

Violence against seniors and their perceptions of safety in Canada

by Shana Conroy and Danielle Sutton

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Violence against seniors and their perceptions of safety in Canada: Highlights

- According to the General Social Survey on Canadians' Safety (Victimization), there were about 128,000 senior victims of violence in Canada in 2019. Rates of violent victimization were five times lower among seniors aged 65 and older compared to younger Canadians (20 versus 100 incidents per 1,000 population).
- Overall, three-quarters (76%) of seniors who reported experiencing violent victimization in 2019 were physically assaulted.
- A smaller proportion of seniors, compared to younger Canadians, reported experiencing abuse by an intimate partner in the five years preceding the survey: 7.1% of seniors reported experiencing emotional or financial abuse and 1.5% reported experiencing physical or sexual abuse by an intimate partner.
- Most seniors were somewhat or very satisfied with their personal safety from crime (82%), perceived their neighbourhood as having a lower amount of crime than other areas in Canada (77%) and reported a somewhat or very strong sense of community belonging (72%).
- According to the Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, the rate of police-reported violence against seniors increased 22% between 2010 and 2020, with the largest increase observed in the past five years among senior men. In contrast, police-reported violence against non-seniors decreased 9% during the same time period, with increases observed beginning in 2015 (+12% between 2015 and 2020).
- In 2020, nearly two-thirds (64%) of senior victims of police-reported violence were victimized by someone other than a family member or intimate partner. Acquaintances were implicated for more than one in four (28%) senior victims of violence while one-quarter (24%) of senior victims were victimized by stranger.
- Senior women who experienced police-reported violence were twice as likely to have been victimized by an intimate partner compared with senior men (16% versus 7%).
- More than half (60%) of all police-reported violence against seniors involved the use of physical force and an additional 19% involved the presence of a weapon. About one-third (35%) of seniors suffered a physical injury as a result of the violence they experienced.
- In 2020, the rate of police-reported violence against seniors was highest in the territories and New Brunswick. Between 2015 and 2020, police-reported senior victimization increased in every province and territory.
- The rate of police-reported violence was higher for senior men than senior women in every province and territory in 2020, and in nearly all census metropolitan areas.
- In 2020, the overall rate of police-reported senior victimization in the provinces was higher in rural compared to urban areas (247 versus 214 per 100,000 population).
- Between 2000 and 2020, 944 seniors were victims of homicide in Canada, which accounted for 7% of all homicide victims during this time. The large majority (88%) of these homicides were solved by police.
- The homicide rate among seniors increased between 2010 and 2020 (+9%), driven by the homicides of senior men (+28%).
- Among senior men who were homicide victims, two-thirds (67%) were killed by a non-family member, most commonly a friend (30%) followed by a stranger (20%) or an acquaintance (17%). Among senior women who were homicide victims, two-thirds (67%) were killed by an intimate partner (32%) or family member (35%), while one in eight (13%) senior women were killed by a stranger.

Violence against seniors and their perceptions of safety in Canada

by Shana Conroy and Danielle Sutton, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics

Seniors comprise almost one-fifth of all Canadians and their proportion of the population continues to grow as baby-boomers (i.e., those born between 1946 and 1965) age (Statistics Canada 2022; Statistics Canada 2021). In 2020, Canada was home to 6.8 million persons aged 65 years and older, comprising 18% of the total population (Statistics Canada 2021). In fact, demographic projections using a medium-growth scenario predict that, by 2030, more than one in five Canadians will be seniors, a figure that increases to one in four by 2060 (Statistics Canada 2019b).¹

Overall, older Canadians are aging better, are more active and are engaging in fuller lifestyles than previous generations. At the same time, however, they remain at risk of experiencing violence at the hands of family members, intimate partners, friends, caregivers and others (Miszkurka et al. 2016). Among seniors, a greater proportion (54%) are women in large part due to women living longer, on average, than men. The gender mortality gap, however, has diminished in recent years and is forecasted to continue shrinking in light of increased life expectancy among Canadian men (Statistics Canada 2019a). The growing proportion of seniors in Canada highlights the importance of understanding their risk of being victimized and, relatedly, their perceptions of safety and feelings of security. When seniors experience victimization, knowing where it occurs, who perpetrates it and whether it is reported to the police is crucial to understanding and mitigating risk.²

Although prevalence estimates vary, violence against seniors is thought to affect approximately one in eight older adults living in the Americas (Yon et al. 2017). The risk of experiencing various forms of abuse is heightened among certain segments of the senior population. Specifically, those who are socially isolated, cognitively impaired, physically frail, living in institutionalized settings or dependent upon others for care are at an increased risk of experiencing abuse (Brijnath et al. 2021; Pillemer et al. 2016). The consequences of abuse, which in turn intensify the risk of recurrence, include an increased likelihood of developing mental or physical health conditions, hospitalization, cognitive decline, nursing home placement and mortality (World Health Organization 2021; Yunus et al. 2019).

This *Juristat* article relies on multiple data sources to examine the nature and prevalence of violent victimization of seniors. In addition, the article presents the various factors associated with perceptions of crime and safety among seniors. Self-reported data from the 2019 General Social Survey on Canadians' Safety (Victimization) are presented first, detailing seniors' experiences of violent victimization and their perceptions of safety. The sections that follow present police-reported data from the Uniform Crime Reporting Survey and the Homicide Survey, providing detail on annual trends, accused-victim relationships and incident characteristics. While 2020 was an unusual year due to the COVID-19 pandemic, police-reported incident data were similar for 2019 and 2020. As such, this article reports the latest police-reported data from 2020.

Text box 1 Defining the “senior” population

While seniors comprised 18% of the Canadian population in 2020, the proportion living in each of the provinces and territories varied. The Atlantic provinces and Quebec were home to the largest proportion of seniors, accounting for 20% to 22% of residents in each province (Statistics Canada 2021). The territories, on the other hand, were home to the smallest proportion of seniors: 4% of the population in Nunavut, 9% in the Northwest Territories and 13% in Yukon were seniors. The proportion of seniors living in Alberta was also relatively small (14%). The proportion of seniors living in each province and territory could impact how senior victimization is defined and the measures implemented to address it.

With an aging population in Canada, ongoing discussion and debates surround which age cut-off should be used to signify senior citizens. In keeping with the typical age of retirement and the age at which many individuals are entitled to receive full pension benefits, much of the research adopts a minimum age threshold of 65 years (Arriagada 2020; Gilmour and Ramage-Morin 2020).

Alongside an increasing life expectancy, higher proportions of seniors are living active lifestyles and continuing in the workforce beyond retirement age which challenges the appropriateness of using 65 years as a minimum threshold to denote senior citizens. Rather, some researchers advocate considering specific health, physical or cognitive abilities as a best practice to defining “senior” citizens (Addington 2012). While doing so would produce a valid definition, practical needs exist to quickly categorize segments of the population, calling for a definition which uses chronological age.

Using a single minimum age threshold threatens to obscure differences within a diverse group who have unique experiences, strengths and vulnerabilities throughout their senior years. One solution is to use multiple age subcategories. For example, some researchers have adopted a minimum age requirement (e.g., 60 or 65 years) to classify seniors and

then use additional subcategories increasing in increments of ten years (e.g., 65 to 74 years, 75 to 84 years, and 85 years and older) to capture different experiences across the lifespan (Bows 2019; Logan et al. 2019).

In this article, “senior” refers to Canadians aged 65 years and older.³ In contrast, “non-senior” refers to Canadians aged 64 years and younger, or 15 to 64 years of age in the case of self-reported data.

Text box 2

Senior victimization: What is abuse?

In and across Canada, various definitions of senior abuse exist and they vary in scope. Some, such as New Brunswick and Alberta, define senior abuse broadly, focusing on any action or inaction which causes harm or jeopardizes an older person’s health or well-being (Department of Justice 2015). Others, such as Manitoba and British Columbia, note how senior abuse must be perpetrated by someone an older adult has come to trust, be it a spouse, relative, caregiver, friend or staff member employed at a long-term care facility (Department of Justice 2015; Preston and Wahl 2002). Finally, some, such as Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland and Labrador, favour a broad definition while recognizing that a breach of trust frequently occurs in instances of senior abuse (Department of Justice 2015).

The terms used—such as “elder abuse,” “abuse of older adults” or “abuse of vulnerable adults”—also vary. Regardless of the terminology used, definitions of senior abuse often detail common types of abuse. For example, the Advocacy Centre for the Elderly define senior abuse as harm perpetrated against an older person by someone in a special relationship to them, including:

- Physical abuse such as slapping, pushing, beating or forced confinement;
- Financial abuse such as stealing, fraud, extortion and misusing a power of attorney;
- Sexual abuse as sexual assault or any unwanted form of sexual activity;
- Neglect as failing to give an older person in your care food, medical attention or other necessary care, or abandoning an older person in your care; and
- Emotional abuse as in treating an older person like a child or humiliating, insulting, frightening, threatening or ignoring an older person (ACE 2013).

As the above indicates, senior abuse can vary in terms of severity. While some of these acts meet the criminal threshold for prosecution in Canada (e.g., physical assault, sexual assault, extortion and criminal negligence causing bodily harm), others do not (e.g., humiliation).

Section 1: Self-reported violent victimization among seniors

In Canada, the Uniform Crime Reporting Survey and the General Social Survey (GSS) on Canadians’ Safety (Victimization) are complementary data sources capturing both police- and self-reported victimization, respectively. While police-reported data are crucial to providing measurements of crime in Canada, they are limited to incidents that come to the attention of authorities. The majority of criminal incidents—especially those involving intimate partner violence and sexual assault—are not reported to police.⁴ Further, some evidence suggests that seniors are less likely to report victimization to police compared to younger Canadians (Cotter 2021a; Gabor and Kiedrowski 2009), thereby highlighting the importance of using self-reported data to complement police-reported statistics.

The true extent of senior victimization is difficult to measure. Some behaviours may not be perceived or recognized by seniors as abuse, while others do not meet the criminal threshold or—if they do—may not be reported to police, and some seniors are unable to report due to a disability. Consequently, both self-reported and police-reported data presented in this article may underestimate the degree of victimization among seniors in Canada. Keeping these caveats in mind, the aim of this section is to explore seniors’ self-reported experiences of violent victimization by drawing on findings from the 2019 GSS on Victimization.

The GSS on Victimization has a target population of persons aged 15 and older living in the community. As such, seniors living in institutionalized settings are not included in the survey. Similarly, seniors with severe disabilities may not have responded to the survey. The exclusion of both groups will impact public understanding of violence against seniors. About 7% of the senior population lives in institutional settings and an even larger proportion have declining cognitive or physical abilities, the latter of which increase the risk of violence against seniors (Pillemer et al. 2016; Walsh et al. 2011; WHO 2021).

Rate of violent victimization lower among seniors compared to younger Canadians

According to the GSS on Victimization, there were about 128,000 senior victims of violence—including physical assault, sexual assault and robbery—in Canada in 2019, a rate of 20 victims for every 1,000 Canadians aged 65 and older (Table 1).⁵ These self-reported data align with previous research documenting the relative low occurrence of violence experienced by seniors, often affecting about 2% of the senior population at any given time (MacDonald 2018; Policastro and Finn 2017; Rosay and Mulford 2017).

Keeping in mind that victimization typically declines with age (Cotter 2021a), the rate of violent victimization was significantly lower among seniors compared to younger Canadians—that is, those aged 15 to 64 (100 incidents per 1,000 population).⁶ The rate of violent victimization was also lower among senior women compared to non-senior women (24 versus 129) and among senior men compared to non-senior men (15 versus 70).

Among the senior population, the rate of violent victimization did not differ in a statistically significant way between senior women and senior men overall (24 versus 15). There were also no significant differences in the rate of violent victimization documented for seniors who are members of a visible minority group,⁷ in comparison to non-visible minority seniors and visible minority non-seniors (32^E, 18 and 68, respectively).⁸

Prior research has shown how rates of victimization are higher among people with a disability in general (Cotter 2021a) and among the senior population specifically (Pillemer et al. 2016; Walsh et al. 2011; WHO 2021). For seniors with a disability, rates of victimization may be higher due to increased dependency on caregivers, potential caregiver burnout and difficulties in defending themselves physically (Pillemer et al. 2016; Walsh et al. 2011). According to the GSS on Victimization, seniors who reported having a disability⁹ had a rate of violent victimization that was significantly higher than seniors who did not report having a disability (31 versus 11^E incidents per 1,000 population).¹⁰ In contrast, however, the rate of violent victimization among seniors with a disability was lower than non-seniors with a disability (31 versus 181). Among those with a disability, senior women had a higher rate of violent victimization than senior men (42^E versus 17^E). The victimization rates among seniors with a disability are likely conservative estimates considering how the GSS excludes seniors living in institutional settings and those with a severe disability may not have responded to the survey.

Three-quarters of seniors who experience victimization are physically assaulted

Among those who experienced violent victimization in 2019, three-quarters (76%) of seniors were physically assaulted, a rate of 15 incidents per 1,000 population (Table 1). The rate of physical assault among seniors was significantly lower than what was documented for younger Canadians (54 incidents per 1,000 population).¹¹ This finding applied to both senior women and men: the rate of assault was lower for senior women compared to non-senior women (16^E versus 58) and the rate for senior men was lower compared to non-senior men (14 versus 50).

Among seniors who experienced violent victimization in 2019, sexual assault and robbery were less common than physical assault. The rate of sexual assault among seniors was 2.4^E incidents per 1,000 population, significantly lower than the rate for younger Canadians (37).¹² The same difference applied to senior and non-senior women (4.2^E versus 63).¹³ Meanwhile, the rate for robbery was significantly lower among seniors than non-seniors (2.4^E versus 8.2).¹⁴ Further analysis revealed that the significant difference observed between seniors and younger Canadians who were victims of robbery was driven by the rate of victimization among non-seniors aged 25 to 44.¹⁵

A small proportion of seniors experience physical or sexual assault in intimate relationships

Intimate partner violence—a form of gender-based violence—includes a range of behaviours perpetrated by a current or former spouse or other intimate partner that can cause an individual to experience emotional, psychological, financial, sexual or physical harm. Regardless of age, the potential impacts of intimate partner violence can be immediate and enduring, and may result in victims feeling anxious, depressed, fearful and trapped by their partner (Cotter 2021b; Savage 2021). Much like their younger counterparts, seniors who experience intimate partner violence may be reluctant to disclose or discuss their experiences, thereby highlighting the importance of using victimization survey data to complement police-reported statistics. Again, data presented below may underestimate the scope of intimate partner violence among seniors considering how those living in institutional settings were not included in the GSS on Victimization, and those with certain disabilities might not have responded to the survey.

Among seniors with current or former intimate partners, 1.5% reported experiencing physical or sexual abuse by an intimate partner in the five years preceding the GSS on Victimization, significantly lower than the proportion of younger Canadians who experienced such abuse (6.9%) (Table 2).¹⁶ While the proportions of senior women and senior men who experienced intimate partner violence were not significantly different (2.3% and 0.9%, respectively), physical or sexual abuse by an intimate partner was higher among senior women aged 65 to 74 than similarly aged men (2.2% versus 1.1%).¹⁷

When comparisons were made by gender, similar findings emerged. A smaller proportion of senior women (2.3%) experienced physical or sexual abuse by an intimate partner compared to non-senior women (7.6%) (Table 2). Likewise, a smaller proportion of senior men (0.9%) experienced such abuse compared to non-senior men (6.2%).

Fewer than one in ten seniors experience emotional or financial abuse by an intimate partner

Several studies have found psychological and financial abuse to be the most prevalent forms of senior victimization (Henderson et al. 2021; Rosay and Mulford 2017; Weissberger et al. 2020; Yon et al. 2017). While some of these behaviours may not reach the criminal threshold, they often carry detrimental consequences for victims, jeopardizing their economic security while undermining their sense of dignity and self-worth. Such abuse may result in victims' withdrawal from social situations, and increased feelings of anxiety, hopelessness or inadequacy (Government of Canada 2017; Yunus et al. 2019). The GSS on Victimization includes questions related to emotional¹⁸ and financial¹⁹ abuse.

Fewer than one in ten (7.1%) seniors reported experiencing emotional or financial abuse by an intimate partner in the five years preceding the GSS on Victimization, with similar proportions documented among senior women and senior men (7.2% and 7.0%, respectively) (Table 2).²⁰ On the other hand, one in five (19%) Canadians between the ages of 15 and 64 experienced emotional or financial abuse by an intimate partner during the same time period, significantly higher than seniors. Additional analysis revealed that emotional or financial abuse by an intimate partner appears to decline with age. While a significantly lower proportion of seniors reported such abuse compared to younger age groups, the difference was smaller with increasing age (7.1% of seniors versus 35% of those aged 15 to 24, 21% of those aged 25 to 44 and 12% of those aged 45 to 64).²¹

In addition to questions about emotional and financial abuse perpetrated by an intimate partner, the GSS on Victimization asked the same about relatives, friends and caregivers. A small proportion of seniors experienced emotional abuse (1.5%) or financial abuse (0.7%) from such a person in the five years preceding the survey (Table 2). Emotional abuse was significantly less common among seniors than non-seniors (1.5% versus 3.3%) while there was no notable difference for financial abuse (0.7% versus 1.0%).

Section 2: Perceptions of safety among seniors

Individual well-being is fundamentally associated with perceptions of personal safety. Early research (e.g., Hale 1996; Yin 1980) reinforced the conventional belief that seniors are more likely to fear crime compared to their younger counterparts, although they paradoxically experience lower rates of crime. Later research argued that seniors are not more fearful per se but behave more cautiously due to factors largely related to vulnerability (Greve et al. 2018). Fear of crime, or behavioural adaptations, may be heightened among seniors because some perceive themselves to be more vulnerable physically—ill-equipped to defend against an assault—and anticipate a longer recovery time should one occur (Hansmaier et al. 2018; Sheppard et al. 2021). The aim of this section is to determine whether seniors' perceptions of safety align with their lower rates of victimization documented above.

Large majority of seniors are somewhat or very satisfied with their personal safety from crime

According to the General Social Survey (GSS) on Canadians' Safety (Victimization), and aligned with victimization patterns documented above, the large majority (82%) of seniors were somewhat or very satisfied with their personal safety from crime in 2019, a proportion that exceeded what was documented among younger Canadians (77%) (Table 3).²² Senior men were most satisfied with their personal safety from crime (86%) compared to both senior women (79%) and non-senior men (80%). In the provinces, a larger proportion of seniors living in rural areas reported being somewhat or very satisfied with their personal safety from crime compared to seniors living in urban areas (87% versus 81%).²³

There were no significant differences among Indigenous (First Nations, Métis and Inuit) and non-Indigenous seniors, and seniors who are and seniors who are not members of a visible minority group, in terms of satisfaction with personal safety from crime.²⁴ Differences did emerge, however, when considering disability. Seniors with a disability were less likely than seniors with no disability to say they were satisfied with their personal safety from crime (80% versus 84%). Inversely, it was more common for seniors with a disability to say they were dissatisfied with their personal safety from crime (3.9%) or that they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (16%) than seniors with no disability (2.7% and 13%, respectively).

The GSS on Victimization asks several questions designed to measure Canadians' satisfaction with their personal safety using behavioural indicators—such as while walking alone in the neighbourhood after dark, waiting for or using public transportation alone after dark, being home alone in the evening or at night—and whether they have taken measures to protect themselves or their property from crime.²⁵

Across these indicators a clear pattern emerged. A larger proportion of seniors reported feeling very or reasonably safe, or not at all worried about their personal safety from crime, compared to non-seniors (Table 3). The only exception was waiting for or using public transportation after dark, where feeling worried did not differ significantly between seniors and younger Canadians. Moreover, a smaller proportion of seniors reported taking measures in the previous 12 months to protect themselves or their property from crime than non-seniors (13% versus 23%).²⁶

Among seniors specifically, a significantly larger proportion of men than women reported feeling somewhat or very safe, or not at all worried about their safety from crime, across measures of perceived personal safety. That said, there was no statistically significant difference between senior men and women when it came to taking measures in the 12 months preceding the survey to protect themselves or their property from crime.

Most seniors perceive their neighbourhood as having a lower amount of crime compared to other areas in Canada

Aligned with positive perceptions of personal safety, and potentially due to less exposure to crime, over three-quarters (77%) of seniors perceived their neighbourhood as having a lower amount of crime compared to other areas in Canada, and this proportion was significantly higher than the proportion among younger Canadians who held the same view (70%) (Table 3).²⁷ In contrast, significantly more Canadians aged 64 and younger perceived their neighbourhood to have a higher level of crime compared to other areas in Canada (4.9% versus 3.0% of seniors).

Similarly, it was more common for seniors (81%) to believe that crime in their neighbourhood had remained about the same over the five years preceding the GSS on Victimization than non-seniors (72%), despite national increases in the volume and severity of crime during the same period (Moreau et al. 2020).²⁸ A greater proportion of non-seniors, on the other hand, held the view that crime in their neighbourhood had increased over the preceding five years than what was observed with seniors (21% versus 13%).

Similar patterns were observed when focusing on seniors specifically when comparing perceptions of crime between those who live in provincial rural areas and those who live in urban areas in the provinces. For example, a larger proportion of seniors living in rural areas perceived crime in their neighbourhood to be lower than other areas in Canada compared to seniors living in urban areas (88% versus 74%).²⁹ In contrast, larger proportions of seniors living in urban areas perceived the level of crime in their neighbourhood to be about the same (21%) or higher (3.5%) than other areas in Canada compared to their rural counterparts (9.8% and 1.0%, respectively).

Seven in ten seniors report a somewhat or very strong sense of community belonging

Prior research has found that, across all age groups, feelings of community belonging are positively associated with physical and, to a greater extent, mental health (Michalski et al. 2020). Almost three-quarters (72%) of seniors reported a somewhat or very strong sense of community belonging, and this figure was significantly higher than what was documented among younger Canadians (58%) (Table 3).³⁰ With considerably more free time available among seniors in general, some studies have noted an increase in leisure activity engagement during retirement (Evenson et al. 2002; Henning et al. 2020; Lee et al. 2020), allowing for increased opportunities to foster community belonging. Further analysis revealed, however, that a somewhat or very strong sense of community belonging was less common among seniors with a personal income of less than \$30,000 per year compared to seniors who had a personal income of \$30,000 or more per year (70% versus 74%).³¹

While there were no significant differences among Indigenous and non-Indigenous seniors in terms of community belonging, seniors who are members of a visible minority group were less likely to report they had a somewhat or very strong sense of community belonging (61% versus 74% of non-visible minority seniors).³² Similarly, seniors with a disability less often said they had a somewhat or very strong sense of community belonging (70%) and more often said they had a somewhat or very weak sense of community belonging (18%) than seniors with no disability (74% and 14%, respectively).

Overall, a greater proportion of seniors reported that many people in the neighbourhood know each other (46% versus 31% of non-seniors) and that many people in the neighbourhood help each other (84% versus 81% of non-seniors) (Table 3).³³ Among those who had lived in their neighbourhood for less than a year, there was no difference between seniors and non-seniors in terms of the proportions who reported that many people know each other. Seniors were, however, more likely than non-seniors to say that many people in the neighbourhood know each other when they had lived there for a longer time—that is, one to five years, five to ten years or ten years or more.³⁴

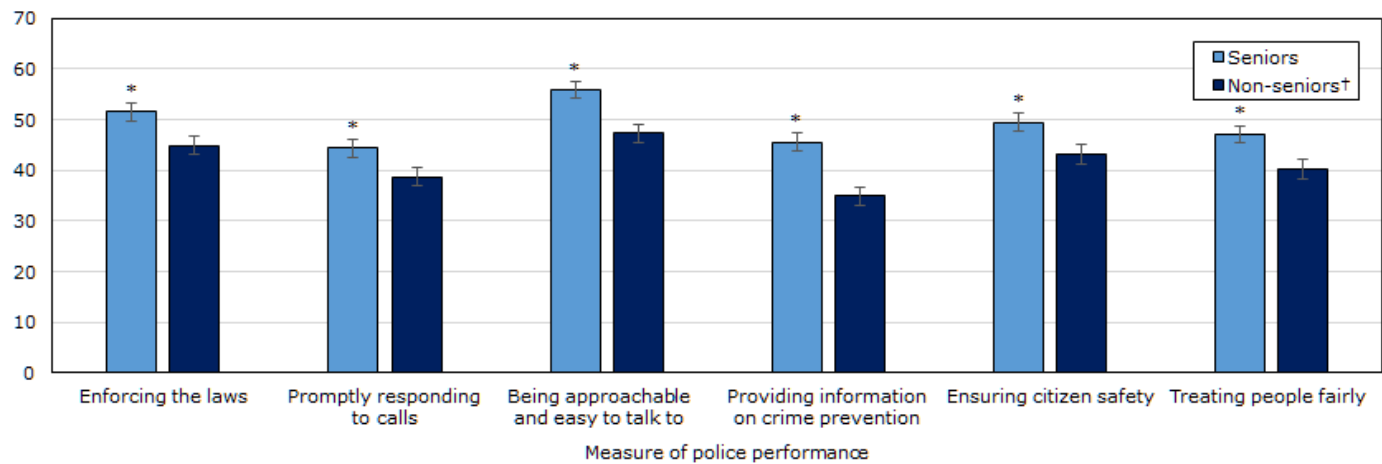
Tied to favourable perceptions of neighbourhood crime, a smaller proportion of seniors reported the presence of at least one indicator of social disorder than non-seniors (42% versus 60%) (Table 3).³⁵ Among the senior population exclusively, however, a larger proportion with a personal income of less than \$30,000 per year reported social disorder being a big problem in their neighbourhood compared to seniors who had a personal income of \$30,000 or more per year (6.3% versus 4.0%).³⁶ Social disorder refers to noisy neighbours, people hanging around on the streets, garbage or litter, vandalism or graffiti, violence motivated by race or ethnicity, the use or dealing of drugs and public intoxication or rowdiness.

Seniors most commonly believe local police do a good job across all measures of performance

Across all measures of police performance collected by the GSS on Victimization, a greater proportion of seniors believed police were doing a good job relative to younger Canadians (Chart 1; Table 4). Compared to seniors, a larger proportion of non-seniors reported that police were doing an average or poor job across all indicators of police performance.

Chart 1
Senior and non-senior perceptions of police performance, by measure of performance and age group, Canada, 2019

percent who believe police are doing a good job



* significantly different from reference category ($p < 0.05$)

† reference category

Note: Seniors include those aged 65 and older while non-seniors include those aged 15 to 64. Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals and can be interpreted as such: if the survey were repeated many times, then 95% of the time (or 19 times out of 20), the interval would cover the true population value.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Canadians' Safety (Victimization).

Separating by gender, results from the GSS on Victimization showed that a larger proportion of senior men and senior women believed police were doing a good job across all performance indicators compared to younger men and younger women, respectively (Table 4). In terms of seniors who believed police were doing a good job, no significant differences were observed between senior women and senior men for any performance indicator. Across all indicators, however, significantly more senior men believed police were doing a poor job compared to senior women.

Aligned with the finding that most seniors believed police were doing a good job, half (50%) of all seniors reported having a great deal of confidence in police,³⁷ a proportion that was significantly higher than among non-seniors (39%).³⁸ Senior men more often reported having a great deal of confidence in police relative to younger men (49% versus 38%). Similarly, senior women more often reported having a great deal of confidence in police compared to younger women (50% versus 39%).

Indigenous seniors were more likely to report that they have not much or no confidence in police compared to their non-Indigenous counterparts (10%^E versus 4.9%). Similarly, a larger proportion of seniors who are members of a visible minority group said the same compared to those who are non-visible minorities (9.7% versus 4.5%).³⁹ Among seniors with a disability, a great deal of confidence was less common (46%), but some confidence was more common (48%), compared to seniors with no disability (53% and 42%, respectively).

Section 3: Police-reported violence against seniors

Building on self-reported data, this section examines the victimization of Canadian seniors by drawing on findings from the Uniform Crime Reporting Survey. For information about police-reported violence against seniors during the COVID-19 pandemic, see Text box 4.

Police-reported violence against seniors increasing

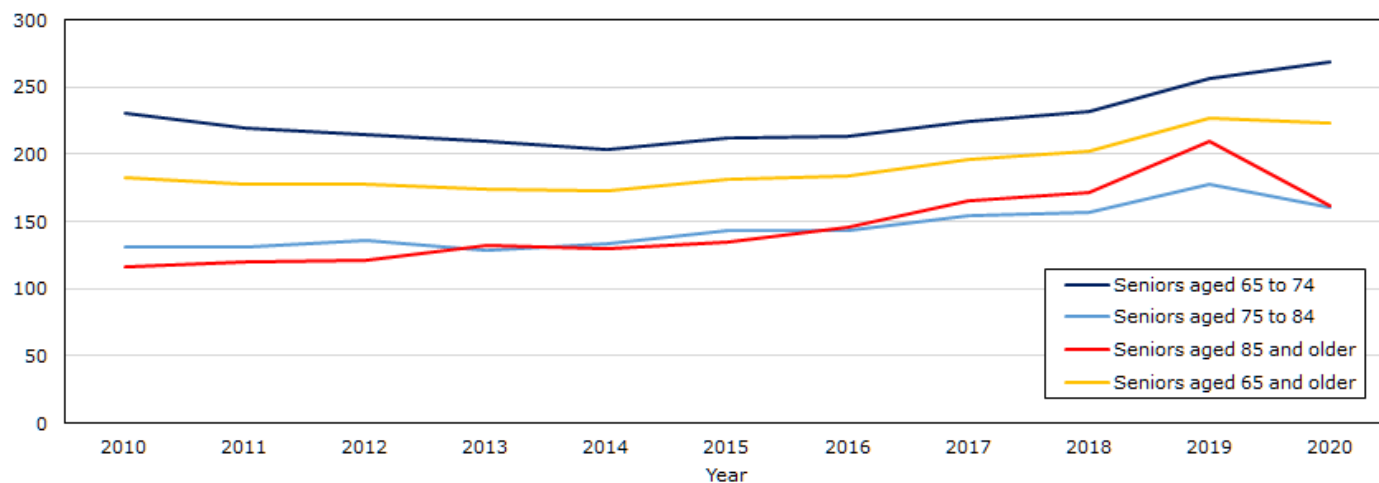
In 2020, there were 389,919 victims of police-reported violence in Canada, 15,157 (4%) of whom were seniors (Table 5).⁴⁰ The rate of senior violent victimization increased 22% between 2010 and 2020, and rate increases were observed for both women (+18%) and men (+25%). In contrast, for non-seniors, increases in the rate of police-reported violence was observed beginning in 2015. Since then, the rate of victimization among younger Canadians increased (+12%), more for women (+16%) than men (+8%).

Rates of police-reported violence increased for each senior age group between 2010 and 2020 (Chart 2). The largest increase since 2010 was observed among seniors aged 85 and older (+39%), although a decline occurred from 2019 to 2020. The increase since 2010 for this age group was driven almost entirely by the violent victimization of senior women; there was a 63% rate increase among women aged 85 and older (from 108 to 176 victims per 100,000 population), whereas the rate increased 3% for senior men of the same age (from 132 to 136 per 100,000). Meanwhile, among senior men, the largest increase between 2010 and 2020 was among those aged 75 to 84 (+29%). It should be noted, however, that seniors in general—and seniors aged 85 and older in particular—represent a small proportion of police-reported victims of violence (4% and 0.4% in 2020, respectively). As such, fluctuations in the number of victims can have a large impact on the rate of victimization and resulting trend.

Chart 2

Senior victims of police-reported violence, by age group and year, Canada, 2010 to 2020

rate per 100,000 population



Note: Rates are calculated on the basis of 100,000 population. Populations based on July 1 estimates from Statistics Canada, Centre for Demography. Seniors include those aged 65 and older. Excludes victims where age was coded as unknown and those where age was greater than 110 are excluded from analyses due to possible instances of miscoding of unknown age within this age category. Based on the Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, Trend Database, which, as of 2009, includes data for 99% of the population in Canada. As a result, numbers may not match those presented elsewhere in the report.

Source: Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, Trend Database.

Nearly two-thirds of senior victims experience violence perpetrated by someone other than a family member or intimate partner

According to police-reported data, more than six in ten (64%) senior victims of violent crime were victimized by someone other than a family member or intimate partner in 2020, while this was the case for a relatively lower proportion of non-seniors (56%) (Table 6). Among senior victims, almost three-quarters (72%) of senior men and over half (54%) of senior women were victimized by a non-family member. Acquaintances and strangers were implicated for just over half (52%) of senior victims. This finding was more pronounced among senior men, where an equal proportion was victimized by a stranger (29%) or an acquaintance (29%), whereas just over one-quarter (27%) of senior women were victimized by an acquaintance and a smaller proportion by a stranger (16%).

These police-reported data counter research that suggests seniors are often victimized by a family member (Brijnath et al. 2021; Weissberger et al. 2020). That said, both studies cited focused on victimization that was reported to abuse resource hotlines, which included both criminal and non-criminal forms of abuse. As such, consideration must be given to the issue of underreporting to police. There are many reasons why someone, regardless of age, may not report victimization by a family member to police including, but not limited to, fear of retaliation, dependency on the offender, shame or embarrassment, privacy-related issues or a desire to protect the offender (Dowling et al. 2018; Roger et al. 2021).

Senior women more likely than senior men to experience violence perpetrated by a family member or intimate partner

Police-reported data showed that overall a larger proportion of seniors were victimized by a family member than non-senior victims (Table 6). Specifically, one in four (25%) senior victims were assaulted by a family member while this was the case for 15% of victims under the age of 65.

Of note, there were gender differences—specifically a larger proportion of senior women experienced violence by a family member relative to senior men (30% versus 22%). Within this group, senior women were most often victimized by their child or an extended family member (e.g., grandchildren, nieces, nephews and in-laws).

Senior women were twice as likely to have been victimized by an intimate partner compared to senior men (16% versus 7%). Non-senior women were also three times more likely to have been victimized by an intimate partner relative to non-senior men (42% versus 13%). Therefore, intimate partner violence remains a largely gendered phenomenon whereby women are victimized more often than men (Conroy 2021; Cotter 2021b).

Just over one-quarter of senior victims of police-reported violence are victimized by another senior

There were 7,241 police-reported incidents of violence against seniors in which there was a single victim and a single accused person.⁴¹ Of these, three-quarters (75%) were perpetrated by a male accused. In terms of age, the largest proportion of seniors were victimized by someone aged 25 to 44 (34%), followed closely by someone aged 45 to 64 (31%). Just over one-quarter (27%) of seniors victims of violence were victimized by someone aged 65 years or older. Among accused aged 25 to 64, the largest proportion (55%) victimized someone other than an intimate partner or family member. This finding was particularly true for accused who victimized senior men (65%), but less so for those who victimized senior women (39%). Instead, accused aged 25 to 64 who victimized senior women most often shared a non-spousal family relationship (49% compared to 27% for senior men).

Of the accused who were also seniors, again, most (63%) victimized someone other than an intimate partner or family member. This was more common among senior men than women accused who victimized another senior (78% versus 55%). About one in three (33%) accused persons aged 65 and older victimized an intimate partner and this was more common among senior women victims compared to men (41% versus 18%).

Charges less common for persons accused of violence against seniors than non-seniors

Of the incidents that involved a single victim and a single accused person, nearly six in ten (58%) persons accused of violence against seniors had charges laid or recommended against them, less common than those accused of violence against non-seniors (74%).⁴² The laying or recommendation of charges was most common among accused aged 25 to 44 (65%) and 45 to 64 (63%). While over half (55%) of accused aged 12 to 24 were involved in incidents that were cleared by charge, this applied to less than half (43%) of accused aged 65 and older who were accused of violence against another senior. That said, compared to younger victims, a larger proportion of seniors requested that no further action be taken against the accused despite there being sufficient evidence to support a charge (26% and 18%, respectively).

Physical assaults most common violations among senior victims of police-reported violence

Aligned with police-reported violent crime overall (Moreau 2021), among all seniors, regardless of victim gender, the most common violation type reported to police involved physical assaults, followed by other offences involving actual or threatened violence (Table 7). Specifically, of all police-reported violence in 2020, 67% of senior men and 62% of senior women were physically assaulted. Of these victims, nearly eight in ten (79%) seniors experienced level 1 assault and an additional one in five (20%) experienced a level 2 assault (assault with a weapon or causing bodily harm).⁴³ There were slight gender differences in that a larger proportion of senior women experienced assault level 1 (84% versus 75% of senior men) and a larger proportion of senior men experienced assault level 2 (24% versus 15% of senior women). These patterns align with what was observed among younger men and women.

Among seniors who reported other offences involving actual or threatened violence to police, more than five in ten (56%) victims were threatened, about one in seven were robbed (15%) and a smaller proportion experienced criminal harassment (12%). Again, there were gender differences. While the largest proportion of both senior men and women experienced uttering threats (59% and 52%, respectively), a greater proportion of men were victims of robbery (18% versus 12% of senior women) whereas women were more often victims of criminal harassment (16% versus 9% of senior men).

Senior victims, both women (81%) and men (63%), were most often victimized inside a residential location.⁴⁴ These figures exceed what was observed among younger Canadians, where 73% of non-senior women and 51% of non-senior men were victimized inside a residential location. These patterns, however, may be a result of lifestyle characteristics rather than age

alone. For example, previous data show how victimization risk is elevated among those who frequently partake in evening activities outside the home and have consumed marijuana in the past 30 days (Cotter 2021a); behaviours which are arguably more common among the young.

Text box 3

Living arrangements of seniors

The preference for many seniors is to remain in the community, or age in place (Puxty et al. 2019), a reality for about nine in ten senior Canadians who currently live in the community (Public Health Agency of Canada 2020; Puxty et al. 2019). Further, research has shown the importance of living arrangements on seniors' mental health and well-being (Puxty et al. 2019; Srugo et al. 2020). Senior Canadians who live with a spouse or partner, compared to those who live alone or with other relatives, report better measures of perceived mental health, physical health, life satisfaction and sense of community belonging (Srugo et al. 2020).

While police-reported data do not reveal precise living arrangements, of all seniors whose violent victimization was reported to police in 2020, almost three-quarters (71%) were victimized inside a residential location. Of these victims, 83% were victimized inside a private residence and 15% inside communal residence, namely a retirement or nursing home.⁴⁵ These data may indicate an overrepresentation of seniors being victimized within institutional settings as, according to the Census of Population, a small proportion (7%) of all Canadian seniors live in such locations (Puxty et al. 2019).⁴⁶ Seniors who were victimized in a communal residence were most commonly victimized by an acquaintance (40%), a neighbour (19%), a stranger (11%), a roommate (9%) or an authority figure (7%).⁴⁷

The limited number of studies examining criminal and non-criminal victimization among institutionalized seniors has documented high proportions of staff-resident and resident-resident abuse (ranging from 20% to 64%) (Lachs et al. 2016; Royal Commission 2020; Yon et al. 2018). One potential explanation for this overrepresentation is the number of institutionalized seniors living with dementia or other severe cognitive impairments. Data show that about four in ten seniors with dementia reside in institutions (Canadian Institute for Health Information 2021), and thus comprise a substantial proportion of all seniors living in institutional settings. Living with a cognitive impairment, such as dementia, is a well-documented risk factor for experiencing victimization (Pillemer et al. 2016; Yon et al. 2018).

Caution should be exercised in any discussion about victimization of seniors within institutionalized settings. Canadian survey data do not capture the institutionalized population and severe cognitive limitations preclude many seniors from providing consent and participating. Police-reported data, therefore, are often the best source available but limited to instances that come to the attention of authorities.

Physical injury more common for senior men than senior women who experience violence

More than half (60%) of all police-reported violence against seniors involved the use of physical force and an additional 19% involved the presence of a weapon (Table 8). Of note, more than one in five senior men were victimized with a weapon while this was the case for about one in eight senior women (23% and 13%, respectively).

About one-third (35%) of seniors suffered a physical injury as a result of the incident, of which a higher proportion of men sustained an injury (37% versus 32% of women). The potential consequences of sustaining even a minor injury in older age are significant. Compared to non-seniors, seniors who suffer serious injuries are at a heightened risk of sustaining another injury, hospitalization and mortality (Xu and Drew 2018). In addition, quality of life among seniors post-injury may be greatly reduced through the development or worsening of mental health issues, fear of re-injury, social withdrawal, increased pain and frailty and decreased ability to live independently (Xu and Drew 2018).

Rates of police-reported violence among seniors highest in territories

Similar to police-reported crime in general (Moreau 2021), violence against seniors was highest in the territories in 2020 (Table 9). Meanwhile, in the provinces, police-reported violence against seniors was highest in New Brunswick (311 per 100,000 population) and lowest in Prince Edward Island (178). While the rate of physical assault in New Brunswick (173) was higher than other Atlantic provinces, it was similar to those reported in some other provinces.⁴⁸ The higher rate of victimization observed in New Brunswick may be better explained by other offences involving actual or threatened violence (128 per 100,000 population), a rate that was double what was found in most other provinces.⁴⁹

Between 2010 and 2020, the rate of senior victimization increased in many provinces and territories; however, between 2015 and 2020,⁵⁰ the rate increased in every province and territory, around the time when the senior population began to outnumber those aged 14 and younger for the first time in history (Statistics Canada 2019a). The largest rate increases

between 2010 and 2020 were documented in New Brunswick (+54%), Ontario (+38%) and Prince Edward Island (+36%) (Table 9).

Moreover, victimization rates were higher for senior men than senior women in every province and territory in 2020. The largest gender differences were observed in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, where the rate of reported violence was 1.8 times higher among men than women (329 versus 180 per 100,000 population in Manitoba and 4,258 versus 2,334 in the Northwest Territories).

Different trends were observed for non-seniors. While rates continue to be highest in the territories, among the provinces, the highest rates of police-reported violence among younger Canadians were documented in Saskatchewan (2,335 per 100,000 population) and Manitoba (2,222). Victimization rates were higher for younger women compared to men in every province and territory in 2020.

Provincial rates of police-reported violence among seniors higher in rural versus urban areas

In 2020, the overall rate of police-reported violence against seniors in the provinces was higher in rural areas compared to urban areas (247 versus 214 per 100,000 population) (Table 9).⁵¹ This pattern was similar for non-seniors, and for women and men—regardless of age group—though the urban-rural difference was larger for non-seniors. Aligned with this finding, rates of victimization for nearly all violation types were higher in rural compared to urban areas, for both senior men and women. The primary exception being robbery—the rate of robbery was four times higher in urban compared to rural areas (12 versus 3 per 100,000 population).⁵²

Between 2010 and 2020, similar rate increases for seniors were documented in both urban and rural areas (+22% and +21%, respectively). In urban areas, the rate increase was larger for senior men (+25%) than senior women (+19%). In rural areas, the rate increase was also higher for senior men (+25%) than senior women (+16%).

Meanwhile, for younger Canadians, the rate of police-reported violence declined in urban areas (-12%) and increased slightly in rural areas (+3%) between 2010 and 2020. In urban areas, there was a larger decline among non-senior men (-16%) compared to non-senior women (-8%). In rural areas, the rate remained stable for non-senior men (+0.1%) while it increased for non-senior women (+6%).

The rate of police-reported violence against seniors was lower in Canada's largest cities—referred to as census metropolitan areas or CMAs—than it was in non-CMA areas (210 versus 253 per 100,000 population; Table 10).⁵³ Of the CMAs, rates were highest in Brantford (493), Kitchener–Cambridge–Waterloo (390) and Lethbridge (344). Meanwhile, rates of senior victimization were lowest in Peterborough (113), Guelph (134), Trois-Rivières (138) and Thunder Bay (138).

Rates of senior victimization were higher among men compared to women in nearly all CMAs. The largest differences in victimization rates for senior men compared with senior women were noted in Saskatoon (291 versus 113, 2.6 times higher for senior men), Edmonton (262 versus 124, 2.1 times higher) and Trois-Rivières (192 versus 92, 2.1 times higher). The only CMAs where rates were higher among senior women compared to senior men were in Kitchener–Cambridge–Waterloo (410 versus 367), Brantford (542 versus 434) and Abbotsford–Mission (190 versus 186).

Text box 4

Police-reported violence against seniors during the COVID-19 pandemic

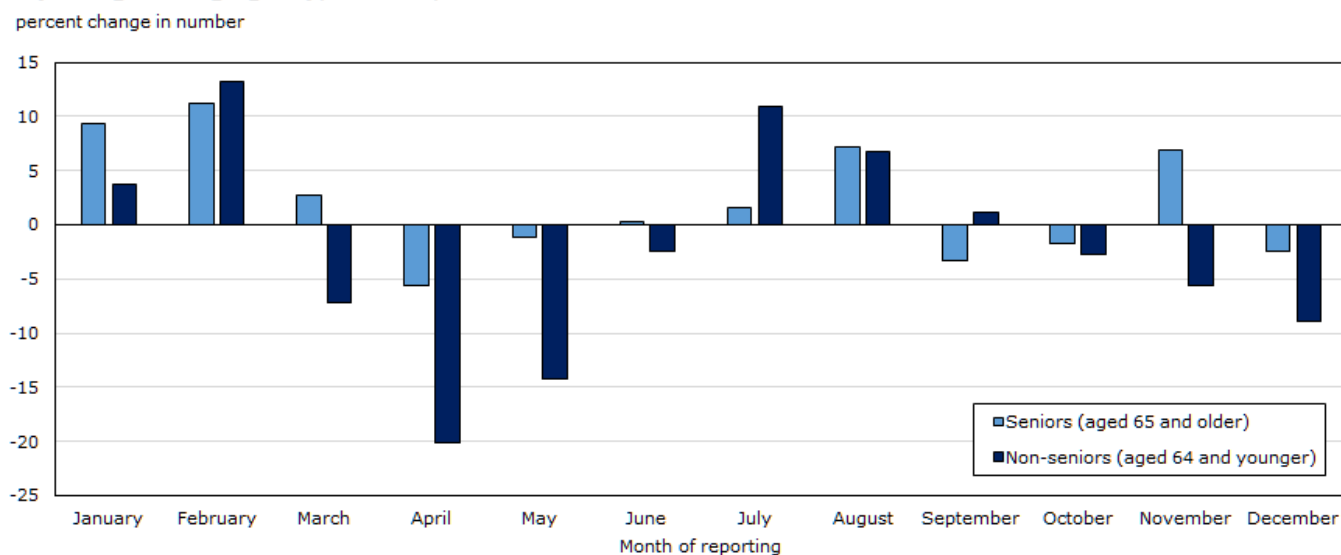
COVID-19 has caused significant disruptions and upheavals in daily activities worldwide. Although COVID-19 poses a risk for all age groups, seniors are at an increased risk of mortality and developing severe complications following infection (United Nations 2020). Those living in institutionalized settings are at particular risk. The pandemic exacerbated longstanding systemic issues within long-term care homes, leaving many seniors at increased risk of contracting the disease, all the while potentially experiencing instances of neglect, mistreatment and abuse (Marrocco et al. 2021).

Further, lockdown measures within communities and in long-term care facilities, which were designed to limit the spread of COVID, created additional challenges for seniors. Those living alone may have experienced a reduction in care or developed mental health problems due to isolation brought on by physical and social distancing (United Nations 2020). Meanwhile, others quarantined or locked down with family members or caregivers—who could also be experiencing higher levels of stress brought about by the pandemic—could also have experienced neglect and or other forms of abuse.

In order to determine whether or not restrictions placed on communities had an impact on the victimization of seniors, as reported to the police, month-to-month comparisons were drawn across 2019 and 2020 police-reported data. During the first two months of 2020, before lockdown measures were instituted, the number of senior victims of police-reported

violence in Canada was about 10% greater than what was observed in January and February of 2019 (Text box 4 chart). Of note, over these two months, increases were also noted for victims under the age of 65, compared to the same months in 2019. However, following the implementation of lockdown measures, beginning in April, fewer instances of violence were being reported to the police compared to the same time in 2019 among Canadians, regardless of age. Sharper declines were observed in incidents involving victims under the age of 65 than was the case with seniors, despite both groups following similar patterns in general. It may be that lockdown measures had a stronger effect on curbing the activities of younger Canadians, activities which may otherwise have resulted in violent victimization.

Text box 4 chart
Percent change in number of senior and non-senior victims of police-reported violence, by month of reporting and age group, Canada, 2019 and 2020



Note: The percent change reflects the difference between a given month in 2020 compared with the same month in 2019. Month of reporting refers to the date the incident was reported to the police, which may be different from the incident date. Excludes victims where the report date was coded as unknown. Seniors include those aged 65 and older while non-seniors include those aged 64 and younger. Excludes victims where age was coded as unknown and those where age was greater than 110 are excluded from analyses due to possible instances of miscoding of unknown age within this age category. Excludes a small number of victims in Quebec whose age was unknown but was miscoded as 0. Based on the Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, Trend Database, which, as of 2009, includes data for 99% of the population in Canada. As a result, numbers may not match those presented elsewhere in the report.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, Trend Database.

Presenting the month-to-month data in aggregate form conceals gender differences. Of note, a greater proportion of senior men were victimized in each month in 2020 (with the exception of December) compared to police-reported 2019 data. This finding was not observed for senior women, and non-senior men and women.

It is important to note that senior victimization often goes unreported. Relying on police-reported data alone may not capture the true scope of the issue. For example, one study conducted in the United States surveyed 897 residents nationwide and documented an 84% increase in senior abuse during the pandemic (Chang and Levy 2021).

Section 4: Homicide of seniors

Existing homicide research often examines the prevalence and correlates of homicide among younger persons and cases involving select characteristics (e.g., firearms, intimate relationships and children). Research examining homicide among senior citizens, to contrast, has received much less attention despite the rapid growth of this population in recent years. Based on available data in the US, researchers have documented an increase in the homicide rate among people aged 50 and older since 2007 (Allen et al. 2020; Logan et al. 2019). A recent trend analysis, however, has not been explored in the Canadian context. This section uses pooled police-reported data from the Homicide Survey to examine characteristics of senior homicide victims that have been solved by the police from 2000 to 2020.

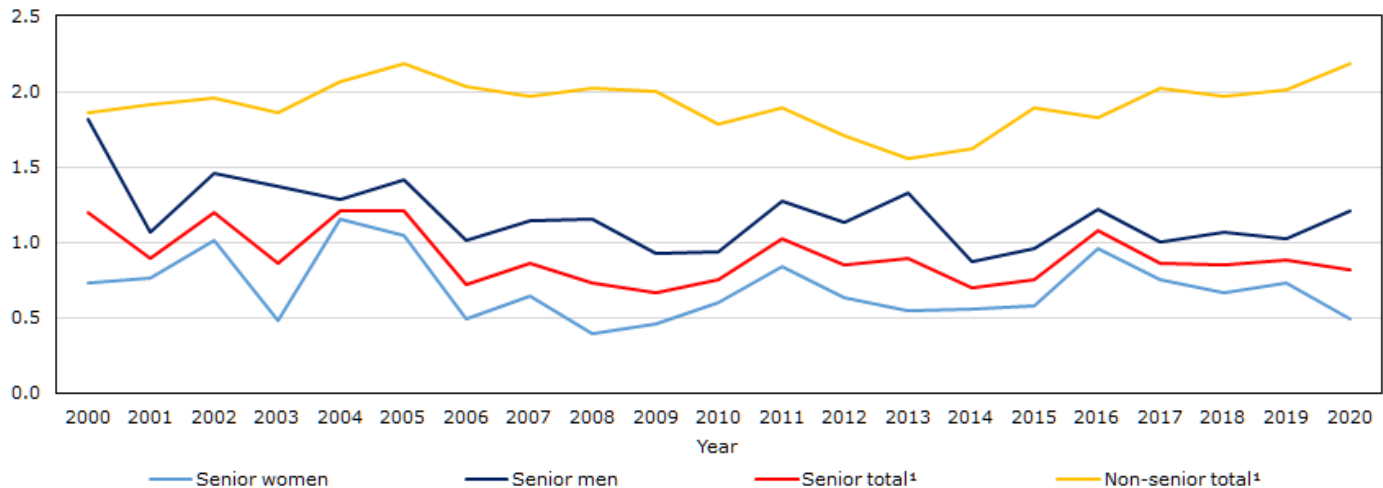
Increase in homicide rate among senior men since 2010, decrease for senior women

Between 2000 and 2020, 944 seniors have died by homicide in Canada, accounting for 7% of all homicide victims during this time. The large majority (88%) of homicides with senior victims were solved by police, meaning an accused person was identified, and this was more common among senior victims than non-senior victims (77%). Notwithstanding annual fluctuations, over this period, the homicide rate among seniors decreased (-31%) whereas the rate among non-seniors over the same period increased (+17%). However, the senior rate in 2000 was one of the highest in the time period analyzed and

patterns change when a more recent reference year is used. For instance, since 2010, the homicide rate for those aged 65 and older increased (+9%) with a similar pattern noted since 2015 (+9%) (Chart 3). These rate increases were driven by the homicides of senior men which increased 28% since 2010. The homicide rate for senior women, in contrast, decreased 18% over the same period.

Chart 3
Senior and non-senior victims of homicide, by victim gender and year, Canada, 2000 to 2020

rate per 100,000 population



1. Includes a relatively small number of victims whose gender was coded as unknown.

Note: There may be a small number of homicides included in a given year's total that occurred in previous years. Homicides are counted according to the year in which they are reported to Statistics Canada. Rates are calculated on the basis of 100,000 population. Populations based on July 1 estimates from Statistics Canada, Centre for Demography. Seniors include those aged 65 and older while non-seniors include those aged 64 and younger. Excludes victims where age was coded as unknown. Includes solved and unsolved homicide (i.e., homicides with and without a known accused).

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Homicide Survey.

Two-thirds of senior men homicide victims killed by someone outside the family, two-thirds of senior women by an intimate partner or family member

Among victims of homicide that were solved, two-thirds (67%) of senior men were killed by a non-family member, most commonly a friend (30%) followed by a stranger (20%) or an acquaintance (17%) (Table 11). That said, about one in four (27%) senior men were killed by a family member, often their children (20%). In contrast, among senior women who were victims of homicide, two-thirds (67%) were killed by an intimate partner (32%) or a family member (35%). Within these relationships, accused persons were often a spouse or child of the victim. Nearly one in eight (13%) senior women were killed by a stranger.

Aligned with the relationships between accused persons and victims, the large majority (84%) of seniors were killed inside a residential location.⁵⁴ This figure exceeded what was documented among non-seniors (59%).

Both senior men and women were most often killed by beating or blows (39% and 32%, respectively) or by stabbing (33% and 24%, respectively). These findings contrast with non-senior homicide victims, where men and boys were most often shot (39%) and women and girls were most often stabbed (32%).

Summary

According to the General Social Survey on Canadians' Safety (Victimization), there were about 128,000 senior victims of violence—including physical assault, sexual assault and robbery—in Canada in 2019. Rates of self-reported victimization were five times lower among seniors compared to non-seniors (20 versus 100 incidents per 1,000 population). When victimization did occur, most seniors reported being physically assaulted, a finding that aligned with police-reported data.

Seniors' overall lower experiences of victimization, relative to younger Canadians, may be tied to their perceptions of safety. Seniors reported high levels of satisfaction with their personal safety from crime, proportions which were much greater than younger Canadians. In addition, seniors perceived crime in their neighbourhood to be lower than other areas in Canada, felt a somewhat or very strong sense of community belonging, and perceived police as performing well across all measures.

There was a 22% increase in police-reported violent crime against seniors between 2010 and 2020. Rates were higher among senior men compared to senior women, in the territories compared to the provinces, and in provincial rural areas

compared to urban areas. The overall low rates of victimization could, however, be impacted by underreporting. Seniors may not report their victimization to police due to privacy concerns, having a dependency on the abuser, fear of retaliation or institutionalization, and an inability to report due to cognitive or physical declines.

Almost two-thirds (64%) of police-reported violent crime against seniors was perpetrated by non-family members. The largest proportion of senior men were victimized by non-family members, specifically, acquaintances and strangers. Senior women were most often victimized by acquaintances, and equal proportions were victimized by a stranger or an intimate partner.

More than half (60%) of all police-reported violence against seniors involved the use or threat of physical force, an additional 19% involved the presence of a weapon. Just over one in three (35%) seniors suffered a physical injury as a result of the incident.

The homicide rate among senior victims has increased since 2010 (+9%), driven largely by the homicide of senior men (+28%). Similar to non-fatal victimization, two-thirds (67%) of senior men who were victims of homicide were killed by a member, while two-thirds (67%) of senior women were killed by an intimate partner or a family member.

Survey description

General Social Survey on Canadians' Safety (Victimization)

This article uses data from the General Social Survey (GSS) on Canadians' Safety (Victimization). In 2019, Statistics Canada conducted the GSS on Victimization for the seventh time. Previous cycles were conducted in 1988, 1993, 1999, 2004, 2009 and 2014. The main objective of the GSS on Victimization is to better understand issues related to the safety and security of Canadians, including perceptions of crime and the justice system, experiences of intimate partner violence, and how safe people feel in their communities.

The target population was persons aged 15 and older living in the provinces and territories, except for those living full-time in institutions.

Data collection took place between April 2019 and March 2020. Responses were obtained by computer-assisted telephone interviews, in-person interviews (in the territories only) and, for the first time, the GSS on Victimization offered a self-administered internet collection option to survey respondents in the provinces and in the territorial capitals. Respondents were able to respond in the official language of their choice.

An individual aged 15 or older was selected within each sampled household to respond to the survey. An oversample of Indigenous people was added to the 2019 GSS on Victimization to allow for a more detailed analysis of individuals belonging to this population group. In 2019, the final sample size was 22,412 respondents.

In 2019, the overall response rate was 37.6%. Non-respondents included people who refused to participate, could not be reached, or could not speak English or French. Respondents in the sample were weighted so that their responses represent the non-institutionalized Canadian population aged 15 and older.

For the quality of estimates, the lower and upper bounds of the confidence intervals are presented in charts and tables. Confidence intervals should be interpreted as follows: if the survey were repeated many times, then 95% of the time (or 19 times out of 20), the confidence interval would cover the true population value.

Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey

The Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Survey collects detailed information on criminal incidents that have come to the attention of police services in Canada. Information includes characteristics of victims, accused persons and incidents. In 2020, data from police services covered 99% of the population of Canada.

One incident can involve multiple offences. In order to ensure comparability, counts are presented based on the most serious offence related to the incident as determined by a standard classification rule used by all police services.

Victim age is calculated based on the end date of an incident, as reported by the police. Some victims experience violence over a period of time, sometimes years, all of which may be considered by the police to be part of one continuous incident. Information about the number and dates of individual incidents for these victims of continuous violence is not available. Excludes victims where age was greater than 110 due to possible instances of miscoding of unknown age within this age category.

Given that small counts of victims and accused persons identified as “gender diverse” may exist, the UCR data available to the public has been recoded to assign these counts to either “female” or “male” in order to ensure the protection of confidentiality and privacy. Victims and accused persons identified as gender diverse have been assigned to either female or male based on the regional distribution of victims’ and accused persons’ gender.

Homicide Survey

The Homicide Survey collects detailed information on all homicide that has come to the attention of, and have been substantiated by, police services in Canada. Information includes characteristics of victims, accused persons and incidents. In 2019, the survey went through a comprehensive redesign in order to improve data quality and enhance relevance.

Prior to 2019, Homicide Survey data was presented by the sex of the victims. Sex and gender refer to two different concepts. Caution should be exercised when comparing counts for sex with those for gender. Given that small counts of victims identified as “gender diverse” may exist, the aggregate Homicide Survey data available to the public has been recoded to assign these counts to either “male” or “female” in order to ensure the protection of confidentiality and privacy.

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Notes

^E use with caution

1. Statistics Canada’s Centre for Demography produces multiple population projections based on varying assumptions regarding previous fertility, mortality, immigration and emigration patterns (Statistics Canada 2019b). To account for the volatility of making such projections, low-, medium- and high-growth scenarios are calculated. The high-growth scenario, for example, assumes high rates of fertility, low mortality, high immigration and low emigration.
2. The proportion of seniors living in Canada is similar to other developed nations, albeit with slight variations (e.g., 1% higher than in the United States, 3% lower than the average in European Union countries), but much higher than the proportion found in lower income nations (The World Bank 2022). As such, the risk of violence against seniors is not a phenomenon unique to Canada but rather an issue likely faced by other developed nations.
3. This *Juristat* article adopts the term “senior” over the commonly used “elder” because the latter term has unique meaning for Indigenous peoples (First Nations, Métis and Inuit) and some faith communities, and it may be perceived negatively by some older adults, implying a lack of capacity or inability to care for oneself (Preston and Wahl 2002).
4. There are numerous reasons why someone may not report intimate partner violence to police including, but not limited to, fear of retaliation, dependency on the offender, shame or embarrassment, or a desire to protect the offender (Dowling et al. 2018; Roger et al. 2021). Moreover, many Canadians who experience this type of violence may perceive it to be a personal, non-criminal matter that is not serious enough to report (Burczycka 2016; Cotter 2021b). Victims of sexual violence may not report for similar reasons, especially if they knew the offender, but also due to fear of not being believed (Department of Justice 2019). Moreover, underreporting may be more common among select demographics—such as Indigenous peoples and other visible minorities—due to factors such as cultural, economic or language barriers, isolation, distrust of authorities and immigration status (Roger et al. 2021; Walsh et al. 2011).
5. In terms of data from the General Social Survey on Canadians’ Safety (Victimization), all differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) unless specifically noted otherwise. For readability, self-reported data in text have been rounded unless they are small (i.e., less than 10 per 1,000 population or less than 10%). In such cases, a decimal place is shown for that number.
6. The rate of violent victimization was significantly lower among seniors compared to every other younger age group (i.e., those aged 15 to 24, 25 to 44 and 45 to 64).
7. Visible minority refers to whether a person belongs to a visible minority group as defined by the *Employment Equity Act* and, if so, the visible minority group to which the person belongs. The *Employment Equity Act* defines visible minorities as “persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.” The visible minority population consists mainly of the following groups: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean and Japanese.
8. Data not shown. The rate of violent victimization among visible minority senior women and senior men is too unreliable to be published. The rate of violent victimization among Indigenous seniors is too unreliable to be published.

9. A person is defined as having a disability if they have one or more of the following types of disability: seeing, hearing, mobility, flexibility, dexterity, pain-related, learning, developmental, memory, mental health-related or unknown.
10. Data not shown.
11. The rate of physical assault was significantly lower among seniors compared to every other younger age group (i.e., those aged 15 to 24, 25 to 44 and 45 to 64).
12. The rate of sexual assault was significantly lower among seniors compared to every other younger age group (i.e., those aged 15 to 24, 25 to 44 and 45 to 64).
13. The corresponding rate of sexual assault among senior men is too unreliable to be published.
14. The rate of robbery among senior women and men is too unreliable to be published.
15. Data not shown. There were no significant differences in the rate for robbery between seniors and those aged 15 to 24 and 45 to 64.
16. Includes those who are currently married or common-law, had contact with a former spouse or partner in the five years preceding the survey, or had a dating partner in the five years preceding the survey.
17. Data not shown.
18. Emotional abuse includes trying to limit contact with family or friends, putting someone down or calling them names to make them feel bad, jealousy, harming or threatening to harm someone close, harming or threatening to harm pets, demanding to know who someone is with or where they are and damaging or destroying possessions or property.
19. Financial abuse includes preventing someone from having access to family income and forcing someone to give money, possessions or property.
20. Includes those who are currently married or common-law, had contact with a former spouse or partner in the five years preceding the survey, or had a dating partner in the five years preceding the survey.
21. Data not shown.
22. Satisfaction with personal safety from crime did not differ significantly among seniors who had a personal income of less than \$30,000 per year compared to seniors who had a personal income of \$30,000 or more per year.
23. Data not shown.
24. Data not shown.
25. Protective measures include changing routine or activities, or avoiding certain people or places; installing new locks or security bars; installing burglar alarms, motion detector lights or a video surveillance system; taking a self-defence course; obtaining a dog; and changing residence or moving.
26. A smaller proportion of seniors reported taking protective measures in the past 12 months, compared to those aged 15 to 24, 25 to 44 and 45 to 64.
27. Perception of crime in the neighbourhood compared to the rest of Canada did not differ significantly among seniors who had a personal income of less than \$30,000 per year compared to seniors who had a personal income of \$30,000 or more per year.
28. Perception of crime in the neighbourhood in the past five years did not differ significantly among seniors who had a personal income of less than \$30,000 per year compared to seniors who had a personal income of \$30,000 or more per year.
29. Data not shown.
30. A larger proportion of seniors reported having a somewhat or very strong sense of community belonging, compared to those aged 15 to 24, 25 to 44 and 45 to 64.
31. Data not shown.
32. Data not shown.
33. Many people in the neighbourhood know each other and help each other did not differ significantly among seniors who had a personal income of less than \$30,000 per year compared to seniors who had a personal income of \$30,000 or more per year.
34. Data not shown.
35. A smaller proportion of seniors reported the presence of social disorder in their neighbourhood, compared to those aged 15 to 24, 25 to 44 and 45 to 64.
36. Data not shown.
37. There was no statistically significant difference among seniors in the provinces who lived in rural compared to urban areas and their level of confidence in police.

38. A larger proportion of seniors reported having a great deal of confidence in police, compared to those aged 15 to 24, 25 to 44 and 45 to 64. Inversely, a smaller proportion of seniors reported having not much or no confidence in police, compared to those aged 15 to 24, 25 to 44 and 45 to 64.
39. Data not shown.
40. Trend numbers are based on the Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, Trend Database, which, as of 2009, includes data from 99% of the population in Canada. As a result, trend numbers may not match those presented elsewhere in the report.
41. Data not shown. Accused persons include those aged 12 and older.
42. Data not shown.
43. Assault levels correspond with various offences in the *Criminal Code*. Assault level 1 refers to common assault which includes pushing, slapping, punching and face-to-face verbal threats. Assault level 2 refers to the offences of assault with a weapon and assault causing bodily harm, which involve carrying, using or threatening to use a weapon against a person or causing someone bodily harm, respectively. Finally, assault level 3 corresponds with the offence of aggravated assault, which involves wounding, maiming, disfiguring or endangering the life of a person.
44. Includes single homes, dwelling units (e.g., apartment units, condo units), commercial dwelling units (e.g., hotel rooms) and private property structures (e.g., sheds, detached garages, fishing boats). Also includes nursing homes, retirement homes, community group homes and halfway houses.
45. The remaining 1% of seniors were victimized inside a group home or halfway house.
46. This finding should be interpreted with caution. It may be that senior victimization in institutional settings is more likely to come to the attention of police—due to institutional policies, duties to report or the enhanced ability for third-party individuals to report—rather than being more common in such settings.
47. Data not shown.
48. Data not shown.
49. Data not shown. Within this category, the highest rate of victimization among seniors was the offence of uttering threats (80 per 100,000 population).
50. Data not shown.
51. Data not shown. Urban and rural analysis excludes data from the territories.
52. Data not shown.
53. An urban area is defined as a census metropolitan area (CMA) or a census agglomeration (CA). A CMA consists of one or more neighbouring municipalities situated around a major urban core. A CMA must have a total population of at least 100,000, of which 50,000 or more live in the urban core. To be included in the CMA, adjacent municipalities must have a high degree of integration with the central urban area, as measured by commuting flows derived from census data. A CA must have a core population of at least 10,000. Rural areas are all areas outside of CMAs and CAs.
54. Includes single homes, dwelling units (e.g., apartment units, condo units), commercial dwelling units (e.g., hotel rooms), nursing homes, retirement homes, community group homes, private property structures (e.g., sheds, detached garages, fishing boats) and halfway houses.

Detailed data tables

Table 1
Senior and non-senior violent victimization, by age group and gender, Canada, 2019

Type of violent victimization	Women				Men				Total ¹			
	number (thousands)	rate	95% confidence interval		number (thousands)	rate	95% confidence interval		number (thousands)	rate	95% confidence interval	
			from	to			from	to			from	to
Seniors												
Sexual assault	14	4.2 ^{E*}	0.9	7.4	F	F	F	F	16	2.4 ^{E*}	0.6	4.2
Robbery	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	16	2.4 ^{E*}	0.4	4.5
Physical assault	56	16.1 ^{E*}	7.1	25.2	41	13.8 [*]	7.3	20.3	97	15.0 [*]	9.1	20.9
Total	83	23.9[*]	13.6	34.2	45	14.9[*]	8.4	21.4	128	19.8[*]	13.2	26.3
Non-seniors[†]												
Sexual assault	773	62.6	40.1	85.0	142	11.4 ^{**}	6.0	16.8	924	37.1	25.6	48.7
Robbery	98	8.0 ^E	3.7	12.3	106	8.5 ^E	4.0	13.1	205	8.2	5.2	11.3
Physical assault	715	57.9	44.6	71.3	620	49.8	38.7	60.9	1,351	54.3	45.6	62.9
Total	1,587	128.5	101.8	155.2	867	69.8^{**}	55.4	84.1	2,480	99.6	84.6	114.7

^E use with caution

F too unreliable to be published

* significantly different from reference category only ($p < 0.05$)

** significantly different from estimate for women only ($p < 0.05$)

† reference category

1. In addition to women and men, includes a small number of respondents who identified as gender diverse or did not state their gender.

Note: Rates are calculated on the basis of 1,000 population aged 15 years and older. Seniors include those aged 65 and older while non-seniors include those aged 15 to 64. Confidence intervals should be interpreted as follows: if the survey were repeated many times, then 95% of the time (or 19 times out of 20), the confidence interval would cover the true population value.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Canadians' Safety (Victimization).

Table 2
Senior and non-senior victimization in the past five years, by age group and gender, Canada, 2019

Type of victimization in the past five years	Women			Men			Total [†]		
	%	95% confidence interval		%	95% confidence interval		%	95% confidence interval	
		from	to		from	to		from	to
Seniors									
Physical or sexual abuse by intimate partner²									
Yes	2.3*	1.6	3.4	0.9*	0.5	1.4	1.5*	1.1	2.0
No	94.1*	92.4	95.5	95.8*	94.6	96.8	95.0*	94.0	95.9
Don't know/not stated	3.6*	2.5	5.0	3.3	2.4	4.5	3.5	2.8	4.4
Emotional or financial abuse by intimate partner²									
Yes	7.2*	5.8	8.9	7.0*	5.7	8.7	7.1*	6.1	8.2
No	89.4*	87.3	91.2	89.9*	88.0	91.5	89.6*	88.2	90.8
Emotional abuse by relative, friend or caregiver									
Yes	1.7*	1.2	2.4	1.4*	0.9	2.1	1.5*	1.2	2.0
No	97.7*	96.9	98.3	97.9*	97.0	98.6	97.8*	97.2	98.3
Financial abuse by relative, friend or caregiver									
Yes	0.6*	0.4	1.0	0.7	0.4	1.2	0.7	0.5	1.0
No	98.6	98.0	99.0	98.5	97.7	99.0	98.5	98.1	98.9
Non-seniors[†]									
Physical or sexual abuse by intimate partner²									
Yes	7.6	6.6	8.8	6.2	5.1	7.4	6.9	6.1	7.7
No	90.4	89.1	91.5	90.7	89.3	92.0	90.5	89.6	91.4
Don't know/not stated	2.0	1.5	2.6	3.1**	2.4	4.1	2.6	2.1	3.1
Emotional or financial abuse by intimate partner²									
Yes	18.9	17.5	20.5	18.7	17.1	20.4	18.8	17.7	19.9
No	79.2	77.6	80.7	78.4	76.6	80.1	78.8	77.7	79.9
Emotional abuse by relative, friend or caregiver									
Yes	4.0	3.3	5.0	2.6**	2.1	3.3	3.3	2.9	3.9
No	95.6	94.6	96.3	96.9**	96.2	97.5	96.2	95.6	96.7
Financial abuse by relative, friend or caregiver									
Yes	1.4	1.0	1.8	0.6**	0.4	0.9	1.0	0.8	1.3
No	98.3	97.7	98.7	99.0**	98.6	99.2	98.6	98.3	98.8

* significantly different from reference category only (p < 0.05)

** significantly different from estimate for women only (p < 0.05)

† reference category

1. In addition to women and men, includes a small number of respondents who identified as gender diverse or did not state their gender.

2. Includes those who are currently married or common-law, had contact with a former spouse or partner in the five years preceding the survey, or had a dating partner in the five years preceding the survey.

Note: Seniors include those aged 65 and older while non-seniors include those aged 15 to 64. Missing or not stated responses are included in percent calculations but are not shown unless they represent more than 5% of the population. Confidence intervals should be interpreted as follows: if the survey were repeated many times, then 95% of the time (or 19 times out of 20), the confidence interval would cover the true population value.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Canadians' Safety (Victimization).

Table 3
Senior and non-senior perceptions of community belonging, neighbourhood crime and sense of safety, by age group and gender, Canada, 2019

Perceptions of community belonging, neighbourhood crime and sense of safety	Women			Men			Total ¹		
	%	95% confidence interval		%	95% confidence interval		%	95% confidence interval	
		from	to		from	to		from	to
Seniors									
Satisfaction with personal safety from crime									
Very or somewhat satisfied	79.2*	77.1	81.1	85.9***	84.1	87.6	82.3*	80.9	83.6
Very or somewhat dissatisfied	3.3*	2.6	4.2	3.1	2.4	4.1	3.2*	2.7	3.8
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, or no opinion	17.0*	15.2	19.0	10.9***	9.4	12.5	14.2*	13.0	15.5
Feeling of safety from crime when walking alone in the neighbourhood after dark²									
Very or reasonably safe	87.3*	85.2	89.1	92.9**	91.4	94.2	90.3*	89.1	91.3
Very or somewhat unsafe	12.3*	10.6	14.4	6.8**	5.6	8.3	9.4*	8.3	10.5
Feeling of safety from crime when using public transit alone after dark³									
Very or somewhat worried	55.8	50.4	61.0	34.0**	29.1	39.2	45.4	41.8	49.0
Not at all worried	43.2	37.9	48.5	65.5**	60.2	70.5	53.8	50.1	57.4
Feeling of safety from crime when home alone in the evening or at night⁴									
Very or somewhat worried	19.8*	17.7	22.1	10.5**	8.9	12.3	15.4*	14.1	16.8
Not at all worried	79.9*	77.6	82.0	89.4**	87.6	91.0	84.4*	83.0	85.7
In the past 12 months, measures taken to protect self or property from crime									
Yes	12.6*	10.8	14.6	12.8*	11.2	14.5	12.7*	11.5	14.0
No	87.2*	85.2	89.0	87.0*	85.3	88.6	87.1*	85.8	88.3
Compared to other areas in Canada, the neighbourhood has...									
A higher amount of crime	2.7*	2.0	3.6	3.3	2.3	4.6	3.0*	2.4	3.7
About the same amount of crime	19.9*	17.9	22.0	17.5*	15.6	19.5	18.8*	17.4	20.3
A lower amount of crime	75.8*	73.6	77.9	78.3*	76.1	80.4	76.9*	75.3	78.4
In the past five years, crime in the neighbourhood has...⁵									
Increased	14.1*	12.5	15.8	11.0***	9.5	12.6	12.7*	11.6	13.8
Decreased	5.3	4.2	6.9	5.6*	4.4	7.1	5.5*	4.6	6.5
Remained about the same	79.2*	77.1	81.2	82.3***	80.2	84.2	80.6*	79.2	82.0
Sense of community belonging									
Somewhat or very strong	71.9*	69.4	74.2	72.9*	70.4	75.3	72.3*	70.6	74.0
Somewhat or very weak	15.8*	14.0	17.8	16.1*	14.2	18.2	15.9*	14.6	17.3
No opinion	11.9*	10.3	13.7	10.5*	9.0	12.3	11.3*	10.2	12.6
Many people in the neighbourhood...									
Know each other	45.0*	42.5	47.5	46.1*	43.4	48.8	45.5*	43.7	47.4
Help each other	84.4*	82.3	86.3	84.0	81.8	85.9	84.1*	82.6	85.5
Social disorder in neighbourhood									
Yes ⁶	42.3*	39.8	44.9	41.2*	38.5	43.9	41.8*	40.0	43.6
No	57.0*	54.5	59.6	58.5*	55.7	61.2	57.7*	55.9	59.5
Non-seniors[†]									
Satisfaction with personal safety from crime									
Very or somewhat satisfied	72.8	71.1	74.3	80.4**	78.8	81.9	76.6	75.4	77.7
Very or somewhat dissatisfied	4.5	3.8	5.3	3.7	3.0	4.7	4.1	3.6	4.7
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, or no opinion	22.6	21.1	24.2	15.6**	14.2	17.0	19.1	18.1	20.2

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 3
Senior and non-senior perceptions of community belonging, neighbourhood crime and sense of safety, by age group and gender, Canada, 2019

Perceptions of community belonging, neighbourhood crime and sense of safety	Women			Men			Total ¹		
	%	95% confidence interval		%	95% confidence interval		%	95% confidence interval	
		from	to		from	to		from	to
Non-seniors[†]									
Feeling of safety from crime when walking alone in the neighbourhood after dark²									
Very or reasonably safe	81.5	79.8	83.0	92.1**	91.1	93.1	87.0	86.0	87.9
Very or somewhat unsafe	18.4	16.8	20.0	7.7**	6.8	8.8	12.9	11.9	13.8
Feeling of safety from crime when using public transit alone after dark³									
Very or somewhat worried	60.6	58.0	63.1	34.6**	31.9	37.3	47.2	45.3	49.1
Not at all worried	39.0	36.5	41.6	65.3**	62.5	67.9	52.5	50.6	54.5
Feeling of safety from crime when home alone in the evening or at night⁴									
Very or somewhat worried	25.0	23.4	26.7	12.3**	11.1	13.7	18.6	17.6	19.6
Not at all worried	74.9	73.2	76.5	87.5**	86.1	88.8	81.3	80.2	82.3
In the past 12 months, measures taken to protect self or property from crime									
Yes	25.5	23.9	27.2	20.4**	19.0	21.9	22.9	21.8	24.1
No	74.4	72.7	76.1	79.5**	78.0	80.9	77.0	75.8	78.1
Compared to other areas in Canada, the neighbourhood has...									
A higher amount of crime	5.2	4.5	6.1	4.5	3.8	5.3	4.9	4.3	5.5
About the same amount of crime	25.7	24.0	27.5	23.6	22.0	25.3	24.7	23.5	25.9
A lower amount of crime	68.4	66.6	70.1	71.1**	69.3	72.8	69.7	68.4	70.9
In the past five years, crime in the neighbourhood has...⁵									
Increased	22.8	21.3	24.4	19.0**	17.6	20.5	20.9	19.8	21.9
Decreased	5.4	4.5	6.4	8.1**	6.9	9.4	6.7	6.0	7.5
Remained about the same	71.0	69.3	72.7	72.3	70.5	74.0	71.7	70.5	72.8
Sense of community belonging									
Somewhat or very strong	59.3	57.4	61.2	57.3	55.4	59.1	58.2	56.8	59.5
Somewhat or very weak	26.4	24.8	28.1	27.2	25.5	29.0	26.8	25.6	28.1
No opinion	14.2	12.8	15.6	15.3	13.9	16.8	14.8	13.8	15.8
Many people in the neighbourhood...									
Know each other	31.2	29.6	32.8	30.3	28.7	32.0	30.8	29.6	31.9
Help each other	80.5	79.0	82.0	81.5	80.0	82.9	80.9	79.9	81.9
Social disorder in neighbourhood									
Yes ⁶	62.2	60.4	64.0	57.9**	56.1	59.7	60.1	58.8	61.3
No	37.7	35.8	39.5	41.9**	40.1	43.7	39.8	38.5	41.0

* significantly different from reference category only ($p < 0.05$)

** significantly different from estimate for women only ($p < 0.05$)

*** significantly different from reference category and estimate for women ($p < 0.05$)

† reference category

1. In addition to women and men, includes a small number of respondents who identified as gender diverse or did not state their gender.

2. Excludes those who do not walk alone.

3. Excludes those who do not use public transit.

4. Excludes those who are never alone.

5. Excludes those who had just moved to the area or had not lived in the neighbourhood long enough.

6. Includes those who identified any of the related categories as a small, moderate or big problem in the neighbourhood.

Note: Seniors include those aged 65 and older while non-seniors include those aged 15 to 64. Missing or not stated responses are included in percent calculations but are not shown unless they represent more than 5% of the population. Confidence intervals should be interpreted as follows: if the survey were repeated many times, then 95% of the time (or 19 times out of 20), the confidence interval would cover the true population value.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Canadians' Safety (Victimization).

Table 4
Senior and non-senior perceptions of police, by age group and gender, Canada, 2019

Perceptions of police	Women			Men			Total ¹		
	%	95% confidence interval		%	95% confidence interval		%	95% confidence interval	
		from	to		from	to		from	to
Seniors									
Measure of police performance									
Enforcing the laws									
Local police do a good job	52.8*	50.4	55.3	50.3*	47.5	53.0	51.6*	49.7	53.5
Local police do an average job	27.4*	25.2	29.7	32.7**	30.3	35.3	29.9*	28.2	31.7
Local police do a poor job	3.2*	2.5	4.1	4.8***	3.8	6.2	4.0*	3.4	4.7
Don't know	16.4	14.6	18.4	12.1**	10.4	14.1	14.4	13.1	15.8
Promptly responding to calls									
Local police do a good job	44.8*	42.4	47.2	43.9*	41.2	46.7	44.4*	42.6	46.3
Local police do an average job	21.7*	19.9	23.7	26.3**	24.1	28.7	23.8*	22.3	25.3
Local police do a poor job	4.1*	3.2	5.1	5.9***	4.8	7.2	5.0*	4.2	5.8
Don't know	29.3	27.1	31.5	23.8**	21.6	26.2	26.7	25.2	28.3
Being approachable and easy to talk to									
Local police do a good job	56.6*	54.2	59.1	55.1*	52.4	57.8	55.9*	54.1	57.7
Local police do an average job	17.1*	15.2	19.1	22.0***	20.0	24.2	19.3*	18.0	20.7
Local police do a poor job	2.3*	1.7	3.3	4.2***	3.2	5.5	3.2*	2.6	4.0
Don't know	23.8	21.6	26.1	18.7**	16.7	20.9	21.4*	19.9	23.0
Providing information on crime prevention									
Local police do a good job	46.2*	43.6	48.8	44.8*	42.1	47.4	45.6*	43.8	47.5
Local police do an average job	25.3*	23.1	27.6	27.6*	25.2	30.1	26.3*	24.7	28.0
Local police do a poor job	4.2*	3.4	5.2	6.5***	5.3	8.0	5.3*	4.5	6.2
Don't know	24.1	21.9	26.4	20.8**	18.7	23.0	22.5	21.0	24.1
Ensuring citizen safety									
Local police do a good job	48.9*	46.4	51.3	50.2*	47.5	52.9	49.5*	47.7	51.4
Local police do an average job	28.4*	26.2	30.7	29.3*	27.1	31.7	28.8*	27.2	30.4
Local police do a poor job	2.7*	2.1	3.5	4.6***	3.7	5.8	3.6*	3.0	4.3
Don't know	19.9	17.9	22.0	15.7**	13.7	17.8	17.9	16.4	19.4
Treating people fairly									
Local police do a good job	45.4*	43.0	47.9	49.0*	46.3	51.6	47.2*	45.3	49.0
Local police do an average job	23.3*	21.2	25.4	25.6	23.5	27.9	24.3*	22.8	25.8
Local police do a poor job	3.7*	2.9	4.7	5.4***	4.3	6.9	4.5*	3.8	5.4
Don't know	27.4	25.2	29.7	20.0**	17.9	22.2	23.9	22.4	25.5
Confidence in police									
A great deal of confidence	50.4*	47.8	53.0	49.2*	46.6	51.9	49.9*	48.0	51.8
Some confidence	44.4*	41.8	47.0	44.5*	41.9	47.2	44.4*	42.5	46.3
Not very much confidence or none at all	4.6*	3.6	5.9	5.6*	4.5	6.9	5.1*	4.3	6.0

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 4
Senior and non-senior perceptions of police, by age group and gender, Canada, 2019

Perceptions of police	Women			Men			Total ¹		
	%	95% confidence interval		%	95% confidence interval		%	95% confidence interval	
		from	to		from	to		from	to
Non-seniors[†]									
Measure of police performance									
Enforcing the laws									
Local police do a good job	44.8	42.9	46.7	45.1	43.2	47.1	44.9	43.6	46.3
Local police do an average job	33.6	31.8	35.4	35.1	33.3	37.0	34.4	33.1	35.6
Local police do a poor job	4.5	3.9	5.3	6.7**	5.8	7.7	5.7	5.1	6.3
Don't know	17.0	15.6	18.5	12.8**	11.4	14.3	14.9	13.9	15.9
Promptly responding to calls									
Local police do a good job	37.3	35.6	39.1	40.2**	38.3	42.1	38.7	37.4	40.0
Local police do an average job	26.8	25.3	28.3	26.4	24.9	27.9	26.6	25.5	27.6
Local police do a poor job	6.8	6.0	7.7	9.0**	8.0	10.1	7.9	7.3	8.6
Don't know	29.1	27.3	30.9	24.1**	22.4	25.9	26.6	25.4	27.9
Being approachable and easy to talk to									
Local police do a good job	46.4	44.6	48.3	48.4	46.4	50.4	47.3	46.0	48.7
Local police do an average job	25.0	23.4	26.7	26.3	24.7	28.0	25.8	24.6	27.0
Local police do a poor job	6.9	6.0	8.0	7.5	6.5	8.6	7.3	6.6	8.0
Don't know	21.5	19.9	23.1	17.5**	16.0	19.1	19.4	18.4	20.5
Providing information on crime prevention									
Local police do a good job	34.8	32.9	36.7	35.3	33.5	37.1	35.0	33.7	36.3
Local police do an average job	31.7	29.9	33.5	32.4	30.6	34.1	32.0	30.8	33.2
Local police do a poor job	10.8	9.7	12.0	12.2	11.0	13.5	11.5	10.7	12.4
Don't know	22.6	21.0	24.2	19.9**	18.4	21.6	21.4	20.2	22.5
Ensuring citizen safety									
Local police do a good job	42.1	40.3	44.0	44.3	42.3	46.3	43.2	41.9	44.5
Local police do an average job	33.3	31.6	35.0	33.8	32.0	35.6	33.5	32.3	34.7
Local police do a poor job	5.7	4.9	6.6	6.3	5.5	7.3	6.1	5.5	6.7
Don't know	18.7	17.2	20.3	15.3**	13.8	16.9	17.1	16.0	18.2
Treating people fairly									
Local police do a good job	38.5	36.6	40.4	42.1**	40.2	44.0	40.2	39.0	41.5
Local police do an average job	26.5	24.9	28.2	27.3	25.7	29.0	27.0	25.8	28.2
Local police do a poor job	8.5	7.5	9.7	8.8	7.8	10.0	8.7	8.0	9.5
Don't know	26.4	24.7	28.1	21.5**	19.9	23.2	23.9	22.7	25.1
Confidence in police									
A great deal of confidence	39.3	37.5	41.2	38.4	36.4	40.4	38.8	37.5	40.2
Some confidence	50.7	48.7	52.6	49.8	47.9	51.8	50.2	48.9	51.6
Not very much confidence or none at all	9.6	8.6	10.8	11.4**	10.2	12.7	10.6	9.8	11.4

* significantly different from reference category only ($p < 0.05$)

** significantly different from estimate for women only ($p < 0.05$)

*** significantly different from reference category and estimate for women ($p < 0.05$)

† reference category

1. In addition to women and men, includes a small number of respondents who identified as gender diverse or did not state their gender.

Note: Seniors include those aged 65 and older while non-seniors include those aged 15 to 64. Missing or not stated responses are included in percent calculations but are not shown unless they represent more than 5% of the population. Confidence intervals should be interpreted as follows: if the survey were repeated many times, then 95% of the time (or 19 times out of 20), the confidence interval would cover the true population value.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey on Canadians' Safety (Victimization).

Table 5
Senior and non-senior victims of police-reported violence, by victim gender and year, Canada, 2010 to 2020

Year	Seniors						Non-seniors					
	Female victims		Male victims		Total victims ¹		Female victims		Male victims		Total victims ¹	
	#	rate	#	rate	#	rate	#	rate	#	rate	#	rate
2010	4,138	156	4,553	216	8,717	183	200,034	1,395	186,340	1,278	387,280	1,339
2011	4,060	149	4,633	212	8,713	177	187,633	1,301	175,899	1,200	364,240	1,252
2012	4,286	152	4,769	208	9,075	177	181,730	1,252	171,172	1,160	353,501	1,208
2013	4,343	149	4,901	205	9,269	175	170,446	1,168	155,979	1,051	327,042	1,111
2014	4,403	146	5,100	205	9,522	173	163,312	1,113	149,509	1,002	313,647	1,060
2015	4,828	156	5,448	211	10,289	181	167,224	1,136	152,974	1,022	321,029	1,082
2016	4,977	156	5,789	216	10,794	184	170,454	1,150	153,791	1,021	325,089	1,088
2017	5,562	168	6,342	228	11,941	196	179,440	1,202	157,968	1,041	338,458	1,124
2018	5,927	174	6,788	235	12,741	202	187,925	1,247	162,410	1,059	351,076	1,155
2019	6,982	197	7,882	262	14,885	227	204,639	1,347	178,377	1,152	383,443	1,250
2020	6,713	183	8,430	270	15,157	223	201,579	1,320	172,560	1,108	374,762	1,215
Percent change in rate												
	percent											
2010 to 2020	...	18	...	25	...	22	...	-5	...	-13	...	-9
2015 to 2020	...	18	...	28	...	23	...	16	...	8	...	12

... not applicable

1. Includes a relatively small number of victims whose gender was coded as unknown.

Note: Rates are calculated on the basis of 100,000 population. Populations based on July 1 estimates from Statistics Canada, Centre for Demography. Seniors include those aged 65 and older while non-seniors include those aged 64 and younger. Excludes victims where age was coded as unknown and those where age was greater than 110 are excluded from analyses due to possible instances of miscoding of unknown age within this age category. Excludes a small number of victims in Quebec whose age was unknown but was miscoded as 0. Based on the Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, Trend Database, which, as of 2009, includes data for 99% of the population in Canada. As a result, numbers may not match those presented elsewhere in the report.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, Trend Database.

Table 6
Senior and non-senior victims of police-reported violence, by accused-victim relationship and victim gender, Canada, 2020

Accused-victim relationship	Seniors						Non-seniors					
	Female victims		Male victims		Total victims ¹		Female victims		Male victims		Total victims ¹	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Intimate partner	1,086	16	577	7	1,665	11	86,652	42	23,291	13	110,066	29
Spouse ²	937	14	453	5	1,390	9	48,175	24	13,710	8	61,928	16
Non-spousal intimate partner ³	118	2	76	1	194	1	29,553	14	6,834	4	36,405	10
Other intimate partner ⁴	31	0 ^s	48	1	81	1	8,924	4	2,747	2	11,733	3
Non-spousal family	2,009	30	1,826	22	3,839	25	32,693	16	23,624	14	56,415	15
Parent ⁵	360	5	334	4	695	5	11,393	6	8,619	5	20,048	5
Child ⁶	889	13	888	10	1,778	12	5,698	3	3,182	2	8,887	2
Sibling ⁷	317	5	209	2	527	3	6,482	3	5,059	3	11,559	3
Other ⁸	443	7	395	5	839	6	9,120	4	6,764	4	15,921	4
Non-family	3,665	54	6,073	72	9,747	64	84,768	42	127,319	73	212,492	56
Friend ⁹	302	4	517	6	820	5	10,530	5	10,297	6	20,857	6
Acquaintance ¹⁰	1,817	27	2,444	29	4,265	28	34,393	17	40,104	23	74,593	20
Authority figure ¹¹	196	3	159	2	355	2	5,717	3	9,936	6	15,750	4
Other ¹²	240	4	460	5	700	5	5,785	3	8,572	5	14,365	4
Stranger	1,110	16	2,493	29	3,607	24	28,343	14	58,410	34	86,927	23
Unknown	0	...	9	...	9	...	94	...	241	...	340	...
Total	6,760	100	8,485	100	15,260	100	204,207	100	174,475	100	379,313	100

... not applicable

0^s value rounded to 0 (zero) where there is a meaningful distinction between true zero and the value that was rounded

1. Includes a relatively small number of victims whose gender was coded as unknown.

2. Includes current and former legally married spouses and common-law partners, and current and former dating partners (i.e., boyfriends and girlfriends) of victims aged 15 and older who were living with the victim at the time of the incident.

3. Includes current and former dating partners (i.e., boyfriends and girlfriends) of victims aged 15 and older who were not living with the victim at the time of the incident. Includes current and former dating partners of victims aged 12 to 14, regardless of their living situation at the time of the incident.

4. Includes other intimate partners (e.g., one-night stands) and current and former dating partners (i.e., boyfriends and girlfriends) of victims aged 15 and older where it was unknown if they were living with the victim at the time of the incident. Includes other intimate partners of victims aged 12 to 14.

5. Includes biological, step, adoptive and foster parents.

6. Includes biological, step, adopted and foster children. Includes victims aged 18 and older.

7. Includes biological, step, half, adopted and foster brothers and sisters.

8. Includes all other family members related by blood, marriage (including common-law) or adoption (e.g., grandchildren, nieces, nephews and in-laws).

9. Includes roommates.

10. Includes neighbours.

11. Includes persons in a position of trust or authority. Includes authority figures and reverse authority figures (e.g., student-to-teacher and patient-to-doctor).

12. Includes business relationships and criminal relationships (i.e., relationships based on illegal activities, such as drugs or prostitution).

Note: Seniors include those aged 65 and older while non-seniors include those aged 64 and younger. Excludes victims where age was coded as unknown and those where age was greater than 110 are excluded from analyses due to possible instances of miscoding of unknown age within this age category. Excludes a small number of victims in Quebec whose age was unknown but was miscoded as 0. Percent calculations exclude unknown relationships. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

Table 7
Senior and non-senior victims of police-reported violence, by type of violation, incident location and victim gender, Canada, 2020

Type of violation and incident location	Seniors						Non-seniors					
	Female victims		Male victims		Total victims ¹		Female victims		Male victims		Total victims ¹	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Type of violation												
Homicide, other violations causing death and attempted murder ²	30	0 ^s	63	1	93	1	384	0 ^s	1,194	1	1,585	0 ^s
Sexual assault ³	570	8	73	1	643	4	24,460	12	2,766	2	27,280	7
Physical assault	4,206	62	5,715	67	9,935	65	117,375	57	112,013	64	229,697	61
Level 3 (aggravated assault)	30	0 ^s	66	1	96	1	1,050	1	2,596	1	3,648	1
Level 2 (with a weapon or causing bodily harm)	622	9	1,367	16	1,992	13	25,883	13	35,232	20	61,170	16
Level 1	3,554	53	4,282	50	7,847	51	90,442	44	74,185	43	164,879	43
Other offences involving violence or the threat of violence	1,954	29	2,634	31	4,589	30	61,988	30	58,502	34	120,751	32
Robbery ⁴	239	4	463	5	702	5	4,464	2	11,202	6	15,670	4
Extortion	58	1	104	1	162	1	1,215	1	1,772	1	2,989	1
Criminal harassment	303	4	242	3	545	4	10,269	5	3,275	2	13,553	4
Indecent or harassing communications	179	3	116	1	295	2	5,128	3	2,025	1	7,160	2
Uttering threats	1,010	15	1,548	18	2,559	17	22,563	11	25,815	15	48,451	13
Other ⁵	165	2	161	2	326	2	18,349	9	14,413	8	32,928	9
Total	6,760	100	8,485	100	15,260	100	204,207	100	174,475	100	379,313	100
Incident location												
Residential location	5,461	81	5,311	63	10,780	71	146,255	73	88,225	51	234,835	63
Private residence ⁶	4,219	63	4,753	56	8,979	59	143,267	71	86,063	50	229,670	61
Communal residence ⁷	1,242	18	558	7	1,801	12	2,988	1	2,162	1	5,165	1
Open area ⁸	648	10	1,793	21	2,445	16	28,843	14	46,738	27	75,721	20
Other ⁹	605	9	1,338	16	1,946	13	25,695	13	37,718	22	63,533	17
Unknown	46	...	43	...	89	...	3,414	...	1,794	...	5,224	...
Total	6,760	100	8,485	100	15,260	100	204,207	100	174,475	100	379,313	100

... not applicable

0^s value rounded to 0 (zero) where there is a meaningful distinction between true zero and the value that was rounded

1. Includes a relatively small number of victims whose gender was coded as unknown.

2. Includes first degree murder, second degree murder, manslaughter, infanticide, criminal negligence causing death, other related violations causing death and attempted murder.

3. Includes sexual assault level 1, sexual assault level 2 (with a weapon or causing bodily harm) and sexual assault level 3 (aggravated sexual assault).

4. Includes robbery to steal firearm.

5. Includes all other violent violations not otherwise listed.

6. Includes single homes, dwelling units (e.g., apartment units, condo units), commercial dwelling units (e.g. hotel rooms) and private property structures (e.g., sheds, detached garages, fishing boats).

7. Includes nursing homes, retirement homes, community group homes and halfway houses.

8. Includes parking lots, streets, roads, highways and other open areas (e.g., playgrounds, parks, fields). Also includes transit buses and bus shelters, subways and subway stations, and other forms of public transportation and connected facilities.

9. Includes commercial properties and other corporate places (e.g., banks, bars, restaurants, car dealerships, convenience stores, gas stations), schools (including universities and colleges) during supervised and unsupervised activities, and non-commercial locations (e.g., government buildings, community centres), among others (e.g., religious institutions, hospitals, correctional institutions).

Note: Seniors include those aged 65 and older while non-seniors include those aged 64 and younger. Excludes victims where age was coded as unknown and those where age was greater than 110 are excluded from analyses due to possible instances of miscoding of unknown age within this age category. Excludes a small number of victims in Quebec whose age was unknown but was miscoded as 0. For incident location, percent calculations exclude unknown incident location. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

Table 8
Senior and non-senior victims of police-reported violence, by type of weapon present, level of injury and victim gender, Canada, 2020

Type of weapon present and level of injury	Seniors						Non-seniors					
	Female victims		Male victims		Total victims ¹		Female victims		Male victims		Total victims ¹	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Type of weapon present												
No weapon ²	659	11	617	8	1,276	9	23,803	13	10,870	7	34,723	10
Threats ³	717	11	1,002	13	1,720	12	17,168	9	17,608	11	34,820	10
Physical force	4,068	65	4,447	57	8,524	60	117,659	63	83,290	51	201,299	57
Weapon	825	13	1,801	23	2,629	19	29,199	16	50,101	31	79,420	23
Firearm	65	1	174	2	241	2	3,201	2	6,499	4	9,712	3
Knife, or other piercing or cutting instrument ⁴	177	3	477	6	654	5	7,637	4	16,432	10	24,098	7
Club or other blunt instrument	128	2	361	5	489	3	3,394	2	7,138	4	10,539	3
Other ⁵	455	7	789	10	1,245	9	14,967	8	20,032	12	35,071	10
Unknown	491	...	618	...	1,111	...	16,378	...	12,606	...	29,051	...
Total	6,760	100	8,485	100	15,260	100	204,207	100	174,475	100	379,313	100
Level of injury												
No physical injury ⁶	4,399	68	5,063	63	9,468	65	117,947	62	96,490	59	214,782	60
Physical injury	2,053	32	3,019	37	5,075	35	72,060	38	68,402	41	140,630	40
Minor physical injury ⁷	1,940	30	2,795	35	4,738	33	69,411	37	62,151	38	131,725	37
Major physical injury or death ⁸	113	2	224	3	337	2	2,649	1	6,251	4	8,905	3
Unknown	308	...	403	...	717	...	14,200	...	9,583	...	23,901	...
Total	6,760	100	8,485	100	15,260	100	204,207	100	174,475	100	379,313	100

... not applicable

1. Includes a relatively small number of victims whose gender was coded as unknown.

2. Includes no threat, physical force or weapon.

3. Includes threats that are construed to imply that death or injury is possible.

4. Includes other piercing or cutting instruments, such as hatchets, razor blades and arrows.

5. Includes other types of weapons such as explosives, fire, motor vehicles, rope, poison and weapons not otherwise classified.

6. Includes incidents that did not involve the use of a weapon or physical force as well as those in which a weapon or physical force was used but no visible physical injury was noted by police.

7. Refers to injuries that required no professional medical treatment or only some first aid (e.g., bandage, ice).

8. Refers to injuries that required professional medical attention at the scene or transportation to a medical facility, or injuries that resulted in death.

Note: Seniors include those aged 65 and older while non-seniors include those aged 64 and younger. Excludes victims where age was coded as unknown and those where age was greater than 110 are excluded from analyses due to possible instances of miscoding of unknown age within this age category. Excludes a small number of victims in Quebec whose age was unknown but was miscoded as 0. For type of weapon present and level of injury, percent calculations exclude unknown type of weapon present and unknown level of injury, respectively. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

Table 9
Senior and non-senior victims of police-reported violence, by province or territory and urban or rural area, victim gender and year, 2010 and 2020

Province or territory and urban or rural area ²	2010						2020					
	Female victims		Male victims		Total victims ¹		Female victims		Male victims		Total victims ¹	
	#	rate	#	rate	#	rate	#	rate	#	rate	#	rate
Seniors												
Newfoundland and Labrador	52	122	81	226	134	171	94	154	151	274	247	212
Urban area	22	142	29	253	52	193	44	145	58	224	104	185
Rural area	30	110	52	213	82	159	50	162	93	317	143	238
Prince Edward Island	9	73	20	205	29	131	24	139	32	218	57	178
Urban area	4	53	17	307	21	160	17	157	17	194	34	174
Rural area	5	105	3	71	8	89	7	108	15	254	23	186
Nova Scotia	122	146	153	233	277	186	164	146	225	236	389	187
Urban area	51	105	77	207	130	151	77	115	115	209	192	157
Rural area	71	205	76	267	147	233	87	191	110	272	197	229
New Brunswick	116	196	100	208	217	202	208	248	280	382	489	311
Urban area	55	147	61	205	117	174	97	201	129	316	227	255
Rural area	61	279	39	214	100	249	111	312	151	465	262	385
Quebec	952	139	1,148	219	2,100	174	1,534	170	2,085	267	3,619	215
Urban area	796	144	901	221	1,697	177	1,250	170	1,633	266	2,883	214
Rural area	156	119	247	211	403	162	284	169	452	268	736	219
Ontario	1,475	145	1,296	162	2,781	153	2,759	196	2,673	229	5,437	211
Urban area	1,319	148	1,132	165	2,460	156	2,440	196	2,338	231	4,781	212
Rural area	156	126	164	148	321	137	319	196	335	217	656	207
Manitoba	179	192	199	277	378	229	209	180	327	329	536	249
Urban area	90	132	107	213	197	166	114	136	183	272	297	197
Rural area	89	358	92	426	181	390	95	292	144	449	239	370
Saskatchewan	170	204	220	334	396	266	207	206	283	324	492	262
Urban area	84	174	116	337	206	250	97	158	147	297	246	222
Rural area	86	245	104	331	190	285	110	281	136	359	246	319
Alberta	336	155	407	230	749	190	522	160	817	286	1,340	219
Urban area	235	139	256	193	494	163	381	144	589	262	971	199
Rural area	101	215	151	340	255	279	141	228	228	374	369	300
British Columbia	662	185	860	281	1,522	229	909	173	1,412	306	2,322	235
Urban area	554	178	734	283	1,288	226	805	176	1,225	312	2,031	239
Rural area	108	233	126	269	234	251	104	154	187	273	291	214
Provinces total	4,073	154	4,484	213	8,583	181	6,630	181	8,285	266	14,928	220
Urban area	3,210	149	3,430	207	6,662	175	5,322	177	6,434	259	11,766	214
Rural area	863	174	1,054	235	1,921	203	1,308	201	1,851	294	3,162	247
Territories total	65	2,139	69	2,144	134	2,141	83	1,587	145	2,446	229	2,053
Yukon	11	793	19	1,231	30	1,024	18	675	23	781	41	731
Northwest Territories	36	3,090	36	3,166	72	3,128	44	2,334	89	4,258	134	3,371
Nunavut	18	3,696	14	2,597	32	3,119	21	3,088	33	3,704	54	3,437
Canada	4,138	156	4,553	216	8,717	183	6,713	183	8,430	270	15,157	223

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 9
Senior and non-senior victims of police-reported violence, by province or territory and urban or rural area, victim gender and year, 2010 and 2020

Province or territory and urban or rural area ²	2010						2020					
	Female victims		Male victims		Total victims ¹		Female victims		Male victims		Total victims ¹	
	#	rate	#	rate	#	rate	#	rate	#	rate	#	rate
Non-seniors												
Newfoundland and Labrador	3,467	1,562	3,020	1,363	6,508	1,467	3,807	1,874	2,995	1,476	6,823	1,680
Urban area	1,249	1,307	1,330	1,418	2,586	1,366	1,607	1,342	1,405	1,186	3,022	1,268
Rural area	2,218	1,755	1,690	1,322	3,922	1,543	2,200	2,639	1,590	1,884	3,801	2,266
Prince Edward Island	857	1,425	680	1,144	1,538	1,286	755	1,183	562	880	1,325	1,038
Urban area	603	1,596	495	1,353	1,099	1,478	476	1,123	365	871	847	1,005
Rural area	254	1,137	185	808	439	971	279	1,302	197	898	478	1,102
Nova Scotia	6,721	1,702	6,142	1,560	12,917	1,638	5,895	1,531	4,551	1,191	10,481	1,366
Urban area	4,313	1,671	4,010	1,570	8,341	1,624	3,601	1,372	2,697	1,038	6,311	1,208
Rural area	2,408	1,760	2,132	1,543	4,576	1,664	2,294	1,869	1,854	1,518	4,170	1,703
New Brunswick	4,560	1,598	4,050	1,394	8,641	1,501	5,416	1,976	4,488	1,607	9,967	1,801
Urban area	2,702	1,442	2,430	1,289	5,147	1,369	3,173	1,848	2,460	1,422	5,686	1,649
Rural area	1,858	1,897	1,620	1,589	3,494	1,748	2,243	2,191	2,028	1,909	4,281	2,052
Quebec	38,081	1,159	38,012	1,125	76,093	1,142	41,571	1,240	38,067	1,096	79,640	1,167
Urban area	31,188	1,147	31,037	1,119	62,225	1,133	34,153	1,203	31,461	1,075	65,616	1,138
Rural area	6,893	1,217	6,975	1,154	13,868	1,185	7,418	1,446	6,606	1,207	14,024	1,323
Ontario	58,469	1,045	55,191	988	114,165	1,021	57,393	962	47,873	794	105,417	879
Urban area	51,989	1,027	49,928	992	102,188	1,012	50,965	933	43,243	785	94,307	860
Rural area	6,480	1,215	5,263	956	11,977	1,105	6,428	1,284	4,630	889	11,110	1,088
Manitoba	12,538	2,474	10,340	1,993	22,923	2,235	13,927	2,519	10,953	1,928	24,912	2,222
Urban area	6,708	1,761	6,236	1,613	12,967	1,689	7,235	1,833	6,344	1,575	13,590	1,704
Rural area	5,830	4,633	4,104	3,107	9,956	3,860	6,692	4,234	4,609	2,790	11,322	3,503
Saskatchewan	13,848	3,217	10,690	2,386	24,602	2,801	12,920	2,738	9,573	1,940	22,544	2,335
Urban area	6,334	2,334	5,579	2,003	11,934	2,170	5,163	1,643	4,369	1,339	9,540	1,489
Rural area	7,514	4,722	5,111	3,016	12,668	3,856	7,757	4,924	5,204	3,112	13,004	4,004
Alberta	25,844	1,592	23,272	1,352	49,258	1,473	26,608	1,418	22,834	1,176	49,652	1,300
Urban area	17,582	1,335	16,757	1,203	34,426	1,271	19,428	1,233	17,327	1,066	36,898	1,152
Rural area	8,262	2,696	6,515	1,982	14,832	2,335	7,180	2,392	5,507	1,738	12,754	2,067
British Columbia	30,818	1,636	31,750	1,664	62,580	1,650	27,054	1,303	26,812	1,286	53,879	1,295
Urban area	26,220	1,561	27,941	1,648	54,172	1,605	23,103	1,234	23,576	1,258	46,691	1,246
Rural area	4,598	2,260	3,809	1,788	8,408	2,019	3,951	1,940	3,236	1,533	7,188	1,733
Provinces total	195,203	1,366	183,147	1,261	379,225	1,316	195,346	1,284	168,708	1,087	364,640	1,186
Urban area	148,888	1,240	145,743	1,201	295,085	1,222	148,904	1,140	133,247	1,005	282,508	1,074
Rural area	46,315	2,033	37,404	1,566	84,140	1,803	46,442	2,147	35,461	1,567	82,132	1,856
Territories total	4,831	9,473	3,193	5,916	8,055	7,674	6,233	11,017	3,852	6,547	10,122	8,771
Yukon	762	4,907	553	3,427	1,322	4,175	921	5,117	714	3,872	1,641	4,503
Northwest Territories	2,072	10,431	1,397	6,617	3,481	8,495	2,684	13,390	1,704	8,060	4,400	10,683
Nunavut	1,997	12,796	1,243	7,434	3,252	10,060	2,628	14,181	1,434	7,449	4,081	10,801
Canada	200,034	1,395	186,340	1,278	387,280	1,339	201,579	1,320	172,560	1,108	374,762	1,215

1. Includes a relatively small number of victims whose gender was coded as unknown.

2. An urban area is defined as a census metropolitan area (CMA) or a census agglomeration (CA). A CMA consists of one or more neighbouring municipalities situated around a major urban core. A CMA must have a total population of at least 100,000, of which 50,000 or more live in the urban core. To be included in the CMA, adjacent municipalities must have a high degree of integration with the central urban area, as measured by commuting flows derived from census data. A CA must have a core population of at least 10,000. Rural areas are all areas outside of CMAs and CAs.

Note: Rates are calculated on the basis of 100,000 population. Populations based on July 1 estimates from Statistics Canada, Centre for Demography. Seniors include those aged 65 and older while non-seniors include those aged 64 and younger. Excludes victims where age was coded as unknown and those where age was greater than 110 are excluded from analyses due to possible instances of miscoding of unknown age within this age category. Excludes a small number of victims in Quebec whose age was unknown but was miscoded as 0. Based on the Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, Trend Database, which, as of 2009, includes data for 99% of the population in Canada. As a result, numbers may not match those presented elsewhere in the report.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, Trend Database.

Table 10
Senior and non-senior victims of police-reported violence, by census metropolitan area and victim gender, Canada, 2020

Census metropolitan area (CMA) ²	Seniors						Non-seniors					
	Female victims		Male victims		Total victims ¹		Female victims		Male victims		Total victims ¹	
	#	rate	#	rate	#	rate	#	rate	#	rate	#	rate
St. John's	26	134	35	217	62	175	1,062	1,220	941	1,087	2,009	1,157
Halifax	56	136	68	205	124	167	2,233	1,190	1,750	938	3,989	1,066
Moncton	34	196	45	311	79	248	1,461	2,182	1,188	1,738	2,651	1,959
Saint John ³	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Saguenay	26	126	48	254	74	187	791	1,255	770	1,139	1,561	1,195
Québec	195	202	209	265	404	230	3,743	1,178	3,270	990	7,015	1,082
Sherbrooke	30	121	35	171	65	143	851	1,063	669	812	1,520	936
Trois-Rivières	20	92	35	192	55	138	866	1,458	742	1,199	1,608	1,326
Montréal	719	175	937	281	1,656	222	19,892	1,121	18,641	1,025	38,533	1,072
Gatineau ⁴	58	204	66	268	124	234	1,617	1,118	1,672	1,151	3,289	1,135
Ottawa ⁵	133	136	154	191	287	161	3,454	744	3,184	687	6,644	716
Kingston	47	240	40	250	88	248	691	1,010	564	808	1,259	911
Belleville ⁶	25	187	25	226	50	205	743	1,673	454	996	1,201	1,334
Peterborough	18	109	16	119	34	113	602	1,208	409	831	1,012	1,022
Toronto ⁷	957	191	1,003	248	1,961	217	19,766	796	18,067	729	37,870	763
Hamilton ⁸	152	264	137	296	289	278	2,889	1,224	2,389	988	5,278	1,105
St. Catharines–Niagara	82	138	92	187	174	160	1,638	886	1,366	726	3,006	806
Kitchener–Cambridge–Waterloo	200	410	149	367	349	390	4,151	1,648	3,210	1,217	7,364	1,428
Brantford	80	542	53	434	133	493	875	1,488	644	1,074	1,519	1,279
Guelph	12	94	18	187	30	134	497	812	350	566	847	689
London	60	112	89	207	149	154	2,336	1,029	2,006	874	4,344	952
Windsor	56	173	61	228	117	198	1,714	1,329	1,249	925	2,965	1,123
Barrie	31	147	27	160	58	153	923	844	676	602	1,600	722
Greater Sudbury	22	121	36	244	58	176	951	1,418	728	1,055	1,679	1,234
Thunder Bay	16	111	21	171	37	138	897	1,842	717	1,421	1,614	1,628
Winnipeg	104	140	164	276	268	201	5,353	1,550	5,079	1,439	10,435	1,494
Regina	33	158	39	230	72	190	1,568	1,414	1,303	1,128	2,871	1,268
Saskatoon	29	113	60	291	91	197	1,770	1,230	1,567	1,050	3,341	1,140
Lethbridge ⁶	30	262	41	432	72	344	1,082	2,087	933	1,760	2,022	1,929
Calgary	151	145	210	233	361	185	6,456	972	6,238	918	12,733	947
Edmonton	135	124	242	262	377	187	7,438	1,191	6,608	1,023	14,063	1,107
Kelowna	34	133	56	254	90	189	1,272	1,470	1,225	1,401	2,498	1,436
Abbotsford–Mission	35	190	29	186	64	188	1,005	1,219	805	913	1,810	1,061
Vancouver	445	182	691	334	1,137	252	11,562	1,006	13,035	1,144	24,606	1,076
Victoria	65	131	100	246	165	183	1,794	1,120	1,886	1,186	3,681	1,153
CMA total⁹	4,264	173	5,143	254	9,414	210	116,788	1,037	106,477	932	223,438	985
Non-CMA total	2,496	207	3,342	301	5,846	253	87,419	2,141	67,998	1,606	155,875	1,874
Canada	6,760	184	8,485	271	15,260	224	204,207	1,330	174,475	1,115	379,313	1,224

.. not available for a specific reference period

1. Includes a relatively small number of victims whose gender was coded as unknown.

2. A census metropolitan area (CMA) consists of one or more neighbouring municipalities situated around a major urban core. A CMA must have a total population of at least 100,000, of which 50,000 or more live in the urban core. To be included in the CMA, adjacent municipalities must have a high degree of integration with the central urban area, as measured by commuting flows derived from census data. A CMA typically comprises more than one police service. CMA populations have been adjusted to follow policing boundaries. The Oshawa CMA is excluded from this table due to the incongruity between the police service jurisdictional boundaries and the CMA boundaries.

3. Data for the census metropolitan area of Saint John are excluded due to data quality concerns associated with the Saint John Police Service.

4. Gatineau refers to the Quebec part of the Ottawa–Gatineau census metropolitan area.

5. Ottawa refers to the Ontario part of the Ottawa–Gatineau census metropolitan area.

6. Following the 2016 Census of Population, Belleville and Lethbridge were reclassified as census metropolitan areas.

7. Excludes the portions of the Halton Regional Police Service and the Durham Regional Police Service that police the census metropolitan area of Toronto.

8. Excludes the portion of the Halton Regional Police Service that polices the census metropolitan area of Hamilton.

9. Includes Halton Regional Police Service and Durham Regional Police Service, which are responsible for policing more than one census metropolitan area (CMA). This total also includes the portion of the Durham Regional Police Service that polices the Oshawa CMA. This also includes the CMA of Saint John, excluding the Saint John Police Service due to data quality concerns. Because of these inclusions, the CMA total will not equal the total of the individual CMAs.

Note: Rates are calculated on the basis of 100,000 population. Populations based on July 1 estimates from Statistics Canada, Centre for Demography. Seniors include those aged 65 and older while non-seniors include those aged 64 and younger. Excludes victims where age was coded as unknown and those where age was greater than 110 are excluded from analyses due to possible instances of miscoding of unknown age within this age category. Excludes a small number of victims in Quebec whose age was unknown but was miscoded as 0.**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

Table 11
Senior and non-senior victims of homicide, by accused-victim relationship, incident location, primary method used to cause death and victim gender, Canada, 2000 to 2020

Accused-victim relationship, incident location and primary method used to cause death	Seniors						Non-seniors					
	Female victims		Male victims		Total victims ¹		Female victims		Male victims		Total victims ¹	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
Accused-victim relationship												
Intimate partner	119	32	27	6	146	18	1,347	49	377	6	1,725	19
Spouse ²	113	30	12	3	125	15	1,024	37	265	4	1,290	15
Non-spousal intimate partner ³	6	2	15	3	21	3	323	12	112	2	435	5
Non-spousal family	130	35	122	27	253	31	610	22	939	15	1,551	18
Child ⁴	82	22	89	20	172	21	175	6	185	3	360	4
Other ⁵	48	13	33	7	81	10	435	16	754	12	1,191	13
Non-family	125	33	297	67	422	51	774	28	4,805	79	5,579	63
Friend ⁶	42	11	132	30	174	21	349	13	2,231	36	2,580	29
Acquaintance ⁷	35	9	74	17	109	13	243	9	1,279	21	1,522	17
Stranger	48	13	88	20	136	17	180	7	1,274	21	1,454	16
Other	0	0	3	0 ^s	3	0 ^s	2	0 ^s	21	0 ^s	23	0 ^s
Unknown	2	...	10	...	12	...	22	...	141	...	164	...
Solved homicide total⁸	376	100	456	100	833	100	2,753	100	6,262	100	9,019	100
Unsolved homicide total⁹	24	...	87	...	111	...	332	...	2,361	...	2,698	...
Homicide total¹⁰	400	100	543	100	944	100	3,085	100	8,623	100	11,717	100
Incident location												
Residential location ¹¹	359	90	433	80	793	84	2,402	78	4,493	52	6,900	59
Open area ¹²	22	6	67	12	89	9	440	14	2,815	33	3,257	28
Other ¹³	19	5	43	8	62	7	243	8	1,315	15	1,560	13
Total¹⁰	400	100	543	100	944	100	3,085	100	8,623	100	11,717	100
Primary method used to cause death												
Shooting	72	19	79	15	151	16	619	21	3,307	39	3,929	34
Stabbing	94	24	176	33	270	29	939	32	2,797	33	3,737	33
Beating or blows	124	32	209	39	333	36	558	19	1,639	19	2,198	19
Strangulation, suffocation, drowning	56	14	32	6	88	10	560	19	286	3	847	7
Other ¹⁴	43	11	40	7	83	9	242	8	443	5	685	6
Unknown	11	...	7	...	19	...	167	...	151	...	321	...
Total¹⁰	400	100	543	100	944	100	3,085	100	8,623	100	11,717	100

... not applicable

0^s value rounded to 0 (zero) where there is a meaningful distinction between true zero and the value that was rounded

1. Includes a relatively small number of victims whose gender was coded as unknown.

2. Includes current and former legally married spouses and common-law partners.

3. Includes current and former dating partners (i.e., boyfriends and girlfriends) and other intimate partners (e.g., extra-marital intimate partner, one-night stands).

4. Includes children and step-children.

5. Includes parents, step-parents, siblings and extended family members.

6. Includes roommates.

7. Includes other household members, temporary house guests, current and former intimate partners of family members, neighbours, business relationships, authority and reverse authority figures, criminal relationships, co-substance users, co-institutional facility members and other acquaintances.

8. Includes homicides with a known accused.

9. Includes homicide without a known accused.

10. Includes homicides with and without a known accused.

11. Includes single homes, dwelling units (e.g., apartment units, condo units), commercial dwelling units (e.g. hotel rooms), nursing homes, retirement homes, community group homes, private property structures (e.g., sheds, detached garages, fishing boats) and halfway houses.

12. Includes parking lots, streets, roads, highways and other open areas (e.g., playgrounds, parks, fields), and transit buses and bus shelters, subways and subway stations, and other forms of public transportation and connected facilities.

13. Includes commercial properties and other corporate places (e.g., banks, bars, restaurants, car dealerships, convenience stores, gas stations), schools (including universities and colleges) during supervised and unsupervised activities, non-commercial locations (e.g., government buildings, community centres, homeless shelters or missions) and other locations (e.g., religious institutions, hospitals, correctional institutions, construction sites, vehicles).

14. Includes drug overdoses, poisoning or lethal injections, smoke inhalation or burns, exposure or hypothermia, abusive head traumas (previously referred to as shaken baby syndrome), motor vehicle impacts or collisions, neglect or failure to support life and other methods.

Note: There may be a small number of homicides included in a given year's total that occurred in previous years. Homicides are counted according to the year in which they are reported to Statistics Canada. Seniors include those aged 65 and older while non-seniors include those aged 64 and younger.

Excludes victims where age was coded as unknown. Percent calculations exclude unknown relationships, unknown locations and unknown methods, respectively. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Homicide Survey.