

WHAT IS AN INCIVILITY?
**REPRESENTATIONS AND REACTIONS FROM FRANCOPHONE RESIDENTS
OF SOCIAL HOUSING IN THE CITY OF MONTREAL**

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BIOGRAPHY

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SYNOPSIS

This study examines the representations of Francophone residents of social housing in the city of Montreal with regard to uncivil behaviour. First, we attempt to understand the influence exerted on these representations by the individual characteristics of the respondents and the type of communal governance studied. Next, we look at the mechanisms of social control of uncivil behaviour, in order to perceive the influence exerted on these mechanisms by the personal characteristics of the respondents and the type of communal governance. Finally, we break down the respective effects of these two groups of factors on the representations of incivility and on the intervention strategies used by the respondents when faced with uncivil behaviours.

In all, 364 directed interviews (questionnaires) were carried out with Francophone respondents (217) in rent-controlled housing (or “**HLM**” from the French term, *habitations à loyer modique*) and housing cooperatives (147) in the city of Montreal. The results reveal the effect of the mode of communal governance on representations of incivility and on the mechanisms for controlling uncivil behaviours. Although statistically significant relationships do exist between the personal characteristics of respondents and the representations of incivility, we nonetheless observe that it is the socio-economic factors that prove to most conclusively discriminate subject responses. However, it is essential to point out that the socio-economic level of the respondents is in large part explained by the selection criteria that are inherent to HLM and cooperatives. With regard to uncivil behaviours, we see once again that the living environment has a discriminating effect on the perceived gravity of incivilities and on the frequency of exposure to uncivil behaviour. In effect, we see that residents of HLM are both less reproachful of and more exposed to incivilities, compared to members of cooperatives. Concerning the intervention strategies used

by respondents when faced with incivilities, we see that residents of HLM tend to favour formal intervention strategies to address excessive exposure to uncivil behaviours, unlike the members of cooperatives, who choose instead to employ informal intervention strategies.

These results illustrate the role played by social cohesion within communities toward understanding and resolving collective problems. Indeed, in this study, it is fundamental to comprehend the mode of governance as a mechanism that shapes social ties among the members of the communities studied. Thus, it appears that management that favours the democratic participation of its members makes possible a confluence of conditions that are needed for the development of collective efficacy, which can immunize a group against undesirable social phenomena, notably uncivil behaviours.

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INTRODUCTION

The use of the term “incivility” is relatively recent. The notion appeared in North America and in Europe at the end of the 20th century in response to a considerable increase in levels of criminality. Uncivil behaviours are considered to be one of the main factors behind feelings of insecurity, and a number of studies have shown that uncivil behaviours represent the first level of delinquency (*signs of crime*). This conceptualization invests incivilities with an expansive character, because it consolidates a set of incidents that fall under both the penal field and sociology. The ambiguity of this notion derives in large part from the representations of the actors who are directly or indirectly affected by incivilities. Thus, perceptions of incivility are seen to be influenced on the one hand by personal characteristics and on the other hand by the norms in effect within a given environment (community, institution, etc.).

Research on incivilities and disorders has tended to examine the prevailing situation in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, without actually focusing attention on the structural components of these urban zones, namely social housing. The clientele that resides in these housing complexes is primarily characterized by an elevated level of poverty, and by ethnocultural diversity. The concentration of such disadvantages inevitably leads to the problem of social disorganization, which translates into a de-responsibilization of social actors regarding issues of collective importance. This results in a weakening of the mechanisms for regulating deviant behaviours, and a degradation of living conditions within the groups that inhabit these residential spaces.

Nonetheless, different modes of governance exist that produce variable degrees of responsabilization and collective mobilization. More precisely, in the Montreal area we find two

main types of management for social housing: (1) rent-controlled housing, or HLM [*habitations à loyer modique*], which take a clientelistic approach, i.e., an approach that “takes charge” of the residents by defining their housing conditions, and (2) housing cooperatives, which operate essentially on the basis of a democratic process that allows residents to define their own living conditions.

This study proposes to examine how the residents of social housing depict incivilities, and what intervention strategies they use when they are confronted with incivilities. On the one hand, if it is known that the residents of social housing exhibit different personal characteristics, it is plausible that these attributes may interfere with the subjective representation of incivility, affecting the intensity of disapproval as well as residents’ intervention strategies in the face of uncivil behaviours. On the other hand, it is equally possible that the governance of social housing itself exerts an influence on the representations and reactions of individuals.

Ultimately, we consider that, in this study, the rules that govern the functioning of housing complexes are determining factors in the mobilization and the responsabilization of social actors. Thus, we suppose that the living environment is likely to modulate what is or is not accepted by a community, to set a tolerance threshold with regard to incivilities, and to exert an influence on the processes that regulate uncivil behaviour.

In this study, we chose to use a field study, which involved directed interviews with Francophone residents of social housing in: (1) the rent-controlled housing managed by the *Office municipale d’habitation de Montréal* (OMHM); and (2) the cooperatives managed by the *Fédération des coopératives d’habitation intermunicipale de Montréal métropolitain* (FÉCHIMM). In all, 364 Francophone residents were interviewed: 217 residents in HLM and 147 residents in cooperatives. For the purposes of this study, we limited the analysis of residents’ perception of incivilities in social housing to 5 neighbourhoods in the city of Montreal, namely Centre Sud,

Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, Mercier, Plateau Mont-Royal and Ville Marie. This choice is justified for two reasons. First, a large portion of the city's social housing is concentrated in these areas. Second, this geographic delimitation enables us to keep constant the influence of the structural factors that characterize these urban zones (poverty, residential mobility, etc.).

The first part of this report is devoted to a review of the literature. Here, the focus is on an initial approach to representations, manifestations, and mechanisms associated with the control of deviant behaviours. The methodology of the field survey, the characteristics of the populations being studied, and the analytical strategies (operationalization of concepts) are presented in the second part. Then, in the third part, we lay out the results for the representations of incivility from residents of social housing. We examine how, and to what extent, the personal characteristics and the living environment discriminate for representations of uncivil behaviours. Finally, in the last part, we turn to the modes of controlling uncivil behaviours. More specifically, we analyze the discriminating effect of personal characteristics and the governance of social housing on the perceived gravity of uncivil behaviours, on the degree of exposure to incivilities, and on the intervention strategies that are preferred by residents in resolving the conflicts that arise from incivilities.

PART ONE: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this first part, we examine several facets of the notion of incivility. Specifically, in the first section we introduce a number of distinctions that are proper to this concept. This involves exploring the representations, the dimensions associated with uncivil behaviours, and the perceived gravity of the incivilities. Moreover, we note that the concept of gravity is fundamental to an understanding of the social control that can be exercised over so-called “uncivil” behaviours. In the second section, we explore the different mechanisms of social control (formal and informal), and the factors that enhance or neutralize the ability of communities to contain, or even manage, incivilities. Finally, in the third section, we explore the concentration of disorders in social housing, as we develop the primary lines of questioning pursued in this study.

I. INCIVILITY: SOCIO-LEGAL CONSTRUCT OR REALITY?

The notion of incivility is commonly associated with a lack of good citizenliness. Yet this reference to good citizenliness seems to constitute a misuse of language. Indeed, good citizenliness, or civic duty, is, as the name implies, a notion that applies to the obligations and duties of citizens toward their nation. By contrast, “civility,” and the social ties that follow from it, refers to the relationships that form between citizens, and the relationships that citizens maintain with the State, in order to ensure the collective “well-being”. Within this context, civility is to be understood as “the observance of the rules that govern appropriate social interaction in polite society [translation]” (Akoun and Ansart, 1999: 77). As a consequence, incivility is generally perceived as non-compliance with the rules of propriety and good manners in effect for a given social group. Yet even this initial distinction is incomplete and unsatisfactory, because it does not reflect the variety of underlying representations, manifestations and dimensions of the

concept of incivility. Therefore we propose, in this first section, to turn our attention to these different aspects.

A. Representations and manifestations of incivility

The appearance of the term “incivility” dates back to the 1970s in the United States. The precursor to this notion was the sociologist Erving Goffman (1971), but it was the researchers Wilson and Kelling (1982) who developed the implications of this notion of incivility, with their “broken window” theory. In general, North American authors identify uncivil behaviours as one of the main sources of feelings of insecurity or of a “fear of crime”. Accordingly, they tend to prefer the expressions *signs of crime* and *disorders* rather than *incivilities*.

In Europe in the 1990s, there was a major increase in delinquency and the feeling of insecurity, in response to which the political scientist Roché (1993) introduced the notion of incivility. According to Roché, the notion of incivility derives from a sociological idea that refers to the perceptions and representations of each individual (Roché, 1996a: 48). That is, incivility refers to “[translation] disruptions in the order of everyday life, which order is taken by ordinary actors to be the law, rather than what may be deemed as order (or offences) by institutions” (1996a: 47).

Meanwhile, in recent years, incivility has received increasing attention from both the political and judicial spheres, because the boundaries that delimit this concept have blurred, with the result that incivilities are perceived both as a consequence of “social inadequacy” and as a penal matter. Moreover, a survey of 70 French *préfectures* conducted in July 1998 by Bonnemain (2000) revealed the expansive character of this notion. The results of the study describe the analysis of 122 responses, indicating a broad disparity in the definition of the notion of incivility. Specifically, the results indicate that slightly more than one-third of respondents (33.6 percent)

minimized acts of petty delinquency, though legally punishable, ascribing them to the term "incivility", compared to one-quarter (20.4 percent) of respondents who, by contrast, made a clear distinction between an offence and an incivility. Respondents in the middle of the spectrum, comprising nearly one-half of all respondents (45.8 percent), considered both non-punishable and legally punishable acts (whether common misdemeanours or offences) as incivilities. The socio-legal ambiguity of the concept of incivility has generated a debate in which actors from the judicial system reject the term as masking true offences as well as a portion of all delinquencies, while researchers consider that this "catch-all" concept promotes a broadening of the penal net (Bonnemain, 2000; Milburn, 2000).

Therefore, we see that there is a lack of consensus around the definition and scope of incivility, but what exactly are the facts involved, and how are incivilities manifested? Generally speaking, Biderman et al. (1967) associate disorder or incivilities with easily perceptible signs, which are the result of disruptive and disturbing behaviours taking place in a community. According to Bonnemain (2000: 60), incivilities refer to interpersonal conflicts (family, neighbours), interference with enjoyment (noise, obstruction), poor social interaction (impoliteness, insults), and petty misconduct (vandalism, destruction). According to Roché (1996a), uncivil behaviour covers, among other things, damage to mailboxes, uncleanliness, noise, broken windows, impoliteness, and groups of potentially aggressive youths loitering on building grounds. Finally, Sampson and Raudenbush (2001) measured the concept of disorder using the following elements: the presence of litter, graffiti, abandoned vehicles, needles, syringes, loitering, public consumption of alcohol, and the presence of groups of youths demonstrating signs of gang affiliation. In all, uncivil behaviour refers to a varied range of occurrences and situations that may involve several dimensions, as seen in the next section.

B. The dimensions of incivility

The representations and manifestations of incivilities can be grouped under three dimensions. The first involves a categorization that separates incivilities by character, into those expressed as social behaviours and those associated with physical traces (Skogan, 1990). According to this perspective, the *social* form designates actual experiences that are directly perceptible by the social actors, such as impoliteness, loitering, making noise, etc. Meanwhile, the *physical* form designates those signs that suggest a lack of cleanliness and a degradation of the living environment, such as: the presence of litter, graffiti, vandalism, etc. In addition, physical incivilities correspond to on-going behaviours, while the social dimension of incivilities is manifested rather by a series of episodic events.

These observations now lead us to the two other dimensions of incivility – proximity and frequency. In contrast to the first dimension (character) the proximity and frequency of incivilities does not refer to a categorical representation, but rather to the perceived intensity of the phenomenon. Indeed, the proximity of an uncivil behaviour is expected to have the consequence of influencing the representations of the social actors as to the very notion of incivility. As underscored by Milburn (2000: 338), the incapacity of researchers to clearly circumscribe the notion of incivility has to do with the fact that these behaviours “[translation] *are only experienced as uncivil by those who are the witnesses or victims*”. Thus, the social or geographic distance that separates the social actors from manifestations of incivility modulates individual perceptions in the sense that it can reflect, on the one hand, a certain understanding of reality and, on the other hand, a distortion shaped by the political or media-based construction of the phenomenon. With regard to the frequency of incivilities, this dimension assumes a major importance around the portrayal of “undesirable” behaviours. In effect, the recurrence of certain incivilities in a particular place and at a specific time can have the

consequence of trivializing or judicializing these behaviours. Just like certain forms of minor (though legally punishable) offences or petty misconduct that are labelled as “incivilities” (Bonnemain, 2000), uncivil behaviours may be the object of a differential reaction depending on whether they are committed by a large number of persons, or the object of formal reprisals if they constitute a serious breach of moral values and public safety. This point is continued here below.

C. The perceived gravity of incivilities

The majority of research on gravity has been almost exclusively dedicated to an evaluation and ranking of offences within a broad spectrum of criminal activities. Nonetheless, there is no reason to believe that the mechanisms that underlie the perceived gravity of crimes should be any different from those that determine the gravity of incivilities. Indeed, in both cases, we suppose that the notion of gravity is multi-dimensional, i.e., that it is influenced by the personal characteristics of individuals and by the norms in effect within a given social group. Thus, even though this approach has been only minimally developed by researchers that study incivility, we propose to examine the main works that have explored the dimensions of, and evaluation methods for, the gravity of crimes, in order to derive a measure that is adapted to uncivil behaviours.

To begin, several studies have indicated that actors from the judicial sphere and the population as a whole agree that crimes against the person are more serious than crimes against private property. Yet, within each of these broad categories, there are a number of offences for which it is difficult to firmly conclude that any one is more serious than any other. We see that the gravity of the crimes within a single category can vary considerably. More specifically, it seems that “[translation] intragroup variance (for crimes within the same offence category) is often greater than the intergroup variance (between these two categories of offences)” (Ouimet, 2004;

Francis et al., 2001). Thus, it is preferable to understand the perceived gravity of a crime or an offence in relative terms (Sellin and Wolfgang, 1964). The relative seriousness is based on a comparison between two infractions, ranking their relative gravities along an ordinal scale. For example, premeditated murder is assigned a higher relative seriousness than criminal negligence.

In addition, numerous studies on the perceived gravity of crimes in different countries have shown that a consensus exists on the relative order of the scales of gravity between these countries, unaffected by the sex, age, profession or culture of the respondents (Ackman, Normandeau and Turner, 1967; Normandeau, 1970; Hamilton and Sanders, 1988; Hough and Roberts, 1999). Nonetheless, this consensus is called into question when it comes to the *intensity* (gravity in absolute numbers) of the disapproval expressed in response to a particular offence (Cusson, 1998). When judging the gravity of a certain offence, women are more severe than men, victims more severe than non-victims, the rich more than the poor, and educated individuals more than uneducated individuals (Wolfgang et al., 1985; Cusson, 1998). Moreover, the gravity of a crime also depends on the circumstances under which it takes place. Certain circumstances are said to be “aggravating” while others are “attenuating”. Taking the works of Sellin and Wolfgang (1964) as an inspiration, Cusson (1998) identifies seven main variables that are likely to influence gravity, namely: real prejudices, potential dangers, monetary losses, how dangerous a weapon is, how vulnerable a victim is, the presence of psychotropes, and the offender’s intention.

In all, research on the gravity of crimes has made it possible to identify a number of useful measures of the perceived gravity of incivilities. Clearly, *monetary losses* associated with the costs to repair acts of vandalism, the *vulnerability* of victims in connection with their age, sex, or ethnic origin, the *potential risks* associated with the marginalization of certain individuals

(loiterers, vagrants) and the real *intention* to harm another person, all represent circumstances that are likely to influence the perceived gravity of incivilities. In addition, just as for the categories of offences, the social form and the physical form of uncivil behaviours will probably be characterized by differences at the level of perceived gravity. For example, it is probable that the social actors will assess the gravity of an insult as being higher than that of littering (Taylor and Hale 1986; Rohe and Burby, 1988). Still, the perceived gravity of uncivil behaviours depends on their intensity. Thus, the interaction between proximity and frequency, combined with the two forms of incivility, may well influence the perceived gravity, independent of individual characteristics. An analysis of the perceived gravity of incivilities should make it possible to better understand the process of how uncivil behaviours are characterized (at a penal level or not) and to determine how the perceived gravity will modulate the intervention strategies used by the social actors.

II. SOCIAL CONTROL OF INCIVILITIES: STRUCTURAL FACTORS AND SOCIAL PROCESSES

Even though incivilities may be expressed in the form of innocuous behaviours, the fact remains that their spatiotemporal aggregation is associated with an increase in delinquency. For example, the “broken window” theory developed by Wilson and Kelling (1982) proposes that if, in a neighbourhood, broken windows are not replaced and the authorities do not seek to punish the agents of such damage, occurrences of incivilities will rapidly multiply. In such a context, the authors postulate that inactivity on the part of the social actors sends the implicit message that the rules of proper social conduct may be ignored without entailing any negative consequences for the transgressors. Thus, the “broken windows” become the symbol of a neighbourhood in disrepair and contribute to the conditions for an increase in criminality. This observation is also supported by Felson (1998), whose work shows that the deterioration in living conditions and the proliferation of deviant behaviours of lesser importance contribute to the decay of a neighbourhood and an increase in major crime.

Several initiatives have been developed over the past few years in order to exercise control over uncivil behaviours and contain public disorder. First, we have witnessed major political reforms with respect to the strategies for countering petty delinquency, notably by re-introducing neighbourhood policing and establishing local security contracts. Second, we have seen the birth of a plethora of local preventive initiatives such as mediation groups between citizens, and more coercive measures, such as curfews for minors.¹ Nonetheless, the vast majority of these initiatives are focussed primarily on the immediate causes of deviant behaviours, suspending

¹ For example, the city of Huntingdon, Quebec attempted to institute a curfew in order to reduce the number of disorders committed by adolescents in the area.

the more fundamental considerations tied to social processes and to the informal mechanisms of control used in communities.

A. Social disorganization

According to Messner and Rosenfeld (1994), social disorganization refers to the inability of certain communities to achieve common objectives, such as maintaining or improving living conditions and the informal regulation of deviant behaviours. The theory of social disorganization is interested in the structural factors² and processes that alter social cohesion and thus facilitate the deterioration of urban spaces. Research has successfully determined which structural factors are associated with disorder. Take, for example, the work of Morenoff et al. (2001), who adopted an ecological perspective to draw out the factors tied to the prevailing living conditions in neighbourhoods with high levels of disorder: poverty, the segregation of minority groups and single-parent families. According to Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls (1998), these characteristics can be grouped into three categories: (1) a concentration of disadvantages; (2) a concentration of immigration; (3) residential instability. Note that the notion of a concentration of disadvantages refers to the following socio-economic characteristics: persons who live below the poverty line, single-parent families, individuals below the age of 20, a high unemployment rate, and persons who receive social assistance. Thus, it is essential to understand how the structural specificities of communities can influence the aggregation of disorders in certain living environments (Sampson and Raudenbush, 2001).

Nevertheless, an analysis of structural factors alone does not explain the variation in disorder from one neighbourhood to another. Rather, while certain socio-demographic and socio-economic factors can result in an increased level of disorder, other forces may counterbalance

² "Structural factors" refers to the socio-economic and sociodemographic factors in a community.

and neutralize criminogenic social characteristics. This premise supposes that the desire to live in a secure social environment can favour, among the members of a community, the deployment of collective strategies aimed at guaranteeing order in their living environment (Sampson and Raudenbush, 2001).

B. Informal social control and its mechanisms

Disorder is also associated with a community's mechanisms of informal social control.

According to Roché (1996b), the multiplication of incivilities, particularly in a geographically delimited location, heightens the sense of insecurity, as well as delinquency itself, as soon as the informal mechanisms of social control break down. Indeed, several studies have already highlighted the influence of disorder on neighbourhood decay. Studies conducted by Wilson and Kelling (1982) have shown that disorders were largely responsible for alterations in the processes used by a community to influence motivation and control deviant behaviours. Thus, in urban zones with high levels of disorder, we see a phenomenon of disengagement from the living environment and the de-responsibilization of citizens with regard to issues of local importance (Skogan, 1990). This disengagement of the members of a community then favours the emergence of a process in which the relationship between disorder and a weakening of the mechanisms of informal social control initiates a downward spiral that leads to a marked deterioration in the living environment.

Even though structural factors have an impact on the geographic concentration of disorders, the fact remains that the social organization of urban spaces and the associated mechanisms of social integration play a major role in the control of deviant behaviours. Morenoff and Sampson (2001) conducted a study on the possible links between the geographic concentration of social inequalities, the mechanisms of social integration and crime levels. The results show that the concentration of social inequalities and weak collective efficacy independently predict for

increased criminal violence; membership in local associations, in volunteer groups and in an extended network of friends tends to reduce violent crime only if the goal of said membership is to promote group effectiveness. The authors conceptualize collective efficacy by joining social cohesion with the expectations held by individuals toward the aim of strengthening informal social control in their community (Sampson and Raudenbush, 2001).

Informal social control is highly correlated with levels of criminality and the structural factors that characterize urban zones (neighbourhoods). Informal social control refers to the structure and reciprocity of interpersonal relations that bind the members of a social community to each other and to social institutions (Sampson and Laub, 1993; Kornhauser, 1978). This type of control can be evident in various forms: respect for behavioural norms, informal surveillance of the neighbourhood, reporting of illicit activities and the involvement of individuals in situations that affect their security. Nonetheless, in order for informal social control to be exercised, communities must be characterized by strong social cohesion, and they must be composed of members who have been able to develop an extended social capital that enables them to act effectively when confronting collective problems.

According to Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls (1998), the willingness of residents to intervene for the collective good depends in large part on social cohesion, which is defined as mutual trust and solidarity between the individuals of a given community. On this point, Lynch et al. (1998) write that social capital is a concept tied to social cohesion, and can be defined as “[translation] the sum total of the investments, resources and networks that give rise to social cohesion, trust, and a willingness to participate in community activities”. In addition, social capital also seems to encompass civic engagement, norms of reciprocity, mutual respect, political equality, and a collective interest, enabling individuals to join forces and accomplish more than they would be able to individually (Diamond, 2001). It is the different social networks, governed by norms, that

enable the members of a group to work together effectively in order to achieve shared objectives (Putnam, 2000). Thus, communities that have developed social networks and community associations are better equipped than those that do not have to face poverty and conflict resolution (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000).

III. INCIVILITIES, SOCIAL HOUSING AND COMMUNITY GOVERNANCE

Based on the review of the literature, we see that research on incivilities, disorder, and delinquency have primarily examined the prevailing situation in disadvantaged suburbs, without really paying any attention to the structures that make up these urban zones, notably social housing. In effect, since the 1970s, one strategy public powers have used in the fight against poverty is the development of a vast network of social housing. These state interventions were intended to enable access to minimum basic housing conditions for the poorest communities. Yet modern societies are being confronted by the constant expansion of these zones of poverty. Today, increasingly, the residents of social housing are poor, multi-ethnic, single-parent households, socially isolated and without resources. This geographic concentration of disadvantages inevitably poses the problem of an aggregation of disorder and degradation in the living conditions of the communities in these residential spaces. Moreover, the French model of “*cités*” (housing estates) has shown all too clearly that problems of disorder are tied to exclusion and the concentration of poverty (Boyer, 2000; Roché, 2000; Merlin, 1999). Given such circumstances, it has become urgent that we take an interest in the problems of order that are rampant in social housing, because incivilities and disorder represent a major security issue facing the residents of social housing on a daily basis (Rouse and Rubenstein, 1978).

A. Incivilities and disorder in social housing

In the first section of this chapter we mentioned that incivilities represent a breach of public order, altering social ties and generating mistrust among citizens. On this point, studies by Brill (1975) identify the cause of disorder in social housing as a weak social structure, the absence of support groups, a lack of trust, and all those factors that inhibit the capacity of a community to protect itself and help its members. Such circumstances can weaken the social fabric to varying degrees depending on the nature of the interventions made by public powers.

To be sure, the authorities of the city of Montreal have avoided creating “ghettos”, relying instead on a model of smaller housing blocks dispersed within neighbourhoods. And yet the problem remains fundamentally the same: demobilization, de-responsibilization, a lack of social cohesion and social control. Studies by Rouse and Rubenstein (1978) indicate that the problem of deviance that afflicts social housing is associated with a lack of social cohesion and informal social control. These authors also report that these weaknesses at the level of social mechanisms contribute to the vulnerability of residents in the face of crime. They also reveal the influence that social cohesion and the level of informal social control (collective efficacy) have on the levels of criminality in rent-controlled housing.

B. The governance of social housing and informal control

The manifestations of disorder and incivilities in social housing are the consequence of a system that is deficient in managing living conditions (Fagan et al., 1998). Moreover, studies by Saegert, Winkel, and Swartz (2002) show that the implementation of social programs that promote the development of the informal social capital of residents has tended to lower the levels of criminality in public housing in the city of New York. In effect, the authors conclude that the wealth of informal social capital (measured as resident participation in tenants’ committees,

the prosocial standards of tenants, and formal organizations within housing complexes) is directly tied to a reduction in different types of crime. This underscores the importance of community governance in managing conflict. Thus, the results of this study indicate that disorder is not endemic to communities that reside in rent-controlled housing, and that a deeper knowledge of the mechanisms of governance in these communities will be needed (for example, organizational structure, administrative rules) in order to locate the dysfunctional elements (Weisel, 1998).

In our view, then, the sociological definition of incivilities underestimates the institutional context within which the social actors are operating, because the residents of social housing are subject to differential management of their living conditions. In the city of Montreal, for example, several types of management exist for social housing, each of which produces a varying degree of responsabilization and collective mobilization. For the purposes of this study, we call particular attention to two types of governance. The first involves rent-controlled housing, where a “clientelistic” type of governance is used, i.e., a model that “takes charge of” residents by defining their housing conditions. The second involves housing cooperatives, which operate essentially according to a process of democratic participation in which the residents have greater control over their living conditions.

C. Research questions

We know that incivilities are associated with harmful and undesirable behaviours that are the object of social disapproval. Yet the notion of incivility remains ambiguous because of the influence exerted by factors that act on individual perceptions. Above all, the definition of an incivility emanates from subjective representations that refer to the mores and moral considerations of the actors who are subjected to, or in the vicinity of, incivility. By extension, if we know that the residents of social housing exhibit varied socio-economic and socio-

demographic characteristics, it is plausible that these attributes may interfere with their subjective representation of incivility, modulating the intensity of disapproval from residents in response to uncivil behaviour.

Further, we have seen that structural factors such as a concentration of disadvantages and multi-ethnicity can weaken a community's capacity to deploy collective intervention strategies. By contrast, those communities that have been able to maintain a high level of social cohesion are better equipped to counterbalance criminogenic effects that are linked to structural factors. Thus, the modes of management in social housing are likely to shape the perceptions of individuals with regard to what is or is not accepted by the membership group, to set a threshold for tolerance (gravity) with regard to uncivil behaviour, and to exert an influence on the process of formally or informally regulating incivilities.

In this study, we propose to examine the representations and intervention strategies of residents in social housing with regard to incivilities. Beyond the central research question ("according to the residents of social housing in the city of Montreal, what is an incivility?"), we also will explore the following three research questions:

- What is the influence of personal characteristics on representations of incivility, and how do these characteristics interact with the preferred intervention mechanisms of residents?
- What is the influence of the type of governance on subjective representations of an incivility, and how does governance interact with the preferred intervention mechanisms of residents?
- Which of these two factors (personal characteristics or type of governance) exerts the greater influence on the definition of civility and the choice of intervention strategies in response?

PART TWO: METHODOLOGY

In this second part, we deal with the main methodological considerations that framed this study. We begin by briefly describing the target population and the living environment of the residents in social housing. Next, we specify the sampling method and explain the data collection process. Finally, we define the measures used to operationalize the central concepts in connection with our research.

I. GOVERNANCE OF THE LIVING ENVIRONMENTS STUDIED

This study deals with the residents in one of two types of housing on the island of Montreal, namely the residents of rent-controlled housing (HLM) managed by the *Office municipale d'habitation de Montréal* (OMHM), and the residents of cooperatives managed by the *Fédération des coopératives d'habitation intermunicipale de Montréal métropolitain* (FÉCHIMM)³. The OMHM currently administers approximately 17,000 rent-controlled residences in the Montreal metropolitan area. Residents are assigned to various HLMs depending on the following criteria: seniors over 55 years of age, families or single persons under 55 years of age (with or without children).⁴ The rental conditions stipulate that the cost of rent correspond to 25 percent of household income, and tenants are eligible for a reduction in rent if their income decreases during the lease. In other words, this particular population is subject to numerous disadvantages at the socio-economic level.

³ For the purposes of this research, we consider housing cooperatives to be “social” housing because a large number of coops receive financial aid through government programs. This “public” assistance makes it possible for cooperatives to offer tenants rents at prices that are largely below the private rental market.

⁴ Applicant admission into an HLM is based on strict rules and highly specific criteria such as income, autonomy (not affected by a serious handicap) and residence in the city for the preceding 24 months. In addition, every applicant must be a Canadian citizen or permanent resident.

Metropolitan Montreal's *Fédération des coopératives d'habitation intermunicipale* includes more than 330 cooperatives. With an average of 19 residences per cooperative, it represents more than 6000 households.⁵ Just like the FÉCHIMM itself, each individual cooperative is member-run, including an Executive Board that promotes member involvement in the management of housing conditions. As a result, and to ensure their viability and financial development, housing cooperatives have promoted a socio-economically diverse membership. Individuals who wish to live in a cooperative and become members must sign a contract that requires them to comply with the cooperative operating rules set down in *Article 4* of the Quebec cooperatives act (*Loi sur les coopératives*, L.R.Q., chap. C-67.2). This clause holds a crucial importance in the contract, because it grants the member a substantial reduction in housing fees, which remains conditional on the member's involvement in management of the cooperative.⁶ Nonetheless, we note that from among the diverse range of cooperative programs, we have tended to focus on those that derive from *Article 95* of Quebec's national housing act (*Loi nationale sur l'habitation*, 1984). *Article 95* obliges cooperatives to offer 25 percent of their rental space to low-income clientele. This focus enabled us to better compare the two living environments being studied.

⁵ The FÉCHIMM is member-managed and funded. It aims to develop customized services that meet the needs of housing cooperatives and their members.

⁶ If the contract is not respected, the Board of Directors can suspend application of the agreement for a set period or even exclude the member, thus withdrawing the financial advantages associated with membership.

II. SAMPLING, DATA COLLECTION, AND POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

For the purposes of this study, we limited the analysis of residents' perceptions of incivilities in social housing to five neighbourhoods in the city of Montreal: Centre Sud, Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, Mercier, Plateau Mont-Royal and Ville Marie.⁷ In order to obtain the best estimate of the statistical representativity of the two populations being studied, we chose the probabilistic or simple random sampling method.⁸ In total, 364 residents were interviewed: 217 residents in HLM and 147 residents in cooperatives. Our sample resulted in a margin of error of 5 percent (19 times out of 20), with the total number of residences in the HLM and cooperatives for the five target neighbourhoods estimated at 9,296.

For this research, we used a field study (survey) conducted on the basis of person-to-person directive interviews (questionnaires).⁹ These interviews were confidential (denominalization of the questionnaires), and all respondents signed a consent form approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of Montreal. In addition, we made the number of interviews proportionate to the number of residences in each housing complex visited.¹⁰ In addition, our partners provided us with information on the populations being studied. From the OMHM we received a list of all the residents in the HLM in the five target neighbourhoods, and the

⁷ The following reasons justify this choice: 1) a considerable proportion of social housing is concentrated in these five areas of the city, and 2) this geographic delimitation enables us to control the influence of the structural factors that characterize these urban zones.

⁸ The advantage of this sampling technique is that it reproduces a population based solely on chance in order to select which individuals will be included in the sample. Thus, every individual has an equal chance of being in the final sample (Toudel and Antonius, 1991:228).

⁹ Data collection took place over a period of 4 months, from January to April of 2004.

¹⁰ Nonetheless, the field survey was not without its obstacles. For example, it was difficult to reach seniors, subsequent to an awareness campaign conducted by *Tandem* to protect seniors against strangers knocking at their door.

FÉCHIMM forwarded a list of the presidents of each cooperative located within these neighbourhoods. This approach made it possible for us to respect the postulates of probabilistic sampling and identify the specificities of the two populations being studied.

Using this method, we obtained a sample in which the socio-demographic characteristics of the two sub-groups under study are statistically comparable. The personal characteristics presented in Table 14 (Annex V) indicate that there are few differences between the two populations being studied (age, sex, ethnic affiliation, and civil status). By contrast, it appears that the respondents' level of education ($\phi=0.33$; $p<0.01$) and income ($\phi=0.52$; $p<0.01$) are strongly associated with the living environment. In other words, the residents of HLM are substantially more socio-economically disadvantaged than persons in cooperatives. This difference between the two groups can be explained primarily by the criteria inherent to the selection of tenants.

III. OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE CONCEPTS

We designed three types of measure in order to elicit the representations of incivility among residents of social housing in the city of Montreal. The first measure consisted of asking the subjects to define the notion of incivility. The second measure examined the perceptions of the respondents with regard to incivility by opposing the penal and sociological perspectives. Thus, by directing subjects to a choice of responses, we asked them to determine if an incivility was the result of a lack of proper social conduct, a failure to respect the rules established in their housing complex, or a legal offence. The final measure was based on a list of 21 incidents found in Annex II, involving various scenarios (infra-penal, offences, crimes). In order to validate respondents' perceptions with regard to the two preceding measures, we also took the liberty of including legally punishable behaviours on this list. Here, respondents were instructed to discern which of the incidents they had been exposed to were or were not uncivil behaviour.

After having expressed whether each of the 21 incidents was or was not uncivil in nature, the respondents were then questioned on their perceptions of these incidents. More specifically, they were instructed to express their feelings when they were confronted with each incident, as indifference, insecurity, anger, or uneasiness. Based on the subjects' responses, we developed a scale for each of the emotions felt, taking into account only those incidents that they perceived as incivilities. These scales of measures enabled us to analyze the discriminating effects of the personal characteristics and management type.

In order to measure the perceived gravity of incivilities, we took broad inspiration from surveys on the perceived gravity of crimes (Sellin and Wolfgang, 1964; Wolfgang et al., 1985). The measure of gravity is spread over four scales, each of which contains nine vignettes (scenarios) corresponding to the following acts: throwing flyers on the floor, blocking the hallway with packages, loitering, uttering insults, making noise, spitting, vandalizing the mailboxes, stealing property, and physically assaulting another person. For each of the scenarios, we varied the following attributes: frequency and proximity. We created four scales in order to avoid memorized responses, that is, when respondents rate the gravity of an incivility by taking into account the previous rating.

In contrast to the work conducted on the perception of crimes, we opted for a categorical scale that compares the gravity of one uncivil act against the others, rather than an amplitude scale.¹¹ This enabled us to obtain a perception of gravity that was relative to the whole of the nine scenarios contained in each of the groups that made up our measure. Thus, the respondents had to indicate a score between 0 (not serious) and 100 (very serious) for each scenario, taking

¹¹ We wish to thank Julien Piednoir and Nadège Sauvêtre for their discerning advice in developing this tool of measure.

into account the value accorded to the other vignettes on the same scale. We preferred this ranking method to the one used by Wolfgang et al. (1985), in order to avoid the respondents' judgment being influenced by the value associated with a module rather than freely expressing their perception of the gravity in relation to a set of behaviours, the attributes of which were variable (nature, proximity and frequency).

Moreover, given that the reaction and the intervention strategies used by the subjects could be influenced by the frequency of occurrence of uncivil behaviours, we asked each subject to tally the number of times he/she had been witness to, or the victim of, each of the situations featured on the list, over the six months preceding the interview. The specification of this period of time was in line with two objectives. The first was methodological and intended to delimit a time window to ensure that the respondents would not engage in a "telescopic" appraisal of the occurrence of incidents. The second and more pragmatic objective involved targeting a long enough period of time so that certain rather more infrequent incidents, such as theft or assault, would arise. Using the information collected, we created an exposure scale by adding the frequency of victimization and the number of times that subjects stated they had been witness to incidents they considered incivilities.

In order to understand the intervention strategies used by the respondents, subjects were invited to express themselves on the type of action they took following exposure to incivilities. When subjects stated that they had been exposed to one or more of the 21 incidents contained on the list in Annex II, they had to specify the nature of their intervention. To do so, we offered them a list of responses composed of the following reactions: (1) I do nothing; (2) I intervene personally; (3) I have a personal acquaintance intervene; (4) I notify the building superintendent; (5) I lodge a complaint with the sponsoring agency; (6) I lodge a complaint with a municipal inspector, and (7) I lodge a complaint with the police.

Finally, to better understand the choice of intervention strategies used by respondents, we developed two scales measuring the degree of social cohesion and the level of informal social control in the respondents' living environment. The development of these scales was largely inspired by the work of Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls (1998). The first scale measured the subjects' feeling of belonging to their community (cohesion), notably the ties of trust and solidarity that they developed with their neighbours. The second scale measured the level of informal social control, based on the perception of the respondents. Specifically, it examined the degree of effectiveness on the part of residents in social housing to manage their collective problems (for example, deviant behaviour, issues of local importance, etc.).

IV. LIMITS OF THE STUDY

This study included three limits. First, data collection involved interviews conducted with Francophone residents of Montreal exclusively. Next, our samples contain respondents (approximately 14 percent) from minority ethno-cultural sources. And finally, the interviews were conducted exclusively with subjects residing in the southwest of Montreal. As a result, we suggest that our sample does not represent a complete picture of social housing in the city of Montreal, because it excludes Anglophone subjects, certain ethnic minorities, and other disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Montreal. Nonetheless, although these limits suggest prudence in any generalization of the results, we find it important to highlight that, beyond their socio-economic characteristics, the two samples under study (HLM and cooperatives) are comparable.

PART THREE: REPRESENTATIONS AND PERCEPTIONS OF INCIVILITY

In this third part, we are interested in the representations of incivility from residents of social housing. Our analyses look first at the respondents' capacity to define a notion as abstract as incivility. Next, we focus particular attention on the manifestations of incivility, in order to determine from the point of view of the respondents, to what reality uncivil behaviour refers. Finally, in the last section, we analyze the sentiments generated by uncivil acts when residents are confronted with them. For all of these themes, we examine how and to what extent the representations and perceptions of the respondents are determined by the characteristics of individuals and the living environment in which they exist.

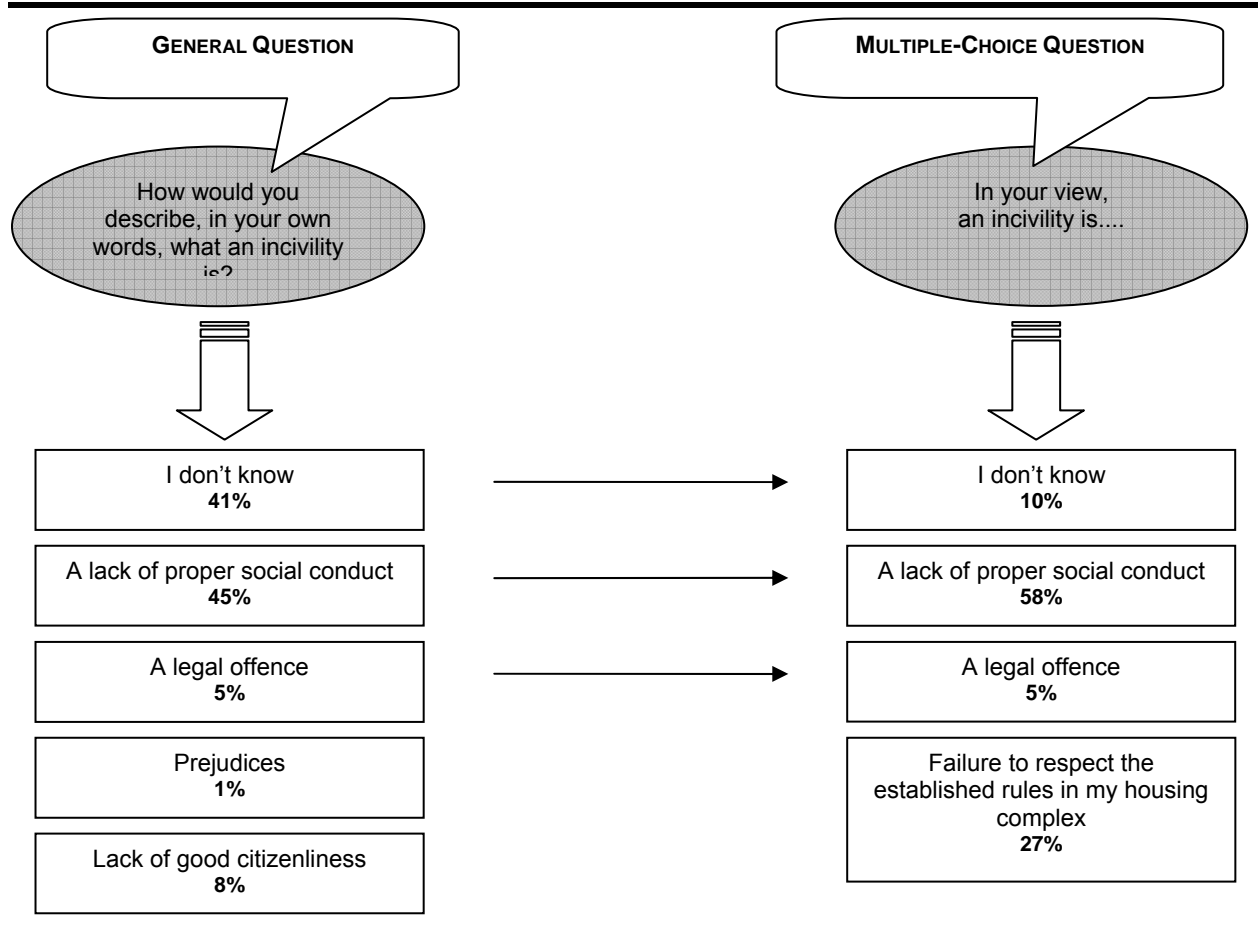
I. ABSTRACT REPRESENTATIONS OF INCIVILITY

Although the interpenetration of the penal and sociological domains in the conceptualization of incivility makes this notion difficult to circumscribe, representations of uncivil behaviours nonetheless remain attached to an individual's universe of reference. Thus, respondents were asked to define the term "incivility". As expected, the responses obtained indicate that the understanding of this concept varies considerably as a function of the actual personal experiences of the respondents. We also see that the different definitions of incivility reported to us refer as much to prejudices and irritating situations as to delinquent behaviours.

Diagram 1 illustrates the numerous "examples" of incivility according to defined categories, and shows that nearly half of all respondents (45 percent) associate incivility with "a lack of proper social conduct", 8 percent with "a lack of good civic-mindedness", 5 percent with "a legal offence" and, finally, 1 percent with "prejudices". Note, however, that 41 percent of all

respondents were incapable of defining incivility or giving an example. This result indicates that a considerable proportion of respondents either have difficulty expressing the concept of incivility in concrete terms, or simply cannot find the words to define it.

To help provide the respondents with some structure, we offered them a choice of responses including 4 categories, as follows: (1) a lack of proper social conduct; (2) a failure to respect the established rules for their housing complex; (3) a legal offence; (4) I don't know. Our results indicate that the percentage of subjects who previously were unable to respond to the open question now dropped from 41 percent to 10 percent. This suggests that offering a choice of responses made it possible to redirect the respondents. The subjects' responses show that half (58 percent) now associated incivility with "a lack of proper social conduct", 27 percent with "a failure to respect the established rules for their housing complex" and 5 percent with "a legal offence".

Diagram 1 :**Representations of incivility, according to residents of social housing**

N = 364

Two observations emerge from these results. The first concerns the category “failure to respect the established rules in your housing complex”. It is likely that this choice of response was used as an alternative category in response to not knowing what an incivility is. In effect, when we examine the percentage distribution between questions one and two, we see that the majority of subjects who initially stated they did not know what an incivility is were subsequently found in this category. Still, we must not exclude the possibility that the choice of responses also helped respondents crystallize their perception, clarifying an abstract notion that they previously were

unable to express in their own words. Further, numerous studies in cognitive psychology have shown that there is no connection between the absence of an extensive vocabulary and a person's representations. Indeed, according to Charbonneau and Cousineau¹² (2004), the fact of not knowing how to name something does not mean that a person is unable to understand that thing. Moreover, if we consider that incivility is generally perceived as a behaviour that does not comply with the rules of social convention, it must be admitted that a failure to respect the rules established in a housing complex falls within this definition.

The second observation concerns the definition of incivility as being "a legal offence". It is interesting to note that social actors, in contrast to the institutional actors queried in Bonnemain's study (2000), are less likely to associate incivility with legally punishable behaviour. On the other hand, even though the proportion of subjects located in this category may be low, it nonetheless remains constant, which suggests that an irreducible number of respondents persisted in qualifying incivility in penal terms.

To better understand what influences respondents' representations, we examined to what extent the personal characteristics of subjects were associated with the responses obtained. An initial set of analyses, presented in Table 15, indicates that, in general, subject responses are not discriminated by socio-demographic factors. On the other hand, it appears that socio-economic characteristics significantly differentiate for representations of incivility. Specifically, we see that the proportion of subjects who have difficulty defining incivility is composed primarily of individuals who reported a low level of schooling ($\phi=0.25$; $p\leq 0.01$) and whose family income is below the poverty line ($\phi=0.25$; $p\leq 0.01$). Inversely, we find that respondents who associated

¹² The study by Charbonneau and Cousineau (2004) addressed individuals' capacity to use language to describe their taste sensations with regard to different types of coffee. The results showed that the absence of an extensive vocabulary did not prevent amateurs from detecting subtle differences between types of coffee.

incivility with a lack of proper social conduct reported higher levels of schooling and income (respectively: $\phi=0.16$; $p\leq 0.01$ and $\phi=0.11$; $p\leq 0.05$). By contrast, it appears that respondents who reported income greater than \$20,000 also tend to conceive of incivility as a lack of good citizenliness ($\phi=0.14$; $p\leq 0.01$). Finally, when subject responses are correlated to living environment, the results indicate that residents of HLM are more likely not to know what an incivility is (49.1 percent versus 28.6 percent, $\phi=0.20$; $p\leq 0.01$), while a considerable proportion of those subjects who perceive incivility as “a lack of proper social conduct” come from cooperatives (53.7 percent versus 39.8 percent, $\phi=0.14$; $p\leq 0.01$). Nonetheless, this last result must be interpreted cautiously, because we already know that the living environment largely determines the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents.

A second series of analyses dealt with the choice of responses offered to subjects. The results, seen in Table 16, indicate that the proportion of subjects who had difficulty defining incivility is composed primarily of individuals from a visible minority ($\phi=0.30$; $p\leq 0.01$), individuals with income below \$19,999 ($\phi=0.13$; $p\leq 0.05$) and single-parent families ($\phi=0.12$; $p\leq 0.05$). Furthermore, we see that persons over 36 years of age ($\phi=0.16$; $p\leq 0.05$) and persons of Caucasian origin ($\phi=0.10$; $p\leq 0.05$) are more likely to associate incivility with “a lack of proper social conduct”. On the other hand, we see that single persons and the heads of “traditional families” ($\phi=0.15$; $p\leq 0.01$) are more inclined to define incivility as “a failure to respect the established rules in their housing complex”. Finally, we see that the fact of qualifying incivility in penal terms (legal offence) is not discriminated by any of the socio-economic or socio-demographic factors. Moreover, we note that the fact of suggesting a choice of responses considerably attenuates the discriminating effect of the type of management on the representations of incivility.

What emerge from these results as a whole are several diverging tendencies. On the one hand, when respondents are asked to express the concept of incivility in their own words, we see that the sample separates into two distinct groups: respondents who associate incivility with “a lack of proper social conduct” (45 percent), and respondents who have difficulty defining the concept (41 percent). It also appears that the living environment and socio-economic characteristics represent the two main factors that differentiate the respondents’ representations. On the other hand, when we propose a choice of responses to the subjects, we see that incivility is primarily associated with “a lack of proper social conduct” (58 percent), and that, this time the representations of incivility are largely differentiated by the respondents’ personal characteristics, while the discriminating effect of the living environment disappears.

II. CONCRETE REPRESENTATIONS OF INCIVILITY

The preceding results indicate that a non-negligible proportion of respondents are unaware of the referent of the concept of incivility. Yet, after they received a choice of suggested responses as to what an incivility might be, the percentage of subjects who could not answer this question dropped from 41 percent to 10 percent. Nonetheless, we suppose that, despite not being able to clearly conceptualize a representation of incivility, subjects are indeed capable of defining this notion from a pragmatic point of view, i.e., in terms of its manifestations.

Consequently, subjects were asked to identify, from a list of 21 incidents (Annex II) which ones they considered to be incivilities. This list includes legally punishable behaviours (assault and theft), behaviours tied to physical disorder, and behaviours tied to social disorder, the latter of which ranged from impoliteness (e.g., casting insults, spitting, etc.) to offences (e.g., spraying graffiti, disobeying no-smoking regulations, etc.). The results (seen in Table 1) indicate the presence of a consensus on several incidents associated with these uncivil behaviours.

Table 1 : Percentage of subjects who identified each of the following behaviours as an incivility (in decreasing order)

List of 21 behaviours	Sample
	n=329
Failing to clean up after one's dog	98.50%
Littering on public property	97.30%
Spitting in the lobby	96.70%
Spraying (graffiti)	93.60%
Vandalizing the mailboxes	93.30%
Setting fire to park trashbins	93.00%
Damaging public property	91.50%
Urinating in the street/a park	90.90%
Insulting another person	90.00%
Parking one's car in a space reserved for another resident	87.80%
Stealing property	87.20%
Having noisy neighbours on the floor	85.70%
Physically assaulting another person	83.60%
Failing to pay for one's bus ticket	79.90%
Disobeying no-smoking regulations	76.90%
Spitting in the street	76.60%
Blocking the lobby with one's packages	73.90%
Being drunk in public	52.30%
Loitering on housing grounds	44.70%
Presence of squeegee kids	41.90%
Presence of vagrants	33.40%

Even though it is difficult to group incivilities into a clearly defined typology, the results of Table 1 indicate that incidents marked by a large consensus (greater than 90 percent) are, generally speaking, associated with physical disorder (deterioration of the environment) and a lack of cleanliness. More specifically, we see acts of vandalism, such as spraying graffiti (93.6 percent), vandalizing mailboxes (93.3 percent), and setting fire to park trashbins (93 percent), damaging public property (91.5 percent), and acts associated with uncleanliness, such as failing to clean up after one's dog (98.5 percent), urinating in public places (90 percent) and spitting in the lobby (96.7 percent).

Next, we find behaviours that have the consequence of altering social ties and interpersonal trust. More specifically, we can distinguish behaviours that are likely to generate interpersonal tension, or even conflicts, such as casting insults (90 percent), stealing property (87.20 percent),

parking one's car in a spot reserved for another resident (87.8 percent), having noisy neighbours on the floor (85.7 percent), physically assaulting another person (83.60 percent), not paying for one's bus ticket (79.9 percent), disobeying no-smoking rules (76.9 percent), spitting in the street (76.6 percent), and blocking the lobby with one's packages (73.90 percent). Nonetheless, we note that the behaviours for which a considerable proportion of respondents disagree in terms of incivility are associated with a phenomenon of marginality, such as: public drunkenness (52.3 percent), and the presence of loiterers (44.70 percent), squeegee kids (41.90 percent) and vagrants (33.40 percent).

In light of these results, the following question arises: how is it that criminal acts such as theft and physical assault are identified as incivilities in more than 80 percent of all responses, while only 5 percent of respondents previously perceived incivility as legal offence? First, it is quite possible that the subjects were answering from a sociological, rather than penal, perspective. Thus we see that certain criminal acts such as theft or physical assault are sometimes associated with a criminal offence, and other times with "poor handling" of interpersonal relations. Further, if we focus on physical aggression, a number of conflictual situations exist where two individuals could have a physical altercation (for example, jostling, shoving, etc.) without it being a criminal act and, by extension, without a formal report to the authorities. In this case, a physical altercation between these two people could be perceived as a lack of proper social conduct, where the threat of force is preferred over dialogue.

Next, we also had to take into account that respondents were offered a list of 21 behaviours, the large majority of which referred to nuisances, both individual and collective. This listing of incidents probably had the effect of suggesting a logic of labelling in which subjects were expected to express whether incidents were a nuisance or not. This logic would explain why a large proportion of respondents considered the majority of these behaviours to be incivilities,

especially the criminal acts. By contrast, it is not surprising to observe that the presence of squeegee kids and vagrants were not recognized by a large majority of respondents as incivilities. In effect they do not, per se, refer to collective or interpersonal nuisances, but rather to social problems that are visibly tied to poverty and marginalization.

With regard to type of management, the results shown in Table 2 indicate that the residents of HLM and cooperatives agree on what acts they consider to be incivilities or not. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that the members of cooperatives, compared to the residents of HLM, seem to be less categorical when qualifying the following behaviours as uncivil: “a drunk person in public” ($\phi=0.28$; $p\leq 0.01$), “the presence of loiterers on housing grounds” ($\phi=0.15$; $p\leq 0.01$), “the presence of vagrants on housing grounds” ($\phi=0.22$; $p\leq 0.01$), “the presence of squeegee kids on housing grounds” ($\phi=0.14$; $p\leq 0.01$). In effect, it appears that the members of cooperatives are less likely to deem these incidents to be uncivil behaviour.

We also see this same tendency with regard to legally punishable incidents. As seen in Table 2, the results indicate that the residents of HLM are more inclined than members of cooperatives to consider these acts as incivilities. Thus, physical aggression is considered by 90.6 percent of the residents of HLM as an incivility, compared to 73.7 percent of the members of cooperatives, and this relationship is statistically significant at the 0.01 level ($\phi=0.22$). The same holds true for the theft of another person’s property (92.20 percent versus 80.30 percent; $\phi= 0.17$; $p\leq 0.01$) and for vandalizing mailboxes (96.90 percent versus 80.30 percent; $\phi= 0.16$; $p\leq 0.01$).

Table 2 : Percentage of subjects who identified each of the following behaviours as an incivility, by management type

List of 21 behaviours n=329	HLM	COOP	Phi
	n=192	n=137	
Littering on public property	96.40%	98.50%	0.06
Spraying (graffiti)	93.20%	94.20%	0.01
Setting fire to park trashbins	93.80%	92.00%	0.03
Failing to clean up after one's dog	99.00%	97.80%	0.04
Damaging public property	93.80%	88.30%	0.09
Spitting on the street	76.00%	77.40%	0.01
Disobeying no-smoking regulations	75.50%	78.80%	0.03
Urinating in the street/a park	92.70%	88.30%	0.07
Public drunkenness	64.10%	35.80%	0.28**
Failing to pay for one's bus ticket	82.80%	75.90%	0.08
Insulting another person	90.10%	89.80%	0.00
Physically assaulting another person	90.60%	73.70%	0.22**
Having noisy neighbours on the floor	84.40%	87.60%	0.04
Blocking the lobby with one's packages	72.40%	75.90%	0.03
Spitting in the lobby	97.40%	95.60%	0.04
Loitering on housing grounds	51.00%	35.80%	0.15**
Vandalizing the mailboxes	96.90%	88.30%	0.16**
Parking one's car in a space reserved for another resident	87.40%	88.30%	0.01
Stealing property	92.20%	80.30%	0.17**
Presence of vagrants	42.20%	21.20%	0.22**
Presence of squeegee kids	47.90%	33.60%	0.14**

* : $p \leq 0.05$; ** : $p \leq 0.01$

These statistically significant differences suggest that the members of cooperatives are more nuanced than the residents of HLM in their qualification of legally punishable acts and marginal behaviour. Even though a large proportion (73 percent and above) qualify these incidents as incivilities, the fact remains that more members of cooperatives distinguish between what refers to incivility and what does not. It is probable that the differences between representations from residents of HLM and from members of cooperatives also relate to the socio-economic status of respondents. For example, as seen in Table 17 (Annex V), the level of schooling and income discriminate subject responses with regard to marginal behaviours and criminal acts, and these relationships are statistically significant. More precisely, the results indicate that subjects who

have a low level of schooling and report income below the poverty line are more inclined to consider marginal behaviours and criminal acts as incivilities.

III. PERCEPTIONS OF INCIVILITY

Again, according to the list of 21 incidents, we asked subjects to express the feelings triggered by the behaviours they had earlier identified as incivilities. Generally, we can state that uncivil behaviours upset the residents of social housing. Indeed, the results shown in Table 18 (Annex V) indicate that only a small proportion of respondents claimed to feel indifferent in the face of uncivil acts. In more than half of all cases (12 times out of 21), we see that uncivil behaviours trigger anger in the respondents, notably when the behaviours involved are uncleanliness,¹³ theft, vandalism¹⁴ and incivilities of a social nature.¹⁵

Further, it is interesting to note that the majority of incidents on the reference list generate little insecurity among respondents. Nonetheless, we see that seemingly harmless behaviours, such as “the presence of loiterers” and “the presence of squeegee kids”, generate more insecurity than “assaulting a person”. Note that during the course of the interviews, several respondents in HLM associated loiterers with the presence of “seedy” individuals or vagrants with a bad reputation. This result suggests that insecurity regarding these “marginal” behaviours could have its roots in the fear of being victimized. According to Quirion (2002: 17), the feeling of insecurity is the result of “[translation] *a breakdown of the mechanisms by which solidarity is maintained and which have traditionally served to ward off uncertainty at the level of the individual*”. Even though these “marginal” individuals form a part of the urban environment, we see that they elicit a negative understanding from respondents. With regard to witnessing an

¹³ Specifically, “failing to clean up after one’s dog”, “littering” and “spitting in the lobby”.

¹⁴ Specifically “vandalizing the mailboxes” and “damaging public property”.

¹⁵ Specifically, “having noisy neighbours on the floor” and “parking in a space reserved for another resident”.

assault, this example is much more rare, and may be interpreted by subjects as happenstance or the result of a careless attitude.

In order to understand how personal characteristics and the living environment affect perceptions, we created four scales of measure for each of the emotions felt by the respondents. We dichotomized subject responses for each of the behaviours they had earlier identified as incivilities on the reference list. Each of the scales results in a global score ranging from 0 to 21, which is shown in relation to the type of management and the individual characteristics of the respondents.

First of all, the results of the means analyses, shown in Table 19 (Annex V) indicate that women ($T=2.71$; $p\leq 0.01$) and respondents from ethnic minorities ($T=3.50$; $p\leq 0.01$) are less indifferent to uncivil behaviours. Meanwhile, Caucasians experience more anger in response to incivilities than do subjects from ethnic minorities ($T=4.10$; $p\leq 0.01$). In addition, we see that respondents who reported family income of \$20,000 or above expressed the most discomfort (uneasiness) when faced with uncivil behaviour ($T=2.08$; $p\leq 0.05$). We also see that women ($T=4.20$; $p\leq 0.01$) and respondents reporting a family income of \$19,999 or below ($T=2.01$; $p\leq 0.05$) experience greater insecurity with regard to incivilities. Finally, it appears that the type of management discriminates for three of the four emotions in the study, namely uneasiness, insecurity and indifference. Therefore, the means analyses indicate that the members of cooperatives ($T=3.37$; $p\leq 0.01$) are more likely to feel discomfort in the face of uncivil behaviour. By contrast, the residents of HLM are more likely to feel insecure ($T=3.77$; $p\leq 0.01$) and/or indifferent ($T=2.63$; $p\leq 0.01$).

An initial summation of the results shows that an elevated number of respondents experienced difficulty defining the notion of incivility in their own words. Our analyses show that a

considerable portion of these respondents came from rent-controlled housing, whereas the members of cooperatives demonstrated greater ease in expressing their concept of incivility. Yet the difficulty of defining a notion as abstract as incivility is not a discovery per se. Indeed it can be imagined that the conceptual representation of this notion may not be accessible to all respondents. Incivility is above all a semantic artefact developed by institutional actors in the field of criminology for the purpose of qualifying a complex social phenomenon, the borders of which oscillate between the infra-legal and petty delinquency. That is, the concept of incivility seems to escape the most disadvantaged actors in our society, probably due to the social isolation that separates them from political and penal discourse on matters of security.

Nonetheless, even though numerous respondents demonstrated difficulty in defining incivility, it would be wrong to believe that such an abstract notion would not be understood by respondents. Indeed, the operationalization of this concept showed us that respondents are quite capable of expressing their notions of incivility, whether with the help of various terms or concrete manifestations. For example, we see that for the majority of respondents, uncivil behaviours are associated with a lack of proper social conduct, and that they refer to a set of incidents that are connected with damage to private/public spaces or an alteration of interpersonal relations, including legally punishable behaviours such as theft and assault. Consequently, we see that representations of incivility crystallize in respondents' minds, sometimes assuming a different meaning depending on their personal characteristics and living environment. We also see that concrete representations of incivility, in the form of its various manifestations, trigger various emotional reactions in respondents. Specifically, although uncivil behaviours generally provoke anger, we nonetheless observe that perceptions of incivility oscillate especially between indifference and insecurity, depending on the personal characteristics of the subjects and the living environments in which they operate.

PART FOUR: REACTIONS AND INTERVENTION MODALITIES IN RESPONSE TO INCIVILITY

In this fourth part, we look at the control of uncivil behaviours in social housing. We begin by examining the perceived gravity of incivilities, as expressed by respondents. This first series of analyses is essential because, on the one hand, it offers an understanding of how subjects evaluate the relative seriousness of uncivil behaviours and, on the other hand, it offers the possibility to observe what main dimensions are associated with the severity of respondents' judgment. Next, we turn to respondents' "exposure" to uncivil behaviours in social housing, i.e., the number of times per week that they witness and/or are subjected to incivilities. This second series of analyses is crucial, because the frequency with which incivilities occur can considerably influence respondents' reactions. Moreover, it offers an understanding of the main factors that account for the fact of being exposed to uncivil acts. Finally, these preliminary analyses lead us to an examination of the intervention strategies favoured by respondents in response to incivilities. More precisely, we analyze, on the one hand, respondents' propensity to react when faced with uncivil behaviours and, on the other hand, the formal or informal nature of the actions by which they respond.

I. THE GRAVITY OF INCIVILITIES

In order to measure the perceived gravity of uncivil behaviours, we proceeded from the IRT method (*Item Response Theory*), using a standardization of the scores assigned by the respondents to each of the scenarios, within scales with scores ranging from 0 (not serious) to 9 (very serious).¹⁶ Table 3 ranks the uncivil behaviours presented to the respondents, along a continuum of gravity. The ranking was established using an average of the scores assigned by respondents to each of the scenarios in the four scales of seriousness (Table 20, Annex V). Note that the mean gravity scores were calculated in respect of the theory of internal consistency for aggregate scores. Therefore, an analysis of the correlation between each of the scenarios indicates elevated correlation coefficient values ranging from 0.45 to 0.80, which are statistically significant at the level of 0.01.

First, we note that, according to the ranking, the highest mean gravity scores are attributed to assault (8.39), property theft (8.10) and vandalism (7.56), while the weakest mean gravity scores are associated with the presence of flyers (4.65) and obstructions (5.81). Finally, we see that the mean gravity scores assigned to the scenarios in the centre of the continuum of gravity show an increasing standardized weighting with a score difference that nonetheless remains low, ranging from 6.24 (making noise) to 6.72 (loitering). These differences between the mean gravity scores for the scenarios may be explained by intra-group and inter-group variance (Francis et al., 2001). In effect, our scale is composed of two broad categories of behaviour, as

¹⁶ This choice is justified for two reasons: 1) initial scores for perceived gravity were often characterized by a weak variance, preventing a true appreciation of the perceived relative gravity of each of the scenarios; 2) the weight assigned by each respondent was subject to an individual perception in which inter-subject nuances escaped us. Indeed, several respondents assigned gravity scores ranging from 80 percent and 100 percent, while others assigned gravity scores covering the range from 0 percent to 100 percent.

follows: (1) behaviours associated with a real intention to do harm¹⁷ and (2) behaviours not associated with a real intention to do harm.¹⁸ Here we see that the values for the standard deviations tied to the mean gravity scores are lower for vandalism, theft, and assault, but higher for the other behaviours¹⁹ (inter-group difference). These results mean that respondents agree on the gravity scores assigned to legally punishable acts. On the other hand, there is little dispersion between the mean gravity scores for the scenarios within each of the two groups (intra-group difference).

Table 3 : Rankings of relative seriousness, on a scale from 0 to 9

Flyers (4.65) S.D. =2.54	Obstruction (5.81) S.D.=2.21	Noise (6.24) S.D.=2.14	Insults (6.32) S.D.=2.19	Spitting (6.59) S.D.=2.20	Loitering (6.72) S.D.=2.19	Vandalism (7.56) S.D.=1.75	Theft (8.10) S.D.=1.34	Assault (8.39) S.D.=1.33
Not serious (0) ----- Very serious (9)								

N=364

S.D. = Standard deviation

In other words, the ranking of the mean gravity scores adheres to a logic that is similar to the logic seen in studies on the gravity of crimes, that is, that behaviours that receive a high score are those that relate to a real intention to do harm. Further, the standard deviation values indicate that respondents have less difficulty agreeing on the perceived gravity of acts such as assault, theft, and vandalism, than for other types of behaviour.

In addition, a cross-comparison of the four scales (Table 21, Annex V) shows that the gravity scores vary from one scale to another, depending on the nature of the uncivil behaviours (physical or social), their frequency (more or less recurrent), and their proximity (more or less

¹⁷ This category is composed of the following acts: assault, theft and vandalism.

¹⁸ This category is composed of the following behaviours: loitering, spitting, causing a commotion, casting insults, blocking the hall, and throwing flyers on the ground.

¹⁹ We do not consider insults to be a behaviour with the primary aim of harming another person, because they are generally the result of a "negative" interaction between two individuals. As a general rule, whether for good or for bad, we tend to be insulted in response to first having hurt another person by something we did or said.

removed from the respondents). First, an examination of the mean scores shows them to be higher for social incivilities than for physical incivilities (6.32 versus 5.96). In effect, it appears that uncivil behaviours that alter social ties and interpersonal trust are perceived as being more serious than incivilities that damage the environment. This result is congruent with classic studies showing that crimes against the person are perceived as more serious than crimes against property.

Further, within a legalistic perspective, an analysis of the relative seriousness indicates that subjects have a tendency, on average, to assign higher gravity scores to criminal acts (8.28) than to offences (6.88), or to behaviours that are not legally punishable (5.88).²⁰ Thus, the average weighting for the scenarios also adheres to a ranking according to which the more an uncivil behaviour belongs to the penal domain, the more severely it is judged. These results are interesting, because they qualify the gravity continuum designed by Sellin and Wolfgang (1964) by introducing acts that fall outside the penal sphere. Specifically, the scale of seriousness for incivilities shows that “non-penal” behaviours receive relatively high mean scores, indicating that, despite their harmless nature, they do upset and concern the respondents.

Next, although the differences are sometimes slight, Table 4 shows that respondents tend to assign higher gravity scores to behaviours that are recurrent (“R”) compared to acts that are unique (“U”), independent of the proximity of the incivility (proximate “P” or distant “D”).

However, we note that the only exception is for vandalism, to which subjects assigned values comparable to those for assault or theft, if it is recurrent (8.04). Moreover, independent of the frequency, we see that respondents assign a higher gravity score to uncivil behaviours that

²⁰ The “penal” category includes theft and assault. The “offence” category includes vandalism and making noise. The category “non-penal” includes throwing flyers on the ground, blocking the hall, spitting on the ground, insulting another person, and loitering.

occur within their housing complex (proximate). These results work to confirm the hypothesis that the perceived gravity of deviant behaviours varies as a function of the nature of the act (physical or social), its frequency, and the geographic proximity of the location where it is committed.

Table 4 : Mean gravity scores attributed to deviant behaviours, by frequency and proximity of incivilities

Incivilities N=364	Frequency				Proximity			
	Recurrent		Unique		Proximate		Distant	
	P	D	P	D	R	U	R	U
Assault*	--- / 8.55		8.48 / 8.33		--- / 8.48		8.55 / 8.33	
Theft	8.67 / 8.32		8.21 / 7.35		8.67 / 8.21		8.32 / 7.35	
Vandalism	7.84 / 8.04		7.33 / 7.33		7.84 / 7.33		8.04 / 7.33	
Making noise	7.32 / 6.93		5.19 / 5.10		7.32 / 5.19		6.93 / 5.10	
Loitering	7.26 / 6.79		6.14 / 5.30		7.26 / 6.14		6.79 / 5.30	
Insults	7.16 / 6.60		5.85 / 5.26		7.16 / 5.85		6.60 / 5.26	
Spitting	7.15 / 6.88		6.30 / 6.02		7.15 / 6.30		6.88 / 6.02	
Obstruction	6.32 / 6.11		5.25 / 4.69		6.32 / 5.25		6.11 / 4.69	
Flyers on the ground	5.60 / 5.35		3.75 / 3.93		5.60 / 3.93		5.35 / 3.75	

* For assault, no gravity score is available including the dimensions of frequency and proximity.

Beyond the nature and dimensions tied to the concept of gravity, the perception of subjects can also be affected by other factors, such as the socio-economic and socio-demographic status of the respondents. Indeed, given that studies on the gravity of crimes have shown perceptions to be influenced by the personal characteristics of the respondents, there is no reason to believe that it should be any different for uncivil behaviours. Tables 22 to 27 (Annex V) show means analyses for respondents' personal characteristics, and the mean gravity scores recorded for each of the behaviours on the gravity scale. First, we see that the mean gravity scores for the behaviours are not discriminated by the ethnic affiliation of the respondents (Table 24, Annex V). On the other hand, we see that women tend to assign higher mean gravity scores than men, notably with regard to assault (Table 23, Annex V). Next, we see that persons in the age category of "51 years or above" (Table 22, Annex V) assign lower gravity scores for loitering than do younger individuals (18-35 years and 36-50 years of age). In addition, we see that the

heads of single-parent families assign lower mean gravity scores for flyers on the ground (Table 27, Annex V).

Finally, the results indicate that income (Table 26, Annex V) and level of schooling (Table 25, Annex V) are the two factors that discriminate significantly for the mean gravity scores for the following four scenarios: (1) assault; (2) theft; (3) vandalism; (4) insults. That is, respondents who report income greater than \$19,999, and those who completed post-secondary studies assign, on average, higher gravity scores to these acts. In all, except for income and level of schooling, the discriminating effect brought to bear by personal characteristics is disparate, making any form of interpretation risky. Further, although income and level of schooling are the most convincing factors in discriminating the gravity scores, the fact that they reflect the living environment must not be underestimated.

Consequently, we paid particular attention to the discriminating effects of the management of social housing on the perceived gravity of uncivil behaviours. First of all, a longitudinal reading of Table 5 shows that a consensus exists for the behaviours located at each of the extremes on the gravity continuum. That is, whatever the living environment, respondents consider “throwing flyers on the ground” and “blocking the hallway with packages” to be relatively minor acts compared to “vandalizing the mailboxes” “stealing property” and “assaulting another person”. Nonetheless, we see that the ranking of behaviours located in the centre of the continuum differs according to the living environment. Notwithstanding the behaviours for which there is a consensus, an examination of the rankings indicates that the members of cooperatives consider the act of insulting a person as more serious (1st place) than any other behaviour located in the centre of the continuum, whereas for the residents of HLM, the number one ranking goes to the presence of loiterers on housing complex grounds.

Table 5 : Ranking of the mean relative seriousness scores on a scale from 0 to 9, by management type

HLM (n = 217) :								
Flyers (4.69) S.D.=2.66	Obstruction (5.71) S.D.=2.36	Insults (5.87) S.D.=2.39	Noise (5.92) S.D.=2.44	Spitting (6.42) S.D.=2.20	Loitering (6.72) S.D.=2.19	Vandalism (7.35) S.D.=1.96	Theft (7.97) S.D.=1.48	Assault (8.21) S.D.=1.52
COOP (n = 147) :								
Flyers (4.61) S.D.=2.35	Obstruction (5.95) S.D.=1.99	Noise (6.67) S.D.=1.58	Loitering (6.69) S.D.=2.07	Spitting (6.84) S.D.=1.88	Insults (6.96) S.D.=1.70	Vandalism (7.88) S.D.=1.29	Theft (8.31) S.D.=1.06	Assault (8.72) S.D.=0.82
Not serious (0) ----- Very serious (9)								

At first glance, it seems difficult to explain the underlying logic to the ranking of behaviours located in the centre of the continuum. Nonetheless, the rank held by insults and loitering may be attributable to values that are proper to the living environment being studied. Thus, notwithstanding those behaviours for which there is a consensus, the members of cooperatives seem to more severely judge uncivil behaviours that have the consequence, by nature, of altering social ties and interpersonal trust. In this case, it is clear that insults represent an attack on good neighbourliness and “threaten” social cohesion in some way, at least more than spitting, loitering, or making noise. By contrast, if we consider the fact that the residents of HLM experience, on average, more insecurity in the face of uncivil behaviours than the members of cooperatives ($T=4.52$; $p \leq 0.01$), the rank held by loitering on the continuum of gravity could be explained by the feeling that it generates among the residents of HLM. As well, recall that the fact of loitering has often been associated by respondents with prowlers or vagrants who have a bad reputation.

On the other hand, a closer transverse reading of the mean gravity scores (seen in Table 5) reveals a number of differences between the two living environments. First of all, we see that the dispersion in the gravity scores that respondents assigned to uncivil behaviours varies as a function of the living environment. Specifically, it appears that the values for the standard deviation (s.d.) are systematically lower, with a more homogenous variance, among members of

cooperatives, in contrast to the residents of HLM, whose gravity scores show a higher spread and are thus more heterogeneous. This observation suggests that the perceived gravity of uncivil behaviours is marked by a greater consensus among the members of cooperatives than among the residents of HLM.

Finally, the results shown in Table 6 indicate that there are statistically significant differences between the two living environments for incidents of assault, theft, vandalism, casting insults, and making noise. For these five behaviours, we see that the members of cooperatives assign higher mean gravity scores than do residents of HLM. These statistically significant results shed a perspective on the results obtained for personal characteristics. Therefore, for uncivil behaviours we see that the uncivil behaviours discriminated by the living environment are the same as those discriminated by income and level of schooling.

Table 6 : Ranking of the mean gravity scores for uncivil behaviours, by management type

INCIVILITIES N=364	COOP (n=147)	HLM (n=217)	T-Test
Assault	8.72	8.21	-3.09*
Theft of property	8.31	7.97	-2.10*
Vandalism	7.88	7.35	-2.59*
Casting Insults	6.96	5.87	-4.33*
Spitting	6.84	6.42	-1.69
Loitering	6.69	6.73	0.10
Making noise	6.67	5.92	-2.94*
Creating an obstruction	5.95	5.71	-0.10
Throwing flyers on the ground	4.61	4.69	0.27

*: $p \leq 0.05$.

Further, it appears that the living environment also works to discriminate for another uncivil behaviour, namely, making noise. By contrast, although the living environment may be the factor that discriminates for the largest number of uncivil behaviours, it nonetheless remains difficult to separate the effects attributed to personal characteristics. Thus, we can state that the

living environment and socio-economic status are the factors that affect, to varying degrees, the judgment of respondents with regard to the perceived gravity of incivilities.

II. EXPOSURE TO INCIVILITIES

In order to measure to what degree respondents had been exposed to uncivil behaviours, we asked them to determine, for the preceding six months, the number of times they had been witness to, or victims of,²¹ events from the reference list. In order to attenuate the effect of the extreme values, we calculated the average weekly exposure, as seen in Table 7.

Table 7 : Subjects' mean weekly exposure to each of the 21 behaviours

List of 21 behaviours	Mean exposure
	Sample N=364
Littering on public property	2.60
Spraying graffiti	0.09
Setting fire to park trashbins	0.01
Failing to clean up after one's dog	2.61
Damaging public property	0.16
Spitting on the street	2.40
Disobeying the no-smoking rule	1.54
Urinating on the street/in a park	0.51
Public drunkenness	1.59
Failing to pay for one's bus ticket	0.22
Insulting another person	0.97
Physically assaulting another person	0.13
Having noisy neighbours on the floor	1.83
Blocking the lobby with one's packages	0.20
Spitting in the lobby	0.22
Loiterers on housing grounds	1.13
Vandalizing the mailboxes	0.01
Parking one's car in a space reserved for another resident	0.58
Stealing property	0.08
Presence of vagrants	1.06
Presence of squeegee kids	1.01

²¹ We also asked respondents to state the number of times over the preceding six months that they had committed acts on the reference list. Given the low number of responses, we finally decided not to include this question in the data analysis.

The results indicate that weekly exposure is objectively low for many of the event types. Nonetheless, we see that respondents are, on average, more often exposed to physical behaviours associated with “uncleanliness” (two times a week or more).²² In a lesser proportion, we see that subjects report being exposed once or twice a week to incidents of a social nature, such as: noisy neighbours on the floor, disobeying the no-smoking rules, public drunkenness, and the presence of loiterers, vagrants, and squeegee kids.

Moreover, generally speaking, we see that exposure is not associated with subjects’ representations. That is, the results of the tests of means listed in Table 28 (Annex V) indicate that statements regarding the nature of the incidents on the list (uncivil or not) are not determined by the average frequency of exposure. This result is particularly interesting because it suggests that the perception of incivilities is founded not so much on their frequency as irritating behaviours, but on a value judgment.

This result is instructive of the mechanisms that inform the representations of uncivil behaviours, and raises the same methodological consideration as for the analysis of the feelings experienced in the face of incivilities. As a result, the subsequent analyses are founded on the subjective perception of respondents with regard to incivilities, that is, an affirmative response to the question “*do you consider this act to be an incivility?*”. This measure was applied for the development of an exposure scale. Specifically, to create this scale we simply added the number of times per week that respondents stated they had been victims of or witness to incidents they considered to be uncivil. This exposure scale includes values ranging from 0 to 65 times per week. The results presented in Table 8 indicate that respondents without a post-secondary degree ($T=2.78$; $p\leq 0.01$), subjects of Caucasian origin ($T=3.46$; $p\leq 0.01$) and those

²² Specifically, “failing to clean up after one’s dog”, “littering” and “spitting on the street”.

who reported a family income level below \$19,999 ($T=3.16$; $p \leq 0.01$) reported that they had been more frequently exposed to incivilities.

Table 8 : Respondents' mean weekly exposure to incivilities, by personal characteristics and type of management

Exposure to incivilities (n=329)				
Factors		Mean	T-Test	F-Test
Sex	<i>Male</i>	12.52	0.42	
	<i>Female</i>	13.27		
Age	<i>18 to 35 years</i>	12.89		0.60
	<i>36 to 50 years</i>	11.93		
	<i>51 years and over</i>	14.03		
Schooling	<i>Completed post-secondary degree</i>	10.03	2.78**	
	<i>High-school diploma or below</i>	14.51		
Civil status	<i>Head of single-parent family</i>	12.74	0.22	
	<i>Family or single person</i>	11.85		
Family income	<i>\$19,999 or below</i>	14.57	3.16**	
	<i>\$20,000 and above</i>	9.41		
Ethnic affiliation	<i>Caucasian</i>	13.83	3.46**	
	<i>Visible minority</i>	7.54		
Type of management	<i>HLM</i>	17.45	7.83**	
	<i>Cooperative</i>	6.51		

* : $p \leq 0.05$; ** : $p \leq 0.01$

With regard to the type of management, we see that this factor also has a discriminating effect on the likelihood of being exposed to incivilities. Specifically, the results indicate that the residents of HLM report being more frequently exposed to incivilities than do the residents of cooperatives ($T=7.83$; $p \leq 0.01$). Given the T-Test value, it appears that the type of management has a more powerful distinguishing effect than the personal characteristics of individuals. Nonetheless, caution is warranted for this result because, as previously mentioned, individuals' income and level of schooling are also differentiated by the living environment.

In order to separate the effects that are attributable to personal characteristics and living environment, we conducted a multivariate analysis (UNIANOVA).²³ The results, as seen in Table 9, indicate that, all other things being equal, the living environment is the only significantly discriminating factor for the respondents' degree of exposure ($r^2=0.14$).

Table 9 : Respondents' exposure to incivilities, by personal characteristics and type of management, variance analysis

Factor (n=329)		Mean	F	Sig.
Model			33.92	0
Ethnic affiliation				
	<i>Caucasian</i>	12.64	0.69	0.40
	<i>Visible minority</i>	9.47		
Schooling				
	<i>Completed post-secondary degree</i>	10.66	0.04	0.83
	<i>High-school diploma or less</i>	11.44		
Family income				
	<i>\$19,999 or below</i>	11.64	0.09	0.75
	<i>\$20,000 and above</i>	10.46		
Type of management				
	<i>HLM</i>	15.25	4.89	0.02
	<i>Cooperative</i>	6.38		

²³ The UNIANOVA procedure provides a regression analysis and a variance analysis for a continuous dependent variable as a function of one or more dichotomous or categorical independent variables.

III. REACTIONS TO INCIVILITIES AND INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

We queried respondents in order to determine what strategies they employed when exposed (as witnesses or victims) to uncivil behaviours. Each time a subject stated having been exposed to one of the 21 behaviours listed (Annex II), he/she was asked to describe his/her reaction, as follows: (1) I did nothing; (2) I reacted personally; (3) I had a personal acquaintance intervene; (4) I notified the building superintendent; (5) I lodged a complaint with the municipal inspector; (6) I lodged a complaint with management (OMHM or FÉCHIMM); (7) I lodged a complaint with the police. Table 10 shows a ranking of reaction types, from a tally of subject responses to each of the 21 scenarios presented to them.

Table 10 : Ranking of respondents' reactions, by management type

Types of reaction (n=363)	Total %	HLM %	COOP %
Did nothing	65.36	63.57	68.44
Reacted personally	22.24	20.89	24.56
Lodged a complaint with the police	5.78	7.50	2.83
Had a personal acquaintance intervene	2.30	1.80	3.16
Notified the superintendent	2.08	3.24	0.08
Lodged a complaint with management	1.44	2.27	0
Lodged a complaint with the municipal inspector	0.80	0.72	0.91

First of all, the results seen in Table 10 indicate that the primary strategy used by respondents (65.36 percent) is to not react to uncivil behaviours. Those subjects who do in fact react after having been exposed to uncivil behaviours tend to opt for informal intervention strategies. Specifically, when we aggregate the percentages associated with personal reaction, the intervention of a personal acquaintance, and notifying the superintendent (26.62 percent), we

see that subjects are less inclined to become involved in a formal process (police, managers, municipal inspector) to report incivilities (8.02 percent). Yet when we separate the reactions by living environment, a number of interesting differences arise. To begin with, we see that the choice of doing nothing after being exposed to an incivility is more pronounced in cooperatives than in HLM. By contrast, the members of cooperatives tend to less frequently opt for formal intervention strategies when reacting (3.74 percent), contrary to the residents of HLM (10.49 percent).

Nonetheless, the list submitted to respondents harbours a number of behaviours, the perceived gravity of which can influence the reaction of subjects who witness and/or are victims of such acts. These are, for example, assault, theft, vandalism, casting insults, making noise, loitering, spitting, and blocking a hallway. In order to verify whether the perceived gravity is tied to subjects' reactions, we conducted mean tests for each of the acts mentioned above, in the following order: (1) the choice of doing nothing or reacting (0-1) and the mean gravity scores; (2) the choice of reacting informally or formally (0-1) and the mean gravity scores. The results (Table 11) indicate that the act or reacting or doing nothing is not associated with the gravity of uncivil behaviours. By contrast, it appears that the higher the perceived gravity of an assault or insult, the more respondents opt for formal intervention strategies ($T=1.99$; $p \leq 0.05$ and $T=2.36$; $p \leq 0.05$). Nonetheless, the low number of statistically significant relationships makes it impossible to conclude that the perceived gravity of uncivil behaviours discriminates the reactions of respondents.

Table 11 : Respondents' reactions and intervention strategies, by gravity score attributed to uncivil behaviours

Scenarios	Reaction			Strategies		
	Yes	No	T-Test	Informal	Formal	T-Test
Assault	8.42	8.01	1.23	8.2	8.8	1.99*
Theft	8.2	7.77	1.31	8.46	8.07	1.03
Vandalism	7.62	7.3	0.58	7.8	7.12	0.89
Loitering	7	6.86	0.29	6.71	7.34	1.11
Spitting	6.71	6.74	0.09	6.66	-	-
Casting insults	6.36	6.45	0.27	6.16	7.85	2.36*
Making noise	6.61	6.56	0.12	6.53	6.97	0.81
Creating an obstruction	6.49	5.92	0.88	6.5	-	-

* : $p \leq 0.05$; ** : $p \leq 0.01$

Still, the results in Table 12 indicate that the frequency of exposure to incivilities is correlated to subject reaction.²⁴ Thus, we see that the more a person is witness to and/or the victim of uncivil behaviours, the more likely he/she is to react ($r=0.43$; $p \leq 0.01$) and the more he/she is likely to opt for intervention strategies that are formal in nature ($r=0.30$; $p \leq 0.01$). In addition, the mean tests indicate the existence of several statistically significant differences in subjects' reactions, according to the living environment. On the one hand, residents of HLM react more to uncivil behaviours than do the members of cooperatives ($T=3.79$; $p \leq 0.01$) and, on the other hand, the residents of cooperatives favour informal intervention strategies whereas the residents of HLM tend to turn to formal strategies ($T=4.67$; $p \leq 0.01$).

Finally, we see in Table 12 that none of the socio-demographic or socio-economic factors discriminates in a statistically significant fashion for respondents' reactions or intervention

²⁴ In order to measure respondents' reactions, we created two scales. The first added the subjects' responses concerning their reaction to each of the 21 behaviours on the list to which they had been a witness or victim. This calculation made it possible to summate those responses where subjects stated they did nothing (1) or reacted (2). This meant the scale varied from 1 (do nothing) to 25 (react), because we limited the extreme values to 25. We applied the same logic of transformation for the second scale, but this type summation was as follows: 1=informal and 2=formal. Thus, the scale varied from 1 (informal) to 11 (formal), because we limited the extreme values to 11.

strategies. Still, a number of tendencies do seem to emerge when we consider the distribution of the means. First of all, we see that women, the heads of single-parent families, and persons who reported a family income below \$19,999 tend to react more when confronted with uncivil behaviours. With regard to intervention strategies, we see that persons with a post-secondary degree and individuals with income above \$20,000 tend to favour informal intervention strategies.

Table 12 : Respondents' reactions and intervention strategies, by personal characteristics, exposure to incivilities and type of management, tests of means (T and F) and measures of association (R)

Reaction scale (n=363)					Intervention strategy scale (n=315)			
Factors	Mn.	T	F	R	Mn.	T	F	R
Sex								
<i>Male</i>	11.75	0.76			3.92	0.92		
<i>Female</i>	12.20				4.22			
Age								
<i>18-35 years</i>	12.27		0.12		3.93		0.23	
<i>36-50 years</i>	11.90				4.18			
<i>51 years and above</i>	12.05				4.18			
Schooling								
<i>Post-secondary degree</i>	11.97	0.20			3.87	1.19		
<i>High-school diploma or less</i>	12.09				4.25			
Civil status								
<i>Single-parent families</i>	12.74	1.32			4.34	0.78		
<i>Single persons and families</i>	11.85				4.05			
Family income								
<i>\$19,999 or below</i>	12.21	1.50			4.15	1.02		
<i>\$20,000 and above</i>	11.34				3.81			
Ethnic affiliation								
<i>Caucasian</i>	12.10	0.53			4.15	0.44		
<i>Visible minority</i>	11.66				3.95			
Exposure to incivilities				0.43**				0.30**
Type of management								
<i>HLM</i>	12.86	3.79**			4.66	4.67**		
<i>Cooperative</i>	10.86				3.35			

* : $p \leq 0.05$; ** : $p \leq 0.01$

Nonetheless, these results remain partial, because they do not enable us to dissociate the respective effects of the living environment and exposure on respondents' reactions. In order to

address this methodological limitation, we conducted co-variance analyses (ANCOVA).²⁵ The results, seen in Table 13, indicate that the living environment does not discriminate for reacting or not reacting, if exposure to uncivil behaviours is kept constant. Although the model indicates a relatively modest explained variance ($r^2=0.19$), it appears that exposure to incivility (co-variate variable) represents the best “predictor” of subject reaction.

Table 13 : Respondents’ reactions and intervention strategies, by exposure to incivilities and type of management, covariance analysis

Reaction scale n=363				Intervention strategy scale n=315		
Factors	Mean	F-Test	Sig.	Mean	F-Test	Sig.
Model	---	847.76	0.00	---	285.04	0.00
Exposure	---	60.94	0.00	---	16.46	0.00
Type of management						
<i>HLM</i>	12.34	0.29	0.59	4.50	5.28	0.02
<i>Cooperative</i>	12.12			3.72		

* : $p \leq 0.05$; ** : $p \leq 0.01$

By contrast, the results were quite different when we conducted a second modelling concerning the intervention strategies (Table 13). In effect, although the variance explained by our co-variance model is relatively weak ($r^2=0.11$), the fact remains that the living environment is a statistically significant determinant ($F=5.28$; $p \leq 0.05$) for the intervention strategies used by respondents. Thus, if exposure to incivilities is kept constant, we see that the members of cooperatives favour informal intervention strategies (3.72) in contrast to residents in HLM, who tend to choose interventions that are formal in nature (4.50).

In all, without minimizing the discriminating effects generated by the respondents’ personal characteristics, it appears that the discriminating effect of the living environment is manifested in

²⁵ The ANCOVA procedure provides a regression analysis and a variance analysis for a continued dependent variable as a function of one or more nominal independent variables, keeping constant a variable that co-varies with the dependent variable.

all of the analyses conducted in this part of our study. That is, the type of management constitutes one of the most convincing factors in discriminating for: (1) the perceived gravity of uncivil behaviours, (2) the degree of exposure to incivilities and (3) the intervention strategies of respondents. Why? One possible explanation can be found in the level of social cohesion and the degree of informal social control present in the communities studied. Specifically, an analysis of means indicates that the residents of HLM demonstrate a lower level of social cohesion than the members of cooperatives ($T=-6.84$; $p\leq 0.01$). In addition, according to the literature, informal social control is primarily determined by the degree of social cohesion between the members of a given community. Yet it is interesting to note that informal social control is also determined by the living environment, i.e., residents in HLM are associated with, on average, a lower level of informal social control than the members of cooperatives ($T= -8.28$; $p\leq 0.01$). Thus, these results enable us to better understand the mechanisms by which the members of cooperatives judge incivilities more severely than residents in HLM, and that they are less often exposed to uncivil behaviours, and that they favour intervention strategies that are informal in nature. Such informal control can be expressed in a multitude of forms, such as respect for behavioural norms, informal surveillance of the premises, disapproval of harmful activities, and the involvement of individuals in situations affecting their own security.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Over the course of the past decade, incivility has been the focus of particular attention from public powers and academia. Closely associated with feelings of insecurity, uncivil behaviours are considered by many researchers to be a determining factor in the deterioration of interpersonal ties between social actors and, by extension, in the aggregation of disorders within difficult urban zones. Nonetheless, beyond political and academic discourse, we must also turn our interest to the viewpoints of the very persons who are confronted with this reality.

The perspective of the social actors is of crucial importance within a conjuncture where public powers will need to find sustainable solutions to this social phenomenon. In effect, incivility is a concept that covers a range of various behaviours that alter the social order, and is associated with both the penal domain (crimes and offences) and with infra-legal incidents, leading to deterioration in the living conditions within communities (impoliteness). On this point, the directed strategies implemented by the Montreal Police Services (in French, *SPVM*) over the course of the year 2003 showed that, according to information collected through neighbourhood police officers, incivilities remained a central concern of residents, generating a pronounced feeling of insecurity. Beginning in 2004, in order to address this problem, the *SPVM* implemented local responses (for example, strategic distribution of police surveillance in troublesome neighbourhoods, partnerships with community organizations, etc.). Using 26 codes, the force placed the various incivilities within a typology (signs of incivility and acts of incivility). In its 2005 action plan, the *SPVM* re-iterated its intention to accord incivility a place of considerable importance, with the goal of re-establishing and maintaining peace and security for the populace of Montreal. The extensive scope of this concept poses the problem of whether or not to broaden the penal net in response to such incidents, which are qualified essentially on the

basis of individual perceptions. Therefore, it is important on the one hand to define the representations of incivility according to the point of view of the social actors and, on the other hand, to determine what mechanisms of control are favoured in the regulation of uncivil behaviours.

Accordingly, this study looked at the representations and intervention strategies of Francophone residents of social housing with regard to incivilities. We focused our study on this particular population because it features the socio-economic and socio-demographic characteristics that are associated with a high concentration of disadvantages, especially in the public sector. Nonetheless, governance in these communities is not uniform. Within the city of Montreal, for example, we find two main types of management: (1) management that is geared toward public custodianship of the conditions in residents' housing, and (2) management that is geared toward residents' collective custodianship of their own housing conditions. The operating rules associated with these two modes of governance support a set of norms and values that can modulate the degree of mobilization and responsabilization expressed by residents with regard to their living conditions.

In order to examine how and to what extent the personal characteristics and mode of governance are likely to influence residents' representations of incivility and their intervention strategies, we conducted a field study (survey) of Francophone residents in HLM and housing cooperatives. In total, 364 subjects were interviewed: 217 residents in HLM, and 147 residents in cooperatives. Data collection was carried out in five Montreal neighbourhoods: Centre Sud, Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, Mercier, Plateau Mont-Royal and Ville Marie.

First of all, we see that the discriminating effect of the respondents' personal characteristics is relatively targeted, and is limited primarily to the representations and perceptions of incivility.

Specifically, we see that individuals who are at a socio-economic or socio-demographic disadvantage (ethnic minorities, heads of single-parent families, persons with a low family income and low level of schooling) are those who have the greatest difficulty defining what an incivility is. In addition, when we look more closely at the manifestations of incivility, it appears that respondents with a low socio-economic status tend to be less nuanced in their qualification of the incidents they are asked to comment on, associating marginal behaviours and acts of a criminal nature with incivilities.

With regard to perceptions, the results indicate that respondents from ethnic minorities and women are less indifferent than others to uncivil behaviours. We note also that women are more likely to experience insecurity when faced with incivilities. By contrast, subjects of Caucasian origin generally experience anger when they are confronted by uncivil behaviours, whereas subjects with a family income above \$20,000 tend to feel discomfort (unease) in response to incivilities.

Finally, with regard to the perceived gravity of incivilities, the respondents' degree of exposure to uncivil behaviours, and the intervention strategies they employ, we see that the discriminating effect of personal characteristics is rather weak. Nonetheless, we see that older respondents and subjects with a low socio-economic status tend to be more tolerant in response to incivilities. Moreover, we see that respondents from ethnic minorities and those with a weak socio-economic status are more exposed to uncivil behaviours.

A general tendency emerges from these analyses. It appears that respondents with cumulative disadvantages in the socio-demographic and socio-economic spheres are, at once, those who demonstrate difficulties in expressing themselves on the notion of incivility, those who are the most exposed, and those who are seen to be the most tolerant of uncivil behaviours. These

results consequently led us to examine how and to what extent the living environment, more specifically the management type, discriminates the representations and intervention strategies associated with incivilities.

To begin with, we see that it is the residents of HLM who demonstrate the greatest difficulties in defining the concept of incivility in their own words. Furthermore, although the vast majority of respondents agree on the uncivil character of the incidents featured on the list presented to them, we nonetheless note that the members of cooperatives are more nuanced in their statements, avoiding the association of marginal behaviours and criminal acts with incivilities. As for the perceptions of respondents, we see that the residents of HLM feel both greater indifference and greater insecurity in the face of incivilities than the members of cooperatives who, by contrast, are more likely to report feeling discomfort in response to uncivil behaviours. In light of these results, we found it difficult to separate the discriminating effects of personal characteristics and living environment with regard to the representations and perceptions of incivilities.

Still, we see that as a general rule, the members of cooperatives consider uncivil behaviours to be more serious than do the residents of HLM. In addition, the weak dispersion in the mean gravity scores assigned by the members of cooperatives indicates that their judgment of incivilities is more homogeneous than that of residents in HLM. It is probable that the intolerance reported by the members of cooperatives saves them from too frequent exposure to incivilities. According to our analyses, the members of cooperatives are on average less exposed to uncivil behaviours than are the residents of HLM. This result is particularly interesting because it highlights a direct effect of the type of governance. Thus, the low frequency at which incivilities occur in cooperatives cannot be attributed to an effect induced by the urban ecology through our sampling method.

Finally, with regard to respondents' reactions and intervention strategies in response to uncivil behaviours, we see that the living environment does not account for the fact of reacting or remaining impassive when faced with incivilities. It appears that the degree of exposure to incivilities is the sole factor that determines respondents' reactions. By contrast, the living environment is a factor that determines the intervention strategies employed by respondents. More precisely, it appears that the residents of HLM favour formal interventions (police, sponsoring agencies, city inspectors), while the members of cooperatives tend to choose to intervene informally (personally or through the intermediary of an acquaintance). Note that the perceived gravity of incivilities does not differentiate between the reactions and intervention strategies used by respondents.

In all, these latter results indicate that the members of cooperatives, although they may be more intolerant with regard to uncivil behaviours, nonetheless are less often exposed to incivilities, and favour informal intervention strategies in response. These observations suggest the presence of a greater collective efficacy in cooperatives than in HLM. On this point, our analyses have shown that informal social cohesion and informal social control are greater in cooperatives. Nonetheless, it is not our objective to take a position in favour of or against rent-controlled housing. Our results highlight the role played by the mode of governance in the degree of mobilization exhibited by residents in the face of collective problems such as incivilities.

In our view, it is essential to promote establishing mechanisms of integration, in order to develop the social capital of individuals and counterbalance the negative effects of poverty and social isolation on collective efficacy. Nonetheless, it is important that any integration activities work toward clearly defined empowerment objectives, i.e., that individuals be encouraged to play an

active, not ostensible, role in improving their living conditions. Thus, social programs should focus on the following objectives:

- 1) Promote the development of a democratic participatory process within the most disadvantaged communities;
- 2) Extend democratic participation to include the key actors present in the external social environment (neighbours, associations, public institutions);
- 3) Encourage responsabilization in responding to collective problems, notably with regard to housing conditions and living conditions;
- 4) Establish mechanisms of accountability using objectives determined by the community and partners from the external social environment;

Even though these objectives are familiar to public powers, too many programs place an emphasis on activities in which the social actors have little input into the definition of their housing conditions. In effect, the ultimate goal of the objectives mentioned above is to stimulate the mobilization and responsabilization of disadvantaged communities, by offering them the possibility to expand their social network and develop competencies in managing the problems they face. Within this context, the role of public institutions is no longer to be defined in terms of custodianship, but rather in terms of partnership and encouragement to participate.

In addition, the interest in including the key actors present in the community in the democratic participatory process is in line with two secondary objectives. The first is to integrate socially isolated individuals into debates on matters of local concern, so that they can develop a better awareness of the problems that exist in their environment. The second is to foster extended social networks, in order to raise the critical mass of necessary resources for the resolution of collective problems. Although such objectives may seem rhetorical, it would be wrong of us to believe that the residents of HLM do not have the capacity or willingness to become involved in such a process. Indeed, several studies have shown that establishing pathways between the

community and the residents of public housing is possible, and produces tangible results, namely:

- 1) The attenuation of prejudices with regard to poor people and ethnic minorities, the development of lines of trust, and the emergence of new social networks (Bothwell and al., 1998; Briggs, 1998);
- 2) Mutual assistance and the development of skills for the resolution of individual and collective problems (Kaplan, 1997);
- 3) The creation of jobs, the improvement of the socio-economic status and residential stability for those who are most disadvantaged (Stubbs and Storer, 1996);
- 4) A reduction in the levels of criminality and petty delinquency (Saegert, Winkel and Swartz, 2002; Stubbs and Storer, 1996; Hagedorn, 1991; O'Sullivan, 1991).

In all, the operating rules that underlie the mode of governance in social housing modulate the relations among individuals, and between individuals and their environment. More precisely, the type of management that functions on the basis of a democratic process for the definition of living conditions confers upon individuals a sense of responsibility for attaining common objectives, and contributes to a reinforcement of social ties and interpersonal trust. Such a mode of governance in communities brings together the conditions that are necessary for the development of collective efficacy to guard against undesirable social phenomena, notably uncivil behaviours.

Such observations inevitably lead us to reconsider the action plan implemented by public powers, notably by the *SPVM*. Therefore, we must ask ourselves, what are the real capacities of the police to resolve the problems of incivility and its root causes? For example, is a regeneration of the social fabric compatible with the mission of the police? By re-defining incivilities with the help of 26 operational codes, would police authorities be appropriating a notion the manifestations and causes of which lie at the margins of the penal sphere? Further,

the signs and acts of incivility are problems that are tied to minor offences or to infra-legal acts, the short-term repression of which in no way changes the structural problems and dysfunctional social processes within communities. Henceforth, in our view, it would be more judicious for public authorities to focus their efforts on long-term interventions rather than promoting measures with a strong risk of even further judicializing harmful behaviours and, by extension, broadening the penal net.

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ANNEX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

Date: _____

Questionnaire Number: _____

Type of management: 1- HLM
 2- Cooperative

Name of Institution: _____

Address: _____

Postal Code: _____

Floor # _____ out of a total of _____ floors.

Before we begin, I would like to remind you that there are no “right” or “wrong” answers. I simply would like to know your opinion about certain behaviours.

A. Incivility?

1) In your opinion, **what is an incivility?** (in your own words)_ **Key words**

2) Would you say that an incivility is: **(choose only one response)**

- 1- A lack of proper social conduct
 2- A failure to respect the established rules for your housing complex.
 3- A legal offence
 4- *Don't know*

Now, I'm going to list off 21 situations. For each situation, please answer the following questions:

Q1 – In your opinion, is this an incivility? *(please answer with Yes or No)*

Q2 – In the past 6 months, **how many times** have you committed, or witnessed, or been a victim of this act?

Q3 – In the past 6 months, **if you have already been the victim of and/or witness to this act**, how did you react, what did you do? *(you have a choice of responses)*

Q4 – Finally, in your opinion, what **effect** has this event had on your life? *(you have a choice or responses)*

#	Q1 Is this an incivility ?	In the past 6 months...			Q3 If you have been the victim of or witness to this act how did you react, what did you do?	Q4 Effect In your opinion, what has been the effect of this act in your life?
		Q2 How many times have you committed, or been a victim of, or witnessed such an act?				
		Agent	Victim	Witness		
	(1) – Yes (2) – No				(1) – I reacted personally (2) – I turned to an acquaintance (3) – I turned to the superintendent (4) – I turned to the police (5) – I did nothing (6) – Other	You felt: (1) – uncomfortable (2) – angry (3) – insecure (4) – indifferent (5) – Other
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17						
18						
19						

#	Q1 Is this an incivility ?	In the past 6 months...			Q3 If you have been the victim of or witness to this act how did you react, what did you do?	Q4 Effect In your opinion, what has been the effect of this act in your life?
		Q2 How many times have you committed, or been a victim of, or witnessed such an act?				
		Agent	Victim	Witness		
	(1) – Yes (2) – No				(1) – I reacted personally (2) – I turned to an acquaintance (3) – I turned to the superintendent (4) – I turned to the police (5) – I did nothing (6) – Other	You felt: (1) – uncomfortable (2) – angry (3) – insecure (4) – indifferent (5) – Other
20						
21						

B. Scale of relative seriousness

In this section, we will ask you to rate a certain number of acts on scale from 0 to 100 (0 being an act that is “not very serious” and 100 being an act that is “serious”). In all, there are a total of 36 acts, separated into 4 groups of 9 acts each.

We will begin by reading off all 9 acts that belong to group 1, followed by groups 2, 3, and 4.

GROUP 1	Scale of seriousness 0 = not serious 100 = serious
1) – Someone <i>throws flyers on the ground</i> in your building.	
2) – Every week , someone deliberately <i>vandalizes the walls on your floor</i> .	
3) – Someone causes a commotion [<i>noise, rowdiness</i>] around your building (the noise disturbs you)	
4) – A person on your floor is <i>physically assaulted</i> .	
5) – A person is <i>insulted</i> near your building.	
6) – Every week , someone <i>spits</i> on the ground on your floor.	
7) – There is someone <i>loitering [hanging around]</i> in the lobby of your building.	
8) – Every week , someone <i>blocks</i> the entrance to your home with his/her packages.	
9) – A person from your building has <i>property stolen</i> from them (bicycle, hubcap, recycling bin, etc.) This theft occurs inside or around the building.	

GROUP 2	Scale of seriousness 0 = not serious 100 = serious
1) – Someone leaves his/her flyers on the ground in the lobby.	
2) – Every week , someone deliberately <i>vandalizes</i> <u>the mailboxes in your building</u> .	
3) - One of the neighbours on your floor causes a commotion [<i>noise, rowdiness</i>] <u>in his/her home</u> (the noise disturbs you)	
4) - Every week , someone is <i>physically assaulted</i> in the lobby of your building.	
5) – A person is <i>insulted</i> in the lobby of your building.	
6) - Every week , someone <i>spits</i> on the ground in the lobby.	
7) - Someone <i>is loitering</i> [<i>hanging around</i>] on your floor	
8) – Every week , someone <i>blocks</i> the lobby in your building with his/her packages.	
9) – <i>Property is stolen</i> from you (bicycle, hubcap, recycling bin etc.) The theft occurs inside or around your building.	

GROUP 3	Scale of seriousness 0 = not serious 100 = serious
1) – Every week , there are <i>flyers on the ground</i> around your building.	
2) – Someone deliberately <i>vandalizes the walls</i> on your floor.	
3) – Every week , someone causes a commotion [<i>noise, rowdiness</i>] around your building (the noise disturbs you)	
4) – A person on your floor is <i>physically assaulted</i> .	
5) – Every week , someone is <i>insulted</i> around your building.	
6) – On your floor, someone <i>spits</i> on the ground.	
7) – Every week , someone is loitering [<i>hanging around</i>] in the lobby to your building.	
8) – Someone <i>blocks</i> the entrance to your home with his/her packages.	
9) - Every week , someone from your building has property stolen from them (bicycle, hubcap, recycling bin, etc.). The theft occurs inside or around the building.	

GROUP 4	Scale of seriousness 0 = not serious 100 = serious
1) – Every week , someone leaves his/her flyers on the ground in the lobby.	
2) – Someone deliberately <i>vandalizes</i> the mailboxes in your building.	
3) - Every week , one of the neighbours on your floor causes a commotion [<i>noise, rowdiness</i>] in his/her home (the noise disturbs you)	
4) - Someone is <i>physically assaulted</i> in the lobby of your building.	
5) – Every week , a person is <i>insulted</i> in the lobby of your building.	
6) - Someone <i>spits</i> on the ground in the lobby.	
7) - Every week , someone <i>is loitering [handing around]</i> on your floor	
8) – Someone <i>blocks</i> the lobby in your building with his/her packages.	
9) – Every week , <i>property is stolen</i> from you (bicycle, hubcap, recycling bin etc.) The theft occurs inside or around your building.	

C. Feeling of belonging to the community? Social cohesion and trust? Quality of life? Informal social control?

FEELING OF BELONGING TO THE COMMUNITY:

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

3) I feel at home in my building.

- 1- Agree completely
- 2- Agree strongly
- 3- Agree somewhat
- 4- Disagree somewhat
- 5- Disagree completely
- 6- *Don't know*

4) I like to tell others that I live in this building.

- 1- Agree completely
- 2- Agree strongly
- 3- Agree somewhat
- 4- Disagree somewhat
- 5- Disagree completely
- 6- *Don't know*

5) How long, in years and months, have you lived in this building?

_____ Year(s) _____ Months

6) How long, in years and months, have you lived in this neighbourhood?

_____ Year(s) _____ Months

7) If you were able to, would you consider leaving your building?

- 1- Yes
- 2- No
- 3- *Don't know*

SOCIAL COHESION, SOLIDARITY, AND TRUST:

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	Agree completely	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Completely disagree
8) People around here like to help their neighbours					
9) I know the neighbours on my floor well					
10) In general, the residents in my building help each other out (give each other a hand)					
11) The neighbourhood is united					
12) You can trust the neighbourhood					
13) People in this neighbourhood do not associate					
14) People in this neighbourhood do not share the same values					

15) In general, your relationships with the neighbours on your floor are:

- 1- Very good
- 2- Rather good
- 3- Somewhat good
- 4- Rather poor
- 5- Very poor
- 6- *I have no contact with my neighbours*
- 7- *Don't know*

16) Would you ask one of the neighbours on your floor (except the superintendent) to keep an eye on your home or collect your mail if you were away for a few days?

- 1- Yes
- 2- No
- 3- *Don't know*

17) Do you attend the meetings organized by the tenants' committee or the management committee?

- 1- Yes
- 2- No
- 3- *My building doesn't have a tenants' committee or management committee.*

18) Do you belong to any associations? (volunteer, athletic groups, social groups, etc.)

- 1- Yes
- 2- No

QUALITY OF LIFE:

To what extent do you agree with the following statement?

19) It's good to live in this building.

- 1- Agree completely
- 2- Agree strongly
- 3- Agree somewhat
- 4- Disagree somewhat
- 5- Disagree completely
- 6- *Don't know*

20) In your opinion, since you have been living in the building, the quality of life there has...

- 1- Improved a lot
- 2- Improved a little
- 3- Stayed the same
- 4- Dropped a little
- 5- Dropped a lot
- 6- *Don't know*

21) What is your impression of the management (for example, government, tenants' committees, etc.) in your housing complex? Would you say that they are ...

- 1- Very respectful of your expectations, taking them seriously and doing their best
- 2- Attentive to your concerns
- 3- Somewhat attentive to your concerns
- 4- Rather inattentive to your concerns
- 5- Not attentive at all, dismissing your concerns
- 6- *I have no opinion of them, I don't know*

INFORMAL SOCIAL CONTROL:

In your opinion, how likely is it that your neighbours would get involved if ...

	Very likely	Somewhat likely	More or less likely	Rather unlikely	Very unlikely
22) Children were skipping school and hanging out on the corner.					
23) Children were spraying graffiti around the building.					
24) Children were being disrespectful to an adult.					
25) A fight broke out in front of the building.					
26) The fire station closest to your building was threatened by budget cuts.					

D. Violence in the neighbourhood and victimization**MEASURE OF VIOLENCE:**

Over the past 6 months, tell us how many times you have witnessed the following situations:

- 27) A fight in which weapons were used _____ times
 28) A violent argument between neighbours _____ times
 29) Gang fights _____ times
 30) Sexual assault or rape _____ times

PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION:

31) Since you have been living here, has anyone used physical and/or verbal violence against you or a member of your group in this neighbourhood?

- | | Yes | No |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1) Physical violence | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2) Verbal violence | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

To finish, I would like to take down some additional information, for statistical purposes.

E. Personal characteristics

32) How old are you? _____ years

33) Are you a:

1- Man

2- Woman

34) How much schooling did you complete?

1- Did not finish high school

2- High school diploma

3- Attended, but did not finish, a college or professional program

4- College or professional diploma

5- University degree

35) Do you live...

1- Alone

2- As a couple, no children

3- As a couple, with children

4- In a single-parent family headed by a woman

5- In a single-parent family headed by a man

6- As 2 or more unrelated persons

7- As 2 or more related persons

8- Other

36) Do you have children?

1- Yes

2- No → **jump to question 38**

37) How old are they?

		Yes	No	Number
1)	0 to 4 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
2)	5 to 9 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
3)	10 to 13 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
4)	14 to 17 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
5)	18 to 24 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
6)	25 years or older	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

38) What is your occupation or type of job?

	Yes	No
1) Salaried employee	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2) Self-employed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3) Student	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4) Retired	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5) Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

39) Were you born in Canada?

- 1- Yes
2- No

40) What ethnic group do you belong to?

- 1- Asian
2- Latin-American
3- Caucasian (white)
4- African
5- Haitian
6- Middle Eastern
7- Other

Specify: _____

41) What is the source of your family income?

	Yes	No
1) Salary	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2) Old Age Pension	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3) Self-employment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4) Private retirement plan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5) Employment Insurance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6) Income Security	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7) Disability Pension	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8) Scholarship	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9) Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

42) What is your household income?

- 1- \$0 to \$4999
2- \$5000 to \$9999
3- \$10 000 to \$14 999
4- \$15 000 to \$19 999
5- \$20 000 to \$24 999
6- \$25 000 to \$29 999
7- \$30 000 to \$34 999
8- \$35 000 to \$39 999
9- \$40 000 to \$49 999
10- \$50 000 or more
11- *Does not wish to respond*

ANNEX II: LIST OF 21 BEHAVIOURS

- 1) - In your opinion, is it an incivility to litter on public property or in the park?
- 2) - In your opinion, is it an incivility to spray graffiti on the walls of a housing block?
- 3) - In your opinion, is it an incivility to set fire to park trashbins?
- 4) - In your opinion, is it an incivility to not clean up after a dog in public or in a park?
- 5) - In your opinion, is it an incivility to deliberately damage public property (bus shelter, phone booth, lampposts, benches, traffic lights, road signs, etc.)?
- 6) - In your opinion, is it an incivility to spit on the street?
- 7) - In your opinion, is it an incivility to disobey no-smoking rules in public spaces?
- 8) - In your opinion, is it an incivility to urinate in the street or in a park?
- 9) - In your opinion, is it an incivility to be drunk in public?
- 10) - In your opinion, is it an incivility to fail to pay for a bus ticket?
- 11) - In your opinion, is it an incivility to insult another person?
- 12) - In your opinion, is it an incivility to physically assault another person?
- 13) - In your opinion, is it an incivility if your neighbours on the floor are noisy (dropping things, music, TV, arguments, etc.)?
- 14) - In your opinion, is it an incivility to block the lobby of your building with packages?
- 15) - In your opinion, is it an incivility to spit in the lobby of your building?
- 16) - In your opinion, is it an incivility if a group of persons is loitering around your building?
- 17) - In your opinion, is it an incivility if a person deliberately vandalizes the mailboxes in your building?
- 18) - In your opinion, is it an incivility if a person (whether a resident of your building or not) parks his/her car in the space reserved for another resident?
- 19) - In your opinion, is it an incivility to steal another person's property (hubcaps, bicycle, recycling bin, etc.)?
- 20) - In your opinion, is it an incivility if there are vagrants around your building?
- 21) - In your opinion, is it an incivility if there are squeegee kids around your building?

ANNEX III: CONSENT FORM

Study:
***What is an incivility,
in the perception of residents of social housing in Montreal?***

CONSENT FORM FOR RESIDENTS

I, the undersigned, _____, freely agree to complete the questionnaire. I also understand that the information collected about me may be used for research on incivilities.

This research is under the responsibility of: Frédéric Lemieux (Ph.D.), Assistant Professor, School of Criminology, University of Montreal.

The purpose and conditions of my participation in this research were clearly explained to me by:

(interviewer)

Regarding my participation in this research, I understand:

1. That it includes an interview based on a questionnaire lasting approximately 30 to 45 minutes.
2. That the information obtained as part of this research is STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.
3. That participation is voluntary and I can withdraw at any time, without offering any explanation.
4. MY IDENTITY WILL REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL EVEN IF I REFUSE TO PARTICIPATE.

Resident's Signature

Date

Interviewer's Signature

Date

ANNEX IV: RECRUITING LETTER

***What is an incivility,
in the perception of residents of social housing in Montreal?***

INFORMATION FOR RESIDENTS OF HLM AND COOPERATIVES

PRIMARY RESEARCHER: Frédéric Lemieux (Ph.D.), Assistant Professor, School of Criminology, University of Montreal.

He can be reached by phone at (514) 343-5864 or by e-mail to: frederic.lemieux@umontreal.ca

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY: This study deals with incivilities. We hope to learn about the opinions (perceptions) of residents in social housing regarding the various behaviours we will describe to them. Residents will simply be asked to answer whether, YES or NO, they consider a given behaviour to be an incivility. Our analysis of the various situations will then make it possible to develop practices and programs to help prevent those behaviours that are considered by residents to be “incivilities”.

In all, 400 residents will participate in the study, half of whom are residents in HLM and the other half of whom are residents of cooperatives.

TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION: Residents who agree to participate in the study will be interviewed (by questionnaire) for approximately 30 to 45 minutes.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY: The information collected will remain completely CONFIDENTIAL. Your name will not be entered in a database. Every subject will be assigned a number, and only the primary researcher will have access to the list of names and numbers. The data obtained for the research will be kept on file under lock and key, and on a computer. The results of the study will be presented in the form of statistics. This means that no one will be able to personally identify you.

Your participation is completely voluntary. You can withdraw at any time, without needing to give an explanation. YOUR IDENTITY WILL REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL EVEN IF YOU REFUSE TO PARTICIPATE.

ANNEX V: TABLES

Table 14 : Respondents' personal characteristics, by management type

Personal Characteristics	Total n=364	HLM n=217	COOP n=147
Sex			
<i>Male</i>	34.1% (124)	31.3% (68)	38.1% (56)
<i>Female</i>	65.9% (240)	68.7% (149)	61.9% (91)
Age	Mn. = 47.24	Mn. = 47.15	Mn. = 47.38
18-35 years	23.6% (86)	24.4% (53)	22.4% (33)
36-50 years	35.2% (128)	32.7% (71)	38.8% (57)
51 years and above	41.2% (150)	42.9% (93)	38.8% (57)
Schooling			
<i>Completed post-secondary degree</i>	33.2% (121)	20.7% (45)	51.7% (76)
<i>High-school diploma or less</i>	66.8% (243)	79.3% (172)	48.3% (71)
Civil status			
<i>Head of single-parent family</i>	22.3% (81)	25.3% (55)	17.7% (26)
<i>Families and single persons</i>	77.7% (283)	74.7% (162)	82.3% (121)
Family income²⁶			
<i>\$19,999 or less</i>	62.1% (226)	87% (174)	36.9% (52)
<i>\$20,000 or more</i>	31.6% (115)	13% (26)	63% (89)
Ethnic affiliation			
<i>Caucasian</i>	87.1% (317)	87.1% (189)	87.1% (128)
<i>Visible minority</i>	12.9% (47)	12.9% (28)	12.9% (19)

²⁶ For the question on family income, 23 subjects refused to answer (17 in HLM and 6 in cooperatives).

Table 15 : Percentage of subjects as a function of representations of incivility, by personal factors, general question

Personal factors (N=364)	I don't know		Lack of good social conduct		Legal offence		Personal experience		Lack of good citizenliness	
	(%)	Phi	(%)	Phi	(%)	Phi	(%)	Phi	(%)	Phi
Sex										
<i>Male</i>	41.1	0	44.4	0.01	4	0.02	1.6	0.01	8.9	0.03
<i>Female</i>	40.6		46		5		1.3		7.1	
Age²⁷										
<i>18 to 35 years</i>	46.5	0.06	34.9	0.12	7	0.08	2.3	0.05	9.3	0.04
<i>36 to 50 years</i>	39.8		50.8		2.3		0.8		6.3	
<i>51 years and above</i>	38.3		47		5.4		1.3		8.1	
Schooling										
<i>Completed post-secondary degree</i>	23.1	0.25**	57	0.16**	6.6	0.06	1.7	0.01	11.6	0.1
<i>High-school diploma or less</i>	49.6		39.7		3.7		1.2		5.8	
Civil status										
<i>Head of single-parent family</i>	48.1	0.08	46.9	0.01	1.2	0.09	1.2	0	2.5	0.10*
<i>Families and single persons</i>	38.7		45		5.7		1.4		9.2	
Family income										
<i>\$19,999 or less</i>	49.3	0.25**	42.7	0.11*	2.7	0.08	0.4	0.09	4.9	0.14**
<i>\$20,000 or more</i>	23.5		54.8		6.1		2.6		13	
Ethnic affiliation										
<i>Caucasian</i>	39.6	0.06	46.2	0.04	4.7	0	1.3	0.02	8.2	0.05
<i>Visible minority</i>	48.9		40.4		4.3		2.1		4.3	
Type of management										
<i>HLM</i>	49.1	0.20**	39.8	0.14**	2.8	0.10	1.9	0.05	6.5	0.05
<i>Cooperative</i>	28.6		53.7		7.5		0.7		9.5	

* : $p \leq 0.05$; ** : $p \leq 0.01$ ²⁷ For the variable "age", we used the Cramer's V instead of phi as a measure of the strength of the relationship.

Table 16 : Percentage of subjects as a function of representations of incivility, by personal factors, general question

Personal factors (N=364)	I don't know		Lack of proper social conduct		Legal offence		Disobeying the rules...	
	(%)	Phi	(%)	Phi	(%)	Phi	(%)	Phi
Sex								
<i>Male</i>	8.4	0.04	56.3	0.02	7.6	0.07	27.7	0.02
<i>Female</i>	10.7		58.8		4.3		26.2	
Age								
<i>18 to 35 years</i>	14.6	0.09	43.9	0.16*	6.5	0.02	35.4	0.12
<i>36 to 50 years</i>	9.6		64		5.6		20.8	
<i>51 years and above</i>	7.6		60.7		4.8		26.9	
Schooling								
<i>Completed post-secondary degree</i>	6.7	0.08	57.5	0	7.5	0.06	28.3	0.03
<i>High-school diploma or less</i>	11.6		58.2		4.3		25.9	
Civil status								
<i>Head of single-parent family</i>	16.5	0.12*	65.8	0.08	3.8	0.04	13.9	0.15**
<i>Families and single persons</i>	8.1		55.7		5.9		30.4	
Family income								
<i>\$19,999 or less</i>	13	0.13*	58.8	0.00	4.2	0.04	24.1	0.07
<i>\$20,000 or more</i>	4.4		58.8		6.1		30.7	
Ethnic affiliation								
<i>Caucasian</i>	6.5	0.30**	59.9	0.10*	5.9	0.05	27.7	0.06
<i>Visible minority</i>	33.3		44.4		2.2		20	
Type of management								
<i>HLM</i>	12.2	0.09	58	0	3.9	0.08	25.9	0.02
<i>Cooperative</i>	6.8		57.8		7.5		27.9	

* : $p \leq 0.05$; ** : $p \leq 0.01$ **Table 17** : Percentage of subjects who identified the following behaviours as incivilities, by personal characteristics

Personal characteristics (N=329)	Being drunk		Physical assault		Presence of loiterers		Vandalizing the mailboxes		Theft		Presence of vagrants		Presence of squeegee kids	
	(%)	Phi	(%)	Phi	(%)	Phi	(%)	Phi	(%)	Phi	(%)	Phi	(%)	Phi
Sex														
<i>Male</i>	50	-0.03	80.7	-0.05	42.1	0.03	93	-0.01	87.7	0.01	28.1	-0.08	45.6	0.05
<i>Female</i>	53.5		85.1		46		93.5		87		36.3		40	
Age														
<i>18 to 35 years</i>	51.4	0.16*	79.7	0.56	36.5	0.14*	93.2	0.00	86.5	0.01	31.1	0.10	37.8	0.13
<i>36 to 50 years</i>	42.2		84.5		39.7		93.1		87.9		28.4		35.3	
<i>51 years and above</i>	61.2		84.9		53.2		93.5		87.1		38.8		49.6	
Schooling														
<i>Completed post-secondary degree</i>	46	-0.09	75.2	-0.16**	30.1	-0.21**	88.5	0.13*	80.5	-0.14**	26.5	-0.10	38.1	-0.05
<i>High-school diploma or less</i>	55.6		88		52.3		95.8		90.7		37		44	
Civil status														
<i>Head of single-parent family</i>	45.6	-0.06	92.6	0.12*	35.3	-0.09	94.1	0.07	92.6	0.08	30.9	-0.02	35.3	-0.06
<i>Families and single persons</i>	54		81.2		47.1		93.1		85.8		34.1		43.7	
Family income														
<i>\$19,999 or less</i>	60.6	0.23*	88.4	0.16*	50	0.14*	97	0.18**	93.4	0.24**	39.4	0.18**	44.9	0.10
<i>\$20,000 or more</i>	36.4		78.5		35.5		87.3		76.4		20.9		34.5	
Ethnic affiliation														
<i>Caucasian</i>	52.2	-0.00	84.5	0.07	45.8	0.06	93.6	0.03	88.2	0.09	33.7	0.01	41.8	-0.01
<i>Visible minority</i>	53.1		75		34.4		90.6		78.1		31.3		43.8	

* : $p \leq 0.05$; ** : $p \leq 0.01$

Table 18 : Ranking in percentages of the feelings expressed by respondents, for the 21 behaviours perceived to be incivilities

	Anger	Discomfort	Indifference	Insecurity	Other
Littering (n=320)	59.40%	29.40%	7.10%	2.20%	1.90%
Graffiti (n=308)	48.10%	29.20%	15.60%	6.50%	0.60%
Fire in trashbins (n=306)	44.80%	35.60%	12.70%	5.20%	1.70%
Dog excrement (n=324)	75%	19.80%	3.70%	1.20%	0.30%
Damage to public property (n=301)	50.20%	21.60%	18.60%	8%	1.60%
Spitting on the street (n=252)	51.20%	31.70%	14.30%	0.80%	2.00%
Smoking (n=253)	33.60%	32.40%	29.20%	2.80%	2.00%
Urinating (n=299)	45.20%	25.40%	23.40%	4.30%	1.70%
Being drunk (n=172)	32.60%	28.50%	24.40%	13.40%	1.10%
Bus ticket (n=263)	31.60%	36.50%	26.60%	3%	2.30%
Insults (n=296)	41.60%	30.70%	15.50%	11.80%	0.40%
Assault (n=275)	38.20%	32.40%	20.70%	6.50%	2.20%
Noisy neighbours (n=282)	55%	22.70%	14.20%	6.40%	1.70%
Blocking the hall (n=243)	35.40%	29.20%	21%	10.70%	3.70%
Spitting in the lobby (n=318)	58.20%	32.10%	4.40%	2.50%	2.80%
Loiterers (n=147)	56.50%	15%	14.30%	13.60%	0.60%
Vandalizing the mailboxes (n=307)	56.70%	26.10%	8.80%	5.90%	2.50%
Parking (n=288)	50.30%	26.40%	18.80%	2.80%	1.70%
Property theft (n=287)	59.90%	27.20%	7.70%	3.50%	1.70%
Presence of vagrants (n=110)	30.90%	27.20%	17.30%	9.10%	15.50%
Presence of squeegee kids (n=138)	40.90%	27.50%	15.20%	13.80%	2.60%

Table 19 : Scales of feelings in response to incivilities, by personal characteristics of the respondents and management type, means analyses

Factors (N=329)	SCALES of feelings, from 0 to 21											
	Indifference			Discomfort			Anger			Insecurity		
	Mn	T	F	Mn	T	F	Mn	T	F	Mn	T	F
Sex												
<i>Male</i>	2.65	2.71**		4.05	0.96		6.42	0.12		1.72	4.20**	
<i>Female</i>	1.87			3.72			6.47			2.72		
Age												
<i>18 to 35 years</i>	2.51		1.26	3.58		0.93	5.61		2.64	2.3		1.61
<i>36 to 50 years</i>	2.02			3.69			6.73			2.14		
<i>51 years and above</i>	2.03			4.1			6.71			2.64		
Schooling												
<i>Completed post-secondary degree</i>	1.87	1.46		4.21	1.62		6.12	1.1		2.34	0.22	
<i>High-school diploma or less</i>	2.27			3.64			6.62			2.4		
Civil status												
<i>Head of single-parent family</i>	2.14	0.02		3.58	0.82		5.72	1.91		2.19	0.8	
<i>Families and single persons</i>	2.14			3.9			6.67			2.44		
Family income												
<i>\$19,999 or less</i>	2.22	0.89		3.58	2.08*		6.52	0.27		2.5	2.01*	
<i>\$20,000 or more</i>	1.97			4.34			6.4			2		
Ethnic affiliation												
<i>Caucasian</i>	2.28	3.50**		3.9	1.05		6.77	4.10**		2.43	1.06	
<i>Visible minority</i>	1.19			3.38			4.31			2.04		
Type of management												
<i>HLM</i>	2.4	2.63**		3.38	3.37**		6.56	0.62		2.74	3.77**	
<i>Cooperative</i>	1.75			4.5			6.31			1.85		

* : $p \leq 0.05$; ** : $p \leq 0.01$

Table 20 : Ranking of mean relative seriousness scores, on four scales from 0 to 9

Scale of seriousness 1 (on a scale from 0 to 9)								
Total (N = 364) :								
Flyers (3.75) S.D. =2.93	Noise (5.10) S.D. =3.12	Insults (5.26) S.D. =2.79	Loitering (5.30) S.D. =3.0	Obstruction (6.32) S.D. =2.72	Spitting (7.15) S.D. =2.3	Theft (7.35) S.D. =2.26	Vandalism (7.84) S.D. =1.93	Assault (8.48) S.D. =1.43
Not serious (0) ----- Very serious (9)								
Scale of seriousness 2 (on a scale from 0 to 9)								
Total (N = 364) :								
Flyers (3.93) S.D. =2.99	Noise (5.19) S.D. =3.08	Insults (5.85) S.D. =2.81	Obstruction (6.11) S.D. =2.67	Loitering (6.14) S.D. =2.91	Spitting (6.88) S.D. =2.45	Vandalism (8.04) S.D. =1.92	Theft (8.21) S.D. =1.76	Assault (8.55) S.D. =1.52
Not serious (0) ----- Very serious (9)								
Scale of seriousness 3 (on a scale from 0 to 9)								
Total (N = 364) :								
Obstruction (5.25) S.D. =3.14	Flyers (5.35) S.D. =3.04	Spitting (6.30) S.D. =2.86	Insults (6.60) S.D. =2.57	Loitering (6.79) S.D. =2.6	Noise (6.93) S.D. =2.43	Vandalism (7.33) S.D. =2.23	Theft (8.21) S.D. =1.6	Assault (8.55) S.D. =1.62
Not serious (0) ----- Very serious (9)								
Scale of seriousness 4 (on a scale from 0 to 9)								
Total (N = 364) :								
Obstruction (4.69) S.D. =2.92	Flyers (5.60) S.D. =3.01	Spitting (6.02) S.D. =2.78	Insults (7.16) S.D. =2.28	Loitering (7.26) S.D. =2.37	Noise (7.32) S.D. =2.23	Vandalism (7.33) S.D. =2.22	Assault (8.33) S.D. =1.65	Theft (8.67) S.D. =1.1
Not serious (0) ----- Very serious (9)								

Table 21 : Differences in perceived gravity, by dimensions of the incivility

<i>Types of incivility</i>		<i>Mean respondent score (on a scale of 0 to 9)</i>				<i>Difference between modes of management^a</i>	
		<i>Total</i> (n = 364)	<i>HLM</i> (n = 217)	<i>COOP</i> (n = 147)	<i>Difference in score</i>	<i>T-Test^b</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
1.	Physical	5.96	5.89	6.06	-0.17	-0.943	0.173
	<i>Flyers</i>	4.66	4.69	4.61	0.08	0.280	0.390
	<i>Vandalism</i>	5.59	7.42	7.96	-0.54	-3.337**	0.0005
	<i>Obstruction</i>	5.59	5.58	5.61	-0.03	-0.126	0.45
	Social	6.75	6.52	7.09	-0.57	-3.966**	0.000
	<i>Noise</i>	6.13	5.89	6.49	-0.6	-2.691**	0.004
	<i>Insults</i>	6.22	5.78	6.86	-1.08	-5.070**	0.000
	<i>Spitting</i>	6.59	6.45	6.80	-0.35	-1.548	0.062
	<i>Loitering</i>	6.37	6.24	6.58	-0.34	-1.417	0.079
	Criminal acts						
	<i>Assault</i>	8.44	8.22	8.74	-0.52	-4.346**	0.000
<i>Theft</i>	8.14	8.02	8.30	-0.28	-2.064*	0.02	
2.	Outdoors						
	Scale 1	4.70	4.50	5.01	-0.51	-2.184*	0.015
	Scale 3	6.29	6.16	6.50	-0.34	-1.678	0.047
	Indoors						
	Scale 1	6.65	6.66	6.64	0.02	0.074	0.471
Scale 3	6.42	6.24	6.69	-0.45	-2.213*	0.014	
3.	Recurring						
	Scale 1	7.10	7.14	7.05	0.09	0.447	0.328
	Scale 2	7.01	6.84	7.26	-0.42	-2.276*	0.012
	Scale 3	6.42	6.26	6.65	-0.39	-1.868*	0.032
	Scale 4	6.84	6.66	7.09	-0.43	-2.344**	0.01
	Unique						
	Scale 1	4.85	4.68	5.11	-0.43	-1.963*	0.025
	Scale 2	5.28	4.99	5.70	-0.71	-3.247**	0.0005
	Scale 3	6.30	6.12	6.56	-0.44	-1.957*	0.026
Scale 4	6.02	5.83	6.29	-0.46	-2.173*	0.015	

*: p ≤ 0.05 ; **: p ≤ 0.01

Tableau 22 : Mean perceived gravity score for incivilities, by age of subjects, means analysis

Scenarios	Age of respondents			F-Test
	18-35 years	36-50 years	51 years and above	
Assault	8.25	8.56	8.33	1.31
Theft	8.25	8.2	7.93	1.69
Vandalism	7.45	7.74	7.47	0.84
Noise	6.27	6.41	6.09	0.62
Loitering	7.22	7.21	6.22	3.87*
Insults	5.76	6.52	6.44	2.65
Spitting	6.27	6.78	6.61	1.18
Obstruction	5.29	6.11	5.8	2.18
Littering (flyers)	4.47	4.56	4.83	0.68

* : $p \leq 0.05$; ** : $p \leq 0.01$

Tableau 23 : Mean perceived gravity score for incivilities, by sex of subjects, means analysis

Scenarios	Sex		T-Test
	Male	Female	
Assault	8.12	8.53	-2.46*
Theft	8.03	8.13	-0.61
Vandalism	7.39	7.65	-1.2
Noise	6.26	6.23	0.1
Loitering	6.64	6.76	-0.3
Insults	6.08	6.46	-1.41
Spitting	6.43	6.68	-0.95
Obstruction	5.81	5.81	0
Littering (flyers)	4.58	4.69	-0.38

* : $p \leq 0.05$; ** : $p \leq 0.01$

Table 24 : Mean perceived gravity score for incivilities, by ethnic affiliation of subjects, means analysis

Scenarios	Ethnic affiliation		T-Test
	<i>Caucasian</i>	<i>Visible minority</i>	
Assault	8.37	8.63	-0.91
Theft	8.06	8.46	-1.39
Vandalism	7.51	8.01	-1.46
Noise	6.22	6.35	-0.29
Loitering	6.68	7.18	-0.72
Insults	6.24	7.08	-1.91
Spitting	6.56	6.85	-0.69
Obstruction	5.78	6.08	-0.61
Littering (flyers)	4.71	4.25	1.17

* : $p \leq 0,05$; ** : $p \leq 0,01$

Table 25 : Mean perceived gravity score for incivilities, by subjects' level of schooling, means analysis

Scenarios	Schooling		T- Test
	<i>Completed post-secondary degree</i>	<i>High-school diploma or less</i>	
Assault	8.64	8.29	2.02*
Theft	8.37	7.97	2.31*
Vandalism	7.93	7.38	2.62**
Noise	6.51	6.08	1.61
Loitering	6.97	6.64	0.75
Insults	7	5.96	3.97**
Spitting	6.48	6.65	-0.64
Obstruction	5.73	5.85	-0.41
Littering (flyers)	4.49	4.73	-0.85

* : $p \leq 0.05$; ** : $p \leq 0.01$

Table 26 : Mean perceived gravity scores of incivilities, by family income of subjects, means analysis

Scenarios	Family income		T-Test
	\$19,999 or less	\$20,000 or more	
Assault	8.22	8.72	-2.86**
Theft	7.99	8.4	-2.35*
Vandalism	7.36	8.01	-2.98**
Noise	6.06	6.51	-1.61
Loitering	6.64	6.75	-0.24
Insults	6.08	6.78	-2.56*
Spitting	6.5	6.75	-0.94
Obstruction	5.72	6.02	-0.98
Littering (flyers)	4.63	4.66	-0.11

* : $p \leq 0.05$; ** : $p \leq 0.01$

Table 27 : Mean perceived gravity score for incivilities, by civil status of subjects, means analysis

Scenario	Civil status		T-Test
	Head of single-parent household	Single persons and families	
Assault	8.5	8.36	0.73
Theft	8.08	8.1	-0.09
Vandalism	7.67	7.53	0.57
Noise	6.08	6.27	-0.58
Loitering	7.05	6.65	0.8
Insults	5.93	6.42	-1.55
Spitting	6.51	6.61	-0.31
Obstruction	5.6	5.86	-0.7
Littering (flyers)	4	4.84	-2.62**

* : $p \leq 0.05$; ** : $p \leq 0.01$

Table 28 : Mean weekly exposure to each of the 21 behaviours, by subjects' perception

List 21 behaviours n= 329	Average exposure		T-Test
	Is this an incivility?		
	Yes	No	
Littering	2.7	2.2	0.35
Spraying (graffiti)	0.11	0.01	0.55
Setting fire to trashbins	0.006	0.01	-0.63
Not cleaning up after one's dog	2.58	5	-1.36
Damaging public property	0.18	0.01	0.71
Spitting on the street	2.37	2.62	-0.45
Disobeying no-smoking rules	1.44	2.1	-1.31
Urinating on the street/in a park	0.43	1.13	-1.17
Public drunkenness	1.48	1.7	-0.60
Not paying for one's bus ticket	0.21	0.32	-0.08
Insulting another person	0.97	0.52	0.86
Physically assaulting a person	0.16	0.03	2.50*
Having noisy neighbours on the floor	2.05	0.95	2.45*
Blocking the lobby w/packages	0.21	0.25	-0.30
Spitting in the lobby	0.18	0.69	-0.80
Loitering on the grounds	1.39	0.91	1.43
Vandalizing the mailboxes	0.01	0.009	0.42
Parking a vehicle in a space reserved for another resident	0.63	0.51	0.21
Stealing property	0.08	0.009	0.79
Presence of vagrants	1.29	1.03	0.85
Presence of squeegee kids	1.27	0.8	1.35

* : $p \leq 0.05$; ** : $p \leq 0.01$