.1**	**43.1**	**9.8**	153
		Neighbours	48.7	42.5	8.8	80
	Control	Zone	55.7	34.3	10.0	70
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**37.3**	**41.6**	**21.1**	142
		Neighbours	40.4	49.1	10.5	57
	Control	Zone	49.2	33.3	17.5	63
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**6.5**	**33.9**	**5.6**	124
		Neighbours	50.6	43.2	6.2	81
	Control	Zone	39.4	47.0	13.6	66

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

TABLE 13

Quality of Life Changes in the Neighbourhood over the Past Five Years
(Tenants having lived in the neighbourhood for 5 years or more - Q-26)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Quality of Life (%)			(N)
			Improvement	No Change	Deterioration	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**56.5**	**34.8**	**8.7**	92
		Neighbours	44.7	38.3	17.0	47
	Control	Zone	24.2	45.5	30.3	33
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**31.2**	**40.0**	**28.8**	80
		Neighbours	31.7	41.5	26.8	41
	Control	Zone	15.9	45.5	38.6	44
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**53.7**	**29.6**	**16.7**	56
		Neighbours	36.4	45.4	18.2	44
	Control	Zone	51.5	24.2	24.2	33

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

TABLE 14

Quality of Life Changes in the Neighbourhood over the Next Two Years
(Tenants - Q-28)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Quality of Life (%)			(N)
			Improvement	No Change	Deterioration	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**44.1**	**44.9**	**11.0**	118
		Neighbours	40.3	43.9	15.8	57
	Control	Zone	28.3	47.2	24.5	53
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**40.7**	**42.6**	**16.7**	108
		Neighbours	29.8	44.7	25.5	47
	Control	Zone	25.9	44.4	29.6	54
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**48.2**	**33.6**	**18.2**	110
		Neighbours	26.8	60.6	12.7	71
	Control	Zone	26.2	62.3	11.5	61

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

Control zone respondents believed more than others that the quality of life in their neighbourhood is deteriorating, especially in Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel. In Petite-Patrie, control zone respondents considered that the quality of life was stable.

In the three focus groups, participants particularly enjoyed the quality and diversity of shops, public transit, access to services and low rents ; these low rents motivate residents in Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel to stay in these neighbourhoods.

In Petite-Patrie, participants perceived clearly signs of revitalization ; but they were of the opinion that the residential sector represented only a small portion of the revitalization effort, especially in the western section of the neighbourhood. For many, shops show "new life" : "*Businesses, shops windows have been renovated... that's what I see...*" (comment from a Petite-Patrie resident living in the north-western section of the neighbourhood, called 'Little Italy'). Residents welcome the opening of new and diversified restaurants - "*We no longer have to go downtown to eat well...*" although some people expressed a reservation regarding the flow of "tourists" frequenting these restaurants. Refitting parks and streets, especially when driven by citizens, is perceived as important : "*There is a park, before, the neighbourhood*

looked deserted... we signed to have it improved and it has improved.". Several people pointed out the better conditions of sidewalks and street lamps providing better lighting. Residential renovation and places where such work has been done attract people's attention : "*Businesses came first, then apartments followed... I especially notice the facades,... sheds [where demolished], sun pours in...*"

The municipal authority is perceived as the major agent of change. "*I know that there has been programs run by the City of Montreal. Actually, our landlord has applied for a renovation program.*" (Petite-Patrie resident). The role played by the residents is also acknowledged. Besides the petition regarding the park mentioned above, participants described other actions initiated by the citizens. For instance, the member of a housing co-operative located near a youth centre said : "*If I only think about my little place... the co-operative, it is the local groups who managed to get it... the Maison des jeunes... it is all political.*" In the changes brought about, participants emphasized residents' support. "*People get more and more involved : for example, recycling... it is now done at home... people get involved.*"

In Côte-des-Neiges, there is an awareness of renovation in some buildings, nonetheless these efforts do not seem to go far enough. "*Some buildings have been repaired, like mine three years ago with the assistance of the City of Montreal. They repaired it, that's cool, it's clean, it's nice, but it's all there is about.*" Furthermore, the quality of the renovations appear to be uneven in both the public and the private rental sector ; for instance, a resident's apartment was flooded three times following renovations.

Although some participants in Saint-Michel would appreciate more greenery in the neighbourhood, they also recognize the limitations of such initiatives : "*It's all well to plant small trees... and grass, but if you are that afraid that you don't go out... even if they were to grow flowers, it would not get rid of people's fear...*" These negative changes are blamed on youth gangs and higher unemployment which contributes to increase crime.

B - PERCEPTION OF CRIME LEVEL AND CRIME CHANGES

Residents' positive attitudes about quality of life in initiative zones were not reflected in their perception of crime level in the neighbourhood (Table 15). In Côte-des-Neiges, although 45 % ot of the initiative zone residents considered that crime levels were lower than in other Montreal neighbourhoods, there was little difference with the other respondent groups. More differences are noted with residents of the initiative zone in Saint-Michel, who viewed negatively crime level in their neighbourhood and with those of Petite-Patrie, who believed that this level is at par with other neighbourhoods.

TABLE 15

Comparison of Crime Level in the Neighbourhood with Other Montreal Neighbourhoods
(Tenants - Q-29)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Crime Level (%)			(N)
			Higher	Same	Lower	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**16.9**	**3.9**	**45.2**	121
		Neighbours	24.1	38.2	37.7	70
	Control Zone		17.5	40.2	42.3	73
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**27.2**	**39.7**	**33.1**	124
		Neighbours	31.2	38.8	30.0	54
	Control Zone		28.1	34.0	37.9	66
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**19.7**	**48.4**	**31.9**	95
		Neighbours	20.6	42.5	36.9	74
	Control Zone		17.1	50.0	32.9	61

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

Asked about changes in crime levels in the past 5 years, residents of the initiative zone in Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel shared a more optimistic view than their neighbours and the control groups (Table 16). A great number of them felt that crime has declined. On the other hand, initiative zone respondents in Petite-Patrie (both residents and neighbours) were clearly more critical regarding crime level changes in their neighbourhood : one third of them felt that crime has risen, as compared to one fifth of control zone respondents who believed that it has gone down. By and large, people who considered that crime is prevalent live for the most part in sectors with a high density of public housing project buildings.

TABLE 16

Crime Level Changes in the Neighbourhood over the Past Five Years
(Tenants having lived in the neighbourhood for 5 years or more - Q-30)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Crime Level (%)			(N)
			Increase	No Change	Decrease	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**12.2**	**43.2**	**44.6**	74
		Neighbours	16.3	58.1	25.6	43
	Control	Zone	38.5	53.8	7.7	26
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**41.1**	**35.6**	**23.3**	73
		Neighbours	29.7	62.2	8.1	37
	Control	Zone	44.7	47.4	7.9	38
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**33.3**	**56.9**	**9.8**	51
		Neighbours	31.0	59.5	9.5	42
	Control	Zone	17.8	53.6	28.6	28

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

In focus groups, the first open question brought out the differences between neighbourhoods. Saint-Michel and Côte-des-Neiges participants immediately mentioned problems related to violence, crime, vandalism and lack of security.

A resident who had lived in Saint-Michel for 25 years answered : "*Yes, I like my neighbourhood, but if I had to do it over again, I would not raise my children here. There is too much trafic, violence and less safety. In the good old days, we could leave our doors unlocked.*" A mother of three girls aged 7 to 12 and a six-month old baby said :"*I live in the neighbourhood because of the rent, but I lock myself in. I don't let the children go out.*"

In Côte-des-Neiges, a woman admitted her feelings of insecurity :"*I like the transportation facilities, the convenience stores , the Subway, but there is one thing : I am afraid to go out at night. It's okay in the summer because there are lots of people in the streets, but at this time of the year, it's dark and there isn't much light in the streets.*" A man from the same neighbourhood added : "*Yes, it's true that there are lots of stores, but if we wish to go shopping at night, we have to be very careful and watch out for gangs.*" Some participants pointed out that low rents motivated them to live in the neighbourhood and, if they were whealthier, they

would probably move out. A resident of 17 years concluded : "Me, f*or sure, the day I have money, a big salary, I leave right away... I would move to the Plateau, in a friendly place, that's for sure.*" On the contrary, others, including one person born in Côte-des-Neiges, reaffirmed their intention to stay.

Despite the above, the positive changes noticed in Côte-des-Neiges are linked to improved security. Although there are still gangs in the area, participants felt that their number has declined, especially in drug dealing. A resident declared : "*Now, people shoot at one another at every six months ; before, it was once a week.*" Another one added : "*I used to hear shots at night, I don't know from where it came but now, I don't hear them anymore.*" A number of participants reckoned that youth gangs cause some problems still. "*Young people are a problem, they roam around, loiter in entrances, hang out, booze up and threaten you.*" Furthermore, places where violence-related offences take place have shifted ; they now occur more and more in the subway. "*Every week, we can see police cars at the subway station. Someone has been stabbed, shot...*".

Petite-Patrie residents appreciated living in the vicinity of the downtown as well as the neighbourhood safety and quality environment which make it a good place to raise children (e.g., good kindergardens). A woman said : *I really like my neighbourhood, the environment in which I live... its social aspects, its shops... we see people, the same people, and even if I don't know them, I see them.*" A man continued : "I *feel at home... I really feel good. I feel safe when I walk around. I like getting there [home].*" Participants unanimously acknowledged the neighbourhood qualities ; nevertheless, they agreed that some areas must be avoided : "*I like the neighbourhood. It's as quiet as the suburb, but it has many more advantages... I have witnessed some problems in certain parks, I've seen gangs...*".

C - VISION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Various types of interrelationships can be seen by comparing results on quality of life and its evolution (past and future) in the neighbourhood (see Appendix F). In Côte-des-Neiges and Petite-Patrie, nearly 60% of initiative zone residents reported noticeable or gradual improvements in the neighbourhood (Table F-1) ; it is not surprising that two thirds of them shared an optimistic attitude to the future (Table F-2). On the other hand, only one quarter of control zone respondents in Côte-des-Neiges and one third of neighbours in Petite-Patrie

expressed so positive a point of view ; close to 45% of them felt that the situation remained inadequate, or had deteriorated in those neighbourhoods. No significant differences between respondent groups in Saint-Michel were evident ; but a clear variation between these respondents and those of Côte-des-Neiges and Petite-Patrie was noticed : 25% of the former and less than 15% of the latter considered that the neighbourhood was deteriorating.

D - STABILITY OF RESIDENCE

Public initiatives in housing generally foster to keep in place the tenants, especially when renovation is envisaged. Some projects involve measures clearly designed to discourage tenants from relocating, for instance, rent control following renovation under RBRP projects. In the long term, public initiatives in housing should help stabilize neighbourhood populations.

TABLE 17

Intention to Move Within the Next Two Years
(Tenants - Q-15)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Intention to Move (%)			(N)
			Yes	May be	No	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**32.4**	**12.4**	**55.2**	145
		Neighbours	39.7	19.2	41.1	73
	Control	Zone	49.2	16.4	34.4	61
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**48.5**	**9.1**	**42.4**	132
		Neighbours	36.4	10.9	52.7	55
	Control	Zone	40.4	7.0	52.6	57
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**36.7**	**4.6**	**58.7**	109
		Neighbours	49.3	10.7	40.0	75
	Control	Zone	45.6	12.3	42.1	57

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

In Côte-des-Neiges and Petite-Patrie, residents of housing project buildings are more likely to stay in their building than the other tenants (Table 17). Most of the former did not plan to move during the next two years. Reasons for moving vary depending on the respondent groups : in initiative zone resident groups, the size of the dwelling is the leading reason to

move while the poor condition of the dwelling is a recurrent reason in the other respondent groups.

E - REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Our hypotheses concerning the quality of life have been tested with the following dependent variables :

- intention to move out within two years (Q-15) ;
- assessment of the quality of life in the neighbourhood (Q-25) ;
- perception of changes in the quality of life within the neighbourhood (Q-26) ;
- perception of neighbourhood future over the next two years (Q-28).

Results reveal that :

1) *Residents of the three initiative zones have a more positive vision of their neighbourhood*[34] *than the other respondent goups.*
2) *Residents of initiative zone in Côte-des-Neiges show greater stability in their residence ; however, this does not apply to the other neighbourhoods.*

Initiative zone residents were more likely to acknowledge the positive changes occurring in their neighbourhood than other respondents. One third of residents and neighbours considered renovation as a leading factor in change in all initiative zones. In Saint-Michel and Petite-Patrie, they also recognized that improving the infrastructures (street lighting, paving) played a similar role ; in Côte-des-Neiges, one quarter of the residents stressed that "undesirables" have left the neighbourhood.[35] Moreover, concerns regarding crime were clearly expressed in Saint-Michel where nearly two thirds of the residents indicated that increased violence and crime contribute to the deterioration of the quality of life in the neighbourhood.

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[34] Indicator (v133) combining the assessment of current situation with past and future changes in the neighbourhood (see Appendix D).
[35] This probably refers to evictions due to drug dealing.

VIII - PERCEPTION OF PROBLEMS AND SENSE OF SECURITY

INTRODUCTION

Past experiences and stress-generating external factors determine how safe or how worried one feels vis-à-vis the environment. Feelings of security or insecurity vary between individuals and may appear to be irrational. Age and sex, individual characteristics and backgrounds, life experience and information also play a part. Most agree that feelings of insecurity do not necessarily relate to the actual crime level. In fact, insecurity may reflect the real risk of becoming a victim of a crime, individual perception of that risk, and feelings of vulnerability (Moser and Lidvan, 1991).

Long neglected, the environment happens to be a major factor affecting fear and insecurity. Already indicative of social disorders, as the literature review outlined, the following basic elements associated with incivilities create feelings of insecurity : a dilapidated environment, dark and deserted areas, lack of visibility. etc. Apart from these, differences arise on the way individuals decode situations which confront them. Several studies have demonstrated that fear is correlated with strong feelings of vulnerability and low control over the environment. People who relate the risk of being a victim of a crime to chance, or to police action, rather than to their own control over situations, would fit this description. The study by Moser and Lidvan (1991) show that individual perception of noise, and familiarity in a given environment, can vary with the level of insecurity experienced.

The study initial hypotheses suggest that public initiatives in housing would help to improve feelings of security among residents, if not actually improve security. Overall, results do not show increased sense of security in all neighbourhood initiative zones. Differences between management types and neighbourhoods were found to relate to the perception of the problems, and the feelings of security experienced.

A - OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF PROBLEMS

By and large, situations seen as neighbourhood problems are a source of concern, affecting feelings of insecurity. Identification of problems must also be distinguished from individual perception of possible crime victimization. In Saint-Michel, burglaries are perceived as a more severe problem by initiative zone residents and neighbours than in Côte-des-Neiges, i.e. roughly 55% for the former and 35% for the latter. Similarly, almost half of co-operatives members and LRH residents as compared to 38% for the residents of privately-owned buildings under RBRP considered that burglaries are a problem.

Nearly 40% of initiative zone residents and neighbours in Saint Michel identified another important problem, namely youth gangs (Table 18). In Côte-des-Neiges 62% and 75% respectively of initiative zone residents and neighbours did not consider youth gangs a problem. Among initiative zone residents, tenants of privately-owned buildings under RBRP were less likely to see youth gangs as a problem (no problem : 60%) than co-operatives members and LRH tenants (no problem : 40%).

Once again, Saint-Michel respondents expressed greater concern with respect to drugs, 44% of initiative zone residents saw drugs as a major problem compared to 17% and 28% of respondents in the other neighbourhoods. Saint-Michel neighbours (37%) and control zone respondents (41%) shared the same opinion. Drug-related problems also worry more LRH residents than other types of residents in the initiative zones. In fact, half of them see drugs as a major problem, and one tenth consider it 'somewhat a problem'. The majority of residents in other housing types do not see drugs as a problem in their neighbourhood.

Finally, the issue of domestic violence reveals significant differences in initiative zones between neighbourhoods but none within the neighbourhoods. A greater proportion of residents in Côte-des-Neiges (77%) than in Saint-Michel and Petite-Patrie (62%) believe that it is not a problem in their neighbourhood. Concerns regarding domestic violence largely come from LRH tenants : only half of them as opposed to the majority of other residents do not perceive it as a problem

while 30% consider it is a major issue (15% of the others). On the whole, women are more concerned than men[36] about domestic violence.

TABLE 18

Perception of Youth Gangs as a Problem in the Neighbourhood
(Tenants - Q-17.2)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Youth Gangs (%)			(N)
			Major Problem	Somewhat a problem	Not a problem	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**16.2**	**21.6**	**62.2**	148
		Neighbours	14.5	10.5	75.0	76
	Control	Zone	14.5	10.1	75.4	69
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**38.1**	**20.1**	**41.7**	139
		Neighbours	33.8	13.9	52.3	61
	Control	Zone	39.3	11.5	49.2	65
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**17.6**	**27.2**	**55.2**	125
		Neighbours	24.4	15.8	59.8	82
	Control	Zone	15.4	26.1	58.5	65

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

In the three focus groups, all respondents are well aware of vandalism such as graffiti or damage to cars, and of burglaries in the neighbourhood. In Côte-des-Neiges, many participants have experienced crime or know people who have been directly affected. The mother-in-law of one participant has been attacked in her building by young people who stole her handbag. More seriously, a participant's son was left paralyzed after he was shot during a drug-related feud when he and his family happened to be in a park. Participants identified the places they considered the most dangerous in the neighbourhood as parks, subway stations and stores.

In Saint-Michel, youth gangs are the most important source of fear and worries for residents. Gossip also reinforces fear. As in other neighbourhoods, Saint-Michel participants can precisely name the streets and corners considered dangerous due to thefts or youth gangs. Besides this, they claimed that all neighbourhoods are dangerous, that society has changed and their local situation merely mirrors these changes.

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[36] 60% of women versus 70% of men do not perceive domestic violence as a neighbourhood problem.

In Petite-Patrie, participants are particularly disturbed by thefts, one person reported that his bicycle had been stolen several times. Prostitution remains an issue on certain streets of the neighbourhood even if participants have noted an improvement on that respect. A woman reported living in a building which had formerly housed a shooting gallery prior to being sold and renovated, leading at the same time to the departure of drug-addicted tenants. In Petite-Patrie, participants did not think that youth gangs were threatening ; a woman however worried that youths now carry knives "*which were not seen before*". Overall, the situation in Petite-Patrie was deemed better than in other neighbourhoods, including the downtown area and Côte-des-Neiges.

B - SENSE OF SECURITY IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

The number of residents whose apartments were broken-into or vandalized during the past year did not vary significantly between groups and neighbourhoods (Table 19) ; figures fluctuate between 4% and 14%. There are differences in the proportions of those who know someone in the neighbourhood who has been a victim of these offences, with the Initiative zone residents in Saint-Michel (43%) and Petite-Patrie (37%) accounting for the highest frequency.

TABLE 19

Burglaries or Vandalism : Victimization during the Past Year
(Tenants - Q-36.1 et Q-38)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Has Been Broken-Into or Vandalized (%)			Knows a Victim of these Crimes In the Neighbourhood (%)		
			Yes	No	(N)	Yes	No	(N)
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**12.6**	**87.4**	**159**	**24.2**	**75.8**	**157**
		Neighbours	11.7	88.3	77	26.9	73.1	78
	Control	Zone	4.4	95.6	69	22.1	77.9	68
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**13.7**	**86.3**	**146**	**42.6**	**57.4**	**148**
		Neighbours	7.9	92.1	63	36.1	63.9	61
	Control	Zone	10.8	89.2	65	31.8	68.2	66
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**7.8**	**92.2**	**128**	**37.3**	**62.7**	**126**
		Neighbours	13.4	86.6	82	23.5	76.5	81
	Control	Zone	7.6	92.4	66	25.0	75.0	64

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

Results suggest a large diffusion of information, whether true or not, among Saint-Michel respondents and the initiative zone residents in Petite-Patrie.

Residents in the three initiative zones expressed different opinions from the other groups regarding possible perpetrators (Table 20). They were less likely to think that offenders come exclusively from the neighbourhood (non significant differences). In Saint-Michel and Petite-Patrie, residents were more likely to think that offenders mostly come from outside the neighbourhood than in other groups. In initiative zones, fewer LRH tenants (14%) than co-operatives members (28%) or residents of NPO-managed buildings (30%) thought that offenders come mostly from their neighbourhood. This suggests that residents of housing project buildings (especially LRH tenants) may be negatively assessed by their neighbours, but are less inclined to assess their own neighbourhood negatively.

TABLE 20

Origin of People Committing Crimes in the Neighbourhood According to Respondents (Tenants - Q-31)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Origin of people committing crimes (%)			(N)	No Answer[b] (%)
			Immediate Neighbourhood	Outside	Both		
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**22.8**	**27.7**	**49.5**	**101**	**6.5**
		Neighbours	32.7	36.4	30.9	55	3.5
	Control Zone		34.9	23.3	41.9	43	4.4
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**26.5**	**27.6**	**45.9**	**98**	**2.0**
		Neighbours	46.3	12.2	41.5	41	8.9
	Control Zone		36.2	17.0	46.8	47	6.0
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**23.9**	**20.7**	**55.4**	**92**	**10.7**
		Neighbours	33.3	6.4	60.3	63	3.1
	Control Zone		32.7	11.5	55.8	52	-

[a] Number of respondents who gave their origin.
[b] Proportion of all respondents who gave no origin as they feel that the neighbourhood is crime free.

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

No relation between the fear of being broken into (Table 21), neighbour surveillance, or satisfaction with security devices is evident for respondent groups. In Petite-Patrie, no significant difference between the three respondents groups emerged, on the whole, respondents seemed slightly less worried than in other neighbourhoods. In Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel however, control zone respondents had fewer worries about crime.

The results of the analysis by management type tend to confirm those for neighbour surveillance. Members of housing co-operatives were less likely to feel insecure than people living in LRH or NPO-managed buildings. Only 42% of the former show signs of worry as compared to 64% and 58% respectively for residents of LRH and NPO-managed buildings. Tenants of privately-owned buildings under RBRP are evenly split between these two attitudes (worried or not).

TABLE 21

Fear of Burglaries
(Tenants - Q-32.1)

Initiatives and Control Zones			Level of Worry (%)				(N)
			Very worried	Somewhat worriedt	Not very worried	Not worried at all	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**30.3**	**24.5**	**18.7**	**26.5**	154
		Neighbours	30.9	22.2	23.5	23.5	79
	Control Zone		12.5	34.7	27.8	25.0	69
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**28.4**	**30.4**	**22.3**	**18.9**	142
		Neighbours	20.3	29.7	26.6	23.4	62
	Control Zone		20.3	20.3	32.8	26.6	65
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**13.4**	**25.8**	**32.3**	**29.1**	128
		Neighbours	13.4	23.2	42.7	20.7	82
	Control Zone		13.6	19.8	42.0	24.7	65

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

Other fears may affect respondents' feelings of security. Thus, they may fear insult or harassment by people in the neighbourhood or even assault and robbery. As far as insult or harassment are concerned, there is little variation between respondent groups : on the whole, around 30% of all groups worried about them. In Petite-Patrie, concern was lower in the

resident group than in the control group and the resident group in Saint-Michel. The analysis by management type shows no significant variation.

Compared to other groups, respondents in the Petite-Patrie initiative zone (residents and neighbours) showed less fear of possible assault or thefts in the neighbourhood (approximately one third, compared to half of the others). In all initiative zones, the fear of being attacked and robbed is more prevalent among LRH tenants (58%) than among people living in buildings under other management types (40%).

Generally speaking, fear of harassment or sexual assault follows the same pattern among women regardless of respondent group or management type : from 30% to 40% of them said they are very or somewhat worried about them. However, the highest percentages of women who reported being worried are found in LRH buildings, in contrast to tenants of NPO-managed buildings, and housing co-operatives.

Approximatively 40% to 50% of women fear walking alone in the neighbourhood at night (Table 22). Furthermore, 10% of them declared they did not go out after dark. The least worried women live in Petite-Patrie initiative zone (residents : 25% of "little or not at all safe") while the most worried ones reside in Petite-Patrie control zone (56% of "little or not at all safe") and in Saint-Michel initiative zone (residents : 56% ; neighbours : 50%).

Among all women of initiative zones, 42% feel 'a little' or 'not at all secure' when they go out alone at night in their neighbourhood. No significant differences could be attributed to management type. Women members of housing co-operatives however, seemed to worry less than women living in NPO-managed buildings (58% versus 36% reported that they feel 'very or somewhat secure').

TABLE 22

Sense of Security when walking Alone at Night in the Immediate Neighbourhood
(Tenants **women - Q-34)**

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Sense of Security (%)					(N)
			Very secure	Somewhat secure	Little secure	Not at all secure	Does not go out	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**19.2**	**37.0**	**27.4**	**11.0**	**5.5**	73
		Neighbours	13.6	40.9	22.7	13.6	9.1	44
	Control Zone		17.0	38.3	19.2	12.8	12.8	47
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	**Residents**	**12.9**	**18.3**	**25.8**	**30.1**	**12.9**	93
		Neighbours	16.7	23.8	21.4	28.6	9.5	42
	Control Zone		4.5	43.2	18.2	15.9	18.2	44
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone.	**Residents**	**14.7**	**48.0**	**16.0**	**9.3**	**12.0**	75
		Neighbours	9.3	44.4	22.2	18.5	5.6	54
	Control Zone		7.0	30.2	32.6	23.3	7.0	43

Source : JTD Survey, summer 1996 ; compiled by authors. N= Number of respondents

The final survey question, the fear of letting children under 15 of age play in the immediate neighbourhood, may indicate the level of parents' confidence regarding security in the neighbourhood. There is no easy reading of these results as they may also reflect different attitudes vis-à-vis children's education. By and large, most respondents with children under 15 years of age feel relatively comfortable with letting them play outside in the day.

At the neighbourhood level, the only significant difference applied to the attitude of initiative zone neighbours in Côte-des-Neiges and residents in Petite-Patrie : in the former, concern is higher than in the latter with respect to letting children play in the neighbourhood (46% versus 18%). Similar difference was recorded among men and women. Women in Saint-Michel initiative zone also showed relatively high level of fear, roughly 40% of them experienced fear. In initiative zones, a noticeable percentage of LRH tenants (38%) and members of housing co-operatives (36%) report that letting the children play outside frightens them ; on the other hand, this figure was only 22% for tenants of privately-owned buildings under RBRP.

In focus groups, participants often said that they did not really fear for themselves but for their children. Parents constantly watch their young children when they play in a park ; they also worry about their teenagers when they go to school, take the bus or the subway. According to

the participants, youth's behaviour has changed. A woman from Côte-des-Neiges declared *: "In general, I feel safe... but for the last three or four years, I noticed that, at Plamondon subway station, there is an underlying current of aggressivity that I never felt before... at about three o'clock, three fifteen when there are kids... I wonder : where are we, in New York ?".*

C - REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Our hypotheses regarding the sense of security were tested using regression analysis as before, and other variables related to victimization, i.e. having been victim of a burglary and knowing someone in the neighbourhood who has experienced it.

The following dependent variables were selected :

- perception of crime level and changes in the neighbourhood (Q-29 and Q-30) ;
- fear of assault or robbery, insult or harassment and walking alone in the neighbourhood at night (Q-32.2, Q-32.3 and Q-34).

Based on the findings[37],[38] sense of security is not higher in initiative zone resident groups than in any other group for any selected neighbourhood. However, this analysis should go a step further and include variables related to respondents' perceptions regarding specific types of problems in their neighbourhood. These variables suggest that residents' assessment of problems taking place in their environment affects how they look at their neighbourhood.[39]

A comparison of respondents' and resource persons' perceptions reveals both similarities and differences. For instance, Côte-des-Neiges tenants seem less worried by gangs and drugs-related problems than initially expected : on the one hand, youth gangs seem less threatening than in Saint-Michel ; and, on the other hand, actions directly targeted against drug dealing and others which indirectly led to the departure of dealers (e.g., the acquisition of buildings by the SHDM) have contributed to lowering concerns about this type of problem.

37

38 Regression results are appended (see Appendix D).

39 See results regarding the dependent variable v133 in Appendix D.

In Saint-Michel, feelings of insecurity reach a high level ; they would then indirectly support a community worker's comment regarding the increase in crime. Nevertheless, awareness of crime-related problems as well as rumours regarding crime are characteristic of this neighbourhood.

In Petite-Patrie, while assuming that crime level will increase, the insecurity expressed by the residents is less than in the other neighbourhoods. It must be noted that the RHAP housing projects in the western sector of the initiative zone were a response to citizens' and organizations' complaints regarding deterioration in the area. Undoubtedly, this is linked to residents' awareness of crime changes.

IX - SUMMARY

The questions at the core of this study are as follows :

1) is there a connection between public initiatives in housing (renovation, security measures, residents' and people's sense of responsiblity) and levels of crime as well as residents' feelings of security ;
2) what is the relationship between housing projects and actions directly aimed at fighting and preventing crime (police action, urban safety program, etc.) ;
3) what conditions encourage improved security and heighten feelings of security in the neighbourhoods.

In order to answer these questions, ten resource persons were interviewed, local crime statistics were examined and a resident survey was conducted in Côte-des-Neiges, Saint-Michel and Petite-Patrie, followed by focus groups with a sample of the respondents. This summary drwas together the findings of the study ; and, identifies interpretative elements and potential solutions from the survey findings, as well as from comments made by resource persons and focus group participants.

A - CONTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC INITIATIVES IN HOUSING

The analysis of public initiatives in housing examined their overall effect and focused on three main comparative aspects : respondent groups, variances associated with management types, and geographical distribution in initiative zones (concentration or not). The similarities between respondent groups within neighbourhoods reflected each neighbourhood's particularities. They suggest, as mentioned by Foster (1995), the existence of "community crime careers", i.e. trajectories specific to each community with regard to reactions to crime. Survey results reveal two major types of effects related to the initiatives and to the neighbourhoods. As they interact, some effects emerge more clearly, depending on the themes examined.

- **Renovations and Security Devices**

In Côte-des-Neiges and Petite-Patrie, renovation clearly had a positive impact on buildings with public initiatives in housing. In Saint-Michel, the quality of the residential structure in the immediate surroundings and in the control zone resembles that of the publicly-renovated buildings ; therefore, the impact of renovation is more difficult to isolate.

The hypothesis that there would be more security measures in buildings with public initiatives in housing, due to renovation, was largely confirmed in all three neighbourhoods. In Côte-des-Neiges, these effects were fairly pronounced, whether measured by the installation of security devices or residents' satisfaction with them, when compared to the neighbouring buildings and the control zone.

- **Maintenance and Sense of Responsiblity**

Overall, the number of respondents in initiative zones who expressed their satisfaction with regard to renovations in their building was similar to that elsewhere. Furthermore, they showed no increased sense of responsibility for the maintenance of the building main entrance and surroundings. A high proportion of respondents in each group felt responsible for upkeep, except in Côte-des-Neiges control zone. These proportions remain steady regardless of the management type, except for housing co-operatives where residents much more noticeably accepted their responsiblity regarding maintenance.

The issue of building maintenance and environmental cleanliness brings "neighbourhood effects" to the forefront. First, in Petite-Patrie, residents feel more responsible for their building maintenance than anywhere else. Second, waste management appears to be particularly problematic in Côte-des-Neiges, to the point that it affects the image of the neighbourhood. In focus group, participants acknowledged the need for citizens' sense of responsiblity but they also mentioned the need for support from the City of Montreal in this regard.

• Social Cohesion and Informal Control

No clear trends directly associated with public initiatives in housing emerge from the analysis of the data on neighbourhood relations and informal surveillance of the premises. Connections with management types and neighbourhoods stand out instead. First, from whatever end relations are considered, residents of private rental buildings in housing projects show a strong tendency to "mind their own business". On the other hand, mutual assistance between neighbours and informal surveillance of the premises are steady behaviorial feature among members of housing co-operatives. As more informal social control is found in Petite-Patrie initiative zone than elsewhere, "neighbourhood effects" come into play.

• Quality of Life and Crime Level

Residents of initiative zones are more optimistic and confident than others with respect to changes in the quality of life in their neighbourhood. Although their neighbours partly share this vision, they lean more toward a middle position. In control zones, although some situations seem satisfactory, more people than anywhere else feel that quality of life is steadily deteriorating. These results correspond to the findings of the RHAP impact evaluation (Bernèche and Serge, 1994) which revealed a more positive vision among initiative zone residents. Saint-Michel stands on its own to the extent that respondent groups - which show little variation between one another - have a negative perception of quality of life changes in their neighbourhood.

Perceived crime rates reflect different trends. In Côte-des-Neiges initiative zone, a highpercentage of tenants (residents and neighbours) feel that crime is decreasing in their neighbourhood. On the contrary, a significant number of Petite-Patrie residents consider that crime is increasing, while opinion is divided in Saint-Michel initiative zone. These perceptions mirror actual changes in the number of burglaries in these zones over the past few years.

• Perception of Problems and Sense of Security

No significant difference was recorded between respondent groups with respect to how they perceive neighbourhood situations. As far as buildings with public initiatives in housing are concerned, the variations resulting from the analysis related to neighbourhood and management types. Tenants (residents and neighbours) in Saint-Michel initiative zone listed various problems linked to security in the neighbourhood, including burglaries, youth gangs and drugs. Crime awareness seems more acute in this neighbourhood, contrary to Côte-des-Neiges where tenants perceive fewer of these problems in their surroundings.

In focus groups, participants stressed the impact insecurity makes in assessing the quality of life. Their comments also suggested that Côte-des-Neiges and Saint-Michel residents, especially, are impacted by manifestations of social disorder, neglect and negligent landlords and managers in their neighbourhood. According to them, vandalism and poor waste management clearly reflect these attitudes, insufficient green spaces was also a complaint.

A Tandem agent suggested people living in housing co-operatives or in LRH are more aware of the problems existing in their neighbourhood than other tenants. This view was largely substantiated by the residents' accrued awareness of burglaries and youth gangs. Other issues such as drugs and domestic violence are clearly a bigger concern for LRH tenants.

Assessing respondents' sense of security vis-à-vis selected situations has served to indirectly measure the benefits of public initiatives in housing. Besides the familiar variance factors such as age and sex, the environment plays a key role. The actual crime rate is often at varaince with feelings of securiy, in a neighbourhood, the latter often being more negative than the former.

In general, across all Petite-Patrie respondent groups, tenants exhibit stronger feelings of security than these in other neighbourhoods. In parallel, social involvement and solidarity between tenants are also predominant in this area. The most severe feelings of insecurity are concentrated among LRH tenants in initiative zone.

The results regarding fear of burglaries and vandalism emphasized the value of informal surveillance between neighbours. Indeed, feelings of insecurity are at their lowest among residents in housing co-operatives ; it is also where this surveillance is more common. Saint-Michel respondents and LRH tenants expressed other fears more related to the environment (insults and harassment on the street, physical assault), as did women who fear going out alone at night in the neighbourhood.

- **Conclusion**

Public initiatives in housing help prevent crime by setting some favourable conditions including :

- these initiatives, through renovations, improve residents' housing conditions ;
- these renovations also provide an opportunity to install security devices, most often to the satisfaction of the residents.

Residents in buildings with public initiatives in housing have a more positive vision regarding quality of life changes in their neighbourhood than the other respondent groups. This suggests that they could be more willing to participate in actions sustaining the improvement of the quality of life. The social fabric could be strenghtened by such actions.

Other elements associated with public initiatives in housing involve only specific neighbourhoods or management types :

- residents of Côte-des-Neiges initiative zone emphasize that they want to stay in the area ;
- sense of responsiblity for building upkeep is characteristic of members of housing co-operatives ;
- mutual assistance and surveillance of the premises are more pronounced in housing co-operatives.

Although subtle and not exclusive to public initiatives in housing, these results emphasize the role of factors favourable to crime prevention such as mutual assistance between neighbours and informal surveillance of the premises. The study concludes that public initiatives in housing through renovation (improvement of dwellings physical conditions and security devices) create

conditions favourable to crime prevention ; however, these conditions alone do not suffice to prompt behavioural changes among residents. Actually, other motivating factors related to community relations and found in some management types (e.g., housing co-operatives) associated with public initiatives in housing are required.

B - SPECIFICITY OF NEIGHBOURHOODS

The "neighbourhood effects" brought out by the analysis suggest that both problems and their causes are specific to the neighbourhoods. The study areas in Côte-des-Neiges, Saint-Michel and Petite-Patrie have in common a rather underpriviledged socio-economic status compared to the City of Montreal. They also share particular features which at times set them apart from other neighbourhoods. These features may explain the variable links between public initiatives in housing and crime prevention across neighbourhoods.

- **Côte-des-Neiges**

In Côte-des-Neiges initiative zone, the residential structure is largely made up of Post-War II walkups with less than 10 apartments ; this gives the area a character of homogenity and continuity and encourages the domino effect of housing projects. As a matter of fact, landlords of non-renovated buildings can draw their own conclusions from the positive effects generated by the housing projects (e.g., higher occupancy rates). Massive RHAP projects were undertaken in this area and prompted landlords to invest more in their properties (Serge, 1995). However, the lasting image of these zones in terms of housing is of a sizeable proportion of absentee landlords and high ownership turnover, while buildings deteriorate due to lack of maintenance and renovation.

Although in the study areas residential and commercial functions do not fully overlap, these areas are bordered by two major commercial streets which offer a wide selection of activities, meet the specific needs of various communities and enliven the environment. Public transportation allow an easy and swift access to the downtown, so that residents do not feel isolated. Côte-des-Neiges is a lively neighbourhood, relatively well-connected to the other parts of the city.

Multi-ethnicity is an other important characteristic of the neighbourhood. Often perceived as a transition neighbourhood, Côte-des-Neiges receives new immigrants and recent immigrant households move out after a few years. But there seems to be some permanence and, as demonstrated in our study, residents tend to stay where housing projects have occurred. Another recent study (Blanc, 1995) reveals that residents relations in this neighbourhood take the form of pacific cohabitation rather than inter-community relations, as testified by use of parks where everyone tends to keep to themselves and people mingle only according to their ethnic affinities.

In Côte-des-Neiges local organization is wide-ranging and shows energy. The Côte-des-Neiges Community Council is a very active umbrella agency which rallies a number of organizations including l'ŒIL, long-time involved in housing. They sit on consultation committees and are often mobilized ; besides major community organizations of various interests, ethnic associations occasionally participate in the projects or activities initiated. Therefore, it is surprising that focus groups participants in Côte-des-Neiges were not that aware of the activities of these organizations and seemed out of touch. Contributing factors such as the population size, and the absence of a local newspaper could partly explain this situation.

- **Saint-Michel**

The most striking feature of Saint-Michel initiative zone is its position with regard to the rest of the city . It is an isolated enclave only linked in terms of public transportarion by the bus network. On the other hand, its residential structure is fragmented in different building types with some homogeneous pockets : single family, plex buildings, small size walkups and large realty complexes. Public initiatives in housing are concentrated in an area located south of 39th Street ; these various building structures are interspersed in the area creating mixed tenure modes : private properties (single family and *walkups*), NPO-managed and LHR buildings combined in heteregeous groupings or forming large complexes cut off from the street... This lack of continuity not only hinders the domino effect of public housing projects but also encourages a perception of high density residential buildings as "ghettos", feeding in turn feelings of insecurity in the area. As opposed to the social environment found in Côte-des-Neiges, fragmentation, socio-economic as well as ethno-cultural, seems to be characteristic of this section of the initiative zone. By comparison, in Saint-Michel control zone, tenants' length

of residence, maintenance by private landlords and the overall quality of the residential structure (mostly plex buildings) have a combined effect of fostering a quality of life and social cohesion better than elsewhere in the zone.

Within this high residential density, businesses do not bloom and are often restricted to convenience stores. Pie IX Boulevard, the only commercial street which runs through the area, offers a range of relatively disparate businesses. This boulevard appears to serve traffic better than residents, and bars and restaurants seem to outnumber grocery and retail stores. Pie IX Boulevard then favours prostitution, and the opening of new bars (already common) has often triggered residents' protests.

Two major issues underlie socio-community action : 1) the presence of quarries perceived as public nuisances, and whose controversial redevelopment fuels debate ; and, 2) poverty in the zone often featured in newspaper articles. Organizations such as *Vivre Montréal en santé* became involved in these issues. Since housing has attracted less attention than in Côte-des-Neiges, expertise is less prevalent in neighbourhood organizations. However, the recent creation of a "neighbourhood NPO" for the management of all the properties purchased and renovated under the RHAP program is an indicator of the increased involvement of organizations in housing.

- **Petite-Patrie**

Compared to the two other neighbourhoods, Petite-Patrie keeps a low profile which does not fit well established categories. At times it has been associated with Villeray to the north, or Rosemont to the east. Highly diversified, Petite-Patrie in largely residential east of Christophe-Colomb Street ; in the west, it includes a combination of commercial and residential functions. Furthermore, ethno-cultural communities have settled in some areas, for instance the increasingly ethnically diversified Little Italy, and Saint Edward Parish which is associated with the Haïtian community.

Plex buildings of varying sizes, and usually older than in the two other neighbourhoods, make up its very dense residential structure. Although different with respect to building types, Petite-Patrie bears a resemblance to Côte-des-Neiges in terms of its structural homogeneity and

continuity. Its business diversity and integration in the residential fabric create a functional mix which energizes the environment. Although several focus groups participants referred to commercial revitalization in Petite-Patrie, many stores are closing, especially on Saint-Hubert Plaza. In other sections of the neighbourhood, commercial revitalization is taking place, for instance, in Little Italy where the Jean-Talon Market attracts "tourists". This neighbourhood bordering the Mount Royal Plateau shows signs of gentrification ; for its part, the Plateau had previously housed tenant households pushed away by the gentrification of adjacent central areas.

Community groups are actively involved in urban security initiatives, as demonstrated by the pilot project for women. Furthermore, citizens and community organizations requested that the *Société d'habitation et de développement de Montréal (SHDM)* purchase and renovate buildings under the RHAP program. Such requests mirrored their reaction to the dilapidation of these buildings, landlords' neglect and overall environmental deterioration (including crime). Many other cases, like the redevelopment of a park and the fight against prostitution, reflect not only the action of community organizations, but citizens' direct involvement as well.

- **Conclusion**

Specific neighbourhood characteristics, although loosely discussed as potential explanatory factors, suggest working assumptions to be tested rather than firm conclusions regarding "neighbourhood effects". They include :

- the type of residential structure favouring domino effects in Côte-des-Neiges and Petite-Patrie ;
- the mix of residential and commercial functions enlivening Côte-des-Neiges and Petite-Patrie ;
- the diverse building types with varying sizes and functions seemingly reinforcing social fragmentation in Saint-Michel initiative zone ;
- residents' feelings of control over their environment, apparently more prominent in Petite-Patrie than in the two other neighbourhoods.

C - CONDITIONS FAVOURABLE TO SECURITY AND CRIME PREVENTION

Most often, public initiatives in housing have an impact indirect on the improvement of security and crime prevention and support the actions directly oriented toward these objectives. Tandem agents generally acknowledge that residents' heightened sense of responsiblity maximizes the effects of their actions and has repercussions on building maintenance. In LHR buildings for instance, a well-managed tenant committee may help prevent crime. Moreover, in apartment buildings with an absentee landlord and no janitor, tenants must often rely on external resources in case of security problems, which does not reinforce interpersonal relations. Other resource persons have reported that SHDM projects under the RHAP program have helped to oust drug dealers and prostitution in some buildings, especially in Côte-des-Neiges.

During our meetings, resource persons and focus groups touched on possible solutions regarding crime prevention in neighbourhoods. Prior to discussing the favourable conditions issued from survey results, we will first summarize these comments.

- **Resource Persons and Focus Group Comments**

According to a Tandem agent, there are three important factors in crime prevention :

a) the physical condition of the building, to the extent that signs of neglect such as need for major repair or poor building maintenance encourage crime, good maintenance can create a domino effect ;

b) the building management, i.e. the conditions of residents' involvement, and their confidence in managers or security committee (housing co-operatives or LRH). Poor involvement or confidence may force tenants to find assistance elsewhere and impede their interaction ;

c) the social fabric, i.e.an existing network of people who know and trust each other.

While a mediocre environment does not stimulate people to embellish their surroundings, a "cleaning blitz" may help improve the situation in a neighbourhood, creating a domino effect in which people initiate other projects (e.g., repairing fences, cleaning a backyard, etc.). Flowers, landscaping, liveliness, parks, clean bus stops, etc. are all related to environmental quality and

cleanliness and indicate citizens' sense of responsibility. More attention should be devoted to landscaping living quarters and ensuring their security (check street lighting, for example). In the view of community workers the crime rate is also indirectly affected by the relative number of vacant dwellings : a higher vacancy rate, more vandalism and burglaries, etc. seem to go together. Affordable rents after renovation and sustained occupancy of the premises by residents, are pivotal in crime prevention.

Although crime statistics are not alarming, Saint-Michel resource persons considered that something should be done regarding feelings of insecurity which outmatch actual crime rate in their neighbourhood. Various issues must be considered : buildings dilapidation, accumulation of waste and the presence of youth gangs in well-defined areas. According to a Côte-des-Neiges agent, preventive measures are required in order to maintain the behavioural changes prompted by targeted projects.

Resource persons all agreed on the utmost importance of individual involvement and, particularly, on developing residents' feelings of belonging. Therefore, younger people must be encouraged to seek solutions and to be accountable for their living quarters rather than complain about them. Many others also mentioned the need for better coordination between the government and community groups in order to avoid the duplication of services and initiatives. Implementing well-planned measures and targeting both feelings of security and quality of life appear important.

In all focus groups, participants stressed the need to get to know one another better and to have appropriate meeting places. They showed an awareness of the communication difficulties experienced in their neighbourhood and a willingness to take advantage of opportunities for improving their relationships. However, many participants, specially in Côte-des-Neiges, were seemingly not reached by community groups and not aware of their existence. Moreover, potential meeting places appear to be absent especially in Saint-Michel. Although the conditions are favourable for activities encouraging personal interrelations, the question is : who should assume the leadership on that matter ? Some wait for the City of Montreal to initiate the action. The difficulty of reaching people remains a recurrent problem.

• Favourable Conditions

Although survey results do not demonstrate direct connections between public initiatives in housing and crime prevention, they identified favourable factors or conditions not only among residents in initiative zones but also in other respondent groups.

The quality of renovations as well as the installation of security devices happen to be basic conditions, they reveal in turn the value of housing programs encouraging the renovation of rental buildings. In everyone's opinion, building maintenance acts as a key factor, but even if maintenance is landlords' and managers' prime responsibility, its effectiveness can only be assured by tenants' personnal accountabillity. In addition, tenants' sense of responsiblity indicates a sense of space appropriation, and feelings of belonging.

Clearly demonstrated in housing co-operatives, sense of responsiblity is also found among other types of tenants and does not necessarily appear to be necesseraly related to public initiatives in housing. Other factors relevant to the environment come into play, as suggested by the results in Petite-Patrie and in Saint-Michel control zone where social cohesion is well developed.

Possible solutions stem from the social realm rather than from the physical one. First, public initiatives in housing take care of improving housing conditions and upkeeping the environment which may lead over time to the development of better neighbourhood relations. Second and not te be overlooked, these initiatives would appear to help building trust and optimism among a number of residents. The possibilities this positive attitude bears should be exploited. Some of these initiatives have already trickled down in the neighbourhood (for instance, in the concentration sector along Barclay Street). Socio-community actions now need to support the "dynamism" stirred by these initiatives. In Petite-Patrie, focus group participants also mentioned commercial revitalization and street maintenance. Moreover, social action at the level of neighbourhood blocks could satisfy the general need for better communication with respect to the multi-ethnic composition of these neighbourhoods.

CONCLUSION

The review of the literature has highlighted various approaches relative to urban security and crime prevention. Two of them have been considered in greater detail, situational approaches to crime prevention and communitycrime prevention. They define two major orientations and areas of intervention for public initiatives in housing. First, the situational approach emphasizes physical measures (security devices, environmental landscaping), maintenance and informal surveillance of the premises. Second, the community approach stresses sense of responsiblity vis-à-vis the environment and social development.

The purpose of this study was to examine to what extent public initiatives in housing help improve security and prevent crime in Montreal neighbourhoods. The methodology used enabled us to compare three neighbourhoods (Côte-des-Neiges, Saint-Michel and Petite-Patrie) in order to identify common factors possibly related to public initiatives in housing. Several studies have already demonstrated that these factors encourage security and sense of security among residents ; they are as follows : the improvement of buildings physical condition ; their maintenance and tenants' sense of responsiblity regarding maintenance ; the installation of security devices ; and, residents' involvement and solidarity including mutual assistance and informal surveillance of the premises.

The results reveal that renovations, which usually accompany the initiatives examined in this study, help improve dwellings conditions and security devices in rental buildings. Beyond these physical measures, tenants' sense of responsiblity and informal social control are chiefly associated with the management type of housing project buildings and higher levels are found more often in housing co-operatives than in LRH, NPO-managed buildings or private rental buildings. Physical measures alone do not suffice ; other forms of tenants' internal organization within buildings must also beconsidered.

This study demonstrated effects not only related to these initiatives, but also within neighbourhoods. The need to consider the specific nature of each community was substantiated by inter-neighbourhood variances. They established that demographic, socio-economic and geographical factors also set conditions prevalent for crime prevention. It

appears that public initiatives in housing must be matched with other actions in order to efficiently improve security and crime prevention in given neighbourhoods.

This study, however, could not isolate significant differences in victimization with respect to the some offences examined although they could had been partly associated with public initiatives in housing). Likewise, clear conclusions could not be drawn from available crime statistics. Therefore, the only reliable results do not refer to actuel changes in crime but rather to increase feelings of security. On that matter, although neighbourhood specificity may prevail, that members of housing co-operatives express fewer worries than others regarding offences such as burglaries. Management types are contributing factors therefore.

Finally, the confidence and optimism expressed by initiative zone residents regarding past and future changes in their neighbourhood suggest that, given appropriate incentives, community involvement and participation could be developed. Results also indicate that perceptions relative to quality of life and crime take divergent directions, and are not influenced by the same factors. Testing this tendency would involve investigating further the findings of the regression analysis which indicate that the perception of problems in the neighbourhood affects the perception of quality of life in the area.

These indicators tend to confirm that people's perception of crime-related problems must be acted upon, to the extent that - as previously mentioned - fear can outweight actual crime levels. This situation occurs in Saint-Michel initiative zone where, according to participants, rumours feed fear. These findings stress the need for adequate information[40] and good interpersonal relations in neighbourhoods.

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[40] Based on the survey, one fifth of respondents received information on crime prevention from Tandem (roughly 40%) and from the MUC Police Department (40%).

• Potential Solutions

Public initiatives in housing involving renovation present an undeniable value since they directly improve dwelling conditions and security devices in residential buildings, and indirectly help lower dwellings vacancy rates. However, results suggest that other solutions are also needed in terms of the consolidation of the social fabric in neighbourhoods.

Survey results and focus groups point out a great need for social development in initiative zones, not restricted to crime prevention, but also and especially, geared at communications between neighbours, active community participation and contribution to its development. The issue is how to mobilize citizens without burdening them with excessive responsibility regarding neighbourhood revitalization or social development. Thus, communitity organizations should work at actualizing and sustaining this willingness to interact and even to take action, as many focus group participants stressed. In particular, community rooms in housing project buildings could be used for mobilization and organization purposes among "neighbourhood people" (e.g., in LRH or NPO-managed buildings).

A fair number of respondents in two control zones[41] were pessimistic about changes in their neighbourhood, suggesting in turn the need to take preventive action before the situation worsened in these zones. To the extent that these perceptions can mirror reality, signs of social disorder and the frequency of offences may increase if no action is taken with regard to housing and community development. In this way, citizens must be made aware of existing problems ; they must truly be concerned by the issue of prevention and take responsibility for developing long-lasting solutions.

As already mentioned, the benefits of public initiatives in housing should not be restricted to situational prevention. This approach must be combined with social development and community mobilization. At the neighbourhood level, initiatives should be encompassed, planned and carried out in conjunction with other types of actions. Various levels and players in different areas (housing, police, community organizations, governmental and educational institutions, private sector) should be involved. Housing should be taken as a strarting point and

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[41] 28% in Côte-des-Neiges and 36% in Saint-Michel control zones respectively.

incorporated in a master plan ; then, targeted measures involving several institutions should be implemented in order to mobilize citizens. These measures may be short-lived if initiated by a single institution or applied to a unique area. On-going initiatives are required.

• **Avenues of Research**

The findings ot this study reveal the limitations of such an undertaking. A cross-sectional comparative study was used since, unlike other research (for instance, that of Foster and Hope, 1993), studying the situation before and after initiatives took place in order to identify the changes which may have occurred was not possible. This explains why. Conducting **longitudinal research** enabling the observation of events over time and the identification of trajectories or strategies specific to given communities would be most useful. For example, the relative recency of the initiatives considered could have hidden emerging changes which might fully manifest themselves later on. Studying the same zones in a few years could also help to confirm or invalidate the tendencies perceived.

This research has also demonstrated the difficulty of interpreting results at the small neighbourhood level, especially when these results apply to the perception of crime. Conducting a comparative survey among three neighbourhoods did not permit an in-depth analysis of their specific dynamics. Studies, when too broad, camouflage the way individual perceptions may be affected and overlook significant factors such as the ethno-cultural dimension, victimization pockets, individual vulnerability or crime displacement to areas adjacent to initiative zones. **Small-scale ethnographic studies** are crucial to circumscribe problems specific to each community and to identify their causes more precisely, and seem an important avenue for future research.

GLOSSARY OF INITIALS AND ACRONYMS

ACES	Actions concertées en enquêtes de stupéfiants (Joint Drug Investigation Project)
ICCP	International Centre for Crime Prevention
CLSC	Centre local de services communautaires
MUC	Montreal Urban Community
LRH	Low-Rental Housing
ŒIL	Organisation d'éducation et d'information en logement (Côte-des-Neiges) (Housing Education and Information Organization)
OMHM	Office municipal d'habitation de Montréal (Montreal Municipal Housing Board)
NPO	Non-Profit Organization
RHAP	Rental Housing Acquisition Program
ILM	Index-Linked Mortgage (Housing Co-Operative Program)
RBRP	Rental Building Renovation Program
PNHP	Private Non-Profit Housing Program
CMHC	Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
SHDM	Société d'habitation et de développement de Montréal (Montreal Housing and Development Corporation)
SHQ	Société d'habitation du Québec (Quebec Housing Corporation)

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS CONSULTED

Maison des jeunes de Côte-des-Neiges
3732 De Courtrai Ave
Montreal

Maison des jeunes de Petite-Patrie
6255 Boyer Street
Montreal

Organisation d'éducation et d'information en logement de Côte-des-Neiges (ŒIL)
6655 Chemin de la Côte-des-Neiges
Montreal

Montreal Urban Community Police Department

District 31
6830 Chemin de la Côte-des-Neiges
Montreal

District 43
7047 Saint-Dominique Street
Montreal

District 44
8110 Saint-Michel Boulevard
Montreal

Tandem Montreal

Côte-des-Neiges/Notre-Dame-de-Grâce
3452 Kent Street
Montreal

Rosemont/Petite-Patrie
6310 Christophe-Colomb Ave
Montreal

Villeray/ Saint-Michel/Parc Extension
7501 François-Perrault Street
Montreal

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APPENDIX A

Housing Programs

Low-Rental Housing (LRH) Acquisition/renovation

During the 90's, the *Office municipal d'habitation de Montréal* (OMHM - Montreal Municipal Housing Office) has emphasized an acquisition/renovation formula in order to create new LRH units. From 1991 to 1994, due to this formula, an average number of 200 dwellings were added yearly to the OMHM housing stock (nearly 20,000 units in 1996). One quarter of these units are located in Côte-des-Neiges and roughly two-tenths are equally distributed in Saint-Michel and Petite-Patrie.

Financial considerations in part dictated this orientation - "doing more with less" - as well as the will to encourage the revitalization of these neighbourhoods without increasing their vacancy rates.[1] Besides revamping dilapidated or derelict buildings up to standards, the OMHM's mission is to prevent the dilapidation of Montreal housing stock, growing vacancy rates and population loss in the neighbourhoods. The acquisition/renovation formula is then adapted to the reality of Montreal neighbourhoods. However, it is adversely affected by the termination of governmental social housing development programs.

Like most of the OMHM's clients, "LRH acquisition/renovation" tenants meet precise selection criteria determined in the *Règlements d'attribution des logements à loyer modique* (Low-Rental Housing Allocation Regulations). They result in a higher proportion of single-parent families and welfare recipients in the OMHM's clientele. LRH rents represent 25% of households' gross annual income.

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[1] OMHM, *Rapport annuel 1993*. Montreal, 1994, p. 16.

Private Non-Profit Housing Program (PNHP)

The Private Non-Profit Housing Program (PNHP), which was recently terminated, was created in 1986. Administered by the *Société d'habitation du Québec*, this program is jointly funded by the federal and provincial governments. Its purpose is to provide underprivileged households with rental dwellings featuring affordable rents, suitable sizes, and quality; the program is three-fold and includes : families (with or without services), senior citizens losing their autonomy, and special clienteles (e.g., former psychiatric patients). Housing co-operatives and non-profit organizations are the only organizations eligible for the subsidies granted to rental housing projects.

Households with pressing housing needs and income below the income threshold required to meet these needs make up its clientele. Like the LRH tenants, they must satisfy the *Règlements d'attribution des logements à loyer modique*. Rents have no set maximum; they represent 25% of households' gross annual income and are adjusted yearly. Although eligible projects include new construction as well as renovation, few acquisition/renovation projects were actually carried out under this program.

Throughout Montreal, 124 projects were initiated, totalling 2,348 housing units, most of them located in the south-west and south-central areas.

Index-Linked Mortgage (ILM) Co-operative Housing Program

Created by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), the ILM program ran from 1986 to 1991. Its purpose was to secure stable residency for households unable to access individual property. Its name comes from the original formula used to financially assist housing cooperatives, namely, the Index-Linked Mortgage (ILM). This fiscal instrument aimed at keeping the first mortgage payment at modest rates.[2] Mortgage repayment is indexed every year based on the inflation rate minus a 2% pre-set abatement rate.

Whatever the reasons for their inception (purchase, acquisition/renovation, new construction), all housing co-operatives are eligible for this program. Members' incomes were not subjected to an upper limit, except for the last year during which they could not exceed $47,500. Furthermore, rent supplements may be paid from a SHQ subsidy to up to 30% of members and up to 50% of members for the final year of the program.[3] This type of co-operative is therefore less accessible to low-income households, but not enough to benefit from rent supplements. The economic profiles vary between co-operatives members and LRH tenants or residents of buildings under the PNHP; rents in those housing co-operatives are otherwise comparable to market values.

In all, 55 housing co-operatives were funded under this program in Montreal. These co-operatives number an average of 24 members each. Several of them are located in Mount Royal Plateau, in south-central Montreal and in Rosemont (Angus district).

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[2] Government of Quebec. *Les programmes d'aide à l'habitation au Québec.* Société d'habitation du Québec, 1989, p. 39.
[3] Hudon, Marcellin. *Coopératives d'habitation : Les programmes d'aide de 1973 à 1992.* [Montreal] : CQCH and AGRTQ, December 1992, p. 29-33.

Rental Building Renovation Program (RBRP)

In effect since the 90's, the RBRP is designed to encourage the owners of unsound rental buildings and rooming houses occupied by low-income households to bring these properties up to minimum health and safety standards without excessive rent rises. Funded by the Quebec Government, this program has been improved since 1991 by the City of Montreal which also administers on behalf of the Société d'habitation du Québec the portion of the program located within its boundaries. The program in question is then called the "Urban RBRP".

Owners affected by this program may be individuals, corporations, non-profit organizations (NPO) or housing co-operatives. The RBRP subsidy levels are determined by the initial rents paid. The owner first provides a written commitment to the majority of tenants regarding post-renovation rent increases and must honour program conditions (including annual rent increases) for five years. A temporary relocation indemnity is set aside for tenants for the duration of the construction.

This program is first intended to correct structural deficiencies, and inadequate electrical, plumbing and heating systems; to eliminate fire hazards, and, to correct defects according to the City of Montreal Housing Code. Renovation costs must average at least $500 per unit and be approved by program managers. Financial RBRP assistance covers part of the expenses for eligible work up to $24,000 for the two-bedroom units and $30,000 for the three-bedroom ones. This assistance totals up to 50% for private units and up to 90% for co-operatives, NPO-managed buildings and rooming houses.

For 1994 and 1995, the RBRP+ program replaced the RBRP. Under this program, a landlord could renovate his own dwelling, as long as his building did not have more than five apartments; besides rental buildings, single family houses were also eligible for the program. Although both programs (RBRP and RBRP+) are now terminated, the commitments made continue to be honoured.

Throughout Montreal, 8,592 housing units and 1,521 rooms were renovated under the RBRP-City between 1991 and 1994. Renovation costs averaged $16,360 and $20,924 for

private and social housing units respectively; the average subsidies amounted to $8,180 and $15,190 respectively.

Rental Housing Acquisition Program (RHAP)

Launched in 1989, the Rental Housing Acquisition Program (RHAP) is intended to improve the physical condition of dilapidated residential buildings, to increase the supply of affordable apartments, and to encourage residents to take responsibility for their buildings. A paramunicipal corporation, the **Société d'habitation et de développement de Montréal (SHDM)**, is charged with the administering of this program under a master agreement with the City of Montreal.

Via the RHAP, the SHDM acquires buildings in need of improvement, renovates them (using the same criteria as the RBRP) and transfers their management to housing co-operatives or non-profit organizations (NPOs). The program anticipates the possible transfer of these buildings under a process yet to be determined. The RHAP benefits from two granting sources ;[4] an RBRP subsidy covering up to 90% of renovation costs, and a ten-year contribution from the City of Montreal to make the projects profitable.

This program, subjected to a moratorium since January 1995, has helped build a supply of over 3,000 dwellings, most of which are managed by housing co-operatives or NPOs. The geographical distribution of these units showshigher concentration in Côte-des-Neiges/Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (34%) and in Cartierville (17%).

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[4] City of Montreal. "Les mesures en matière de logement social et abordable" in *L'habitation à Montréal : Bilan et perspectives.* Montreal : Housing Department, December 1994, p. 87-90.

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE

«Interventions en habitation et prévention de la criminalité»

Projet 96147

Q_BI HELLO. MY NAME IS... FROM SOM, A RESEARCH FIRM IN MONTREAL. WE ARE PRESENTLY CONDUCTING A SHORT SURVEY WITH PEOPLE IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD CONCERNING HOUSING AND CRIME PREVENTION.

I WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK TO ONE OF THE PERSON IN CHARGE OF PAYING FOR THE HOUSE OR WHO SIGNED THE LEASE?

->>A1

Q_A1 FIRST, I WOULD LIKE TO VERIFY IF YOU ARE IN FACT LIVING AT **[1,52] ?**

1=*Yes, right address
2=*No, have just moved from this address
3=*No, have never lived there->out

Q_SEXE ***NOTE GENDER OF RESPONDANT***

1=*Male
2=*Female

Q_1.1 THE NEXT QUESTIONS DEAL WITH THE DWELLING **[1,52]** SINCE WHEN HAVE YOU BEEN LIVING IN THIS BUILDING?
SPECIFY MONTH

01=*January
02=*February
03=*March
04=*April
05=*May
06=*June
07=*July
08=*August
09=*September
10=*October
11=*November
12=*December
99=* DNK/DNA

Q_1.2 SPECIFY YEAR?

***99 : DNK/DNA**
19*
__

Q_SICAL2 SI Q#1.1=04,05,06,07 ET Q#1.2=96->OUT

->>1.3

Q_1.3 IN WHAT TYPE OF BUILDING DO YOU LIVE?

1=Single family dwelling
2=Duplex or triplex
3=Quadruplex (4 or 5 apartments)
4=Apartment building (6 to 11 apartments)
5=Apartment building (12 to 49 apartments)
6=Apartment building (50 apartments and more)
7=Rooming house
8=*Other->1.3AU
9=*DNK/DNA

->>1.4

Q_1.3AU OTHER, SPECIFY

_____

Q_1.4 DO YOU RENT OR OWN YOUR HOME?

1=*Rent
2=*Rent in a housing coop
3=*Own
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_2 HOW MANY ROOMS ARE THERE IN THE APARTMENT YOU ARE LIVING IN?

1=*1 (Room)
2=*1 1/2 or studio
3=*2 or 2 1/2
4=*3 1/2 (1 bedroom)
5=*4 1/2 (2 bedrooms)
6=*5 1/2 (3 bedrooms)
7=*6 1/2 or more (4 bedrooms or more)
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_3.1 TAKING EVERYTHING INTO ACCOUNT, HOW SATISFIED ARE YOU WITH YOUR APARTMENT AT THE PRESENT TIME? ARE YOU...

1=Very satisfied
2=Fairly satisfied
3=Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4=Fairly dissatisfied
5=Very dissatisfied
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_3.2 DOES YOUR APARTMENT NEED ... REPAIRS?

1=Major
2=Minor
3=No repairs at all
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_SICAL4 SI Q#1.4=3->9.5

->>4

Q_4 WHO IS IN CHARGE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF YOUR BUILDING?

1=Janitor residing in building
2=Janitor not residing in building (responsible for more than one building)
3=Employee (hired by owner)
4=Maintenance committee (in housing cooperative)
5=Tenants
6=Landlord himself
7=*Other->4au
9=*DNK/DNA

->>5

Q_4AU OTHER, SPECIFY

_____

Q_5 HOW SATISFIED ARE YOU WITH THE MAINTENANCE SERVICE IN YOUR BUILDING?

ARE YOU...?

1=Very satisfied
2=Fairly satisfied
3=Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4=Fairly dissatisfied
5=Very dissatisfied
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_6 DO YOU FEEL... RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ENTRANCE OF YOUR BUILDING AND FOR THE GROUNDS SURROUNDING IT, THAT IS KEEPING THEM CLEAN AND KEEPING AN EYE ON THEM?

1=Very
2=Fairly
3=Not very
4=Not at all
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_7 TAKING EVERYTHING INTO ACCOUNT, DO YOU THINK THAT THE LIVING CONDITIONS IN THIS BUILDING ARE... AS THEY USED TO BE FIVE YEARS AGO?

1=Better
2=Worse
3=The same->8.2
8=*NA (was not living there 5 years ago)->8.2
9=*DNK/DNA ->8.2

Q_8.1 WHAT DO YOU ATTRIBUTE THESE CHANGES TO?

***999 :DNK/DNA ***

_____

Q_8.2 HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THESE CONDITIONS?

1=Good
2=Neither good or bad
3=Bad
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_SICAL9 SI Q#1.4=1,2->9.1

->>9.5

Q_9.1 DID YOUR LANDLORD INSTALL ANY DEVICES IN ORDER TO IMPROVE TENANTS SECURITY ...?

IN THE APARTMENTS (SECURITY LOCKS OR MAGIC EYE ON APARTMENT DOORS)

1=*Yes
2=*No
8=*NA
9=*DNK/DNA ->10

Q_9.2 IN THE MAIN ENTRANCE OF THE BUILDING (LOCKS ON THE OUTSIDE DOOR, INTERCOMS OR CAMERA)

Q_9.3 OUTSIDE THE BUILDING (LIGHTING, FENCING TO IMPEDE ACCESS TO THE PROPERTY)

Q_9.4 IN THE GARAGE (IF APPLICABLE)

->>10

Q_9.5 HAVE YOU (DID YOU) INSTALL ANY MECHANISMS TO IMPROVE THE SAFETY OF YOUR HOME (LOCKS, MAGIC EYE)?

1=*Yes
2=*No
8=*NA
9=*DNK/DNA ->10

Q_9.6 OUTSIDE THE HOUSE (LIGHTS, FENCE)?

Q_10 DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS, WERE THERE EVER ANY RENOVATIONS CARRIED OUT IN YOUR BUILDING?

1=*Yes
2=*No->13.1
9=*DNK/DNA->13.1

Q_11.1 ARE YOU... WITH THE RESULTS OF THE RENOVATION AS REGARDS TO THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS?

GENERAL STATE OF YOUR APARTMENT?

1=Very satisfied
2=Fairly satisfied
3=Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4=Fairly dissatisfied
5=Very dissatisfied
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_SICAL11 SI Q#1.4=1, 2->11.2

->>12

Q_11.2 GENERAL STATE OF THE BUILDING?

Q_12 HAVE SECURITY DEVICES BEEN IMPROVED AS A RESULT OF THE RENOVATIONS?

1=*Yes
2=*No
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_13.1 ARE YOU... WITH THE SECURITY DEVICES IN ...

YOUR APARTMENT?

1=Very satisfied
2=Fairly satisfied
3=Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4=Fairly dissatisfied
5=Very dissatisfied
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_SICAL13 SI Q#1.4=1, 2->13.2

->>14.1

Q_13.2 YOUR BUILDING?

Q_14.1 IN YOUR OPINION, IS YOUR BUILDING... THE BUILDINGS IN THE IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORHOOD WITH RESPECT TO...?

THE OUTSIDE APPEARANCE OF THE BUILDING

1=better than
2=the same as
3=worse than
9=*dnk/dna

Q_14.2 THE MAINTENANCE OF THE GROUNDS/LANDSCAPING

Q_14.3 THE SECURITY DEVICES

Q_15 ARE YOU THINKING OF MOVING WITHIN THE NEXT TWO YEARS?

1=*Yes
2=*Maybe
3=*No
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_SICAL16 SI Q#A1 = 2->16.2

->>CAL16B

Q_SICAL16B SI Q#A1=1 ET Q#15=1,2->16.1

->>17.1

Q_16.1 WHAT IS YOUR MAIN REASON FOR WANTING TO MOVE?

1=Size of unit (too big or too small)
2=Price of unit (too high)
3=Poor condition of unit and/or building
4=Distance from friends/relatives
5=Security concerns
6=*Other reason->16.1AU
9=*DNK/DNA

->>17.1

Q_16.1AU SPECIFY THE REASON:

_____

->>17.1

Q_16.2 WHAT IS THE MAIN REASON WHY YOU MOVED?

1=Size of the dwelling (too big or too small)
2=Price of the dwelling (too high)
3=Poor condition of the dwelling and / or building
4=Too far away from friends and family
5=Afraid for safety
6=*Other reason->16.2AU
9=*DNK/DNA

->>17.1

Q_16.2AU SPECIFY THE REASON :

_____

Q_17.1 I AM GOING TO READ YOU A LIST OF THINGS THAT CAN BE OF PROBLEMS IN YOUR IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORHOOD. FOR EACH ONE, I WOULD LIKE YOU TO TELL ME HOW MUCH OF A PROBLEM IT IS. IS IT...

NOISY PEOPLE

1=A big problem
2=Somewhat of a problem
3=No problem at all
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_17.2 YOUTH GANGS

Q_17.3 LITTER/RUBBISH

Q_17.4 BREAK-INS INTO APARTMENTS

Q_17.5 UNAVAILABILITY OF SAFE PLAYGROUNDS

Q_17.6 DRUGS

Q_17.7 FAMILY VIOLENCE

Q_SICAL18 SI Q#1.4=1, 2->18

->>20

Q_18 IN SOME BUILDINGS PEOPLE TRY TO HELP EACH OTHER WHILE IN OTHER, PEOPLE MOSTLY GO THEIR OWN WAY. IN GENERAL, IN WHAT KIND OF BUILDING DO YOU LIVE, ONE WHERE PEOPLE HELP EACH OTHER AS OFTEN AS POSSIBLE OR ONE WHERE PEOPLE MOSTLY GO THEIR OWN WAY?

1=Help each other
2=Go their own way
3=*A mix of both
4=*NA (only one resident)->20
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_19 IN GENERAL, HOW WELL DO YOU KNOW THE PEOPLE LIVING IN YOUR BUILDING?

1=They are good friends
2=Not good friends but know them to talk to
3=Know them to nod or say hello to
4=Know them but don't get on with them
5=Don't know them at all
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_20 DO YOU PARTICIPATE IN ANY COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD (FESTIVALS, SPORTING ACTIVITIES, INFORMATION SESSIONS, ETC.)?

1=*Yes
2=*No
8=*NA (no activities in the neighborhood)
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_SICAL21 SI Q#1.4=3,9->22

->>21

Q_21 HOW MUCH NOTICE DO YOU THINK THE PEOPLE WHO RUN THE BUILDING TAKE OF WHAT YOU AND THE OTHER TENANTS HAVE TO SAY. DO THEY TAKE...

1=A great deal of notice
2=A fair amount of notice
3=Not much notice
4=No notice at all
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_22 APART FROM PEOPLE LIVING WITH YOU, DO YOU HAVE OTHER... LIVING IN YOURNEIGHBORHOOD?

RELATIVES

1=*Yes
2=*No
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_23 FRIENDS

Q_24.1 SINCE WHEN HAVE YOU BEEN LIVING IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD?
SPECIFY MONTH

01=*January
02=*February
03=*March
04=*April
05=*May
06=*June
07=*July
08=*August
09=*September
10=*October
11=*November
12=*December
99=*DNK/DNA

Q_24.2 SPECIFY YEAR?

***99:DNK/DNA**
19*
__

Q_25 THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS DEAL WITH THE NEIGHBOURHOOD WHERE THE DWELLING IS SITUATED **[1,52]**

HOW WOULD YOU JUDGE THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD?

1=Good
2=Neither good nor bad
3=Bad
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_26 TAKING EVERYTHING INTO ACCOUNT, WOULD YOU SAY THAT IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS, YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD HAS...?

1=improved->27A
2=gotten worse->27B
3=Stayed the same->28
8=*NA (was not living there 5 years ago)->28
9=*DNK/DNA ->28

Q_27A IN WHAT WAY HAS IT IMPROVED?

***01:Infrastructure (street lighting, paving)**
02:More services
03:Undesirable neighbours have moved
04:Renovation of the buildings / old buildings have been eliminated
999:DNK/DNA *

->>28

Q_27B IN WHAT WAY HAS IT BECOME WORSE?

***01:More violence**
02:More crime
03:Dilapidated
04:People moving away
05:Too much idleness
06:Price of housing has gone up
07:Too much traffic
08:Cleanliness/upkeep
999:DNK/DNA *

Q_28 AND THINKING AHEAD OVER THE NEXT TWO YEARS, DO YOU THINK THE NEIGHBORHOOD WILL...?

1= improve
2= get worse
3= stay the same
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_29 COMPARED TO OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS IN MONTREAL, DO YOU THINK YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD HAS A... CRIME RATE?

1=higher
2=similar
3=lower
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_30 DO YOU THINK THAT CRIME IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD HAS... IN THE LAST 5 YEARS?

1=increased
2=decreased
3=remained the same
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_31 THINKING ABOUT THE PEOPLE WHO COMMIT CRIMES IN YOUR IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORHOOD, DO YOU THINK THEY ARE MAINLY...?

1=people living themselves in the neighborhood
2=coming from outside the area, or
3=both
8=*no crime in the neighbourhood
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_32.1 AT ONE POINT OR ANOTHER, MOST OF US WORRY ABOUT BEING THE VICTIM OF A CRIME. THINKING ABOUT YOUR BUILDING AND THE IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORHOOD, I WOULD LIKE YOU TO TELL ME HOW WORRIED YOU ARE ABOUT BEING THE VICTIM OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF CRIME. COULD YOU TELL ME IF YOU ARE... WORRIED ABOUT...?

HAVING YOUR HOME BROKEN INTO AND SOMETHING STOLEN?

1=very
2=fairly
3=not very
4=Not at all
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_32.2 BEING ATTACKED OR ROBBED WHILE IN THE AREA?

Q_32.3 BEING INSULTED OR BOTHERED BY PEOPLE IN THE AREA?

Q_SICAL32 SI Q#SEXE=2->32.4

->>33

Q_32.4 BEING SEXUALLY HARASSED OR ASSAULTED WHILE IN THE AREA?

Q_33 DO YOUR NEIGHBORS USUALLY WATCH YOUR APARTMENT FOR YOU WHILE YOU ARE AWAY TO TO PREVENT RUBBERIES OR ANY OTHER PROBLEM?

1=*Yes
2=*No
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_34 HOW SAFE DO YOU FEEL WALKING ALONE IN YOUR IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORHOOD AFTER DARK? WOULD YOU SAY YOU FEEL...?

1=very safe
2=Fairly safe
3=A bit unsafe
4=Very unsafe
8=*NA (don't go out)
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_35.1 DO YOU WORRY... ABOUT LETTING YOUR CHILDREN UNDER 15 PLAY IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD...?

DURING THE DAY?

1=a lot
2=a bit
3=not at all
4=*no children under 15->36.1
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_35.2 WHEN IT'S DARK?

Q_36.1 PERSONALLY, IN THE LAST YEAR...?

WAS YOUR HOME BURGLED OR VANDALIZED

1=*Yes
2=*No
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_36.2 HAVE YOU BEEN PHYSICALLY ASSAULTED?

Q_SICAL37 SI Q#36.2=1->37

->>38

Q_37 DID IT OCCUR ...

1=in your immediate neighborhood
1=elsewhere in your neighborhood
1=outside your neighborhood
1=*DNK/DNA

Q_38 APART FROM YOUR OWN HOUSEHOLD, DO YOU PERSONALLY KNOW ANYONE WHO HAD THEIR HOME BURGLED OR BROKEN INTO IN THE PAST YEAR, IN YOUR IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORHOOD??

1=*Yes
2=*No
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_39 HOW SATISFIED ARE YOU WITH WHAT THE POLICE IS DOING IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD THESE DAYS? ARE YOU...?

1=Very satisfied
2=Fairly satisfied
3=Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4=Fairly dissatisfied
5=Very dissatisfied
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_40 HAVE YOU EVER RECEIVED INFORMATION ON CRIME PREVENTION FROM AN ORGANIZATION?

1=*Yes
2=*No->42
9=*DNK/DNA ->42

Q_41 PLEASE SPECIFY WHICH ORGANIZATION?

***01:Police**
02:CLSC
03:Firemen
04:City Hall
05:Community Health
06:Tandem
999: DNK/DNA *

Q_42 I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR HOUSEHOLD (PEOPLE LIVING IN THIS APARTMENT)

HOW MANY PEOPLE LIVE IN YOUR APARTMENT (INCLUDING YOURSELF)?

99: DNK/DNA

__

Q_SICAL42 SI Q#1.4=3->43

->>42.1

Q_42.1 ARE YOU THE ONE WHO SIGNED THE LEASE? (ALONE OR JOINTLY)

1=*Yes
2=*No
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_43 HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOUR HOUSEHOLD? IS IT ...

1=a couple with children who live at home
2=a couple with children, who don't live at home
3=single parent family
4=couple without children->46
5=single person->46
6=*other->43AU
9=*DNK/DNA

->>45.1

Q_43AU SPECIFY THE TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD : (EX. SEVERAL STUDENTS)

***06:Several related adults**
07:Several non related adults
08:Two families or more
999 : DNK/DNA *

Q_45.1 HOW MANY CHILDREN UNDER 15 YEARS OLD LIVE WITH YOU?

99: DNK/DNA

__

Q_45.2 FROM 15 TO 17 YEARS OLD?

***99: DNK/DNA ***

__

Q_46 WHAT IS YOUR AGE GROUP?

01=Less than 20 years old
02=20 to 24
03=25 to 29
04=30 to 34
05=35 to 39
06=40 to 44
07=45 to 49
08=50 to 54
09=55 to 59
10=60 to 64
11=65 and over
99=*DNK/DNA

Q_47 IN WHICH COUNTRY WERE YOU BORN?

01=*Canada->49
02=*Germany
03=*Algeria
04=*Cambodia
05=*Chile
06=*China
07=*Colombia
08=*United States
09=*Ethiopia
10=*France
11=*Great Britain
12=*Guatemala
13=*Haiti
14=*Hungary
15=*India
16=*Iran
17=*Italy
18=*Laos
19=*Pakistan
20=*Poland
21=*Czech Republic
22=*Romania
23=*Russia
24=*Rwanda
25=*Salvador
26=*Somalia
27=*Ukraine
28=*Vietnam
29=*Zaire
30=*Other->47au
99=*DNK/DNA

->>48

Q_47AU SPECIFY COUNTRY :

_____

Q_48 WHAT YEAR DID YOU IMMIGRATE TO CANADA?

*99:DNK/DNA

19*

__

Q_49 WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK MOST OFTEN AT HOME?

1=French
1=English
1=Other
1=*DNK/DNA

Q_50 WHAT IS YOUR HIGHEST LEVEL OF SCHOOLING?

01=*No schooling
02= Elementary completed
03=Elementary not completed
04=Secondary/high school completed
05=Secondary/high school not completed
06=Post-secondary/college completed
07=Post-secondary/college not completed
08=University completed
09=University not completed
99=DNK/DNA

Q_51 WHAT IS YOUR TOTAL ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME (INCOME OF ALL PEOPLE LIVING IN THIS APARTMENT)?

1=Less than $10,000.
2=$10,000. To $14,999.
3=$15,000. To $19,999.
4=$20,000. To $24,999.
5=$25,000. To $29,999.
6=$30,000. To $39,999.
7=$40,000. To $49,999.
8=$50,000. And more
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_52 WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING IS YOUR MAIN SOURCE OF INCOME?

1=Income from wages (salary or self-employment)
2=Income from government programs (ex. UIC, Social Assistance, Old age security)
3=Other source of income (ex.: scholarships, alimony or child support, etc.)
9=*DNK/DNA

Q_53 DURING THE COURSE OF OUR RESEARCH ACTIVITIES, WE ORGANIZE FROM TIME TO TIME FOCUS GROUPS WHICH CAN FOCUS ON ALL KINDS OF SUBJECTS. ABOUT TEN PEOPLE COME TOGETHER FOR THESE DISCUSSION GROUPS WHICH GENERALLY LAST ABOUT TWO HOURS. PEOPLE WHO PARTICIPATE IN THESE GROUPS MAY POSSIBLY BE COMPENSATED FOR THEIR PARTICIPATION (ABOUT 30$).

Would you be interested in participating in a focus group on housing and crime prevention?
*ARGUMENTS TO USE IF THE RESPONDANT ASKS QUESTIONS
WE ARE RECRUITING NOW TO BUILD UP A BANK OF NAMES.
THIS RECRUITMENT IS CONFIDENTIAL AND THESE NAMES WILL NEVER BE TRANSMITTED TO ANY OTHER COMPANY.
THIS IS NOT AN ATTEMPT TO SELL ANYTHING. THEY ARE UNDER NO OBLIGATION.
WE WILL RECONTACT THEM TO CONFIRM DATE AND TIME OF THE FOCUS GROUP TO WHICH THEY WILL BE CONVENED, IF NECESSARY.*

1=*Yes
2=*Maybe
3=*No->fin
9=* DNK/DNA->fin

Q_54.1 MAY I HAVE YOUR NAME AND YOUR FIRST NAME PLEASE :

999 : DNK/DNA

->>FIN

Q_FIN THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

***INFORMATIONS
PROJET=SHDM
FICHIER=ASHDM
SOMTEL=PMNATHALIE:AUTO:SOMTEL5N:
RESEAU=SERVEUR:M-E-147-96:
FUSION=OUI
GESTION=OUI

APPENDIX C

Profile of Respondents

TABLE C-1

Distribution of Respondents by Housing Tenure

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Tenants[a]		Landlords		(N)
			(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	Residents	162	99.4	1	0.6	163
		Neighbours	81	88.0	11	12.0	92
	Control Zone		70	75.5	24	25.5	94
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	Residents	148	100.0	-	-	148
		Neighbours	63	68.5	29	31.5	92
	Control Zone		66	61.1	42	38.9	108
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	Residents	128	97.0	4	3.0	132
		Neighbours	82	83.7	16	16.3	98
	Control Zone		66	83.5	13	16.5	79
TOTAL			866	86.1	140	13.9	1006

[a] Including members of housing co-operatives
Source: JTD Survey, summer 1996; compiled by authors (N) = number of respondents

TABLE C-2

Distribution of Initiative Zone Residents[a]
by Type of Building Management and by Neighbourhood

Neighbourhoods		Type of Building Management				Total
		Coop	LRH	NPO	Private Owner	
Côte-des-Neiges	Number of Respondents	29	32	44	58	163
	Proportion (%)	17.8	19.6	27.0	35.6	100.0
Saint-Michel	Number of Respondents	9	39	39	61	148
	Proportion (%)	6.1	26.3	26.3	41.3	100.0
Petite-Patrie	Number of Respondents	39	9	8	76	132
	Proportion (%)	29.5	6.8	6.1	57.6	100.0
TOTAL	Number of Respondents	77	80	91	195	443
	Proportion (%)	17.4	18.1	20.5	44.0	100

[a] Living in a building with a public intitiative in housing.
Source: JTD Survey, summer 1996; compiled by authors

TABLE C-3

Distribution of Respondents by Type of Building
(Tenants)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Type of Building (%)			(N)
			(N)	6 to 11 housing units	12 housing units and more	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	Residents	7.6	57.6	34.8	158
		Neighbours	17.9	38.5	43.6	78
	Control Zone		28.6	14.3	57.1	70
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	Residents	6.1	63.3	30.6	147
		Neighbours	31.7	50.8	17.5	63
	Control Zone		62.1	33.3	4.6	66
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	Residents	46.0	21.4	32.6	126
		Neighbours	75.6	24.4	-	82
	Control Zone		77.3	18.2	4.6	66
TOTAL			33.5%	39.4%	27.1	856

Source: JTD Survey, summer 1996; compiled by authors (N) = number of respondents

TABLE C-4

Distribution of Respondents by Houshold Type
(Tenants)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Household Type (%)					(N)
			Couples with children	Single-parent families	Couples without children	Singles	Others	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	Residents	35.2	24.5	12.6	18.2	9.4	159
		Neighbours	37.5	11.3	16.2	25.0	10.0	80
	Control Zone		31.9	5.8	27.5	11.6	23.2	69
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	Residents	37.7	32.9	8.9	12.3	8.2	146
		Neighbours	33.9	14.5	17.7	25.8	8.1	62
	Control Zone		33.8	26.2	23.1	10.8	6.1	65
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	Residents	13.0	9.8	18.7	43.9	14.6	123
		Neighbours	21.2	7.5	20.0	27.5	23.8	80
	Control Zone		20.0	12.3	23.1	33.8	10.8	65
TOTAL			29.7	17.9	17.1	23.1	12.2	849

Source: JTD Survey, summer 1996; compiled by authors (N) = number of respondents

TABLE C-5

Distribution of Respondents by Country of Origin
(Tenants)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Canada	Others - (groups of countries) (%)						(N)
				Sub-Saharan Africa	Latin America	Asia	Caribe	Europe	Maghreb / Middle East	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative	Residents	18.4	4.5	8.9	40.1	18.5	5.1	4.5	157
	Zone	Neighbours	28.8	5.0	7.5	41.3	6.2	6.2	5.0	80
	Control	Zone	39.7	-	4.4	16.2	2.9	23.5	13.3	68
Saint-Michel	Initiative	Residents	45.1	-	16.7	9.7	24.3	2.8	1.4	144
	Zone	Neighbours	60.3	1.6	3.2	3.2	19.0	7.9	4.8	63
	Control	Zone	68.2	-	6.1	-	15.1	6.1	4.5	66
Petite-Patrie	Initiative	Residents	80.2[a]	1.6	7.1	-	1.6	7.1	2.4	127
	Zone	Neighbours	84.2	1.2	8.5	-	-	6.1	-	82
	Control	Zone	95.5	-	1.5	-	-	3.0	-	66
TOTAL			54.1	1.8	8.2	14.4	11.1	6.8	3.6	853

Source: JTD Survey, summer 1996; compiled by authors (N) = number of respondents

TABLE C-6

Distribution of Respondents by Household Annual Income
(Tenants)

Neighbourhoods	Respondants Groups		Annual Income (%)					(N)
			Less than 10 000 $	10 000 $ to 19 999 $	20 000 $ to 29 999 $	30 000 $ to 39 999 $	40 000 $ and more	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative	Residents	22.6	44.3	22.5	5.3	5.3	133
	Zone	Neighbours	19.4	50.0	15.3	6.9	8.4	72
	Control	Zone	16.7	20.8	22.9	16.7	22.9	48
Saint-Michel	Initiative	Residents	26.9	46.9	11.5	11.5	3.1	130
	Zone	Neighbours	29.4	29.4	11.8	15.7	13.7	51
	Control	Zone	16.4	29.1	18.2	14.5	21.8	55
Petite-Patrie	Initiative	Residents	24.1	25.9	26.8	14.3	8.9	112
	Zone	Neighbours	19.1	38.2	11.8	16.2	14.7	68
	Control	Zone	20.0	27.3	31.7	5.5	14.5	55
TOTAL			22.4	36.9	19.2	11.2	10.4	724

Source: JTD Survey, summer 1996; compiled by authors (N) = number of respondents

TABLE C-7

Distribution of Respondants by Year of Arrival in their Building
(Tenants)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Arrival in the Building (%)					(N)
			Before 1970	1970-1984	1985-1989	1990-1994	1995-1996	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	Residents	1.9	5.0	8.2	73.6	11.3[a]	159
		Neighbours	2.5	17.3	11.1	42.0	27.1	81
	Control	Zone	4.3	11.4	11.4	40.0	32.9	70
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	Residents	5.4	9.5	6.1	58.1	20.9	148
		Neighbours	1.6	21.3	18.0	49.2	9.9	61
	Control	Zone	4.6	18.2	21.2	40.9	15.1[b]	66
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	Residents	3.9	6.3	5.5	42.5	41.7[c]	127
		Neighbours	6.2	9.9	16.0	34.6	33.3[d]	81
	Control	Zone	3.1	4.7	12.5	50.0	29.7	64

[a] 0.6% in 1996
[b] 3.0% in 1996
[c] 7.1% in 1996
[d] 1.2% in 1996

Source: JTD Survey, summer 1996; compiled by authors (N) = number of respondents

TABLE C-8

Distribution of Respondants by Year of Arrival in their Building
(Tenants)

Neighbourhoods	Respondent Groups		Arrival in the Neighbourhood (%)					(N)
			Avant 1970	1970-1984	1985-1989	1990-1994	1995-1996	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative Zone	Residents	7.0	16.6	22.9	48.4	5.1	157
		Neighbours	5.1	23.1	17.9	46.2	7.7	78
	Control	Zone	8.2	11.4	14.3	40.0	25.7	70
Saint-Michel	Initiative Zone	Residents	13.0	18.5	12.3	44.5	11.7	146
		Neighbours	9.7	24.2	21.0	37.1	8.0	62
	Control	Zone	24.2	18.2	18.2	28.8	10.6[a]	66
Petite-Patrie	Initiative Zone	Residents	12.6	11.0	8.7	37.0	30.7[b]	127
		Neighbours	12.2	14.6	15.8	34.2	23.2	82
	Control	Zone	11.3	11.3	14.5	38.7	24.2	62

[a] 3.0% in 1996
[b] 3.9% in 1996

Source: JTD Survey, summer 1996; compiled by authors (N) = number of respondents

APPENDIX D

Regression Analysis : Variables and Results

LIST OF VARIABLES

HYPOTHESIS 1 :

v125 (v18)	Did your landlord install any devices in order to improve tenants security in apartments ? [1] (Q-9.1)
v126 (v19)	Did your landlord install any devices in order to improve tenants security in the main entrance of the building ? (Q-9.2)
v127 (v20)	Did your landlord install any devices in order to improve tenants security outside the building ? (Q-9.3)
v115 (v28)	Are you satisfied with the security devices in your apartment ? (Q-13.1)
v116 (v29)	Are you satisfied with the security devices in your building ? (Q-13.2)
v32	In your opinion, is your building better, same or worse than the buildings in the immediate neighbourhood with respect to security devices ? (Q-14.3)
v141	Personally, in the last year, was your home burgled or vandalized ; have you been physically assaulted ? Did it occur in your immediate neighbourhood, elsewhere or outside your neighbourhood ? (Q-36.1, Q-36.2 et Q-37)
V75	Apart from your own household, do you personally know anyone who had their home burgled or broken into in the past year, in your immediate neighbourhhod ? (Q-38)

HYPOTHESIS 2 :

v24	During the last five years, were there any renovations carried out in your building ? (Q-10)
v128 (v27)	Have security devices been improve as a result of the renovations ? (Q-12)
V120 (v25)	Are you satisfied with the results of the renovation as regards to the general state of your apartment ? (Q-11.1)
v121 (v26)	Are you satisfied with the results of the renovation as regards to the general state of your building ? (Q-11.2)
v119 (v9)	Taking everything in account, how satisfied are you with your apartment at the present time ? (Q-3.1)
v10	Does your apartment need major, minor or no repairs ? (Q-3.2)
V117 (v11)	Who is in charge for the maintenance of your building ? (Q-4)
v118 (v14)	Do you feel ... responsible for the entrance of your building and for the grounds surrounding it, that is keeping them clean and keeping an eye on them ? (Q-6)
v122 (v13)	How satisfied are you with the maintenance service in your building ? (Q-5)
v40	How much a problem is litter or rubbish in your immediate neighbourhood ? (Q-17.3)

HYPOTHESIS 3 :

v129 (v45)	In general, what kind of building do you live. One where people help each other as often as possible or one where people mostly go their own way ? (Q-18)
V130 (v46)	In general, how well do you know the people living in your building ? (Q-19)
v131 (v47)	Do you participate in any activities in your neighbourhood ? (Q-20)
V65	Do your neighbours usually watch your apartment for you while you are away to prevent rubberies or any other problem ? (Q-33)
V4	Since when have you been living in this building ? (Q-1.1 et Q-1.2)
v52	Since when have you been living in this neighbourhood ? (Q24.1 et Q-24.2)
V144(v15)	Taking everything into account, do you think that the living conditions in this building are better, worse, the same as they used to be five years ago ? (Q-7)
V145(v17)	How would you describe the living conditions in your building (good, neither good or bad, bad) ? (Q-8.2)

RELATION BETWEEN THE PERCEPTION OF PROBELMS IN THE IMMEDIATE NEIGBOURHHOD AND THE SENSE OF SECURITY :

v38	Noisy people (Q-17.1)
v39	Youth gangs (Q-17.2)
v41	Break-ins into apartments (Q-17.4)
v42	Unavailability of safe playgrounds (Q-17.5)
v43	Drugs (Q-17.6)
v44	Family violence (Q-17.7)
v143 (v76)	Satisfaction with what the police is doing in the neighbourhood (Q-39)
v77	Information received on crime prevention (Q-40)

CONTROL VARIABLES :

v124 (v5)	Building type (Q-1.3)
v2	Gender (Q-Sexe)
v123 (v85)C	Age (Q-46)
v114 (v104)	Intervention
v113 (v103)	Geographical area
v97	Zone (respondent groups)
v142C	Household income (Q-51)
v137	Country of origin (Q-47)
v139	Household type (Q-43)
v140	Level of schooling (Q-50)
v79C	Total number of persons in the household (Q-42)

NEW VARIABLES FOR REGRESSION ANALYSIS

DEPNDANT VARIABLES :

Perception of crime level and crime changes (Q-29 et Q-30)

v112=v58+v59

1=Positive
2=Neither positive nor negative
3=Negative

Sense of security in the immediate neighbourhood (Q-32.2, Q-32.3 et Q-34)

v132=v62+v63+v66

1= Worried
2=Not worried

Perception of the quality of life in the neighbourhood and its changes - past and future (Q-25, Q-26 et Q-28)

v133=v53+v54+v57

1=Very positive
2=Fairly positive
3=Fairly neative
4= Very negative

Social involvement (Q-18, Q-20 et Q-33)

v134=v45+v47+v65

1= Very high
2= Fairly high
3= Fairly low
4= Very low

INDEPENDANT VARIABLES :

Geographical area (CDN = Côte-des-Neiges / STM = Saint-Michel / PP = Petite-Patrie)

v113(v103)

1= CDN-Resident concentration
2=STM-Resident concentration
3=PP-Resident concentration
4=CDN-Resident outlying sector
5=STM- Resident outlying sector
6=PP- Resident outlying sector
7=CDN Neighbour-concentration
8=STM Neighbour-concentration
9=PP Neighbour-concentration
10=CDN Neighbour outlying sector
11=STM Neighbour outlying sector
12=PP Neighbour outlying sector
13=CDN Control zone
14=STM Control zone
15=PP Control zone

Type of management

v114(v104)
1=LRH
2=COOP
3=NPO
4=RHAP (private owners)
5=Neigbours LRH
6=Neighbours COOP
7=Neighbours NPO
8=Neighbours RHAP (Private owners)
9=No public initiative in housing (control zone)

Satisfaction with security devices in the apartment (Q-13.1)

v115(v28)
1=Satisfied
2=Dissatisfied

Satisfaction with security devices in the building (Q-13.2)

v116(v29)
1=Satisfied
2=Dissatisfied

Responsibility for maintenance (Q-4)

v117(v11)
1=Janitor
2=Tenant
3=Owner

Tenants' sense of responsibility (Q-6)

v118(v14)
1=Responsible
2=Not responsible

Satisfaction with the apatment (Q-3.1)

v119(v9)
1=Satisfied
2=Dissatisfied

Satisfaction with the renovation in the apartment (Q-11.1)

v120(v28)
1=Satisfied
2=Dissatisfied

Satisfaction with renovation in the building (Q-11.2)

v121(v26)
1=Satisfied
2=Dissatisfied

Satisfaction with building maintenance (Q-5)

v122(v13)
1=Satisfied
2=Dissatisfied

Age group (Q-46)

v123(v85)
Continue variable (v85=1 then v123=20, etc.)

Type of building (Q-1.3)

v124(v5)
1=Less than 6 housing units
2=6 to 11 housing untis
3=12 housing units and more

Security devices installed in the aprtments (Q-9.1)

v125(v18)
1=Yes
2=No

Security devices installed in the entrance of the building (Q-9.2)

v126(v19)
1=Yes
2=No

Security devices installed outside the building(Q-9.3)

v127(v20)
1=Yes
2=No

Security devices installed follwing the renovations (Q-12)

v128(v27)
1=Yes
2=No

Relations with neighbours (Q-18)

v129(v45)
1=Assistance
2=Own way

Knowing the neighbours (Q-19)

v130(v46)
1=Good friends
2=Talk together
3=Nod
4=No contact

Participation in the neighbourhood (Q-20)

v131(v47)
1=Yes
2=No

Length of residence in the building (Q-1.2)

v135(v4)
Continued variable (96-v4=number of years)

Length of residence in the neighbourhood (Q-24.2)

v136(v52)
Continued variable (96-v52=number of years)

Born in Canada or not (Q-47)

v137(v88)
1=Non-immigrant
2=Immigrant

Type of household (Q-43)

v139(v81)	1=Couple with children or single-parent family 2=Couple without children 3=Single or other type of household

Level of schooling (Q-50)

v140(v93)	1=No schooling - Highschool completed 2=Highscholl completed - University

Victim of a crime in the apartment or in the immediate neighbourhood (Q-36.1, Q-36.2 et Q-37)

v141=v69+v70	1=Yes 2=No

Household annual income (Q-51)

v142((v94)	Continued variable (v94=1 then v142=10,000, etc.)

Satisfaction with police (Q-39)

v143(v76)	1=Satisfied 2=Dissatisfied

Changes in living conditions in the building (Q-7)

v144(v15)	1=Better 2=Same or worse

Assessment of living conditions in the building (Q-8.2)

v145(v17)	1=Good 2=Neither good nor bad - Bad

Côte-des-Neiges

Results of regression analysis

Dependant Variable	Significant Independant Factors (level .05)	Model Retained (signif. var. level .05)	Hypothesis Validation
Hypothesis 1: Is there a higher proportion of security devices installed in initiative zones (residents)?			
v125	v97 (.0000)	v97	Yes
v126	v97 (.0000)	v97	Yes
v127	none	none	No
v128	v97 (.0001)	v97	Yes
Hypothesis 1 (a): Are satisfaction levels higher in initiative zones (residents)?			
v115	v97 (.0035)	v97 (.0018)	Yes
	v140 (.0481)	v140 (.0197)	
	v123 (.0029)		
v116	v97 (.0001)	v97 (.0001)	Yes
v32	v97 (.0000)	v97 (.0000)	Yes
	v75 (.0003)	v75 (.0008)	
Hypothesis 2: Is there more renovation in initiative zones (residents)?			
v10	v97 (.0361)	v97 (.0361)	Yes
Hypothesis 2(a): Are satisfaction levels higher in initiative zones (residents)?			
v119	v140 (.0499)	None	No
	v123 (.0025)		
v120	None	None	No
v121	None	None	
Hypothesis 3: Is there more solidarity among initiative zone residents?			
v134	v137 (.0403)	None	No
Hypothesis 4: Are housing conditions better in intitiative zones (residents)?			
Same results as hypoteses 2 and 2a			
Hypothesis 4(a): Is resident population of initiative zones more stable ?			
v33	v97 (.0193)	v97 (.0146)	Yes
	v142 (.0006)	v123 (.0001)	
	v140 (.0502)		
	v123 (.0001)		
Is there a stronger sense of security amonf initiative zone residents?			
v112	v137 (.0003)	None	No
	v142 (.0129)		
v132	v140 (.0352)	None	No
	v141 (.0003)		
	v2 (.0004)		
Is there a more positive outlook in initiative zones (residents)?			
v133	v97 (.0161)	v97	Yes
	v137 (.0582)		
	v142 (.0355)		

Saint-Michel
Results of regression analysis

Dependant Variable	Significant Independant Factors (level .05)	Model Retained (signif. var. level .05)	Hypothesis Validation
Hypothesis 1: Is there a higher proportion of security devices installed in initiative zones (residents)?			
v125	none	none	No
v126	v97 (.0109)	v97	Yes
v127	none	none	No
v128	v97 (.0085)	v97	Yes
Hypothesis 1 (a): Are satisfaction levels higher in initiative zones (residents)?			
v115	v137 (.0042)	none	No
	v140 (.0510)		
	v123 (.0329)		
	v124 (.0359)		
v116	v137 (.0282)	none	No
	v140 (.0347)		
	v123 (.0185)		
v32	v137 (.0413)	none	No
Hypothesis 2: Is there more renovation in initiative zones (residents)?			
v10	None	None	No
Hypothesis 2(a): Are satisfaction levels higher in initiative zones (residents)?			
v119	none	None	No
v120	None	None	No
v121	None	None	No
Hypothesis 3: Is there more solidarity among initiative zone residents?			
v134	v2 (.0219)	None	No
Hypothesis 4: Are housing conditions better in intitiative zones (residents)?			
Same results as hypoteses 2 and 2a			No
Hypothesis 4(a): Is resident population of initiative zones more stable ?			
v33	v123 (.0000)	none	No
	v124 (.0155)		
Is there a stronger sense of security amonf initiative zone residents?			
v112	v137 (.0003)	none	No
	v142 (.0096)		
	v123 (.0209)		
v132	v143 (.0080)	none	No
	v77 (.0035)		
	v2 (.0008)		
Is there a more positive outlook in initiative zones (residents)?			
v133	v97 (.0221)	v97 (.0230)	Yes
	v137 (.0011)	v139 (.0351)	
	v142 (.0003)		

Petite-Patrie
Results of regression analysis

Dependant Variable	Significant Independant Factors (level .05)	Model Retained (signif. var. level .05)	Hypothesis Validation
Hypothesis 1: Is there a higher proportion of security devices installed in initiative zones (residents)?			
v125	v97 (.00225) v124 (.0086)	v97	Yes
v126	v97 (.0000) v124 (.0000)	none	No
v127	v97 (.0000) v124 (.0003)	v97 (.0252)	Yes
v128	v97 (.0641) v124 (.0020)	none	No
Hypothesis 1 (a): Are satisfaction levels higher in initiative zones (residents)?			
v115	v137 (.0092) v123 (.0056) v2 (.0002) v141 (.0006) v75 (.0000)	none	No
v116	v137 (.0157) v123 (.0577) v2 (.0270) v141 (.0005) v75 (.0000) v124 (.0387)	none	No
v32	v97 (.0326) v137 (.0008) v142 (.0246) v140 (.0000) v123 (.0025) v2 (.0070) v75 (.0005) v124 (.0325)	none	No
Hypothesis 2: Is there more renovation in initiative zones (residents)?			
v10	v97 (.0000) v123 (.0000) v124 (.0023)	v97 (.0012)	Yes
Hypothesis 2(a): Are satisfaction levels higher in initiative zones (residents)?			
v119	v137 (.0102) v140 (.0062)	none	No
v120	v97 (.0145) v137 (.0000) v124 (.0000)	none	No
v121	v137 (.0038) v140 (.0306)	none	No

Petite-Patrie

Hypothesis 3: Is there more solidarity among initiative zone residents?			
v134	v97 (.0002)	v97	Yes
	v137 (.0459)	v139	
	v140 (.0050)		
	v123 (.0042)		
	v2 (.0065)		
	v139 (.0012)		
	v124 (.0086)		
Hypothesis 4: Are housing conditions better in intitiative zones (residents)?			
Same results as hypoteses 2 and 2a			No
Hypothesis 4(a): Is resident population of initiative zones more stable ?			
v33	v123 (.0119))	none	No
Is there a stronger sense of security amonf initiative zone residents?			
v112	v137 (.0125)	none	No
	v142 (.0073)		
	v140 (.0000)		
	v123 (.0105)		
v132	v137 (0143)	none	No
	v140 (0464)		
	v143 (.0000)		
	v141 (.0255)		
	v2 (.0092)		
Is there a more positive outlook in initiative zones (residents)?			
v133	v97 (.0097)	v97 (.0107)	Yes
	v142 (.0256)	v140 (.0017)	
	v140 (.0010)		

v133 (outlook) as dependant variable

Results of the regression analysis : Significant independant factors (.05 level)

	Côte-des-Neiges	Saint-Michel	Petite-Patrie
Hypothesis 1:			
v125			0,0221
v126	0,0271		0,0048
v127			0,0036
v115	0,0002		
v116	0,0003	0,0292	
v32	0,0507	0,0207	
Hypothesis 2:			
v117			0,0188
v118			0,0569
v119	0,0016		0,0361
v10	0,0007	0,012	
v121			0,0534
v122	0,0021	0,0018	
v144	0,0026	0,0008	0,0049
v145	0,0000		
v320	0,0002		0,026
v31	0,0026	0,0015	
Hypothesis 3:			
v129	0,0112		
v130	0,0087		
v135		0,0528	
v136		0,0016	
v49			0,0018
v50			0,0125
Link factors : Evaluation of problems in immediate neighbourhood			
v38	0,0281		0,0004
v 39	0,0417	0,0223	0,0000
v40	0,0005	0,0015	0,0099
v41	0,0005	0,0003	
v42	0,0006		0,0075
v43	0,0014	0,018	0,0154
v44	0,0015		0,0026
v143 (v76)	0,0001	0,0000	0,0010

APPENDIX E

Focus Group Outline

NEIGHBOURHOOD FOCUS GROUP

Introduction of focus group objectives, length of meeting, coffe break, etc.
Introduction of participants : first name, place of residence (corner), type of household (number and age of children), type of building (privately-owned, cooperative, etc), length of residence in the neighbourhood.

15 minutes

NEIGHBOURHOOD

1. ("Warm-up" exercise) Could you indicate on this map where, according to you, the boundaries of your neighbourhood are located (for reference purposes : shopping, surroundings, recreational activities) ?

   15 minutes

2. Do you like your neighbourhood ? Why do you like it (quality of housing, proximity of friends, good neighbourhood, proximity of work, adequate public transportation, etc.) ? Why don't you like it (poor housing quality, dangerous neighbourhood, poor surroundings, etc.) ?

   15 minutes

3. Do you think that the neighbourhood has changed over the past five years ? What types of changes did you notice (buildings in more or less good condition, cleaner or dirtier, more or less dangerous, etc.) ?

   15 minutes

4. In your opinion, what has caused these changes (resident stability or mobility, city or government interest or neglect, building maintenance or carelessness, renovated or dilapidated buildings, etc.) ?

   10 minutes

5. If you were in charge of the neighbourhood and if you had all the money necessary, what would you do to improve your neighbourhood (building renovation, improvement of schools, stores, public transportation, street cleaning, etc.) ?

   15 minutes

RENOVATIONS

6. During the survey, several people reported that renovations were undertaken in their building. Has your building been renovated ? What type of work was carried out ? Did the work carried out cover all required renovations or is there still work to be done ? If your building has not been renovated, is there a need for it ?

   10 minutes

CRIME

7. Do you feel that your neighbourhood is dangerous ? What makes you feel this way (risks of being assaulted or robbed, burglaries, gangs, garbage, drugs, prostitution, etc) ? Are there areas worse than others (certain streets, vacant lands, etc.) ?

10 minutes

8. Has the situation improved or deteriorated over the past five years ? Why ? What is behind these changes (increased or decreased police presence, more or fewer gangs, better or lesser security in buildings, better lighting, etc.) ?

10 minutes

9. In general, do you notice what is happening around you ? Would you recognize an "intruder" in your building or in your neighbourhood ? Are there people you avoid ? Why ?

10 minutes

10. Could you rely on your neighbours if, for instance, your apartment were broken-in during your absence or if you were assaulted ? Why (experience, disagreement with neighbours/people do not want to get involved, mutual assistance, etc.) ?

15 minutes

11. What would you do if your neighbour's apartment was broken-into ? If your neighour was assaulted ? Why would you react this way (do not want to get involved in this sort of situation, think that neighbours are friends, have already experienced such a situation) ?

15 minutes

12. What could make your neighbourhood safer (increased police action, better street lighting, improved security devices in apartments, gangs removal, etc.) ?

15 minutes

Other comments on the neighbourhood, crime, renovations.

5-15 minutes

APPENDIX F

Vision of the Neighbourhood : Results

PERCEPTION OF THE SITUATION IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Perception of the situation	Evolution of the quality of life (Q-26)	Quality of life (Q-25)
1- Definite improvement	Improvement	Good
2- Improvement underway	Improvement	Average Bad
3- Improvement not necessary	No change	Good
4- *Statu quo* (rather negative)	No change	Average Bad
	Détérioration	Good
5- In the process of deteriorating	Détérioration	Average Bad

TABLE F-1

Perception of the Situation in the Neighbourhood
(Tenants living in the neighbourhood for five years or more)

Neighbourhood	Respondent groups		Perception of the situation (%)					(N)
			Definite improvement	Improvement underway	Improvement not necessary	*Statu quo* negative	In the process of deteriorating	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative	**Residents**	**31.1**	**26.7**	**14.4**	**16.9**	**8.9**	90
	Zone	Neighbours	30.4	13.0	21.7	21.7	13.0	46
	Control	Zone	18.2	6.1	33.3	18.2	24.2	33
Saint-Michel	Initiative	**Residents**	**15.6**	**14.3**	**23.4**	**20.8**	**26.0**	77
	Zone	Neighbours	13.2	13.2	23.7	23.7	26.3	38
	Control	Zone	11.9	4.8	33.3	21.4	28.6	42
Petite-Patrie	Initiative	**Residents**	**48.1**	**5.8**	**17.3**	**21.1**	**7.7**	52
	Zone	Neighbours	20.9	16.3	27.9	23.3	11.6	43
	Control	Zone	18.2	33.3	18.2	12.1	18.2	33

Source: JTD Survey, summer 1996; compiled by authors

(N) = number of respondents

LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Level of confidence	Quality of life (Q-25)	Future situation (Q-28)
1- Optimistic	Good Average Bad	Improvement
	Good	No change
2- Nether optimismistic, Nor pessimistic	Average	No change
3- Pessimistic	Good Average Bad	Deterioration
	Bad	No change

TABLE F-2

Level of Confidence in the Future of the Neighbourhood
(Tenants)

Neighbourhood	Respondent Groups		Level of confidence (%)			(N)
			Optimistic	Neither optimistic Nor pessimistic	Pessimistic	
Côte-des-Neiges	Initiative	**Residents**	**64.0**	**19.3**	**16.7**	114
	Zone	Neighbours	58.0	24.5	17.5	57
	Control	Zone	50.9	20.7	28.3	53
Saint-Michel	Initiative	**Residents**	**60.6**	**15.4**	**24.0**	104
	Zone	Neighbours	54.5	15.9	29.5	44
	Control	Zone	49.1	15.1	35.8	53
Petite-Patrie	Initiative	**Residents**	**68.2**	**10.3**	**21.5**	107
	Zone	Neighbours	54.9	31.0	14.1	71
	Control	Zone	52.5	32.8	14.7	61

Source: JTD Survey, summer 1996; compiled by authors (N) = number of respondents