Missing Persons and Social Exclusion

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Laura van Dongen

Abstract

People who go missing are often perceived to have done so voluntarily, and yet, many missing persons in Canada are Aboriginal, visible minorities, homeless, and are fleeing from violence, abuse, and neglect. Integrating the concept of social exclusion and an intersectional perspective with a sample of 724 missing persons cases drawn from one Canadian police service, this dissertation examines the systemic issues underlying peoples' disappearances. This dissertation also explores the role of social and economic disadvantage in the risk of a long term disappearance. A combination of univariate (descriptions), bivariate (cross-tabulations), and multivariate (logistic regression) analyses identify correlates and causes of going missing and correlates and causes of long term disappearances.

The concept of social exclusion explains how structural processes prevent particular groups and individuals from gaining access to valued social relationships and economic opportunities in a particular society, resulting in considerable hardship and disadvantage. This dissertation argues that people who are marginalized and excluded have few resources to rely on to cope with stress and strain and may resort to going missing if confronted with adversity. Groups who are overrepresented among missing persons compared to the general population are identified by cross-tabulations and chi-square tests. Multivariate analysis (partial tables and logistic regression) is used to control for possible sources of spuriousness, in order to have more confidence in imputing causal relationships between membership in disadvantaged groups and going missing.

Moreover, if disadvantaged groups go missing, they further sever ties with families, the labour market, and other mainstream institutions. As a result of extreme disadvantage, they may

find it difficult to (re)connect with conventional social relationships and mainstream society. For example, youth who are escaping violence and abuse at home often end up on the streets and sever ties with schools, families, and other conventional support networks and become engaged in street culture. As a result of extreme disadvantage these young people are at risk of a long term disappearance. In other words, social exclusion is expected to be a risk and causal factor in long term disappearances. Groups who are overrepresented among long term disappearances compared to short term disappearances are identified by cross-tabulations and chi-square tests. Logistic regression analysis is used to draw conclusions about causal factors in long term disappearances.

This research finds that excluded groups such as disadvantaged youth, Aboriginal people, women and other visible minorities, victims of violence, and youth in care are at disproportionate risk of going missing. Consistent with an intersectional perspective, this dissertation shows that certain groups who are multiply marginalized such as Aboriginal women and young women face an especially high risk of going missing. Aboriginal identity, labour force status, and homelessness are also implicated as causal factors in peoples' disappearances. Moreover, this research finds that social exclusion is a risk and causal factor in long term disappearances as Aboriginal people, homeless people, minorities and other excluded groups face a high risk of a long term disappearance. Linking missing persons with the concept of social exclusion highlights the role of structural issues in peoples' disappearances and refutes the common misperception that going missing is a choice. In terms of policy, the findings from this research indicate that prevention and intervention depend on targeting poverty, discrimination, gender inequality, violence, and other structural issues associated with social exclusion.

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my husband Chris and my daughter Sophia.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

While there are no records for the total number of people who go missing each year, police records from one Canadian city with a population of about 500,000 show that approximately 2,900 people were reported missing in 2006. Although most people are presumed to go missing voluntarily, in many cases disappearances arise as a response to circumstances over which people have limited control. For example, many people believe that youth who go missing are going through a rebellious stage when, in fact, many of them come from disadvantaged backgrounds and are escaping violence, abuse, and neglect (James et al. 2008; Public Health Agency of Canada 2006; Social Exclusion Unit 2002). Among adults, financial crises, homelessness, mental illness, and domestic violence are linked to their disappearances (Association of Chief Police Officers 2005; Biehal et al. 2003; James et al. 2008). Yet, adults receive little attention from police and policy makers perhaps due to the common misperception that adults go missing voluntarily (Biehal et al. 2003). This misconception stems from the fact that little attention has been paid to systemic factors underlying adult disappearances.

Integrating insights from the literature on the concept of social exclusion with police data about missing persons, this research identifies risk and causal factors for going missing and risk and causal factors in long term disappearances. The concept of social exclusion examines structural processes that cause particular groups and individuals to be shut out from social relationships and economic activities to which other people in that society have access (Percy-Smith 2000; Burchardt et al. 1999; Peace 2001). Although the root causes of social exclusion are

structural, social exclusion impacts particular individuals and groups who are vulnerable to discrimination and segregation (Percy-Smith 2000; Silver 1994; Byrne 2005). With respect to missing persons, studies in Canada show that excluded groups such as disadvantaged youth, women escaping domestic violence, Aboriginal people, and other visible minorities go missing in high numbers (Patterson 2005; Saskatchewan Association of Chiefs of Police 2010; Dalley 2007; Native Women's Association of Canada 2009). International research confirms these findings and adds that homelessness is common in the background of missing persons (Biehal et al. 2003; James et al. 2008). There are very few studies in Canada or abroad that explore risk factors in long term disappearances. However, the few studies that do explore long term disappearances indicate that long term disappearances may differ from other disappearances(Newiss 2005; Cohen et al. 2008; Patterson 2005). This dissertation argues that people who are marginalized and excluded face a high risk of a long term disappearance.

The current research about missing persons is not adequate for identifying risk factors in peoples' disappearances, nor does it provide information about who is at risk of a long term disappearance. In Canada, most of the research on missing people pertains to youth or outstanding[1] missing persons. Moreover, research on missing persons is generally descriptive and published by government organizations to assist police and other search agencies investigate cases. For example, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), publishes an annual "Missing Children's Reference Report" which describes the number and characteristics of youth reported missing to the Canadian Police Information Centre (CPIC) (Dalley 2007). Two studies in British Columbia (B.C.) describe samples of people reported to CPIC who have not yet been found

[1] Outstanding missing persons are people who have been reported missing and whose whereabouts and well-being remains unknown.

(Cohen et al. 2008; Patterson 2005). In Saskatchewan statistics about people reported missing who have not been located for six months or more are maintained (Saskatchewan Association of Chiefs of Police 2010). These studies are described in greater detail below. Moreover, very few studies in Canada rely on sociological theories to understand the reasons underlying peoples' disappearances.

Studies in other countries are also limited to describing samples of missing people (Tarling and Burrows 2004; Newiss 1999; Biehal et al. 2003) or assessing the characteristics of missing persons likely to experience death (Newiss 2004). These studies lack comparisons with the general population and are inadequate for identifying risk factors in peoples' disappearances. One study in the United Kingdom (U.K.) compares long term disappearances with cancelled cases to identify risk factors in long term disappearances (Newiss 2005). However, this U.K. study is limited to exploring the impact of three demographic characteristics – age, gender, and ethnicity – on the likelihood of a long term disappearance (Newiss 2005). Moreover, few international studies have incorporated sociological theory to explore the issues underlying people's disappearances.

This dissertation fills major gaps in the literature on missing persons. Relying on two sociological perspectives –the concept of social exclusion and an intersectional perspective - this dissertation identifies risk and causal factors for going missing and long term disappearances. Sociological theories provide "comprehensive yet simple and elegant explanation of society and social behaviours" that allow us to think "in a disciplined manner about the social world" (Adams and Sydie 2001: 4). The concept of social exclusion and an intersectional perspective provide the ideal framework for systematically exploring the structural issues underlying the social behaviour of going missing. These theoretical perspectives are well suited also to

exploring risk and causal factors in long term disappearances. Social exclusion occurs if people and groups are shut out from social and economic activities resulting in a poor quality of life (Sen 2000). An intersectional perspective focuses on the extreme disadvantage that occurs if two or more characteristics associated with social exclusion intersect (Crenshaw 1991). For example, an intersectional perspective explores whether the risk of going missing for someone who is Aboriginal and female is higher than would be expected based on the risk to either Aboriginal people or females. Therefore, incorporating social exclusion and an intersectional perspective provides insight into the role that systemic issues play in peoples' disappearances.

Goals of research

The overarching goal of this research is to explore the relationship between social and economic disadvantage and peoples' disappearances. Integrating insights from the social exclusion literature and an intersectional perspective with missing persons data obtained from a police service in one Canadian city, this research identifies risk and causal factors in peoples' disappearances. This research also identifies risk and causal factors in long term disappearances. Based on preliminary analyses conducted by the researcher with this sample of missing persons data and a literature review of the research on missing persons the following hypotheses have been developed:

1. Members of socially excluded groups (youth, women, Aboriginal people, other visible minorities, unemployed people, people not in the labour force, and homeless people) are at a disproportionate risk of being reported missing.

2. Apart from being a risk factor in peoples' disappearances, social exclusion is also causally related to peoples' disappearances. Specifically, social exclusion increases the probability of being reported missing.

3. The intersection of personal characteristics associated with social exclusion affects the likelihood that a person will be reported missing. For example, the risk of being reported missing for someone who is both Aboriginal and female is higher compared to the risk to either women or Aboriginal people alone.

4. Members of socially excluded groups are at a disproportionate risk of a long term disappearance.

5. Apart from being a risk factor in a long term disappearance, social exclusion is also causally related to long term disappearances. Specifically, social exclusion increases the probability of a long term disappearance.

This research offers several major advantages over past research on missing persons. First, linking missing persons with the concept of social exclusion and an intersectional perspective provides a framework for exploring the role of social and economic disadvantage in peoples' disappearances. Second, this study includes comparisons between missing people and the general population in order to identify what kinds of people face a disproportionately high risk of being reported missing. Third, this is one of few studies in Canada and world-wide to include missing adults. Finally, this is one of few studies in Canada or abroad that explores risk and causal factors in long term disappearances.

Chapter Summary

Below is a chapter summary for this dissertation on missing persons and social exclusion. Chapter two describes the two theoretical concepts that frame this research – the concept of social exclusion and an intersectional perspective and links these perspectives with the current research about missing persons. Chapter three describes the data and methods used in this dissertation. Chapter four compares missing persons data with data from the general population in the same city to identify socially excluded groups who face a high risk of being reported

missing. Chapter five relies on multivariate analysis to identify causal factors in peoples' disappearances. Chapter six analyzes the missing persons data to examine the impact of the intersection of multiple risk factors such as age and gender on being reported missing. Chapter seven identifies risk factors in long term disappearances. Chapter eight identifies causal factors in long term disappearances. Chapter nine discusses the results of this research, the limitations, and explores what the results mean in terms of policies of prevention and intervention with missing people.

CHAPTER 2: THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Exclusion

Social exclusion is a concept that captures the root causes of social and economic disadvantage in contemporary societies. The concept of social exclusion was introduced in France in 1974 to explain the deprivation experienced by those who were unable to access social protection which, at the time, was available only to employed persons and their families (Peace 2001). Estimates indicated at the time, that approximately 10% of the population in France was excluded. These groups included homeless people, drug addicts, handicapped people, single parents, abused children, and households experiencing multiple problems (Peace 2001; Sen 2000). These aforementioned groups often faced barriers to employment and also experienced isolation from family and, as a result, they also lacked access to state support. The outcome was extreme deprivation, poverty, and social isolation. The fact that so many were afflicted, presented problems of social cohesion and economic prosperity for society as a whole.

The concept of social exclusion as it was originally defined in the French Republican tradition in the mid 1970's contained clear underpinnings from the work of Durkheim (Rawal 2008). First, stemming directly from Durkheim's work on cohesion, the concept of social exclusion arose out of a concern with social order and solidarity. For example, the early formulation of social exclusion identified a "rupture of social bonds" (Silver 1994) caused by a large number of people and groups residing on the margins of society. The excluded failed to conform with many of the social norms of society and represented a failure of society and its institutions to integrate people into the social fabric (Silver 1994). Although the specific

meaning of social exclusion has been adapted overtime by different societies (Silver 1994) the initial emphasis on social cohesion remains vital to the concept. For example, the literature on social exclusion emphasizes social connections and social exchange with friends, family, and other conventional social networks (Peace 2001). Therefore, social relationships remain vital to subverting social exclusion.

Contemporary conceptions of social exclusion capture the social and economic decay that occurs if people lack connections to the labour market, social relationships such as connections with family, and various forms of state support. The combination of labour market exclusion, family isolation, and lack of access to social protection results in a series of problems for individuals that constitute social exclusion. First, exclusion from the labour market leads to poverty along with loss of skills and connections used to leverage more pay and better opportunities in the job market. Second, isolation from family relationships exacerbates poverty and contributes to loneliness and social disintegration. Third, the inability to access social protection makes it almost impossible for people and groups to (re)integrate or (re)establish ties with mainstream society. Finally, large numbers of excluded groups make it difficult for society as whole to achieve economic cohesion and maximize productivity (Byrne 2005).

The concept of social exclusion has been used extensively throughout Europe and North America and identifies a range of activities and opportunities that people in a particular society normally rely on to achieve a socially acceptable standard of living (Sen 2000; Silver 1994; Peace 2001). For example, in 1997 the United Kingdom (U.K.) established the Social exclusion Unit to address issues such as lack of access to housing, employment, skills and training, education, health care, and other activities (Social Exclusion Unit 2000). The concept of social Exclusion has been used in the United Kingdom (U.K.) to understand the experiences of various

disadvantaged groups. For example, youth who find themselves shut out of employment, education, and training are a central concern in the U.K (Fergusson 2004). The concept explains that the causes of youth disadvantage are structural, arising from the changing nature of work and decreases in state support (Fergusson 2004). In Canada the concept of social exclusion and the related notion of social inclusion have been employed to assess poverty and disadvantage experienced by various groups such as youth, Aboriginal people, and immigrants (Burnstein 2005; Gaetz 2004). In other words, social exclusion is used to explore a range of structural processes that expose people and groups to a high risk of social and economic disadvantage.

Critics of the concept of social exclusion often argue that there is nothing truly unique about it that is not already captured by the concept of poverty and related terms (Arthurson and Jacobs 2004). However, the concept of social exclusion provides a broad framework for capturing the complex structural causes of modern social problems that extend well beyond poverty and low income (Silver 1994; Byrne 2005; Bauman 2005). As Silver (1994) explains "...earlier economic and social upheavals brought about a shift in the 'moral imagination' giving us the concepts of 'poverty' and 'unemployment.' Similarly today's transformations are giving rise to new conceptions of disadvantage: 'the new poverty,' 'the underclass,' and 'social exclusion'" (531). This passage contrasts poverty with social exclusion, noting that each concept arose out of, and addresses, unique social and economic conditions of the times.

Poverty gained prominence in the nineteenth century in reference to families and households who failed to meet basic subsistence needs and were unable to participate in the market (Room 1999). Poverty is generally defined as income that falls below an absolute or relative level and is generally closely associated with unemployment (Bradshaw 2006; Burnstein 2005; Percy-Smith 2000; Room 1999). For example, in Canada the Low Income Cut-off (LICO)

is a widely used measure of poverty and refers to individuals or families who spend 20% more than the average family on the necessities of life such as food and shelter (Statistics Canada 2009). Therefore, definitions of poverty tend to emphasize earnings and income. Certain definitions of poverty have come to incorporate a wider range of issues than simply income (Room 1999). For example, poverty may incorporate measures such as lack of access to education or healthcare. Nevertheless, poverty remains tied to the notion of inadequate (economic) resources and is remedied by plans and policies to redistribute resources (de Haan 2000; Room 1999).

Related terms such as relative deprivation and vulnerability incorporate a broader range of dimensions compared to poverty. However, these two concepts generally fail to illustrate the underlying causes of disadvantage. First, relative deprivation explains disadvantage in terms of the inability to attain a standard of living enjoyed by others (usually the middle class) in a particular country or society (de Haan 2000). Second, the concept of vulnerability refers to individuals already exposed to disadvantage as well as those who are at risk of experiencing various forms of deprivation (de Haan 2000). Although broader in scope compared to poverty, these two aforementioned concepts fail to illustrate the processes and social structures that contribute to modern social and economic decline. The concept of social exclusion builds on these concepts to address the root causes of modern social problems.

The concept of social exclusion refers to the structural decline that has emerged in the last third of the 20th Century as a result of globalization, neo-liberalism, economic restructuring, and other macro-economic forces. These abovementioned macro-economic forces have contributed to structural decline and have influenced government policies and programs that fail to shield citizens from the devastating effects of this decline (Room 1999; Byrne 2005; Percy-

Smith 2000). For example, neo-liberal economics emphasize participation in an open market and state intervention in usually seen as undesirable (Thorson 2009). The outcome is exceedingly high levels of economic and social polarization evident in large numbers of people who are unable to keep up with the standard of living enjoyed by those at the top of the socio-economic ladder. For example, free and open markets allow trans-national corporations to produce goods in low wage economies and huge profits are accrued selling goods to a global market (Bauman 2005). A select few who possess the skills and connections to manage global economic enterprise reap immense rewards from this system (Bauman 2005; Young 1999). For many others, however, the effects of globalization are devastating. For example, when manufacturing industries relocate to low wage economies, this results in unemployment for many and poorly paid, part-time, temporary service sector work for many others (Byrne 2005).

At the national level neo-liberal policies have brought about tax cuts for corporations and for the wealthy, cuts to social spending, decreased eligibility for Employment Insurance (EI) benefits, and high levels of youth unemployment (Klein and Montgomery 2001). At the same time, decreased rights of citizenship exacerbate poverty and disadvantage, particularly for those who are the least well off (Percy-Smith 2000). For example, in Canada the shift from the Canadian Assistance Plan (CAP) to the Canadian Health and Social Transfer (CHST) in 1995 meant a smaller pool of money available to administer welfare and social services (Klein and Montgomery 2001). As a result, many provinces cut funds for welfare recipients and tightened up the eligibility requirements making it more difficult to access welfare at all (Klein and Montgomery 2001). At the local level, the combination of precarious employment, persistent unemployment, and low levels of state intervention and support results in families and communities that are deeply strained and disadvantaged (Young 1999).

Therefore, the concept of social exclusion explores the large scale structural causes of modern social problems, draws attention to government policies that exacerbate (or ameliorate) these problems, and documents the enormous gap in the standard of living between those who benefit from globalization and the growing number of people who are being left out and left behind. The following section offers a definition of the concept of social exclusion, elaborates on key dimensions, and isolates indicators of the concept.

Defining Social Exclusion

The concept of social exclusion refers to structural processes that prevent people from achieving a socially acceptable standard of living. One comprehensive definition of social exclusion is as follows;

> "multiple and changing factors resulting in people being excluded from the normal exchanges, practices and rights of modern society. Poverty is one of the most obvious factors, but social exclusion also refers to inadequate rights in housing, education, health and access to services. It affects individuals and groups, particularly in urban and rural areas, who are in some way subject to discrimination or segregation" (Commission of European Communities 1993, cited in Percy-Smith 2000: 3).

This definition highlights four aspects of social exclusion that are also important indicators. Specifically, social exclusion is multi-dimensional in terms of the activities, opportunities, and relationships that people can be shut out of. Social exclusion results in multiple deprivations or negative outcomes for people, groups, and areas. Social exclusion is linked to macro-level processes characteristic of post-industrial society. It is exacerbated by national and local level policies that are inadequate for coping with modern social problems. Finally, exclusion has

group and spatial dimensions in that particular groups and areas are especially vulnerable to disadvantage. Each of these aspects is elaborated below.

Multi-dimensional

First, the concept of social exclusion is multi-dimensional, meaning people can be excluded from participating in activities in social, economic, political, and cultural spheres. According to the literature the following are some of the activities that people can be excluded from; the labour market, family relationships, participation in the democratic process, citizenship, education, skills training, basic services, community connections, healthcare, the ability to participate in social activities, and transport (Sen 2000; Stanley and Vella-Broderick 2009; Peace 2001). Although this comprehensive list of activities that constitute exclusion is one of the strengths of the concept, it may also present as a weakness if there are no limits imposed on the activities that fall within the purview of exclusion. Specifically, critics have expressed concern that the concept of exclusion may present as "an indiscriminate listing of problems" and that when determining which activities constitute social exclusion, the literature demonstrates "a lack of discipline in selection (Sen 2000: 2). As a result of these critiques, it has been proposed that access to an activity may constitute exclusion if this activity is related to the ability to achieve subsistence and maintain a socially acceptable standard of living (Sen 2000; Burchadt et al. 1999).

Moreover, an activity falls within the purview of the concept of social exclusion if it is related either indirectly or directly to the ability to maintain a socially acceptable standard of living (Sen 2000). For example, lack of access to transport is not immediately associated with

disadvantage. However access to transport impacts peoples' ability to travel for employment opportunities and to form connections with people outside of their immediate communities (Sampson and Wilson 1995; Stanley and Vella-Broderick 2009). Therefore, transport is indirectly associated with social exclusion. On the other hand, unemployment results often in poverty and depleted opportunities for success and is therefore directly associated with social exclusion. Moreover, lack of access in one area, such as relationships with family, often goes hand in hand with the inability to participate in an activity in another sphere such as employment in the economic sphere (Room 1999). The family can provide emotional and financial support and other vital resources required to access employment opportunities, for example. In other words, the concept of social exclusion examines the complex relationship between various activities and the disadvantage that arises if people are denied access to a particular activity.

Therefore, the concept of social exclusion encompasses a range of activities that are related directly and indirectly to the ability to achieve subsistence. Social exclusion, however, is not completely unique in this regard. Poverty studies often rely on income levels as a window into other types of disadvantage that are closely connected with financial hardship, such as poor housing and low levels of education (Bradshaw 2006). Recent research on poverty has incorporated multi-dimensional indicators that tap into low levels of benefits, social transfers, and inadequate access to valued services such as health care, education, and housing, for example (Picot and Myles 2005; Room 1999). However, poverty remains linked to the notion of redistribution, albeit at times, of multiple resources (Room 1999; Percy-Smith 2002; Hickey and du Toit 2007).

Theories of the welfare state have also employed a multi-dimensional approach to study disadvantage. One popular approach distinguishes three unique welfare regimes – social

democratic, conservative, and liberal (Esping-Anderson 1999). Each regime is identified based on the role of the state, market, and family in delivering subsistence and the extent to which welfare benefits protect people from insecurities in the market (Esping-Anderson 1999; Room 1995). First, social democratic regimes are characterized by generous and universal welfare benefits which are complemented by state-run initiatives to strengthen the capacity of the labour market and the family (Esping-Anderson 1999). Second, in conservative regimes, state intervention is a last resort and occurs only after employment and family support fails. In this regime, the labour market is stratified along class lines and a heavy emphasis on the family as a source of subsistence reinforces inequality. Finally, in liberal regimes such as Canada which favour an open market, the labour market is paramount in providing for citizens. The family also provides support during periods of temporary unemployment, for example. Government policies are designed to encourage citizens to take advantage of the opportunities that the market provides. For example, the logic behind means-tested welfare benefits that are kept at, or below, subsistence levels is to not deter labour market participation and to limit welfare dependence (Arts and Gelissen 2002).

This welfare regime approach described above considers the role of multiple institutions in providing subsistence. Moreover, according to this approach, disadvantage is structural in that the ability to achieve subsistence is linked to the way in which the state, market, and family are organized and prioritized within a particular society. However, this approach is limited to a focus on the (re)distribution of material resources or "economic welfare" (Picot and Myles 2005: 5). Finally, this welfare regime approach overlooks the fact that groups are differently situated in relation to services and resources and, as a result, benefit unequally from them (Bambra 2007).

The concept of social exclusion builds on, and extends multi-dimensional approaches to the study of disadvantage in some important ways.

Social exclusion explores "the extent to which some groups of the population are denied access to the principal social and occupational milieux" (Room 1995: 7). The concept of social exclusion is above all, "concerned with relational issues – in other words inadequate social participation, lack of social integration, and lack of power" (Room 1999: 169). In other words, the concept of social exclusion focuses on lack of access to mainstream institutions and conventional relationships that provide economic, social, and emotional well-being (Sen 2000). Specifically, participation in social institutions such as health care, welfare, and family relationships allows people to achieve subsistence and is related also to well-being and social integration (Peace 2001; Percy-Smith 2000). For example, the family mitigates the negative consequences of unemployment and provides support for dependents, such as youth, elderly people, and others who may have difficulty gaining access to the labour market, such as disabled people. Family relationships are also linked to social and emotional well-being and the ability to form important social connections with those outside the family unit. For example, a Canadian report based on data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth explains that disadvantaged youth are more likely to report negative experiences at school and conflict with peers, and are less likely to take part in recreational activities compared to other youth (Canadian Council on Social Development 2002). In other words, isolation from family leads to economic hardship and a process of social disintegration.

Moreover, social exclusion can be passed along from parents to children, emphasizing the role of stable family relationships in promoting well-being. One Canadian study found that parents' social exclusion measured in terms of low levels of maternal education, households

where social assistance is the key source of family income, not owning a home, and low family income was associated with the social exclusion of children (Phipps and Curtis 2001). In the United States a study based on data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health explored the exclusionary impact that a father's incarceration has on his children (Foster and Hagan 2007). This study found that having an incarcerated father was associated with economic instability, family stress and strain, and stigma, resulting in the exclusion of children (Foster and Hagan 2007). Evidence of children's exclusion was captured by their lack of access to health insurance, housing, and political participation (Foster and Hagan 2007). The intergenerational effects of exclusion suggest that supportive and stable family relationships are a key source of well-being for children. In other words, lack of connections with family and family dysfunction are associated with poverty, social isolation, and other negative consequences, particularly for people and groups who lack the ability to provide for themselves. Moreover, family dissolution is often set in motion by family violence, abandonment, divorce, or some other negative life event. The long term emotional and "psycho-social" effects of these negative life events which include low self-esteem, depression, lack of integration in social networks, work relations, and conventional society are all associated with social exclusion (Peace 2001: 25).

Participation in occupational institutions and education is vital also to economic and social well-being. Therefore, unemployment, precarious employment in low-wage temporary positions, and low levels of education and training are associated with social exclusion. The labour market and other occupational opportunities such as education provide people with an income and skills that ensure future success. Moreover, employment may be associated with a sense of fulfillment and self-worth (Sen 2000). Employed persons also gain experience and make social connections that can be leveraged for more pay and opportunities to advance into

new positions. For example, people regularly use current employment opportunities as a stepping stone to more satisfactory and higher paying jobs. On the other hand, precarious employment is associated with high rates of poverty, long work hours, and little regulation over conditions in the workplace (Cranford et al. 2003). As a result people who are precariously employed end up working many hours, sometimes at multiple jobs, for less pay, and in unsatisfactory conditions. Unemployment and precarious employment are therefore associated with poverty, depleting skills, low self-esteem, and detachment from important social networks.

Despite the importance of employment in mitigating the risk of exclusion, it is imperative to note that simply having a job is not enough to shield people from hardship. For example, precarious employment offers low wages for long hours in deplorable conditions. Being precariously employed, therefore, does not prevent exclusion. The notion that work does not necessarily subvert exclusion is captured by concepts such as the working poor, meaning individuals or households with incomes below Canada's Low Income Cut-off (LICO) who earn most of their income from employment (Human Resources and Social Development Canada 2006). In 2001, the working poor comprised 5.6% of Canada's labour force, or approximately 650,000 individuals (Human Resources and Social Development Canada 2006). Including the families of the working poor, the number of those impacted in Canada increases to 1.5 million (Human Resources and Social Development Canada 2006). Moreover, studies show that the working poor spent as many hours working as other Canadians, dispelling myths that they are simply lazy or unmotivated workers (Human Resources and Social Development Canada 2006). Finally, families with only one working member are at risk of poverty and low income (Human Resources and Social Development Canada 2006). In other words, it is not necessarily the lack of motivation or work habits that determine who will be afflicted by poverty. Rather, structural

changes to the nature and type of work that is available as well as the number of able bodied adults in a family unit who are able to secure employment are vital in understanding which groups are at risk of exclusion.

The concept of social exclusion recognizes that people and groups are situated unequally in relation to important institutions and resources and benefit unevenly from them. For example, household income is an important dimension of subsistence and permits participation in social life. However, women and children often lack the power within a household to control, or even access this income. As a result, the well-being of these groups is often tied to the primary income earner in the household. Moreover, access to well-paid employment also varies between groups. For example, women, immigrants, and visible minorities are most likely to experience precarious employment, meaning low paying temporary work (Cranford et al. 2003). In other words, power dynamics in families and societies are vital in understanding which groups and people will have access to valued resources and opportunities. The concept of social exclusion considers power dynamics, discrimination, and other forms of systemic disadvantage and is well suited to exploring which groups have access to, and benefit from, a particular resource (Bambra 2007). The group dimension of social exclusion is discussed in greater detail later on.

Therefore, the concept of social exclusion focuses on the connections formed between citizens and a broad range of institutions that are related directly and indirectly to social and economic well-being, social integration, and participation in social life. Moreover, unlike poverty and related concepts, social exclusion describes disadvantage as a structural and cumulative process that is often transmitted between generations (Foster and Hagan 2007). In Canada, healthy relationship with family and the labour market are two of the institutions that are considered vital in providing economic well-being and social integration (Esping-Anderson

1999). Therefore, family dissolution and lack of participation in the labour market are important indicators of social exclusion.

Outcomes of Social Exclusion

Second, social exclusion results in multiple forms of disadvantage. These negative outcomes are also indicators of social exclusion. The outcomes of social exclusion are evident at the individual and aggregate level. Poverty is one important outcome and indicator of social exclusion and impacts individuals and groups (Percy-Smith 2000; Peace 2001). However, the outcomes of social exclusion stem well beyond material poverty. Specifically, individuals experience low skill levels, joblessness, family dissolution, fear of crime, substance abuse, mental illness and poor health and these are all important indicators of social exclusion (Social Exclusion Unit 2000; Peace 2001). At the aggregate level, high crime rates, neighbourhood decay, and high unemployment rates are important indicators of social exclusion (Social Exclusion Unit 2000; Peace 2001).

The outcomes of social exclusion are often reciprocal and cumulative. For example, poverty is one outcome of social exclusion. Poverty can cause people to reside in disadvantage neighbourhoods characterized by crime, unemployment, and other problems associated with social exclusion. Over time, middle class families emigrate out of these areas and, without the support of middle class families, services and businesses follow suit (Sampson and Wilson 1995). As a consequence, these communities and their residents become further marginalized and excluded. Empirical research on the spatial concentration of poverty confirms this finding (Morenoff and Sampson 1997). For example, one study in Chicago notes that high levels of

violent crime are associated with significant population loss, particularly white middle class families who can afford to emigrate out of high crime areas (Morenoff and Sampson 1997). This pattern of emigration leaves behind the most disadvantaged members of the community (Morenoff and Sampson 1997). In other words, an outcome of social exclusion is often a cause of further social exclusion and the adverse effects build up over time.

Processes of Social Exclusion

Third, social exclusion is related to large scale structural processes that characterize the nature of society people live in (Percy-Smith 2000; Byrne 2005; Bauman 2005). This dimension of social exclusion is particularly important in setting it apart from related concepts such as poverty and disadvantage. Poverty and disadvantage focus on people and groups who experience hardship, but not necessarily on the processes or root causes of the problem (Bradshaw 2006). There are various accounts of the processes that lead to social exclusion (Byrne 2005; Bauman 2005; Silver 1994). Most accounts emphasize the interaction of large-scale economic and social forces that bring about disadvantage and national policies that fail to alleviate disadvantage.

One account of social exclusion explains that "society is full," referring to large numbers of people who are devalued by society as they are no longer needed to fulfill the role of producers and lack the means to consume (Bauman 2005). These groups who have become disposable are dubbed "flawed consumers." The central argument is that the shift in late-modernity from societies based on production to consumption, means that corporations are continually finding new ways to produce consumer goods for less. Two key strategies for producing more with less are to lower wages and improve the efficiency of production through

technological advances. For example, globalization permits manufacturing industries to relocate to low wage economies and technological advances allow corporations to maintain high production levels with less labour power. This account of exclusion explains that the shift from production to consumption based economies is paralleled by a shift in values as everyday life is no longer defined by work but instead by what people are able to consume. The result of these economic and social shifts is a large number of people who are no longer needed to produce and lack the ability or means to consume. The state has no incentive to maintain costly social programs for these "flawed consumers" who are instead excised through increasingly exclusionary policies and programs.

According to this aforementioned conception, social exclusion is a relatively stable and almost irreversible condition characterized by complete detachment from the labour market and mainstream society without the possibility of reintegration. This depiction of the concept of social exclusion has been critiqued on theoretical and empirical grounds. A main flaw, for example, is that it ignores empirical evidence that large numbers of people maintain some connection with the labour market, albeit through sporadic or precarious employment (Percy-Smith 2000; Byrne 2005; Levitas 1996).

Another interpretation of the process of social exclusion relies on the metaphor of an "hourglass society" to describe a condition in post-industrial capitalist societies, where a few are very wealthy, many are very poor, and the middle class dwindles (Byrne 2005). This account links exclusion with a shift from capitalism to post-industrial capitalism (Byrne 2005). Post-industrial capitalism is characterized by globalization, economic restructuring, the rise of service sector work and decline of manufacturing jobs, high levels of structural unemployment, the polarization of the labour market into high and low paying jobs, and limited social mobility. The

risk of poverty and disadvantage is exacerbated by cuts to welfare and social spending (Byrne 2005). The risk of disadvantage, in post-industrial capitalist society is far reaching, and it is not limited only to a small number occupying the lower class.

According to this account, social exclusion is linked largely to the shift from fordist to post-fordist economies. In the past, fordist economies relied on the middle class to fulfill the roles of producer and consumer and, as a result, generated stable well-paid jobs, mainly in the manufacturing sector. These careers ensured a steady supply of goods and a large middle class with the means to consume them. By comparison, post-fordist economies are based on flexible production. Corporations succeed by catering to the unique tastes of consumer groups and delivering diverse products and services whenever the demand should arise (Byrne 2005). This style of production requires a flexible labour force. In a post-fordist economy, the state has little incentive to maintain a large middle class who is able to fulfill the dual role of mass producer and consumer. However, unlike Bauman (2005) who argues that the excluded are superfluous to the accumulation of capital, Byrne (2005) maintains that they play a key role in this process. Specifically, the excluded provide a ready supply of cheap labour and ensure that people are willing to work longer, harder, and for less pay. This argument of a society characterized by tremendous polarization in the labour market is supported by empirical evidence of a bi-modal income distribution with huge gaps in income between the highest and lowest income brackets (O'Connor 1998; Picot and Myles 2005; Byrne 2005). The conception of the excluded as a reserve army of labour is also supported by evidence of the large numbers of people who reside on the fringes of the labour market and cycle in and out of poverty and unemployment (Byrne 2005).

The above accounts of social exclusion are alike in proposing that the current economic climate is advantageous to a select few and devastating to many others. It follows from this that a defining feature of the concept of social exclusion is the large gap in the standard of living and life chances between the included and the excluded. However, it is also clear that winners and losers are determined, in part by the particular society where a person resides. Silver (1994) offers an account of how the relative positions of advantage and disadvantage are established within a particular society. Specifically, three paradigms – monopoly, solidarity, and specialization – describe distinct processes of social exclusion that vary in accordance with the way a society conceptualizes citizenship and is organized to achieve social integration (Silver 1994).

The monopoly paradigm proposes that social order is "coercive, imposed through a set of hierarchical power relations" (Silver 1994:543). Drawing closely on the work of Weber, this paradigm proposes that exclusion is the result of "social closure." Social closure occurs when privileged groups limit access to valued opportunities and resources in order to preserve their status and power (Silver 1994). In other words, this paradigm implicates powerful groups that actively exclude others for their own benefit (Silver 1994).

The solidarity paradigm, prevalent in France, views citizenship as a social bond between individuals. Integration or social cohesion is based on a set of widely agreed upon values and norms which are constantly changing and evolving (Silver 1994). Many of the values and norms of excluded people and groups fall outside normative boundaries. Exclusion is also prevalent if one of the many institutions involved in (re)inserting or (re)integrating people into the dominant culture fails (Silver 1994; Room 1999).

Finally, the specialization paradigm is based on liberal traditions and is prominent in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom (U.K.) (Silver 1994). Citizenship is conceptualized as freely formed relationships between individuals who interact in an open market and share a set of rights (Gore 1995; Francis 1997). The role of the state is to provide opportunities and ensure access to these opportunities by maintaining clearly separated spheres and protecting individual rights. The concept of social exclusion is conceptualized as failures in the market, government policies that are unable to maintain separate spheres, and the failure of government policies and programs to enforce individual rights. Discrimination or other processes that cause people to be unfairly blocked from accessing a particular sphere also constitute social exclusion in liberal regimes (Silver 1994). An example of exclusion that arises due to market failure is structural unemployment that is linked to the decline in manufacturing industries and increases in casual and part-time employment (Percy-Smith 2000). Moreover, discrimination in the labour market that causes people to be unjustly blocked from accessing employment also constitutes exclusion. Discrimination may also be linked with government policies that fail to enforce individual rights.

Therefore, in Canada social exclusion is linked with market failure for workers, discrimination, and inadequate government policies which expose people to hardship and a poor quality of living. The negative impacts of social exclusion are borne disproportionately by those who are economically and socially deprived. For example people and groups who are unemployed or precariously employed or lack the support of family, friends, and community are unable to shield themselves from hardships that might arise. These underlying processes described above are often difficult to observe directly but manifest themselves if low levels of participation and high levels of unemployment, poverty, or other forms of disadvantage are

heavily concentrated in a particular group or region. For example, failed government policies such as colonization and discrimination cause Aboriginal people to be unjustly blocked from accessing employment and opportunities in other spheres. High levels of poverty and unemployment among Aboriginal people are therefore prime indicators of social exclusion. Moreover, massive declines in the youth labour market preclude young people from making smooth transitions from education into full-time employment (Fergusson 2004). Large numbers of youth who are unemployed and lack the skills to participate in society are indicative of youth exclusion.

Group and Spatial Dimensions of Social Exclusion

Fourth, social exclusion has a group dimension. Particular groups face a disproportionately high risk of exclusion "...either because they differ in some way from the dominant population or because of their position within society" (Percy-Smith 2000: 11). In other words, minorities, immigrant groups, women, victims of violence, and other groups who lack power compared to the dominant group are vulnerable to exclusion. It is important to note that group membership is not synonymous with exclusion, as some groups may be insulated by wealth or status achieved through their work, for example. Nevertheless group differences that block people from participating in valued activities such as employment and other important areas of social exchange often result in disadvantage for that particular group. Ultimately, the risk that group membership will lead to exclusion depends on whether a group is perceived to be responsible for their own exclusion, the barriers that limit movement between groups, and the degree of social significance attached to membership in a particular group (Silver 1994).

The notion that certain groups play an active role in their own exclusion is expressed under the rubric of self-exclusion. This idea of self-exclusion is the basis behind theories of the underclass and the culture of poverty. For example, theories about the underclass describe segments of the population who lack the desire to work, take alcohol and drugs, form unstable families, form families headed by one parent only (usually the mother), and have a propensity towards crime and disorder (Wilson 1985; Murray 1996; Young 1999; Costello 1997; MacDonald 1997). The key message is that the underclass is largely to blame for their circumstances.

There is a great deal of evidence which refutes the idea that social exclusion is ever really a choice (Burchardt et al. 1999; Percy-Smith 2000). Nevertheless, groups are unlikely to benefit from targeted social and economic intervention if they are perceived to be responsible for their own exclusion. Without any support, these groups have great difficulty escaping disadvantage. For example, a study with homeless youth in Toronto explains that the tendency of street youth to be perceived by the public as perpetrators of crime overshadows extremely high rates of victimization experienced by this excluded group of youth (Gaetz 2004). As a result of this misconception, there is very little attention paid to the extremely high rates of victimization among streets engaged youth (Gaetz 2004).

Moreover, certain barriers between groups are more susceptible to manipulation and may be more permeable compared to others and this impacts the likelihood that a person or group will be capable of overcoming exclusion. If group membership is based on characteristics that people are unable to change such as race or gender, barriers may be less permeable meaning people may have difficulty moving from exclusion to inclusion. For example, barriers between economic classes are permeable whereas group membership based on characteristics such as race and

gender are fixed. Further, even if particular characteristics demarking a group are permanent, the social significance and disadvantage associated with group membership is susceptible to change over time and through targeted intervention. The major improvements to the status of women made over the past 50 years in developed countries, is a testament to the fact that some of the disadvantage associated with group membership can be overcome.

Therefore, particular groups are vulnerable to social exclusion if they differ from the dominant culture and, as a result, are shutout of vital activities and opportunities in a particular society. Groups may be particularly vulnerable if the characteristic demarking group membership is permanent, they are perceived to be responsible for their own exclusion, and they fail to benefit from plans and policies to improve their status. A Canadian report highlights six groups who are currently vulnerable to social exclusion – single mothers, Aboriginal people, people with work limiting disabilities, elderly persons, recent immigrants, and children (Burnstein 2005). The following group differences have also been identified by recent reports as associated with exclusion; drug abuse, homelessness, criminal involvement, and other stigmatizing lifestyles (Burnstein 2005; Dobrowlsky and Jensen 2004; Percy-Smith 2000; Peace 2001).

The concept of social exclusion also has a spatial dimension, meaning that where a person lives impacts their access to resources, relationships, and services. In fact, spatial patterns of segregation are arguably, one of the most obvious signs of social exclusion (Musterd and Ostendorf 1998). Spatial segregation occurs if poverty, unemployment, crime, and other problems associated with social exclusion are heavily concentrated in particular communities and neighbourhoods (Peace 2001; Percy-Smith 2000). There are many theories emphasizing the link between location and disadvantage (Sampson and Wilson 1995; Musterd and Ostendorf

1998; Oberwittler 2007). One theory explains that macro-level economic forces such as globalization interact with macro-level social forces such as discriminatory social planning and policy to produce a spatial concentration of poverty (Sampson and Wilson 1995). For example, disadvantaged neighbourhoods arise if manufacturing industries close down leaving high levels of unemployment. Discriminatory housing policy then restricts low income housing to these areas that are undesirable to others. These processes are exacerbated by an out migration of middle class individuals, jobs, and services, from the afflicted communities. Relationships with people and organizations outside of these communities also become problematic for those left behind (Sampson and Wilson 1995; Room 1995). Social exclusion draws heavily on these accounts which emphasize the structural causes of segregation.

Research on the concept of social exclusion focuses on the relationship between geographic location and the inability to access resources, form desired connections with mainstream society, participate in the labour market and maintain family bonds (Room 1995; Young 1999; Levitas 1996). For example, elementary and high-schools vary by neighbourhood and in impoverished neighbourhoods curriculums, teachers, text books, and other facilities are often severely depleted (Room 1995). Moreover, a study of spatial segregation in Toronto found that those who are the least well off are often clustered together in communities with poor access to public transit and employment opportunities (Musterd and Ostendorf 1998). In other words, where people reside is related to their ability to access resources such as work, education, and transport. People who reside in disadvantaged neighbourhoods also have difficulty establishing and maintaining connections with people outside of the community who may be in a position to inform them about employment opportunities, politics, and other important issues (Levitas 1996; Room 1995). This dimension of social exclusion is often expressed as a deficiency of social

capital, meaning the social relationships that provide people with clear benefits (Francis 1997). The logic behind the concept of social capital is that gaining access to employment, education, and other valued opportunities is facilitated by connections with others (Francis 1997). For example, the notion that it is not what you know but who you know that counts is a clear and compelling assertion about the value of social capital (Claridge 2004). Essentially, the point is that, compared to lower class individuals, middle class children often have a clear advantage right off the start in that they are able to access connections, income, inheritance, and other benefits through their parents, families, and extended social networks.

Moreover, work opportunities are limited in disadvantaged neighbourhoods due to systemic factors such as the demise of manufacturing industries and the subsequent withdrawal of businesses from these communities. One Canadian study refers to the process of "professionalization" to describe a decline in low skilled and manufacturing jobs in favour of professional type careers requiring higher skills levels and education (Musterd and Ostendorf 1998). People and communities who do not possess the requisite skills to meet the demands of the professionalizing labour marker are vulnerable to disadvantage. Finally, families often have difficulty coping with dwindling resources, high unemployment, structural unemployment, and limited state intervention (Young 1999). In other words, location is strongly associated with the quality of services available to people, opportunities for future success, and the ability to achieve a sense of belonging through employment and family. These issues are all central to the concept of social exclusion.

Therefore, particular group characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, and homelessness are indicators of social exclusion. Residing in an impoverished or stigmatized neighbourhood is also an indicator of social exclusion. However, it is important to note that simply belonging to

one of these groups or areas does not mean that a person is necessarily excluded (Percy-Smith 2000). For example, not every single mother or Aboriginal person is excluded. Rather, if negative outcomes and inadequate levels of participation are concentrated among particular groups or geographic areas, this is an indication that these groups and regions are vulnerable to disadvantage (Percy-Smith 2000).

Intersections

Intersectionality is a sociological perspective that explores how social categories such as race and gender shape peoples experiences, primarily their experiences of oppression (Knapp 2005; Crenshaw 1991; Davis 2008). The concept of social exclusion identifies the characteristics of groups who are at risk of poverty, disadvantage, and other negative outcomes. However, one critique of the concept of social exclusion is that it makes too firm a distinction between the included and the excluded – obscuring marked differences within each group (Levitas 1996). An intersectional perspective explains that peoples' experiences of disadvantage stem from multiple characteristics such as race and gender. In other words, intersectionalities accounts for different experiences within a group. For example, although an Aboriginal man may encounter disadvantage, his experiences may not be the same as an Aboriginal woman who experiences ethnicity and gender as sources of oppression. Therefore, an intersectional perspective complements the concept of social exclusion by exploring how inequality and hardship are amplified if particular characteristics associated with disadvantage converge.

According to an intersectional perspective, inequality between people and groups is rooted in "structural systems of inequality" (Conwill 2010). "Structural systems of inequality are

those marked, ambiguous, and unmarked varieties of social distinction associated with forced exclusion, stigmatized labor, and other types of dehumanization" (Conwill 2010: 33). This definition draws attention to the fact that inequality is associated with multiple characteristics, structural, fluid, and manifests itself as exclusion. Inequality is structural as it stems from characteristics such as race, gender, and other social distinctions that people are powerless to change. However, systems of inequality are not fixed since the status associated with group membership varies over time and between societies (Knapp 2005; Conwill 2010). Finally, according to an intersectional perspective, inequality manifests itself as forced exclusion and other negative consequences (Conwill 2010).

Structural systems of inequality are based on any social distinction or characteristic that set people apart from the dominant group and intersect in specific ways to impact peoples' experiences of oppression. The structured systems of inequality that are most commonly explored within the literature on intersectionalities are race, class, and gender (Knapp 2005; Kantor and Jasinski 1998; Davis 2008). However, disability, sexual orientation, immigration, religion, and national status are also explored within the literature on intersectionality (Knapp 2005). Inequality may be associated with each aforementioned characteristic, yet experiences of disadvantage are altered if two or more of the abovementioned characteristics intersect.

Three main approaches for understanding the relationship between social categories and disadvantage are prevalent in the literature on intersectionalities – anticategorical, intracategorical, and intercategorical. These three approaches, in turn, have tremendous implications on the methods used to study intersections. First, the anticategorical approach questions the very essence or existence of social categories. According to this approach all categories are socially constructed and relying on these categories risks reinforcing systems of

inequality and disadvantage (Nash 2008). For example, visible minority is a category identified relative to, and conferred a lower status, only in relation to a dominant group. Conceptualizing minorities as disadvantaged emphasizes the privileged position of those in power. The anticategorical approach is limited exclusively to in-depth qualitative research since understanding a person's experiences depends on an exploration of the complete constellation of factors that make up their identity and shape their lived experiences.

Second the intracategorical perspective accepts marginalized categories and groups as a point of reference for examining complex problems and processes of oppression (Nash 2008). This approach recognizes dangers associated with categorization that may obscure complex and ever changing realities. For example, conceptualizing all minorities or all women as unequivocally marginalized is an over-simplification of the complex underlying realities. Some women may be better off than men who are also members of a minority group, for example. In other words, context is vital for describing disadvantage and context is gained by looking at complete identities rather than one or two intersecting categories of oppression (Nash 2008). Finally, the intercategorical approach accepts that categories do exist and that these serve as a way to expose the relationship between group membership and disadvantage (Nash 2008). Although alert to the possibility that categories can change shape and meaning, this approach to intersectionality maintains that studying social categories offers a window into processes of disadvantage. For example, evidence that minority women earn less than other groups, or face higher unemployment rates compared to others groups are starting points for uncovering the systems of inequality that the group confront on a daily basis. Both the intra and intercategorical approaches are compatible with quantitative methods.

Further debate with respect to how to capture intersections quantitatively permeates the literature on intersectionalities (Dubrow 2010). One popular approach suggests that the addition of each demographic characteristic of disadvantage means greater disadvantage for that group or individual (Dubrow 2010). For example, an Aboriginal woman will experience more disadvantage compared to an Aboriginal man but less than an Aboriginal woman with a physical disability. This approach can be described as cumulative disadvantage and is most closely associated with an intercategorical approach which accepts social categories as a starting point for exploring underlying structures of disadvantage. Methodologically speaking, a cumulative disadvantage approach is supported if multiply marginalized groups experience greater disadvantage than groups with fewer categories of oppression. According to a cumulative disadvantage approach, each category of oppression represents another barrier to be overcome and subjects a group to greater disadvantage.

On the other hand, a group-specific approach suggests that the nature of disadvantage varies within groups, is context specific, and cannot be understood simply as the sum of categories of oppression (Dubrow 2010). For example, Aboriginal men may experience greater oppression compared to white women. Considering the context and circumstances of each group is necessary in a group specific approach. Moreover, carefully constructed interaction terms and complex cross-classification of categories are required to investigate intersectionalities according to this approach. In other words, a groups specific approach proposes that oppression cannot be understood without taking into account the context in which the disadvantage occurs.

Despite methodological disagreement about how to capture disadvantage among multiply marginalized groups, a consensus generally exists among intersectional theorists that peoples' experiences of oppression are often misunderstood by theories that focus on only one system of

inequality such as gender or race alone. For example, one study conducted at a Women's Shelter notes that gender, class, and race converge to limit poor women's options for ending abusive relationship (Crenshaw 1991). Specifically, for women who are poor and minorities, child-care responsibilities, poverty, lack of job skills, and discrimination in the labour and housing markets operate as barriers to separating from violent relationships (Crenshaw 1991). From an intersectional perspective it is imperative to note that the correlation that exists between gender, class, and race requires that an adequate theory examine all three characteristics in combination (Chui and Maheux 2011). Therefore, an intersectional perspective considers how multiple characteristics operate together to shape experiences of oppression.

Social exclusion explores systemic issues that leave particular groups vulnerable to disadvantage. An intersectional framework complements the concept of social exclusion by exploring how multiple aspects of identity shape peoples' experiences of oppression. The following section relies on social exclusion and an intersectional perspective to identify from within the missing persons literature groups who go missing in high numbers.

Missing Persons Literature Review

Defining missing persons

Going missing is a complex phenomenon and is conceptualized in various ways. The following section describes how missing persons have been defined. As this research relies on police data[2]

[2] Missing persons data were collected from missing persons reports made to one Police Service in Canada. The data from this research represent one quarter of all missing persons reports accepted by this Police Service in 2006.

about missing persons, it is important to be aware of the various issues that influence who will be reported missing. Specifically, in order to be reported missing, someone must have noticed that a person is missing, perceived this disappearance as a problem, and filed a missing person report that is accepted by the police service as legitimate. Therefore, not everyone who goes missing is reported. Moreover, legal definitions employed by police services tend to place a high priority on abductions and other cases where the disappearance is not believed to be voluntary. As a result, legal definitions underestimate the scope and nature of missing persons' problem.

One definition which offers an in-depth understanding of the problem, conceptualizes missing people along a continuum ranging from forced disappearances to voluntary disappearances (Biehal et al. 2003). Forced disappearances are unintentional on the part of the missing person, including abductions and other violent crimes. Voluntary or intentional disappearances involve cases where people make a decision to disappear. It is important to note that even if disappearances seem voluntary, they may be heavily influenced by circumstances over which people have limited control. A prime example of this is youth who runaway to escape violence and abuse. Although these disappearances appear to be a choice, they are in fact linked to precarious circumstances. Between forced and voluntary, are disappearances that are unintentional such as elderly people who wander off, family members who drift out of contact over time, and homeless people who move between shelters and lose contact with family and friends (Biehal et al. 2003). Therefore, distinguishing between disappearances that are intentional and unintentional is difficult since even disappearances that appear to be intentional are often motivated by circumstances that are beyond peoples' control.

Moreover, being formally identified as a missing person by police or another search agency depends on a third party who defines the person as missing and files a police report

(Payne 1995; Biehal et al. 2003). The person who is deemed to be missing may not view their circumstances in the same way as the reporter. These issues are captured in the following passage which describes going missing as:

> ...a social situation in which a person is absent from their accustomed network of social and personal relationships to the extent that people within that network define the absence as interfering with the performance by that person of expected social responsibilities, leading to a situation in which members of the network feel obliged to search for the missing person and may institute official procedures to identify the person as missing (Payne 1992, cited in Payne 1995: 335).

The above definition draws attention to a number of criteria that influence who is likely and unlikely to be reported missing. Specifically, someone must be aware of a person's absence, concerned about their well-being, and willing to institute official procedures to identify the person as missing (Payne 1995). People who lack connections with family, community, or a social agency such as social services are likely to go unnoticed and unreported if they go missing. Moreover, groups who are reticent about interacting with police are often unwilling to file a missing persons report. These groups are also likely to be underrepresented in police data. For example, a report by Amnesty International (2004), explains that Aboriginal people are often reticent about interacting with the police and, as a result, they often go unreported. Women escaping violence, youth who are thrown out of the home, and homeless people, are other groups who may not have anyone to report them missing (Biehal et al. 2003). Finally, the decision to report someone as missing is made by a third party. The person being identified as missing may not perceive their circumstances in the same way. For example, reporting someone as missing assumes that this person should be located and returned. However, people who go missing to escape violence, abuse, and other perilous circumstances may not consider themselves missing and being located and returned is not a desirable outcome (Payne 1995).

Therefore, the reasons and motivations for going missing are complex. Even if disappearances appear voluntary they may be forced by circumstances that are outside of peoples' control. Research must take these underlying problems into account so that policies of prevention can provide people with alternatives and link them with appropriate services rather than simply returning people to unhappy and unpleasant circumstances (Payne 1995). The concept of social exclusion draws attention to these underlying issues. Moreover, as emphasized in the above definitions, being reported missing and going missing are not equivalent phenomena and the causal factors leading to each may not overlap in every situation. Due to the nature of the data used here, this research is only able to explore the risks associated with being reported missing.

How Many People Go Missing?

The number of people who go missing each year in Canada is not known. The reason for this is that not all people are reported missing (James et al. 2008). However, in the city where the data for this research were collected the number of missing persons appears to be increasing. Specifically, 1,941 people were reported missing in 2002 and this increased to 2,896 in 2006.[3] In other countries national estimates of missing people are available. In the Unites States (U.S.) 719,558 people were registered as missing with the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) in 2008 (National Crime Information Center 2009). In Australia a recent study found that approximately 30,288 people were reported missing to the police in a one year period from 2005 to 2006 (James et al 2008). Finally, in the United Kingdom (U.K.) estimates of the number of

[3] Interview with a Staff Sergeant on February 12, 2007.

people reported missing each year vary between 100,000 up to 250,000 (Biehal et al. 2003). One of the main reasons for the disparity in the number of missing persons between countries is due to the size of the population in each country. Different definitions of what constitutes a missing persons and the availability of charitable organizations who accept missing persons' reports in a particular country also impact the number of people who are reported missing.

Missing Persons and Social Exclusion

There is very little research about missing persons in Canada. Most studies are limited to exploring youth and outstanding missing persons (Dalley 2007; Ministry of Justice and Attorney General 2010; Patterson 2005; Saskatchewan Association of Chiefs of Police 2010; Cohen et al. 2008). Studies tend to be descriptive and focus on providing guidance to police services about how to best handle missing persons' cases. For example the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), publish an annual "Missing Children's Reference Report" to describe the demographic characteristics of missing youth, the number of youth disappearances, clearance rates, and a very limited overview of the why a youth was reported missing (Dalley 2007). Moreover, two studies in British Columbia (B.C.) explore over 50 years of data filed with the Canadian Police Information Centre (CPIC) to identify common characteristics of people who have been reported missing and who have not yet been found (Patterson 2005; Cohen et al. 2008). These two studies are designed to assist police services to identify and predict which people and cases are most likely to develop into long term disappearances and develop protocol for responding to these types of cases (Patterson 2005; Cohen et al. 2008). Canadian studies lack comparison groups from the general population and are therefore inadequate for identifying risk factors in

peoples' disappearances. Moreover, few studies in Canada rely on sociological theories which are well-suited to explore the systemic issues behind peoples' disappearances.

International research about missing people is more plentiful compared to Canada and incorporates adult missing persons (James et al. 2008; Henderson and Henderson 1998; Biehal et al. 2003; Tarling and Burrows 2004; Newiss 1999). International studies have also assessed the risk of a long term disappearance (Newiss 2005) or the likelihood of being found dead (Newiss 2004). Several studies also explore the issue of youth missing from care – meaning group and foster homes (Social Exclusion Unit 2002; Kerr and Finlay 2006). A few studies in the United Kingdom (U.K.) incorporate sociological theories to explore the issues that lead to the disappearances of particular groups such as runaway youth (Social Exclusion Unit 2002; Biehal et al. 2003). However, similar to Canada, international research is often designed to provide practical guidance to police services about how to handle missing persons cases and studies have not incorporated sociological theories to explore the disappearances of a broad range of people who go missing (Association of Chiefs of Police 2005; Newiss 1999; Tarling and Burrows 2004). Moreover, similar to Canada, international studies tend to lack comparisons with the general population and are therefore inadequate for identifying which groups face a high risk of going missing.

The following section reviews what is known in Canada and abroad about the characteristics of missing people. Canadian studies identify several excluded groups who go missing in high numbers - runaway youth, female youth, Aboriginal people, and victims of family violence (Patterson 2005; Dalley 2007; Public Health Agency of Canada 2006). International research confirms these findings and adds that minorities and homeless people also go missing in high numbers (Tarling and Burrows 2004; Newiss 2005; Newiss 2004; Association

of Chiefs of Police 2005; Biehal et al. 2003; James et al. 2008; Social exclusion unit 2002; Henderson and Henderson 1998). Drawing on the indicators of social exclusion identified above, this literature review illustrates that many of the groups who go missing in high numbers are also vulnerable to exclusion. This review also pays close attention to instances where multiple indicators of social exclusion intersect.

Youth

The literature on missing persons in Canada, and world-wide, shows that youth go missing in high numbers (Dalley 2007; Newiss 1999; Tarling and Burrows 2004; James et al. 2008). Many youth who go missing are excluded in that they experience persistent poverty, homelessness, low levels of education, unemployment, and family dissolution brought about by violence, abuse, and neglect (Gaetz 2004; James et al. 2008). According to the Canadian Police Information Centre (CPIC), 60,461 youth were reported missing to police services in 2006 (Dalley 2007). Seventy-seven percent of missing youth were classified by CPIC as runaways[4] (Dalley 2007). Despite being classified as voluntarily missing, studies show that runaways are often escaping abuse, parents' substance abuse, violence between caregivers, or some other type of conflict at home (Hagan and McCarthy 1997; James et al. 2008; Social Exclusion Unit 2002; Public Health Agency of Canada 2006; Dedel 2006). Youth who flee their homes are often reported missing by parents or other family members.

[4] Runaway, is a category which refers to anyone under 18 years old who is absent from home or care without permission (Patterson 2005).

A report in the United Kingdom (U.K.) elaborates on the reasons and risks associated with youth disappearances. The report notes that "[R]unning away is an important signal that something is seriously wrong in a young person's life. Children and young people who run away, or are forced out of home, are often struggling with problems" (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). This passage makes an important distinction between "push" and "pull" factors underlying youth disappearances. This distinction is a prevalent theme in missing persons research (Social Exclusion Unit 2002; Tarling and Burrows 2004; Ministry of Justice and Attorney General 2010; Kerr and Finlay 2006). "Push" factors are circumstances in the immediate environment which youth are unable to cope with. Fleeing emerges as the only viable response. Specifically, youth can be pushed out of their home due to family violence, violence between caregivers, mental health problems, and bullying at school (Social Exclusion Unit 2002; Kerr and Finlay 2006; Tarling and Burrows 2004). "Pull" factors attract youth, drawing them away from their homes under the perception that something better is awaiting them. "Pull" factors may pose serious risks to youth as they are also often related to exploitation. Youth may be pulled away from home, most commonly to be with a friend or family member from whom they have been separated (Social Exclusion Unit 2002; Kerr and Finlay 2006; Tarling and Burrows 2004). However, youth are also pulled from their home for purposes of sexual exploitation such as sex trafficking (Ministry of Justice and Attorney General 2010; Social Exclusion Unit 2002). Therefore, the "push" and "pull" factors underlying youth disappearances are evidence of the extreme disadvantage that leads often to youth disappearances.

Running away exposes young people to harm. Many youth who run away end up on the streets and experience exclusion from housing, employment, and other important resources. Street engaged youth also have limited access to protection and are often exposed to physical

victimization and sexual exploitation (Gaetz 2004; Public Health Agency of Canada 2006; Payne 1995; Hagan and McCarthy 1997; Social Exclusion Unit 2002). For example, a report in the United Kingdom (U.K.) found that roughly 25% of runaways under 16 years old slept on the street or somewhere unsafe (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). One in seven, or 10,000 of these runaway youth encountered physical or sexual harm (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). Finally, structural disadvantage such as inadequate access to housing and employment means that street youth often become involved in criminal activities (Gaetz 2004; Payne 1995). For example, without access to the mainstream labour market, street engaged youth often turn to risky and illegal subsistence strategies such as pan handling, prostitution, and drug dealing (Gaetz and O'Grady 2002). Therefore, youth who flee their homes are often disadvantaged. Going missing exposes them to further harm.

Social exclusion is related to youth disappearances. The relationship between family dissolution and youth disappearances is a prominent example of the role of social exclusion in going missing. More specifically, youth are generally reliant on their families for support, subsistence, housing, and income (Phipps and Burton 1995). In fact, given the decline in the youth labour market and other structural changes affecting the transition into permanent and secure employment, the family takes on increasing responsibility for young people (Fergusson 2004). Therefore, if parents or households are excluded, it is likely that youth will experience exclusion also.

Moreover, family dissolution exposes youth to serious strain and deprives them of resources needed to cope with problems. In a study in the United Kingdom (U.K.) runaway youth claimed that family problems including dissolution and conflict were the leading reason behind their disappearances (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). Roughly 80% of 13,000 runaways

surveyed, reported family problems as the reason for going missing (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). On the other hand, this same study found that positive relationships with family and friends reduced the likelihood of youth running away (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). Therefore family breakdown represents a serious stressful event for youth and can put youth at risk of running away. Conversely, the family offers protection from stress and strain.

Therefore, despite the fact that runaway youth are often perceived to be voluntarily missing, many youth who go missing are excluded in that they experience family conflict and breakdown, are victims of family violence, suffer from other problems such as mental health problems and difficulties at school, or are otherwise disadvantaged.

Missing from care

Moreover, family dissolution often results in youth residing in care facilities such as group homes and foster homes and a high number of youth go missing from care (James et al. 2008; Dalley 2007). This is supported by a Canadian study which found that, of the 60,461 youth reported missing in 2006, 14% went missing from child care and 20% from foster care (Dalley 2007). In the United Kingdom (U.K.) one study found that nearly half of all youth in care have run away compared to about 10% of youth living with a parent (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). This finding that a high number of youth go missing from care is substantiated by many other studies with youth across Canada, the United States (U.S.), and world-wide (Dalley 2007; Kerr and Finlay 2006; Biehal and Wade 1999; Biehal and Wade 2000)

Social exclusion explains why youth are at risk of going missing from care. It is important to note that in many cases youth end up in care if they have experienced violence,

witnessed violence between caregivers, or caregivers have a serious substances abuse problem or are otherwise unable to provide proper care (James et al. 2008; Dalley 2007). Moreover, youth coming into care often suffer from other forms of disadvantage such as mental health problems and exclusion from school (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). In other words, youth in care often experience family decay, poverty, disadvantage, and other risk factors associated with going missing.

Moreover, several studies explore the specific reasons youth flee from care, confirming that social exclusion is a prominent factor behind going missing from care (Biehal and Wade 1999; Biehal and Wade 2000; Kerr and Finlay 2006; Public Health Agency of Canada 2006; Social Exclusion Unit 2002). For example, similar to all youth, youth in care often flee in order to re-establish connections with family or friends (Kerr and Finlay 2006; Biehal and Wade 2000). There are also some unique reasons for fleeing from care. Specifically, studies with youth in care indicate that boredom or feelings that they had been placed in improper or inappropriate environments caused many to flee (Kerr and Finlay 2006). Another study shows that youth in care are often not used to following rules and react by running away when rules and boundaries are imposed on them in care facilities (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). Finally, youth in care may be surrounded by peers who have runaway before and who subject other youth to peer pressure to flee from care (Kerr and Finlay 2006).

Youth in care are often at risk if they go missing. Similar to all runaway youth, youth who flee from care are at risk of being victimized while missing. Youth in care are also at risk of becoming involved in criminal activities in order to subsist such as theft, drugs, and prostitution (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). Moreover, youth who flee from care often return to the people and places they were apprehended from. This exposes them to the dangers that their placement

in care was intended to protect them from (Smith et al. 2005). For example, if youth were removed from homes due to abuse or neglect they risk being re-victimized if they return to these people and places. In other words, youth in care are often marginalized and disadvantaged and running away from care exposes them to greater harm.

Aboriginal people

Aboriginal people are another excluded group who go missing in high numbers in Canada. Specifically, in Saskatchewan, Police data show that between 1940 and 2010, 50 out of 104 or 48% of people who went missing and were not yet located are Aboriginal (Saskatchewan Association of Chiefs of Police 2010). According to the 2006 Census, Aboriginal people represent about 14.9% of the total population in Saskatchewan (Statistics Canada 2007). Therefore, Aboriginal people are overrepresented among outstanding missing persons in Saskatchewan compared to the total population of Aboriginal people in this province. Moreover, the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) (2009) provides evidence that 520 Aboriginal women have gone missing over the past few decades. In many cases these women have been murdered or remain missing (Native Women's Association of Canada 2009).

Aboriginal people experience social exclusion in many areas of their lives including, poverty, spatial segregation on Aboriginal reserves, labour market exclusion, and isolation from family and communities (Amnesty International 2004). For example, in 2005, 21.7% of Aboriginal people in Canada reported incomes below the Low Income Cut-off (LICO) compared to 11.1% of the general population (Noël and Larocque 2009). Moreover, spatial segregation occurs on Aboriginal reserves which are characterized by high levels of poverty, persistent

unemployment, crime, mental illness, suicide, and lack of affordable housing and healthcare (Amnesty International 2004; Noël and Larocque 2009). For example, in 1996 the unemployment rate for Aboriginal people on reserves was 29% compared to 10% for non-Aboriginals (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics 2001b). Further, reserves are often geographically isolated from city centres and it can be costly for Aboriginal people to travel to neighbouring towns for employment and other opportunities. Aboriginal people may flee from their homes to escape precarious circumstances on reserves and to seek out greater opportunities in city centres and can be reported missing by friends and family left behind (Amnesty International 2004).

Aboriginal people who flee to city centres continue to experience disproportionately high levels of poverty, homelessness, and other types of disadvantage associated with going missing. A national survey in Canada found that in 1998 125,000 Aboriginal people living off reserves had incomes below the Low Income Cut-off (LICO) (Burnstein 2005). This represents approximately 18% of all Aboriginal people living off reserves (Statistics Canada 2003). Aboriginal people living off reserves also experience social isolation and loneliness from family, particularly if they fled reserves to escape adverse conditions such as violence and abuse at home. The combination of poverty and social isolation means that Aboriginal people are at risk of homelessness and other dangerous circumstances that are linked with going missing (Amnesty International 2004). Homelessness in relation to going missing is discussed below.

Ethnicity

Visible minorities go missing in high numbers and many minority groups experience social exclusion. There is very little research in Canada that explores the ethnicity of missing people. One study in B.C. found that out of 2,418 outstanding missing persons' cases received between 1950 and 2005, 1,542 of these were white, 555 were non-white, and in 193 cases the ethnicity was not recorded (Patterson 2005). International studies with missing persons confirm that visible minorities go missing in high numbers (Newiss 2004; Tarling & Burrows 2004; Biehal et al. 2003). For example, one study in the United Kingdom (U.K.) found that of people reported missing to a charitable organization, 7% were black, 5% were Asian origin, and 1% was mixed ethnic background (Biehal et al. 2003). Another U.K. study showed that visible minorities were overrepresented among missing persons compared to the general population (Newiss 2004).

The concept of social exclusion suggests why visible minorities face a disproportionate risk of going missing compared to the general population. Specifically, visible minorities are vulnerable to poverty, unemployment, and other forms of disadvantage (Burnstein 2005; Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics 2001a). For example, in Canada visible minorities are twice as likely to have incomes below the Low Income Cut-off (LICO) compared to other Canadians (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics 2001a). Moreover, in Ontario visible minorities experience higher unemployment rates compared all people (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada 2009). In other words minority groups are likely to experience social and economic disadvantage and other circumstances associated with going missing.

Homelessness

There is very little research which explores the relationship between homelessness and going missing. One reason for the deficiency of research in this area is that homeless people are unlikely to have anyone in their social circle that notices their disappearance and is willing to file a missing persons report (James et al. 2008). In other words, homeless people often go unreported if they go missing. In Australia anecdotal evidence provided by staff from emergency care facilities for homeless people indicates that many of their clients were suspected to be missing people (James et al. 2008). Moreover, research agrees that homelessness is an outcome of going missing. For example, if people flee precarious situations at home they may end up in emergency shelters or on the streets.

The concept of social exclusion highlights several reasons why homelessness is associated with going missing. People who are homeless often lack ties to families, friends, and other conventional support networks, and experience barriers to employment before becoming homeless (Lee and Schreck 2005; Lee and Price-Spratlen 2004; Richter and Chaw-Kant 2008; Gaetz 2004; Gaetz and O'Grady 2002). Homelessness generally exacerbates these conditions. The extreme social and economic isolation experienced by homeless people is referred to as "disaffiliation" and leads often to "chronic residential instability" (Lee and Schreck 2005: 1060). Chronic residential instability means jumping between shelters, the streets, or anywhere else that a person can secure accommodation even for one night. "Chronic residential instability" is one reason for the high number of homeless people who are reported missing. Specifically, if people leave a shelter without notice, shelter staff are obligated to file a missing persons report even if

the missing person is an adult. In other words, homelessness and aspects related to being homeless such as a transient lifestyle are associated with going missing.

Domestic violence

Domestic violence leads to women's disappearances (Patterson 2005; Association of Chief Police Officers 2005; James et al. 2008; Biehal et al. 2003) and victims of domestic violence often experience social and economic exclusion. The link between domestic violence and missing persons is confirmed by studies in the United Kingdom (U.K.) and Australia (Biehal et al. 2003; Association of Chief Police Officers 2005; James et al. 2008). Women who flee their homes to escape violence are often reported missing by family members or friends who are concerned about their well being or by their spouse or partner. In other cases women escaping violent relationships are forced to reside in Women's Shelters and a high number of women are reported missing from these shelters.

Abused women often experience economic and social disadvantage (Public Health Agency of Canada 2008). Poverty and disadvantage make it difficult to access support services and resources required to cope with violence and escape abuse (Public Health Agency of Canada 2008). Moreover, compared to non-abused women, abused women are less likely to have access to social support networks such as family and friends (Kantor and Jasinski 1998). Finally, many abused women are financially dependent on their partners and men use economic abuse to control their partners. Economic abuse includes preventing women from working, going to school, and controlling the family finances (Gondolf 1988). Social isolation and loneliness means that women have few resources to rely on to escape abuse. Moreover, women who flee

abusive relationships and sever ties with their partners temporarily or permanently often experience poverty and homelessness (Novac 2006). As noted above, these are both risk factors in peoples' disappearances.

Summary

Linking missing persons research with the concept of social exclusion shows that excluded groups are reported missing in high numbers and demonstrates that social exclusion is related directly and indirectly to peoples' disappearances. This study of missing persons introduces a comparison group from the general population to explore which excluded groups face a high risk of going missing. Moreover, group differences associated with social exclusion, such as gender, ethnicity, and labour market exclusion which have not been adequately assessed in Canadian research are explored.

Long Term Disappearances and Social Exclusion

Disappearances vary in length from people who are missing for a day or two to people who are never found. Anyone who goes missing can be exposed to harm. However, the risk of encountering harm may increase as a disappearance grows longer (Newiss 2005; Ministry of Justice and Attorney General 2010). Long term disappearances place tremendous strain on police services who must continue to search for the missing person until their whereabouts or well-being is established. Finally, long term disappearances cause considerable emotional, psychological, and financial strain for family and friends (Henderson and Henderson 1998). Therefore, to mitigate the risk to missing persons, limit financial costs, and prevent stress and strain on families, locating missing persons and connecting people with appropriate resources

should be a priority. Yet, there are few studies in Canada that explore the duration of disappearances.

Two Canadian studies explore the characteristics of people who were reported missing and have not yet been found, or outstanding missing persons. One study in British Columbia (B.C.) analyzed 2,290 outstanding missing persons' reports recorded by the Canadian Police Information Centre (CPIC) between 1950 and 2004 (Patterson 2005). A slightly more recent B.C. study analyzed 1,907 outstanding missing persons cases[5] stored on CPIC between 1949 and 2007 (Cohen et al. 2008). In Saskatchewan statistics are maintained about all people who were reported missing and remain missing after six months (Saskatchewan Association of Chiefs of Police 2010).

Several international studies offer some insights about the characteristics of people who remain missing for long periods of time (Hirschel and Lab 1988; Biehal et al. 2003; Tarling and Burrows 2004; Social Exclusion Unit 2002). For example, one study in the United States (U.S.) examined police reports made in one city in 1984 in order to identify some characteristics of long term disappearances (Hirschel and Lab 1988). Finally, a study in the United Kingdom (U.K.) based on questionnaires mailed to missing persons who had been traced and located also provides insight into who may be at risk of a long term disappearance (Biehal et al. 2003). This U.K. study also offers some insight into the reasons behind long term disappearances (Biehal et al. 2003).

[5] Two hundred and twenty-seven cases were discarded as they became cleared during the data collection phase of the project and 65 case files were unavailable for coding and an additional 81 were coded but not available for analysis in time to be included in the analysis.

The abovementioned research is inadequate for understanding who is at risk of a long term disappearance and why. Specifically, the aforementioned research has not incorporated sociological theory to understand the reasons and risks associated with long term disappearances. Instead, these studies offer a description of the characteristics of outstanding missing persons and are designed primarily to improve police protocol for handling long term cases. Moreover, none of the aforementioned research compares the outstanding or long term cases with other missing persons' cases that were cancelled quickly. Without a proper comparison group it is impossible to identify risk factors in long term disappearances.

In the United Kingdom (U.K.) one study did compare 1,111 long term disappearances with a national sample of 32,000 cancelled missing persons reports (Newiss 2005). The results of this U.K. study offer insight about which groups were overrepresented among long term disappearances compared to all missing persons and risk factors in long term disappearances (Newiss 2005). However, the risk factors explored were limited to age, ethnicity, and gender. Moreover, this study did not incorporate sociological theory to understand why particular groups faced a high risk of a long term disappearance. Without the application of sociological theory to understand and explain long term disappearances it is likely that important variables have been overlooked.

The concept of social exclusion provides important insight into why particular groups face a high risk of a long term disappearance. People and groups who are disadvantaged lack access to the supports and resources that are required to cope with adversity and resort instead to going missing to cope with negative life events. Going missing, in many cases, pushes people even further towards the margins of society. For example, some people who go missing end up on the streets where they lack access to housing, employment, income, and other conventional

social supports (Gaetz 2004). As a result of extreme deprivation, people and groups who go missing lack the ability to (re)connect with mainstream society and institutions, leading to long term disappearances. In other words, not only are excluded groups at risk of going missing, they may also be at risk of a long term disappearance.

The following section reviews what is known about long term disappearances in Canada and world-wide. This review also incorporates insight from the concept of social exclusion to determine who may be at risk of a long term disappearance. Specifically, youth, women, Aboriginal people, other visible minorities, and people reported missing from shelters, and group/foster homes are hypothesized to be overrepresented among long term disappearances. Moreover, it is hypothesized that people who do not return on their own will be at risk of a long term disappearance. This group may be escaping particularly dire circumstances such as violence and abuse and may be at risk of a long term disappearance rather than return to perilous circumstances at home. It is important to note that this group who does not return on their own may have remained missing for even longer had they not been traced and located.

Age

Canadian studies indicate that a large number of outstanding missing persons are adults (Patterson 2005; Cohen et al. 2008). For example, according to one study in British Columbia (B.C.) the mean age of outstanding missing persons at the time of their disappearance was 39 years old (Cohen et al. 2008). The study goes on to note that a very small proportion of the outstanding sample consisted of youth (Cohen et al. 2008). Similarly, a study in the United Kingdom (U.K.) shows that adults were overrepresented among long term disappearances

compared to cancelled cases (Newiss 2005). Specifically, 74% of long term missing persons were adults compared to 45% of the cancelled cases (Newiss 2005). Moreover this U.K. study showed that the proportion of missing adults to youth increased as the duration of the disappearance increased (Newiss 2005). The ratio of adults to youth was 3:1 for people missing for one or two years and this increased to 7:1 for disappearances longer than seven years (Newiss 2005). Finally, a study of police reports made in one American city found that the percentage of adults missing for three days or more was slightly higher compared to youth (Hirschel and Lab 1988). Specifically, 21% of adults compared to only 18% of people under 18 were missing for longer than three days (Hirschel and Lab 1988). Therefore, most of the evidence suggests that adults are more likely to remain missing for long periods of time compared to youth.

The results of past research which show that a high number of long term disappearances are adults must be interpreted with caution as it is highly likely that public perceptions about who is vulnerable impact the results. Specifically youth may be perceived to be more vulnerable compared to adults and, as a result, there may be greater effort expended on tracing and locating youth. This is one possible reason for shorter disappearances among youth compared to adults. Moreover, differences in how long term disappearances are defined need also to be considered. First, past research on the duration of disappearances is largely based on unresolved cases (Patterson 2005; Cohen et al. 2008; Newiss 2005). By comparison, this research defines long term disappearances as lasting eight days or more. Differing definitions of a long term disappearance may impact the findings about who is at risk of a long term disappearance. Finally, past research on long term disappearances does not incorporate sociological theory to understand why people remain missing for a long period of time. Sociological theory is well suited to exploring and explaining the underlying causes of a social phenomenon, such as going

missing. By comparison this research relies on the concept of social exclusion and an intersectional perspective to explore a multitude of relevant factors in the risk of a long term disappearance.

From a theoretical perspective, the concept of social exclusion explains why youth may be at risk of a long term disappearance. First, youth are generally reliant on family for financial support and well-being. If youth go missing they sever ties with family, teachers, and other vital support networks. Moreover, if youth go missing, many end up homeless and on the streets. Life on the streets limits opportunities to participate in education, training, employment, and other activities (Gaetz 2004; Social Exclusion Unit 2002). Street youth are also exposed to tremendous danger such as drugs, unsafe sexual practices, crime, and prostitution (Gaetz 2004). As a result of extreme deprivation, missing youth may have difficulty (re)connecting with mainstream society and institutions such as family. For some youth family dissolution is brought about by violence, abuse, and neglect. For youth who are escaping violence and abuse, it may be unsafe to reconnect with family and these youth may remain missing for extended periods of time. Therefore, social exclusion indicates that young people face a high risk of a long term disappearance.

Gender

Studies in Canada show that a high number of outstanding missing persons are men (Cohen et al. 2008; Patterson 2005). For example, one study of outstanding missing persons in British Columbia (B.C.) found that 82% of the sample was male (Cohen et al. 2008). Moreover, in the United Kingdom (U.K.) a study indicates that men outnumbered women among long term

disappearances (Newiss 2005). Specifically, in this U.K. study, among long term disappearances, 60% were male and 40% female (Newiss 2005). By comparison the proportion of males to females was equal among all missing persons (Newiss 2005). Therefore, these aforementioned studies indicate that more males than females remained missing either indefinitely or for more than one year.

Moreover, in the United Kingdom (U.K.) one study found that among young runaways boys are more likely to experience a long term disappearance compared to girls (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). In Canada, studies with homeless youth indicate that males outnumber females, typically by a ratio of 2:1 (Gaetz et al. 2010). By comparison studies with missing youth indicate that women are more often reported missing than men (Dalley 2007). The fact that more women are reported missing whereas streets engaged youth are predominantly male suggests that males may face a higher risk of a long term disappearance. Therefore, the bulk of evidence indicates that males outnumber females among long term disappearances.

The findings from these aforementioned studies must be interpreted with caution as it is highly possible that public perceptions about vulnerability impact these results. For example, women may be perceived to be more vulnerable compared to men. As a result, there may be greater effort spent on tracing and locating women. Moreover, if women do go missing, they may be less likely to end up on the streets or to access services for the homeless compared to men. Instead women may rely on informal support networks including family and friends. In other words, fewer women may be officially identified as long term missing compared to men.

Furthermore, there are important differences in terms of how long term missing are defined and which variables are incorporated in this dissertation compared to past research that need to be considered. First, it is important to note that past research is based on studies of

outstanding missing persons, meaning people who have gone missing who have not yet been found. This research, by comparison, defines long term disappearances as lasting eight or more days. Second, studies of the duration of disappearances have not incorporated sociological theories to understand and explain who is at risk of a long term disappearance. As a result, important variables that help to explain the relationship between gender and the risk of a long term disappearance may have been missed. By comparison this research explores a multitude of variables associated with the concept of social exclusion that may operate simultaneously to impact the risk of a long term disappearance.

From a theoretical perspective, the concept of social exclusion indicates why women may be exposed to a high risk of a long term disappearance. First, women are more likely to earn less and to be precariously employed compared to men (Townson 2009; Cranford et al. 2003). Women are also more likely to be dependent on a partner for subsistence compared to men (Novac 2006). For women who are dependent on a partner for subsistence, family dissolution exposes them to poverty and homelessness. In other words, the extreme disadvantage women experience may in turn contribute to a high risk of a long term disappearance. In other cases, women who flee from violence and abuse may avoid returning home and instead remain missing for a long period of time. In other words, poverty, violence, and homelessness make it very difficult or undesirable for women to (re)connect with family, friends, and other conventional social networks. As a result, women may be at risk of a long term disappearances.

Aboriginal Identity

Studies in one Canadian province indicate that a high number of outstanding missing persons are Aboriginal (Patterson 2005; Cohen et al. 2008). For example, the most recent study of

outstanding missing persons in British Columbia (B.C.) found that 17% of the sample was Aboriginal (Cohen et al. 2008). Moreover, among outstanding missing persons Aboriginal females were overrepresented compared to the proportion of Caucasian females (Cohen et al. 2008). This finding suggests that ethnicity and gender should be considered in combination in order to understand the risk of a long term disappearance. In Saskatchewan a committee consisting of Indigenous people, police, and community groups concluded that approximately 60% of long term missing persons in the province were indigenous despite the fact that this group comprises about 6% of the provinces population (Amnesty International 2009). Finally, anecdotal evidence provided by the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) suggests that 520 Aboriginal women have gone missing over the past few decades and many of these cases remain unresolved (Native Women's Association of Canada 2009).

As discussed above, Aboriginal people experience exclusion in many areas of their lives, including poverty, spatial segregation on reserves, discrimination, and other forms of disadvantage. Social exclusion is implicated in the disappearances of Aboriginal women, and is also a factor in the high risk of a long term disappearance among this group. Specifically, the Native Women's Association of Canada (2009), implicates gender based violence, discrimination, poverty, a poor standard of living as paramount in understanding why so many Aboriginal persons, and women in particular go missing and remain missing for long periods of time (Native Women's Association of Canada 2009). For example, inadequate access to financial resources forces Aboriginal women to take risks with their safety, including hitch hiking between towns if they cannot afford vehicles and even engaging in prostitution for survival (Missing Women Commission of Inquiry 2012). These high risk activities have been implicated in the long term disappearances of an estimated 43 women in rural communities in

British Columbia (B.C.) (Missing Women Commission of Inquiry 2012). In other words, discrimination, poverty, and disadvantage are associated with a high risk of a long term disappearance for Aboriginal people. Aboriginal women face an especially high risk of a long term disappearance.

Ethnicity

Visible minorities will be likely to experience a long term disappearances. In Canada both studies in British Columbia (B.C.) found a high number of visible minorities among outstanding missing persons (Patterson 2005; Cohen et al. 2008). For example, of all people reported missing between 2000 and 2004 who remain missing, 33% were minorities, a gross overrepresentation compared to the proportion of minorities in the general population (Patterson 2005). In the United Kingdom (U.K.) a study of long term missing persons suggests that the ethnicity of long term missing persons also differed from cancelled missing persons cases (Newiss 2005). Moreover, a study by the Social Exclusion Unit (2002) in the U.K. found that youth from communities highly populated by visible minorities were more likely than other youth to remain missing for a long period of time.

The social exclusion of minorities explains the high risk of a long term disappearance among this group. Minorities in Canada face higher levels of unemployment and precarious employment compared to other Canadians (Cranford et al. 2003). For example, a Canadian study shows that Black and Latin Americans have higher unemployment rates compared to other minorities (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics 2001a). Another Canadian study found that minorities were overrepresented among people who were employed in precarious types of jobs,

characterized by low job security, no unions or worker control over the labour process, low wages, and poor work conditions (Cranford et al. 2003). Minority groups face disadvantage in other areas of their lives. For example visible minorities face barriers to social mobility and social participation (Reitz 2003). As a result of extreme disadvantage, not only are minority groups at risk of going missing, they are also at risk of a long term disappearance.

Homelessness

Loss of family connections appears to be particularly important in terms of understanding the duration of disappearances. For example, one study in the United Kingdom (U.K.) shows that both adults and youth who went missing for reasons related to relationship breakdown were likely to remain missing for long periods of time, especially if the disappearance was related to severe conflict at home (Biehal et al. 2003). This U.K. study goes on to report that missing people who cited relationship breakdown as the reason behind their disappearance were often attempting to break away from family completely in order to escape violence and abuse (Biehal et al. 2003). Another study indicates that long term disappearances are common among throw aways, or youth who were forced out of the home (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). Finally, studies suggest that youth who go missing from care remain missing for longer compared to those who flee from home (Kerr and Finlay 2006).

The extreme significance of family ties in peoples' well-being indicates that homeless people and youth fleeing from group homes and foster homes will be at risk of a long term disappearance. Youth in care have generally been removed from caregivers who were neglectful, abusive, and unable to provide for their well-being. These youth often lack access to

vital resources and a sense of well-being that go along with stable family relationships. Care placements may compound disadvantage for youth who may encounter bullying, abuse, and other trauma while in care. Going missing often intensifies experiences of disadvantage for these youth exposing them to victimization, crime, and other hardships. As a result of extreme disadvantage, youth who flee from care are at risk of a long term disappearance.

Among adults, homelessness is associated with lack of access to important social networks such as family and friends, employment, income, and other conventional social networks such as colleagues and work-place acquaintances. Homeless adults also experience disaffiliation, meaning that over time, they lose touch with mainstream resources and conventional social networks (Lee and Schreck 2005). For example, frequent moves between shelters often results in a loss of contact with family and friends (Lee and Schreck 2005). Moreover, drug use, mental health problems, victimization, involvement in criminal activity and other subsistence activities often inhibit reintegration into mainstream society. As a result of extreme disadvantage homeless people may have great difficulty (re)establishing ties with mainstream society and institutions and, as a result, are at risk of a long term disappearance.

Returned on own

Whether or not someone returns on their own may be related to the duration of a persons' disappearance. Specifically, people who do not return on their own are expected to be at risk of a long term disappearance. The central argument is that people who do not return on their own are escaping the most severe circumstances such as violence or sexual abuse. In order to avoid returning to these aforementioned circumstances, they remain missing unless located and returned by police or some other search agency. In other words, on account of extreme

deprivation and disadvantage people who do not return on their own are at risk of a long term disappearance.

Few studies have looked specifically, at differences between people who return on their own versus those who are traced and located by police, family, or another search agency. However, one study in the United Kingdom (U.K.) indicates that there may be a relationship between whether or not someone returned on their own and the reason underlying their disappearance, and this in turn impacts the duration of their disappearances (Biehal et al. 2003). Specifically, this U.K. study shows that disappearances that occurred as a result of relationship breakdown were often lengthy in duration and the missing person was unlikely to return on their own (Biehal et al. 2003). This group consisted of women escaping domestic violence and adults in conflict with parents over a variety of issues (Biehal et al. 2003). Similarly among missing and runaway youth, those who remained missing for long periods of time and failed to return on their own were often escaping severe conflict at home whereas others who returned after brief disappearances may have been escaping more minor issues or disagreements at home (Biehal et al. 2003).

In other words, people who do not return on their own may be missing for longer compared to those who do return on their own. These long term disappearances may in turn reflect their reasons for going missing (Biehal et al. 2003). Specifically, those who fail to return on their own may be the most disadvantaged in that they are escaping from severe abuse, neglect, conflict, and other dire circumstances. This is one important way that social exclusion may be related to the duration of peoples' disappearances.

Summary

Therefore several studies indicate that the characteristics of people who experience long term disappearances may differ from short term disappearances (Newiss 2005; Cohen et al. 2008; Patterson 2005). Linking this aforementioned research with the concept of social exclusion indicates that people who are the most disadvantaged may be at the greatest risk of a long term disappearance. Unlike past research, this dissertation systematically compares long term disappearances with short term disappearances on a number of variables to identify which excluded groups are at risk of a long term disappearance. Subsequently, multivariate analyses identify causal factors in a long term disappearance.

CHAPTER 3: DATA AND METHODS

Data Source

The data for this research consist of a systematic[6] sample derived from 2,896 missing persons reports made to a police service in one Canadian city between January and December 2006. The researcher read one-quarter of these missing persons' reports[7]. Information about the demographic characteristics such as age, gender, and ethnicity, where people were reported missing from, labour force status, and other information was collected from a total of 724 missing persons' occurrence reports[8]. Data from the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada Census, 2006. Therefore the missing persons' data and data from the general population were gathered from the same city in 2006.

However, comparing police data and census data is problematic for several reasons. Specifically, police data and Census data are collected for different purposes, using different strategies and, therefore, the two data sets are not always directly comparable. For example, Statistics Canada uses more categories than the police service to code ethnicity. Also, the Census does not include homeless people and people living in institutions. One of the goals of

[6]The first missing persons report was selected using a table of random numbers. Following that, every fourth case was selected until the records were exhausted, resulting in the sample of 724 missing persons reports.

[7]Reports are logged if a concerned family member, friend, social service worker, or other individual contacts the police either via telephone or in person. However the researcher has no information about whether all cases are logged and, if not, whether cases not logged differ in some important way from cases that are accepted.

[8]As every fourth case was selected, these data represent incidents not individuals. Therefore, it is probable that some individuals will be included more than once within these data.

this research is to explore the relationship between homelessness, youth residing in care facilities, and going missing. Therefore, statistics about shelter use and homelessness in the general population in this city were obtained from a report by the Social Planning and Research Council (2007) in this city. Data about the number of youth in Ontario who reside in group homes and foster homes were obtained from a study by the Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies (2006). The data from the general population were entered into spreadsheets in SPSS to be compared with the missing persons' data.

The University Review Ethics Board (REB) requires that ethics approval is obtained and maintained by the researcher for the duration of the research process. Ethics approval for this particular research project was obtained from the Review Ethics Board (REB) at the University of Waterloo on several conditions. The first condition was that the name of the city and the police service remain confidential. Anonymity for the missing persons was an additional requirement for ethics approval, meaning that the names, addresses and other personal identifiers of the missing people were removed from these data. Finally, the data set itself is stored on a password protected computer. No hardcopies of the missing persons reports are kept by the researcher, nor were these hardcopies ever removed from the police station which provided the data for this research.

Research Hypotheses

The following section lists the research hypotheses guiding this research. These hypotheses are based on the concept of social exclusion, an intersectional perspective, and a review of the

literature on missing persons. These hypotheses were presented in Chapter 1 of this dissertation. They are elaborated below.

Hypothesis #1. Members of socially excluded groups are at a disproportionately high risk of going missing. In other words, social exclusion is a risk factor in peoples' disappearances.

1.1 Youth will be overrepresented among missing persons compared to the general population

1.2 Aboriginal people will be overrepresented among missing persons compared to the general population

1.3 Women will be overrepresented among missing persons compared to the general population

1.4 Visible minorities will be overrepresented among missing persons compared to the general population

1.5 People who are unemployed and not in the labour force will be overrepresented among missing persons compared to the general population

1.6 Youth in care facilities such as group homes and foster homes will be overrepresented among missing persons compared to the general population

1.7 Homeless people will be overrepresented among missing persons compared to the general population

Hypothesis #2. Apart from simply being a risk factor, social exclusion is also causally related to peoples' disappearances. In other words social exclusion is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances. Specifically, social exclusion increases the probability of being reported missing[9].

[9] This analysis was limited by the type of information that is available about the general population. For example, it is not possible to obtain data that cross-classifies along all desired dimensions such as homeless status and age, gender, or minority status. In other words it is not possible to explore all potential causal factors.

2.1 Gender is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances

2.2 Aboriginal identity is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances

2.3 Labour force status is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances
i) Being unemployed is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances
ii) Being outside of the labour force is a causal factors in peoples' disappearances

2.4 Homelessness is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances

Hypothesis #3. The intersection of multiple characteristics is associated with peoples' disappearances. For example, the risk of going missing for someone who is both a woman and Aboriginal is higher compared to the risk to either women or Aboriginal people alone. In other words an interaction effect between particular risk factors is being proposed, meaning that if particular risk factors intersect a higher risk of going missing is expected than would have been predicted based on either category alone.

3.1 Young women will face a high risk of being reported missing

3.2 Young, Aboriginal women will face a high risk of being reported missing

3.3 Women who are unemployed and not in the labour force will face a high risk of being reported missing

3.4 Minority women will face a high risk of being reported missing

Hypothesis #4. Socially excluded groups will be at a disproportionately high risk of a long term disappearances compared to short term disappearances. In other words, social exclusion is a risk factor in a long term disappearance.

4.1 Youth will be overrepresented among long term disappearances compared to short term disappearances

4.2 Females will be overrepresented among long term disappearances compared to short term disappearances

4.3 Aboriginal persons will be overrepresented among long term disappearances compared to short term disappearances

4.4 Visible minorities will be overrepresented among long term disappearances compared to short term disappearances

4.5 People missing from shelters and group/foster homes will be overrepresented among long term disappearances compared to short term disappearances

4.6 People who did not return on their own will be overrepresented among long term disappearances compared to short term disappearances

Hypothesis #5. Apart from simply being a risk factor, social exclusion is hypothesized to be causally related to long term disappearances. In other words, social exclusion is a causal factor in a long term disappearance. Specifically, social exclusion increases the probability of a long term disappearance. However, two of the variables – reported from a shelter and did not return on own may help to explain the effect of age, gender, and minority status on the likelihood of a long term disappearances. In other words, it is suspected that being reported missing from a shelter and not returning on one's own intervene in the relationship between age, gender, and minority status and long term disappearances.

5.1 Age is a causal factor in a long term disappearance

5.2 Gender is a causal factor in a long term disappearance

5.3 Visible minority status is a causal factor in a long term disappearance

5.4 Being reported missing from a shelter is a causal factor in a long term disappearance
i) Being reported missing from a shelter will intervene in the relationship between age, gender, and minority status and a long term disappearance

5.5 Not returning on one's own is a causal factor in a long term disappearance
i) Not returning on one's own will intervene in the relationship between age, gender, minority status, being reported missing from a shelter, and a long term disappearance

Data Analysis

The following section describes how the data for this dissertation are analyzed. A combination of univariate (descriptions), bivariate (cross-tabulations), and multivariate analyses explore the key hypotheses guiding this research. Chapter 4 tests hypothesis 1 – that excluded groups will be overrepresented among missing persons. To test this hypothesis missing persons' data are compared to data from the general population in order to identify groups who are overrepresented among missing persons and risk factors in peoples' disappearances. The dependent variable is "missing" or "not missing." The missing persons sample, representing one quarter of all missing persons reports made to a Canadian police service in 2006, is coded as "missing." The general population from this same city is coded as "not missing." The independent variables in this analysis represent possible risk factors, or groups who are expected to be at risk of going missing. As indicated in the hypotheses listed above, youth, females, Aboriginal people, other visible minorities, unemployed people, people not in the labour force, and people residing in a shelter or group/foster home are expected to be overrepresented among missing persons compared to the general population. Each of these groups is expected also to face a high risk of being reported missing.

To test the hypothesis that socially excluded groups will be overrepresented among missing persons, the missing persons data and data from the general population are entered into a spreadsheet in SPSS. The data are weighted to reflect disparate sample sizes between the missing persons sample consisting of 724 cases and the general population totalling slightly over 500,000. Groups who are overrepresented among missing persons compared to the general population are identified through cross-tabulations and chi-square tests. Phi coefficients or

Cramer's V statistics indicate the strength of the association[10]. Phi and Cramer's V are chi-square measures of association that adjust for sample size and the dimension of the table. This means that the magnitude of these measures of association can be compared even across divergent sample sizes and for cross-classification tables of differing dimensions. In this case, for example, chi-square tests determine whether Aboriginal people were overrepresented among missing persons compared to their proportion in the general population. Phi or Cramer's V are then examined to assess the strength of association between Aboriginal identity and going missing. This process is repeated for each of the independent variables. In the subsequent chapter, multivariate analysis determines whether particular risk factors are also causally related to peoples' disappearances.

In chapter 5 multivariate analysis tests hypothesis 2 - that social exclusion is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances. Based on the results of chapter 4, several variables have been identified that are also hypothesized to be causally related to peoples' disappearances. The dependent variable is a dichotomous variable coded as "missing" and "not missing." One quarter of all people reported missing to a Canadian police department in 2006 are coded as "missing" and the general population from this same city is coded as "not missing." The independent variables that are suspected to have a causal impact on being reported missing are gender, Aboriginal identity, and labour force status[11]. Specifically, being female, Aboriginal, unemployed, outside the labour force, and homeless is expected to increase the probability of being reported missing.

[10] Phi Statistics are calculated for 2 x 2 tables and Cramer's V statistics are used for larger tables.

[11] This analysis was limited by the type of information that is available about the general population. For example, it is not possible to obtain data that cross classifies the general population on age, gender, and ethnicity. In other words it is not possible to control for all relevant factors.

Multivariate analysis explores the relationship between one independent variable and the dependent variable while controlling for a third variable. First, cross-tabulations and chi-square tests determine which independent variables are related to the dependent variable -"missing" or "not missing." Phi or Cramer's V coefficients describe the strength of association between the two variables. Subsequently the original relationship is elaborated with the addition of a third variable, or control variable. "Partial" tables are calculated displaying the relationship between the initial independent variable and the dependent variable for each category of the control variable. Chi-square significance tests assess each partial table. Phi or Cramer's V statistics assess the strength of association of the variables in each partial table.The association between the initial independent variable and the dependent variable for each sub-group of the control are compared with each other and with the results from the bivariate table. If the magnitude of association (phi or Cramer's V) and the significance level of the chi-square statistic between the initial independent variable and the dependent variable is the same for each sub-group of the control and consistent with the association at the bivariate level, this supports the hypothesis of a causal relationship between the initial independent variable and being reported missing. If, however, the association between the initial independent variable and the dependent variable differ between sub-groups of the control variable or are not consistent with the bivariate relationship, a causal relationship is not supported. In this case, the statistical results and the temporal order of the variables will help to determine the nature of the relationship between the three variables. For example, if the relationship between the initial independent and the dependent variable is reduced to non-significance once a control variable is entered and the initial independent is antecedent to the control variable, this suggests that the third variable is intervening. A spurious relationship arises if the initial relationship disappears when a control

variable is added and this control variable is presumed to be a cause of both the initial variable and the dependent variable. Moreover, comparing the magnitude of measures of association may also highlight which groups face a particularly high risk.

Logistic regression is used to further assess the causal impact of gender, Aboriginal identity, labour force status, and homelessness on the likelihood of a long term disappearance. Logistic regression is well-suited for this analysis since the dependent variable is binary – "missing" or "not missing." Four separate logistic regression analyses test the following combinations of independent variables; gender and age, Aboriginal identity and age, labour force status and gender, and homelessness and gender. Logistic regression determines the independent effects of each independent variable on the odds of being reported missing while controlling for the other independent variable in the model. Due to the lack of suitable multi-way cross-classified data on the characteristics of non-missing persons, only certain risk factors could be included in multivariate analyses, and those risk factors could only be included in pairs. As a result, the familiar regression-type analyses including many risk factors could not be done.

In chapter 6 multivariate analyses test hypothesis 3 - that people will face a high risk of being reported missing if two or more characteristics associated with social exclusion intersect. Risk factors in peoples' disappearances were identified in chapter 4. In this chapter, multivariate analyses assess some of these risk factors in combination. The dependent variable is "missing" or "not missing." The specific combinations of independent variables that are explored are; age and gender for all persons, age and gender among Aboriginal persons, gender and labour force status, and ethnicity and gender[12]. Chi-square tests determine whether the relationship between two

[12]The combinations of risk factors that are assessed are limited by the data that is available from the general population.

independent variables and the dependent variable is significant. For example, age and gender are assessed in combination. The results of this analysis indicate whether the risk to young women is greater than would be expected based on the risk to either youth or women separately.

Chapter 7 and 8 examine the duration of peoples' disappearances. Chapter 7 tests the hypothesis that social exclusion is a risk factor in the likelihood of a long term disappearance. The dependent variable is binary coded as long term disappearances versus short term disappearances. A disappearance lasting eight days or more is coded as a long term disappearance and a disappearance of seven days or less is coded as a short term disappearance. The dependent variable was coded as a binary variable after several other options were explored and ruled out. First, the possibility of coding the duration of disappearances as a continuous variable representing peoples' disappearances in days from the day they were reported missing until they either returned or were found, was considered. However, since a substantial majority of people were missing for one, two, or three days, this variable is highly skewed in the positive direction. Highly skewed variables can pose problems for statistical analysis. Several transformations were applied to the duration of disappearances in an effort to normalize the highly skewed distribution. For example, the square root and log transformations were attempted. However the data remained positively skewed to an unacceptable degree even after these transformations were applied.

Therefore, the dependent variable was coded as a binary variable representing short term and long term disappearances. Long term disappearances are defined as lasting for eight or more days and short term disappearances include people missing for seven days or less. The decision to define long term disappearances as eight or more days was made for practical and substantive reasons elaborated below. First, eight days was selected in order to maximize the number of

days missing while still maintaining a sufficient proportion of people in this category. Specifically, eight days was selected to avoid problems associated with sparse data that arise if there are too few cases in a particular category. Sparse data causes a problem for statistical analysis. Second, evidence suggests that disappearances need not extend for years or even months for a person to encounter danger (Biehal et al. 2003; Social Exclusion Unit 2002). For example, in one year in the United Kingdom (U.K.), just under 15% of runaways, or 10,000 youth, reported that they had been the victims of physical or sexual assault while missing (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). In a study with missing adults, over one third reported that they had felt endangered while missing (Biehal et al. 2003). Specific risks include, sleeping on the streets, sexual exploitation, victimization, isolation, and loneliness (Biehal et al. 2003). In other words, (re)connecting missing persons with family, friends, and mainstream resources as quickly as possible should be a priority.

The independent variables that are suspected to be risk factors in a long term disappearance are drawn in part from chapter 4 and from a review of the literature on the duration of disappearances. Youth, females, Aboriginal persons, visible minorities, people reported missing from a shelter or group/foster home, and people who do not return on their own are expected to be at risk of a long term disappearance. Groups who are overrepresented among long term disappearances are identified through cross-tabulations and chi -square tests. Phi or Cramer's V statistics report the strength of association. Where measures of association are strong, this lends further support to the relationship between particular independent variables and long term disappearances. The results of these bivariate analyses provide insight into hypothesis 4 which suggests that social exclusion is a risk factor in long term disappearances. The

subsequent chapter relies on multivariate analysis to identify causal links between social exclusion and long term disappearances.

Chapter 8 relies on logistic regression to explore hypothesis 5 - that social exclusion is a causal factor in long term disappearances. The dependent variable is a dichotomous variable coded as long term disappearances versus short term disappearances. Long term disappearances are defined as lasting for eight days or more and short term disappearances are defined as seven days or less. Several of the independent variables that were significant at the bivariate level in chapter 7, are tested for their causal impact on long term disappearances. Age and gender, which were not significant at the bivariate level are assessed also in case of suppressor effects. Specifically, youth, women, minorities, people reported missing from a shelter, and people who did not return on their own are expected to be at risk of a long term disappearance.

Logistic regression tests the independent effects of each of the variables on the likelihood of a long term disappearance, while controlling for the other variables in the model. Two of the variables – reported from a shelter and did not return on own – are expected to help explain the impact of age, gender, and minority status on the likelihood of a long term disappearances. For example, it may be that visible minorities are more likely to rely on shelters and, as a result, face a higher likelihood of going missing. In other words, being reported missing from a shelter and not returning on one's own may play an intervening role in the relationship between age, gender, and minority status and long term disappearances.

To test the hypothesis that going missing from a shelter and not returning on one's own play an intervening role in the relationship between age, gender, and minority status and long term disappearances, the variables are entered in stages. Model one tests the relationship between age, gender, and minority status and long term disappearances. This model assesses the

independent effects of each one of the independent variables on long term disappearances, while controlling for the other two variables in the model. Model two adds a variable representing whether or not people were reported missing from a shelter. If the effect of any of the demographic variables that are significant in model one is reduced to non-significance in model two, this suggests that being reported from a shelter plays an intervening role between this variable and the likelihood of a long term disappearance. Model three elaborates on model two by including a variable representing whether or not someone returned on their own. Once again, if the coefficients for any of the variables that were significant in model two are reduced to non-significance in model three, this suggests that returned on own plays an intervening role.

CHAPTER 4: RISK FACTORS FOR MISSING PERSONS

Hypothesis #1: *Members of socially excluded groups are at a disproportionately high risk of being reported missing.*

The following chapter compares the characteristics of missing people with data from the general population to identify excluded groups who were overrepresented among missing persons in this city in 2006. A description of the dependent variable is presented in Table A4.1a in Appendix A. As discussed in chapter 2 above, past research on missing persons has identified youth, Aboriginal people, homeless people, youth in care facilities and women escaping domestic violence as groups who go missing in high numbers (Dalley 2007; Biehal et al. 2003; Social Exclusion Unit 2002; Native Women's Association of Canada 2009; James et al. 2008). Visible minorities, women, unemployed people, and people who are not in the labour force are also vulnerable to social exclusion (Percy-Smith 2000). It is hypothesized that each of the abovementioned groups will be overrepresented among missing persons and face a disproportionately high risk of being reported missing. A detailed list of the independent variables tested in this chapter is presented in Table B4.1b in Appendix A.

Background and Context

Prior to commencing with the results of this research this section presents a basic overview of the socio-demographic characteristics of the people residing in the city where these data were collected. This section will provide some context and insight about this city compared to Canada as a whole. This section is based on findings from the 2006 Statistics Canada Census. With respect to age, the median age and the proportion of the population who were 15 years and older

was on par with the average for all Canadians. With respect to gender, the percentage of males (48.7%) and females (51.3%) in the city where these data were collected was nearly identical to the percentages of males (49.0) and females (51.0) in the general population of Canada as a whole. Moreover, the results of the 2006 census showed that in the city where these data were collected approximately 25% of people were recent immigrants, compared to just under 20% of people Canada-wide who identified as recent immigrants. A higher percentage of people in this city identified as first generation immigrants compared to the percentage Canada-wide (31% in this city versus 23.9%Canada wide)[13]. Finally the percentage of the population in this city who identify as Aboriginal was 1.6% compared to the national average of about 3.7%.

With respect to marital relationships and family structure, the average number of people in married and common law relationships was almost identical to the national average in Canada. Similarly, the average number of people, both males and females, heading up lone parent families was also nearly identical to Canada-wide averages. Moreover, the median income for common law couples in 2005 was roughly $2,000 less than the national average. For lone parent families, the median income in 2005 was only very slightly less than the national average. It is noteworthy that both in this city and Canada-wide the median income for female lone parent families is much less than for men. For example, in the city where these data were collected the gap in earning between men and women who were lone parents in 2005 was $16,227. In Canada the median income for lone parent households headed up by men in 2005 was $47,153 compared to $34,350 for women who were lone parents, representing a gap in earning of $12,803. In other words, the income gap between these two groups was even greater in this city compared to the national average.

[13] First generation refers to people born outside of Canada who have immigrant status as well as non-permanent residents who are in Canada on work and study permits. A very small of this group are people born outside of Canada to Canadian citizens.

Finally, with respect to employment status, the unemployment rate in this city was nearly identical to the national average of 6.5%. The employment rate and participation rates were just slightly below the Canada-wide averages according to the 2006 Census. In terms of specific employment opportunities in this city, the leading source of employment was the manufacturing sector. Employment in the manufacturing sector appears to be giving way to employment in the health care field and education.

This information regarding the social-demographic characteristics, family structure, and employment opportunities in this city should be considered in relation to social exclusion. Moreover, it also has implications on social policies and strategies to promote inclusion. For example, the low earnings for single families headed by women, may explain women's poverty and social exclusion. The disparity in earnings between single mothers and fathers in this city, signals that policies at the municipal level are unsuccessful at opening up employment opportunities and subsidizing incomes for single mothers. Moreover, recall that structural unemployment is created as manufacturing industries move out of city centres and are even out-course abroad. Structural unemployment may play a profound role in causing social exclusion in a city that has historically been so dependent on the manufacturing sector for employment.

Missing Persons

As a starting point, baseline statistics on the prevalence of people reported missing in this city are reported. In 2006, the police service in this city with a population of approximately 500,000 people received 2,896 missing persons' reports. This is 0.57% of the people in this city, or a rate of 5.7 per 1,000 people. It is important to note that these data represent only people who were

reported missing. Although the extent of underreporting of missing persons in this city or in Canada is not known, the statistics reported in this dissertation are probably an underestimate of the number of missing persons.

Youth

Hypothesis 1.1 *Youth will be overrepresented among people reported missing*

Table 4.1 compares the age distributions of persons reported missing and the general population in this city. Young people 19 years of age and under accounted for 73% of all missing people in the sample, compared to 25% of the general population. The high proportion of youth among missing persons is accounted for by two groups – 10 to 14 year olds and 15 to 19 year olds. Both groups faced a disproportionate risk of being reported missing. About one quarter of the missing persons sample was 10 to 14 years old compared to 7% of the general population. Fifteen to 19 year olds made up slightly less than one half of the missing persons sample compared with only 7% of the general population. Every other age group was underrepresented among the sample of missing persons. Ten to 14 year olds were 5.3 times as likely as 20 to 24 year olds to be reported missing and 15 to 19 year olds were 9.8 times as likely – by far the highest risk of any age group. This supports the hypothesis that young people face a high risk of being reported missing.

In summary, the conclusions from this bivariate analysis are:

- Hypothesis 1.1 - that youth will be overrepresented among people reported missing – is supported: there is a higher proportion of youth among this sample of missing persons compared to the general population.

- Two groups of young people accounted for the vast majority of missing persons; specifically youth 10 to 14 years old and 15 to 19 years old accounted for approximately 70% of all missing persons and these two groups also faced a very high risk of being reported missing

Table 4.1 Missing Persons and the General Population, by Age Group

Age group	Percent of missing persons (25% sample)	Percent of general population	Missing persons as a percent of the general population	Relative risk (versus 20-24 year olds)
0 to 4	0.8	5.3	0.1	0.3
5 to 9	1.0	5.8	0.1	0.3
10 to 14	24.7	6.6	2.1	5.3
15 to 19	46.7	6.9	3.9	9.8
20 to 24	5.3	6.8	0.4	-
25 to 29	2.6	6.0	0.3	0.8
30 to 34	2.1	6.1	0.2	0.5
35 to 39	1.8	6.9	0.2	0.5
40 to 44	4.6	8.2	0.3	0.8
45 to 49	2.8	8.1	0.2	0.5
50 to 54	1.7	7.2	0.1	0.3
55 to 59	2.1	6.3	0.2	0.5
60+	4.0	19.7	0.1	0.3
Total percent	100.0	100.0	0.6	-
Total number	724	504,560		

Notes:
V= 0.067 p<0.001
$X^2 = 2292.55$, $df = 12$, $p < 0.001$
Source: Statistics for the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E (access date: 12 December 2010).

Gender

Hypothesis 1.2 *Women will be overrepresented among people reported missing*

Bivariate analysis compares the gender distribution of missing people and the general population. Table 4.2 shows that the relationship is significant. Specifically, 58% of the missing persons sample was female compared to 42% male. In the general population, the proportion of females to males is approximately equal (51% female and 49% male). Therefore, women were overrepresented among this sample of missing persons compared to the general population. Moreover, women faced a somewhat higher risk of being reported missing: the relative risk for women compared to men was 1.3. With respect to the measure of association, although the phi statistic is small in magnitude it is significant ($p<0.001$) meaning that the likelihood that this statistic was obtained by chance is small. There are no statistics currently available on the gender of all missing persons in Canada; however, a study in Australia based on national police data found that in 2005-2006, men and women were reported missing in about equal numbers (James et al. 2008).

In summary, the conclusions from this bivariate analysis are:

- Hypothesis 1.2 - that women will be overrepresented among people reported missing – is supported: there was a higher proportion of women among this sample of missing persons compared to the general population.
- Women faced a higher risk of being reported missing compared to men.

Table 4.2 Missing Persons and the General Population, by Gender

Gender	Percent of missing persons (25% sample)	Percent of general population	Missing persons as a percent of the general population	Relative risk (versus the other gender)
Female	58.0	51.0	0.7	1.3
Male	42.0	49.0	0.5	0.8
Total percent	100.0	100.0	0.6	-
Number unknown	1	697		
Total number	724	504,560		

Notes:
$\varphi = 0.005$ $p<0.001$
$X^2 = 12.791$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$

Source: Statistics for the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E= (access date: 12 December 2010).

Aboriginal Identity

Hypothesis 1.3 *Aboriginal people will be overrepresented among people reported missing*

To test the hypothesis that Aboriginal identity is a risk factor in peoples' disappearances bivariate analysis compares the distribution of Aboriginal people in the missing persons' sample and the general population. Table 4.3 shows that the chi-square and phi coefficient are significant, meaning that there is a relationship between these two variables. Moreover, table 4.3 shows that Aboriginal people were overrepresented among this sample of missing persons: they accounted for 4% of the sample and only 1.6% of the general population of this city. The relative risk to Aboriginal persons of being reported missing compared to other persons is 2.7. The phi statistic is small, but significant ($p<0.001$). This supports the hypothesis that Aboriginal identity is a risk factor in peoples' disappearances. No statistics are available on the Aboriginal

status of all missing persons in Canada. In two Canadian provinces, however, studies showed that a relatively high number of outstanding missing persons were Aboriginal (Saskatchewan Association of Chiefs of Police 2010; Patterson 2005; Cohen et al. 2008).

In summary, the conclusions from this bivariate analysis are:

- Hypothesis 1.3 - that Aboriginal people will be overrepresented among people reported missing – is supported: there was a higher proportion of Aboriginal people among this sample of missing persons compared to the general population.
- Aboriginal people faced a higher risk of being reported missing compared to non-Aboriginal people.

Table 4.3 Missing Persons and the General Population, by Aboriginal Identity

Aboriginal identity	Percent of missing persons (25% sample)	Percent of general population	Missing persons as a percent of the general population	Relative risk (versus the other identity)
Aboriginal	4.0	1.6	1.5	2.7
Not Aboriginal	96.0	98.4	0.6	0.4
Total percent	100.0	100.0	0.6	
Number unknown	5			
Total number	724	504,560		

Notes:
$\varphi = 0.007$ $p<0.001$
$X^2 = 26.949$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$

Source: Statistics for the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E (access date: 12 December 2010).

Ethnicity

Hypothesis 1.4 *Visible minorities will be overrepresented among people reported missing*

The ethnicities of missing persons and the general population are compared in table 4.4. The chi-square and phi coefficients indicate that the relationship between ethnicity and peoples' disappearances is significant. Overall, visible minorities were not overrepresented among persons reported missing: they accounted for about 15% of the missing persons sample and the general population. However, a closer inspection of these data reveals overrepresentation among Aboriginal people as discussed above, as well as Black people and Latin Americans, but underrepresentation of Chinese people, South Asians, and miscellaneous visible minorities. These findings suggest that some minority groups were overrepresented among missing persons and faced a high risk of being reported missing. With respect to the measure of association, the magnitude or strength of association is quite small, however the statistic is significant meaning the likelihood of obtaining a statistic of that magnitude by chance is low. There is very little information about the ethnicity of missing persons in Canada. However, the findings from this research are consistent with a study of homeless and runaway youth in Toronto which found that Aboriginal and Black youth were overrepresented among street youth compared to their numbers in the general population whereas South Asian and East Asian youth were underrepresented (Gaetz 2004).

In summary, the conclusions from this bivariate analysis are:

- Hypothesis 1.4 - that visible minorities will be overrepresented among people reported missing – is partly supported; Aboriginal, Black, and Latin Americans were

overrepresented while Chinese, South Asians, and other minorities were underrepresented compared to the general population.

- Aboriginal, Black, and Latin Americans also faced a higher risk of being reported missing compared to non-minorities.

Table 4.4 Missing Persons and the General Population, by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Percent of missing persons (25% sample)	Percent of general population	Missing persons as a percent of the general population	Relative risk (versus Not a visible minority)
Not a visible minority[1]	84.9	84.8	0.6	-
Aboriginal	4.0	1.5	1.6	2.6
Chinese	0.8	1.9	0.3	0.5
South Asian	0.4	3.0	0.1	0.2
Black	5.7	2.8	1.2	2.0
Latin American	1.8	1.1	1.0	1.7
Visible minority n.i.e.[2]	2.2	4.9	0.3	0.5
Total percent	100.0	100.0	0.6	-
Number unknown	5			
Total number[3]	724	497,395		

Notes:
V = 0.013 p<0.001
$X^2 = 86.252$, $df = 6$, $p < 0.001$

[1]"Not a visible minority" includes everyone who was not Aboriginal or a member of any minority group.
[2]"Not included elsewhere," includes Guyanese, West Indian, Kurd, Tibetan, Polynesian, Pacific Islander, Filipino, Arab, Japanese etc.
[3] Data for ethnicity from the general population are based on a 20% sample and population totals are slightly different from those in other tables that are based on 100% data.

Source: Statistics for the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E= (access date: 12 December 2010).

Labour Force Status

Hypothesis 1.5 *People who are unemployed and people who are not in labour force will be overrepresented among people reported missing*

To test the hypothesis that labour force status is a risk factor in peoples' disappearances, table 4.5 explores the distribution of missing persons and the general population 15 years and older who are unemployed and outside of the labour force. Table 4.5 shows that people who were not in the labour force[14] and unemployed people were overrepresented among this sample of missing persons and faced a disproportionate risk of being reported missing compared to the general population[15]. People outside the labour force accounted for 70% of missing persons compared to 35% of the general population. People who were outside the labour force had a risk of being reported missing 10 times greater than employed persons aged 15 years and older. Once again, the magnitude of the Cramer's V statistic is small indicating only a weak relationship between the two variables. However, the Cramer's V is significant ($p<0.001$).

Unemployed persons accounted for 23% of this sample compared to 4% of the general population. The relative risk of being reported missing for unemployed persons 15 years and older compared to employed persons was 26.0. These findings support the hypothesis that unemployed people and people not in the labour force faced a disproportionately high risk of being reported missing. Studies in Canada have not explored the labour force status of missing persons. However, in the United Kingdom (U.K.), mailed questionnaires completed by 65 adults

[14] People who are not in labour force include students, retired persons, people who are caring for family members and relatives, and dependent spouses and partners.

[15] Due to a large amount of missing data it should be noted that the numbers for labour force status refer to a small proportion of the missing persons cases.

reported missing after their return, showed that just over one third were unemployed immediately prior to going missing (Biehal et al. 2003). These results about labour force and going missing must be interpreted with caution as they refer to people 15 years and older. Young people in their mid to late teens may not have strong attachments to the labour force.

In summary, the conclusions from this bivariate analysis are:

- Hypothesis 1.5 - that people who are unemployed and not in the labour force will be overrepresented among people reported missing – is supported: there were higher proportions of these two groups compared to the general population.
- Compared to employed persons, people who were unemployed and not in the labour faced a high risk of being reported missing.

Table 4.5 Labour force Status of Missing Persons and the General Population 15 years and older

	Percent of missing persons sample with known labour force status (25% sample)	Percent of general population	Missing persons as a percent of the general population	Relative risk (versus employed persons)
Employed	7.8	60.4	0.1	-
Unemployed	22.5	4.2	2.6	26.0
Not in labour force	69.7	35.3	1.0	10.0
Total percent	100.0	100.0	0.5	-
Number unknown	215			
Total number	294	407,590		

Notes
V = 0.044 p<0.001
X^2 =461.687, *df* = 2, *p* < 0.001

Source: Statistics for the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E (access date: 12 December 2010).

Homelessness and Shelter Use

Hypothesis 1.6 *people who reside in shelters will be overrepresented among people reported missing*

Bivariate analysis explores the distribution of shelter users in the missing persons sample and the general population. Table 4.6 below shows that there is a significant relationship between

residing in a shelter and being reported missing. People who relied on shelters[16] were overrepresented among missing persons compared to the general population in this city and faced a disproportionate risk of being reported missing. Approximately 16% of the missing persons sample was reported missing from a shelter whereas only 1.1% of the general population relied on a shelter. Thus, shelter users were more than 16 times as likely to be reported missing compared to the general population. The phi statistic is quite small but significant, lending support to the conclusion that there is a relationship between homelessness and going missing, albeit weak. For the most part, people missing from shelters were reported by shelter staff. One study in the United Kingdom (U.K.) also found a high number of homeless people went missing (Biehal et al. 2003). These findings support the hypothesis that homelessness is a risk factor in peoples' disappearances.

[16] Shelters include homeless shelters and Violence Against Women shelters.

Table 4.6 Shelter Use Among Missing Persons and the General Population

Where missing from	Percent of missing persons (25% sample)	Percent of general population	Missing persons as a percent of the general population	Relative risk (versus Other)
Shelter	15.7	1.1	8.1	16.2
Other	84.3	98.9	0.5	-
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	0.6	-
Number unknown	4			
Total number	724	504,560		

Notes:
$\varphi = 0.052$ $p<0.001$
$X^2 = 1367.721$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$

Source: Statistics about shelter use in the general population were obtained from the Social Planning and Research Council (SPRC) (2007).

Table 4.7 shows that among shelter users, females were much more likely than males to be reported missing. Specifically, female shelter users were 5 times as likely to be reported missing compared to males. Moreover, among persons reported missing from a shelter, 80% were female and 20% male. By comparison, females accounted for only about 44% of all shelter users and 56% were male (Social Planning and Research Council 2007). A closer look at these data shows that 88% of women reported missing from a shelter were in a Violence Against Women (VAW) shelter. The magnitude of the phi statistic has increased compared to earlier tables and it is significant, strongly suggesting that there is a relationship between gender, homelessness, and going missing. According to a Canadian study, approximately 75% of women who rely on VAW shelters are escaping domestic violence (Sauvé and Burns 2009). The high number of women in this sample who were reported missing from a VAW shelter highlights the role that

domestic violence plays in women's disappearances. This finding about the relationship between domestic violence and going missing is supported by research in Canada (Gaetz 2004) and worldwide (Association of Chief Police Officers 2005; James et al. 2008). It is important to note that shelter staff are typically obligated to file a missing persons report if women do not return to shelters by a designated time. This might explain, in part, the high number of women reported missing from shelters.

Table 4.7 The Gender Distribution of Shelter Users in the Missing Persons Sample and of All Shelter Users

Gender	Percent of missing shelter users (25% sample)	Percent of all shelter users	Missing shelter users as a percent of all shelter users	Relative risk (versus the other gender)
Female	80.5	44.0	14.5	5.0
Male	19.5	56.0	2.9	0.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	8.6	
Number unknown	0			
Total number	113	5,594		

Notes:
$\varphi = 0.100$ $p<0.001$
$X^2 = 56.313$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$

Source: Statistics about shelter use in the general population were obtained from the Social Planning and Research Council (SPRC) (2007).

In summary, the conclusions from these bivariate analyses are:

- Hypothesis 1.6 - that people who reside in shelters will be overrepresented among people reported missing – is supported: there was a higher proportion of shelter users in this sample of missing persons compared to the general population and shelter users faced a high risk of being reported missing.

- Shelter users faced a high risk of being reported missing.
- Female shelter users faced an especially high risk of being reported missing.

Group/Foster Homes

Hypothesis 1.7 *People who reside in group/foster homes will be overrepresented among people reported missing*

To test the hypothesis that residing in care is a risk factor in peoples' disappearances table 4.8 explores the distribution of youth in care among missing persons and the general population. Table 4.8 shows that the relationship between being in care and being reported missing is significant. According to the phi statistic of 0.389 this relationship is quite strong. Table 4.8 shows that youth in care were greatly overrepresented among people reported missing and faced an extremely disproportionate risk of being reported missing compared to all youth. Fifty-seven percent of all youth reported missing were in care; whereas less than 1% of youth in the general population reside in care (Ontario Association of Children's Aid Services 2006). Thus, youth in care were more than 200 times as likely to be reported missing as other youth. A nation-wide study in Canada found that in 2006, 34% of all missing youth had been in foster care or child care (Dalley 2007). International research with runaway youth confirms these findings (Newiss 1999; Dedel 2006).

Table 4.8 Missing Youth and Youth in the General Population Residing in Group Homes and Foster Homes[1]

Missing from	Percent of missing youth (25% sample)	Percent of all youth	Missing youth as a percent of all youth	Relative risk (versus other youth)
Group/foster home	57.0	0.6	38.2	201.5
Other	43.0	99.4	0.2	0.005
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	0.4	
Number unknown	4			
Total number	526	123,844		

Notes:
$\varphi = 0.389$ $p<0.001$
$X^2 = 18789.096$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$
[1]Youth refers to anyone 19 years old and younger.

Source: Statistics about the number of youth in care in the general population were obtained from Ontario Association of Children's Aid Services (2006).
Statistics for the number of youth in Ontario were obtained from Statistics Canada Annual Demographic Statistics (2005) at: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-213-x/91-213-x2005000-eng.pdf (access date: 8 November 2010).

In summary, the conclusions from this bivariate analysis are:

- Hypothesis 1.7 - that people who reside in group/foster homes will be overrepresented among people reported missing – is supported: there was a higher proportion of youth reported missing from group/foster homes in this sample of missing persons compared to the general population.
- Youth who relied on group/foster homes also faced a high risk of being reported missing.

Summary

Linking missing persons with the concept of social exclusion shows that many excluded groups were overrepresented among missing persons and faced a disproportionately high risk of being

reported missing. Specifically, youth, women, Aboriginal people, certain visible minorities, people who are unemployed and not in the labour force, people who reside in shelters (especially women), and youth in care were overrepresented among people reported missing. These groups also faced a high risk of being reported missing.

CHAPTER 5: CAUSAL FACTORS IN PEOPLES' DISAPPEARANCES

Hypothesis #2: *Apart from being a risk factor in peoples' disappearances as hypothesis 1 indicates, social exclusion is also causally related to peoples' disappearances. Specifically, social exclusion increases the probability of being reported missing.*

The following chapter compares the characteristics of missing people with data from the general population to identify causal links between social exclusion and going missing. Whether someone is missing or not is the dependent variable. A complete description of the dependent variable is presented in Table A5.1a in Appendix A. Chapter 4 identifies risk factors in peoples' disappearances. In this chapter, multivariate analysis explores the causal impact of several of these risk factors on peoples' disappearances. A complete list of the independent variables explored in this chapter is presented in Table B5.1b in Appendix A. Due to the lack of suitable multi-way cross-classified data on the characteristics of non-missing persons, only certain risk factors could be included in multivariate analyses, and those risk factors could only be included in pairs. Therefore, the familiar regression-type analyses including many risk factors could not be done.

The Impact of Gender and Age on Peoples' Disappearances

Hypothesis 2.1 *Gender is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances*

Chapter 4 shows that gender is a risk factor in peoples' disappearances. To test the hypothesis that gender is causally related to being reported missing, other variables that may account for this relationship need to be explored and other explanations ruled out. One plausible explanation is

that the disproportionate risk faced by women is due to age rather than gender. Specifically, chapter 4 shows that many young women are reported missing. Therefore it is possible that the high risk to females is not due to their gender but is instead due to age.

To explore the hypothesis that gender is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances, multivariate analysis is used. Multivariate analysis tests the relationship between gender and being reported missing while controlling for age. This analysis examines whether the elevated risk of women being reported missing disappears when a situation is statistically stimulated where women and men have the same age distribution. In other words, age is "held constant."

First the results of a bivariate analysis for the relationship between gender and peoples' disappearances are shown in table 5.1.1 below. The chi-square test and phi coefficient are significant, indicating that there is a relationship between the two variables. Table 5.1.1 shows that females are slightly more likely to be reported missing compared to males.

Table 5.1.1 Going Missing by Gender

Missing	Percent female	Percent male	Total number
Missing	0.6	0.5	723
Non-missing	99.4	99.5	125246
Total	100.0	100.0	125969

Notes:
$\varphi = 0.01$ $p<0.001$
$\chi^2 = 12.853$, $p<0.001$, $df = 1$

Source: Statistics for the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E= (access date: 12 December 2010).

Second, to assess the causal relationship between gender and going missing partial tables for gender and going missing across three age groups are calculated. More specifically, partial tables are calculated for men and women between zero to 14 years old, 15 to 19 years old, and 20 years and older. The results are shown in sub-tables 5.1.2a, b, and c below. This analysis statistically simulates a situation where men and women have the same age distribution so that the relationship between gender and being reported missing can be examined independent of age. The results, including the chi-square test and phi coefficient are compared across these three tables and with the bivariate table. If the relationship between gender and being reported missing remains after controlling for age this lends support to the hypothesis that gender is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances.

Sub-table 5.1.2a shows that zero to 14 year old females are slightly more likely than their male counterparts to be reported missing. The chi-square test and phi coefficient are significant. The phi coefficient is slightly larger compared to the bivariate table. In sub-table 5.1.2b, it is evident that women are slightly more likely compared to men in this age group to be reported

missing. The chi-square test and phi coefficient are also significant. Once again, the phi coefficient is larger compared to the bivariate table. Finally, sub-table 5.1.2c shows that women and men who are 20 years and older are equally as likely to be reported missing. The chi-square test and phi coefficient are significant. However, the phi coefficient of 0.007 is much weaker compared to the phi coefficient in the bivariate table and the other two partial tables. The unique results for each of the partial tables suggest an interaction effect: that the relationship between gender and going missing varies with age. The weakest association between gender and being reported missing is found in the age group of people 20 years and older, with a phi value of 0.007. The strongest association between gender and being reported missing is found in the age group of 15 to 19 year olds, with a phi value of 0.033. These results indicate that the high risk to women may only hold for young women.

Overall, the chi-square tests and phi coefficients of all three partial tables are significant, indicating the relationship between gender and peoples' disappearances is retained once age is controlled for. These results support hypothesis 2.1 which proposes that gender is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances. However, it is important to note that the nature of the relationship between gender and being reported missing varies across age groups with young women 15 to 19 years old facing the highest risk out of all other age-gender combinations.

Table 5.1.2 Going missing by Gender, by Age Group

Age group	Female %	Male %
(a) 0-14 years		
Missing	1.0	0.7
Not missing	99.0	99.3
Total percent	100.0	100.0
Total number	10,920	11,523
$\varphi = 0.017$ $p < 0.05$		
$\chi^2 = 6.156$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$		
(b) 15-19 years		
Missing	4.5	3.3
Not missing	95.5	96.7
Total percent	100.0	100.0
Total number	4,267	4,446
$\varphi = 0.033$ $p < 0.01$		
$\chi^2 = 9.296$, $df = 1$, $p < .01$		
(c) 20 years and older		
Missing	0.2	0.2
Not missing	99.8	99.8
Total percent	100.0	100.0
Total number	49,446	45,369
$\varphi = 0.007$ $p < 0.05$		
$\chi^2 = 4.552$, df = 1, $p < .05$		

Source:
Statistics for the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E= (access date: 12 December 2010).

Logistic Regression

To further understand the impact of gender on peoples' disappearances logistic regression is employed. This statistical technique assesses the relationship between being reported missing and gender while controlling for age.

Results

Table 5.1.3 presents the results of the logistic regression of gender and age on peoples' disappearances. The model as a whole is significant with a chi-square of 1064.851 $p<0.001$. This means that the null hypothesis – that peoples' disappearances are unrelated to both gender and age – has been refuted. At least one of the variables has an impact on going missing.

Table 5.1.3 Logistic Regression Analysis for Female and Age on Going Missing

Predictor	B	s.e.	Wald	df	P	Odds ratio
Constant	-6.380	0.085	5589.897	1	< 0.001	0.002
Female	0.339	0.760	19.440	1	< 0.001	1.339
0 to 14 years	1.444	0.102	197.787	1	< 0.001	4.212
15 to 19 years	2.991	0.091	1084.061	1	< 0.001	19.912
Likelihood ratio		7830.571				
Cox and Snell R^2		0.008				
Nagelkerke R^2		0.124				
χ^2		1064.851	$df = 3$, $p < 0.001$			

The coefficients for gender and both age groups are significant indicating that gender and both age groups have an impact on peoples' disappearances independent of the other variables. Furthermore, gender and both age coefficients are positively related to peoples' disappearances. This means that women are more likely to be reported missing compared to men, after controlling for age. More specifically, the odds of being reported for women are 1.339 times greater compared to men. This finding supports the hypothesis that gender is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances. After controlling for gender, people in the youngest two age groups are more likely to be reported missing compared to people 20 years and older. The odds of being reported missing for zero to 14 year olds are 4 times greater compared to people 20 years and older. For 15 to 19 year olds, the odds of being reported missing are 20 times greater compared to people 20 years and older. Therefore gender and age are both independently related to peoples' disappearances.

Another way to understand the impact of gender on being reported missing is to examine predicted probabilities for women and men in various age groups. For example, the predicted probability of being reported missing for women between zero and 14 years old is 0.010 compared to 0.007 for men in this same age group. For women between 15 and 19 years old, the predicted probability of being reported missing is 0.045 compared to 0.033 for men in the same age group. In other words, when holding age constant, women faced a higher predicted probability of being reported missing compared to men.

In summary, the conclusions from these multivariate analyses are:

- Hypothesis 2.1 - that gender is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances - is supported: regardless of their age group, women were more likely than men to be reported missing.

- There is an interaction between gender and age in their effects on peoples' disappearances ; specifically, it is women aged 15 to 19 years old who were most likely, relative to their male peers, to be reported missing.

The Impact of Aboriginal Identity and Age on Peoples' Disappearances

Hypothesis 2.2 *Aboriginal identity is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances*

The results from chapter 4 show that Aboriginal people faced a disproportionately high risk of being reported missing. To test the hypothesis that Aboriginal identity is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances other variables that may impact this relationship need to be explored and other possible explanations for this relationship must be examined and eliminated. One plausible explanation is that the disproportionate risk faced by Aboriginal people is due to their age. More specifically, chapter 4 shows also that young people under the age of 19 faced a disproportionately high risk of being reported missing. The Aboriginal population is younger than the non-Aboriginal population. According to the 2006 Census, 48% of the Aboriginal population consists of young people under 24 years old, compared to 31% of the non-Aboriginal population (Statistics Canada 2006b). Therefore it is possible that the higher risk faced by Aboriginal people is due to the fact that they are disproportionately young, and not to anything else about the experience of being an Aboriginal Canadian.

To explore the hypothesis that Aboriginal identity is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances multivariate analysis is employed. This statistical technique assesses the relationship between Aboriginal identity and peoples' disappearances while controlling for age.

Essentially, this analysis examines whether the elevated risk of being reported missing that is associated with being Aboriginal disappears when a situation where Aboriginals have the same age distribution as non-Aboriginals is statistically stimulated; that is, "age is held constant."

First, the results of a bivariate analysis of the relationship between Aboriginal identity and being reported missing are shown below. The chi-square test and phi coefficient are significant indicating that there is a relationship between Aboriginal identity and peoples' disappearances. According to table 5.2.1, Aboriginal persons are more than twice as likely as non-Aboriginals to be reported missing.

Table 5.2.1 Going Missing by Aboriginal Identity

Missing	Percent Aboriginal	Percent not Aboriginal	Total number
Missing	1.5	0.6	719
Non-missing	98.5	99.4	124,553
Total	100.0	100.0	125,272

Notes:
$\varphi = 0.016$ $p < 0.001$
$\chi^2 = 31.415$, $p<0.001$, $df = 1$

Source: Statistics for the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E (access date: 12 December 2010).

Second, partial tables are calculated to assess the relationship between Aboriginal identity and peoples' disappearances within three distinct age groups. This controls for age and assesses the relationship between the two variables. Specifically, partial tables for Aboriginal identity by

going missing are calculated for zero to 14 year olds, 15 to 19 year olds, and people 20 years and older. The results are shown in sub-tables 5.2.2a, b, and c below. The results of these sub-tables including chi-square tests and phi statistics are compared with the bivariate table. If the relationship between Aboriginal identity and being reported is the same in all three partial tables and consistent with the bivariate table – that is, the relationship does not disappear when age is controlled - this lends support to the hypothesis of a causal relationship between Aboriginal identity and going missing.

Sub-table 5.2.2a shows that zero to 14 year old Aboriginals are more than twice as likely as non-Aboriginals to be reported missing. The chi-square test and phi coefficient are significant. Sub-table 5.2.2c indicates that Aboriginals 20 years and older are over three times as likely compared to non-Aboriginals to be reported missing. The chi-square test and phi coefficient indicate that the relationship between the two variables is significant. In sub-tables 5.2.2a and 5.2.2c the phi values are similar and both values are very close to the value of phi in the bivariate table. In sub-table 5.2.2b Aboriginals between 15 and 19 years old are more than twice as likely to be reported missing compared to non-Aboriginals. The phi value of 0.031 is greater compared to the value of phi for the other two partial tables and the bivariate table. These unique results for 15 to 19 year olds suggest intersectionality: that the risk of going missing for Aboriginal people varies with age. The strongest association between going missing and Aboriginal identity, based on the value of phi statistic, arises among 15 to 19 year olds.

Overall, the three partial tables are significant and the measures of association in each partial table are similar or larger in magnitude compared to table 5.2.1. These results indicate that the relationship between Aboriginal identity and peoples' disappearances remains after

controlling for age. This supports hypothesis 2.2 which proposes that Aboriginal identity is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances.

Table 5.2.2 Going Missing by Aboriginal Identity, by Age Group

Age group	Aboriginal %	Not Aboriginal %
(a) 0-14 years		
Missing	1.8	0.8
Not missing	98.2	99.2
Total percent	100.0	100.0
Total number	501	21,797
$\varphi = 0.016$ $p < 0.05$		
$\chi^2 = 5.49$, df = 1, $p < .05$		
(b) 15-19 years		
Missing	8.8	3.8
Not missing	91.2	96.2
Total percent	100.0	100.0
Total number	125	8,518
$\varphi = 0.031$ $p < 0.01$		
$\chi^2 = 8.192$, df = 1, $p < .01$		
(c) 20 years and older		
Missing	0.7	0.2
Not missing	99.3	99.8
Total percent	100.0	100.0
Total number	1,253	93,076
$\varphi = 0.013$ $p < 0.001$		
$\chi^2 = 16.258$, df = 1, $p < .001$		

Source: Statistics for the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E (access date: 12 December 2010).

Logistic Regression

To further understand the impact of age and Aboriginal identity on peoples' disappearances logistic regression is employed. This technique assesses the impact of Aboriginal identity on being reported missing while controlling for age.

Results

Table 5.2.3 presents the output from the logistic regression of age and Aboriginal identity on being reported missing. The model as a whole is significant with a chi-squared of 1072.277 and $p < 0.001$. This means that the null hypothesis – that peoples' disappearances are unrelated to both age and Aboriginal identity – has been refuted. At least one of the predictors is significantly related to peoples' disappearances.

Table 5.2.3 Logistic Regression Analysis for Aboriginal Identity and Age on Going Missing

Predictor	B	s.e.	Wald	df	p	Odds ratio
Constant	-6.206	0.072	7393.519	1	< 0.001	0.002
Aboriginal	0.966	0.194	24.692	1	< 0.001	2.627
0 to 14 years	1.409	0.103	188.549	1	< 0.001	4.090
15 to 19 years	2.976	0.091	1071.645	1	< 0.001	19.614
Likelihood ratio		7789.619				
Cox and Snell R^2		0.008				
Nagelkerke R^2		0.124				
χ^2		1072.277	df = 3, p < .001			

The coefficient for Aboriginal identity and both coefficients for age are significant. This means that Aboriginal identity and both age groups are independently related to peoples'

disappearances. More specifically, both Aboriginal identity and age are positively associated with being reported missing. In other words, while holding age constant, Aboriginal people are more likely to be reported missing compared to non-Aboriginals. Also, controlling for Aboriginal identity, people in both age groups tested in this model are more likely than people 20 years and older to be reported missing. Specifically, for Aboriginal people, the odds of being reported missing are 2.6 times greater compared to non-Aboriginal people. This finding supports hypothesis 2.2 which states that Aboriginal identity is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances. Moreover, the odds of being reported missing for zero to 14 year olds are just over 4 times greater compared people 20 years and older, while holding Aboriginal identity constant. Finally, for people 15 to 19 years olds the odds of being reported missing are almost 20 times greater compared to people 20 years and older.

Another way to understand the impact of Aboriginal identity on peoples' disappearances is to look at the predicted probabilities of being reported missing for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in various age groups. For example, for Aboriginal people between 15 and 19 years old the predicted probability of being reported missing is 0.094. The predicted probability of being reported missing for non-Aboriginal people in this same age group is 0.038. In other words, when holding age constant at 15 to 19 years old, Aboriginal people have a higher probability of being reported missing compared to non-Aboriginal people. The same is true when age is held constant at zero to 14 years old. Specifically, for Aboriginal people between zero and 14 years old, the probability of being reported missing is 0.021 compared to 0.008 for non-Aboriginal people of the same age. These results confirm that the relationship between Aboriginal identity and peoples' disappearances is not due to the age distribution of Aboriginals, and therefore lends support to the hypothesis that Aboriginal identity is a causal factor in

peoples' disappearances. However, it is important to interpret these results with caution as the number of Aboriginal people in the jurisdiction where these data are from is small. Therefore, the number of Aboriginal people in the missing persons sample is small also.

In summary, the conclusions from these multivariate analyses are:

- Hypothesis 2.2 - that Aboriginal identity is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances - is supported: regardless of their age group, Aboriginal people were more likely than non-Aboriginals to be reported missing.
- There is an interaction between Aboriginal identity and age in their effects on being reported missing; specifically, it is Aboriginal people aged 15 to 19 years old who were most likely, relative to non-Aboriginal people in this age group, to be reported missing.

The Impact of Labour Force Status and Gender on Peoples' Disappearances

Hypothesis 2.3 *Labour force status is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances*

The results from chapter 4 show that people 15 years and older who are unemployed and outside the labour force faced a higher risk of being reported missing compared to employed persons. People who are outside of the labour force refers to dependent partners and spouses, retired persons, and unpaid caregivers. To test the hypothesis that labour force status is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances other variables that may impact this relationship need to be explored and other possible explanations for this relationship must be examined and eliminated[17]. One plausible explanation is that the disproportionate risk faced by people who are unemployed and outside the labour force is due to gender. More specifically, chapter 4 shows that women faced a

[17] Labour force status only includes people 15 years and older.

disproportionately high risk of being reported missing. In the jurisdiction where these data were collected there were vastly more women who were outside the labour force compared to men (Statistics Canada 2006a). The proportion of unemployed men and women in the general population was approximately equal (Statistics Canada 2006a). In other words it is possible that the relationship between labour force status and peoples' disappearances is impacted by gender, particularly for those outside the labour force.

To test the hypothesis that labour force status is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances, multivariate analysis is used. This statistical technique explores the relationship between labour force status and going missing while controlling for gender. Specifically, multivariate analysis determines whether the increased risk to people who are unemployed and outside the labour force disappears when gender is held constant. In other words, multivariate analysis statistically stimulates a situation where men and women have the same distributions in the labour force.

First the results of a cross-tabulation between labour force status and going missing are shown in table 5.3.1 below. The chi-square test and Cramer's V statistic are significant, indicating that there is a relationship between peoples' disappearances and labour force status. Table 5.3.1 shows that compared to employed persons, people who are unemployed and outside the labour force are much more likely to be reported missing.

Table 5.3.1 Going Missing, by Labour Force Status

Missing	Percent employed	Percent unemployed	Percent not in the labour force	Total number
Missing	0.1	2.6	1.0	294
Non-missing	99.9	97.4	99.0	58,604
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	58,898

Notes:
$\chi^2 = 465.621$, $p < 0.001$, *df = 1*
$V = 0.089$ $p < 0.001$

Source: Statistics for the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E (access date: 12 December 2010).

Second partial tables are calculated to assess the relationship between labour force status and going missing for men and women. The results are shown in sub-tables 5.3.2a and 5.3.2b below. These sub-tables including chi-square tests and Cramer's V statistics are compared. The results are compared also with the bivariate table. If the relationship between labour force status and peoples' disappearances is the same in both partial tables and consistent with the bivariate table – that is, the relationship does not disappear when gender is controlled - this lends support to the hypothesis of a causal relationship between labour force status and peoples' disappearances.

In sub-table 5.3.2a the chi-square test and Cramer's V statistic are significant indicating that the relationship between labour force status and peoples' disappearances is significant for women. The value of Cramer's V is 0.088. This value is similar to the Cramer's V value obtained in the bivariate table (0.089). Sub-table 5.3.2a also shows that compared to employed

women, unemployed women and women outside the labour force were more likely to be reported missing. In sub-table 5.3.2b the chi-square and Cramer's V values are significant, suggesting that there is a relationship between labour force status and being reported missing among men. The Cramer's V value of 0.092 is slightly higher, but similar to the bivariate table (0.089). Moreover, compared to employed men, unemployed men and men outside the labour force were more likely to be reported missing. Therefore the relationship between labour force status and peoples' disappearances remains even after controlling for gender. This supports hypothesis 2.3 which suggests that labour force status is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances.

Table 5.3.2 Going Missing by Labour Force Status, by Gender

Gender	Employed %	Unemployed %	Not in Labour Force %
(a) Female			
Missing	0.1	2.8	0.9
Not missing	99.9	97.2	99.1
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	16,903	1,237	12,310
V = 0.088 p<0.001			
$\chi^2 = 235.024$, $p < 0.001$, $df = 2$			
(b) Male			
Missing	0.1	2.3	1.2
Not missing	99.9	97.7	98.8
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	18,670	1,296	8,481
V = 0.092 p<0.001			
$\chi^2 = 240.857$, $p < 0.001$, $df = 2$			

Source: Statistics for the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E (access date: 12 December 2010).

Logistic Regression

To further examine the impact of gender and labour force status on peoples' disappearances logistic regression is used.

Results

Table 5.3.3 presents the output from the logistic regression of labour force status and gender on peoples' disappearances. The model as a whole is significant with a chi-squared of 421.569 and $p<0.001$. This means that the null hypothesis – that peoples' disappearances are unrelated to both gender and labour force status – has been refuted. In other words, at least one of the independent variables has an impact peoples' disappearances.

Table 5.3.3 Logistic Regression Analysis for Female and Labour Force Status on Going Missing

Predictor	B	s.e.	Wald	Df	P	Odds ratio
Constant	-7.425	0.23	1044.543	1	< 0.001	0.001
Female	-0.126	0.118	1.141	1	0.285	20.881
Unemployed	3.848	0.257	224.958	1	< 0.001	46.901
Not in the labour force	2.908	0.235	153.602	1	< 0.001	18.321
Likelihood ratio		3281.341				
Cox and Snell R^2		0.007				
Nagelkerke R^2		0.117				
χ^2		421.569	df = 3, p < .001			

The coefficients for unemployed and not in the labour force are positively related to peoples' disappearances and statistically significant, indicating that people in both groups are more likely to be reported missing compared to employed people, even after controlling for gender. The odds of an unemployed person being reported missing are 47 times greater compared to employed persons. For people not in the labour force, the odds are 18 times greater than those of employed people. Therefore labour force status has an effect on peoples' disappearances, independent of gender.

Another way to understand the impact of labour force status on peoples' disappearances is to compare the predicted probabilities of being reported missing for women and men in various categories of labour force status. Predicted probabilities show that among unemployed persons and those not in the labour force, men have a slightly *higher* probability of being reported missing compared to women (compare to Table 4.2). Specifically, for unemployed women the predicted probability of being reported missing is 0.024 compared to 0.027 for unemployed men. Among women who are outside the labour force the probability of being reported missing is 0.009 compared to 0.010 for their male counterparts. These results confirm that labour force status is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances.

The logistic regression results also suggest an interesting further conclusion about the impact of gender on peoples' disappearances. When labour force status is controlled, the coefficient for gender (female) becomes *negative* and is not statistically significant (compare with sub-table 5.3.2a) – that is, it effectively disappears. Since gender is causally antecedent to labour force status, the result in Table 5.3.3 suggests that labour force status is an intervening variable in the effect of gender on peoples' disappearances: (part of) the reason that women are more likely to be reported missing is that in this city they are more likely than men to be outside the labour force, and this circumstance (and/or other unmeasured circumstances that are associated with being outside the labour force) put them more at risk of being reported missing.

In summary, the conclusions from these multivariate analyses are:

- Hypothesis 2.3 - that labour force status is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances - is supported by the partial tables which show that women and men who are unemployed and outside the labour force were more likely than employed persons to go missing.

- However, further analysis reveals that labour force status is an intervening variable on the effect of gender on being reported missing. This means that part of the reason for the elevated risk of being reported missing for women is that in this city they are more likely to be outside the labour force compared to men.

The Impact of Homelessness on and Gender on Peoples' Disappearances

Hypothesis 2.4 *Homelessness is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances*

The results from chapter 4 show that homeless people faced a disproportionately high risk of being reported missing. To test the hypothesis that homelessness is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances other variables that may impact this relationship need to be explored and other possible explanations for this relationship must be eliminated. One plausible explanation is that the disproportionate risk faced by homeless people is due to gender. More specifically, chapter 4 shows that women faced a high risk of going missing. Women were also overrepresented among people reported missing from shelters compared to men. Therefore, it may be that the high risk to people reported missing from shelters is due, in part, to the fact that a large number of them are women.

To explore the hypothesis that homelessness is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances multivariate analysis is employed. This statistical technique assesses the relationship between going missing from a shelter and peoples' disappearances while controlling for gender. Essentially, this analysis examines whether the elevated risk that is associated with being reported missing from a shelter disappears when a situation where shelter users have the same

gender distribution as non-shelter users is statistically stimulated; that is, "gender is held constant".

First the results of a bivariate analysis of the relationship between homelessness and being reported missing are shown below. The chi-square test and phi coefficient are significant indicating that there is a relationship between homelessness and peoples' disappearances. According to table 5.4.1 homeless people are much more likely to be reported missing compared to people who are not homeless.

Table 5.4.1 Going Missing by Homelessness

Missing	Percent Homeless	Percent not Homeless	Total number
Missing	2.0	0.1	720
Non-missing	98.0	99.9	501,790
Total	100.0	100.0	502,510

Notes:
$\varphi = 0.052$ $p < 0.001$
$\chi^2 = 1367.712$, $p<0.001$, $df = 1$

Source: Statistics for the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E= (access date: 12 December 2010).

Second, partial tables are calculated to assess the relationship between homelessness and peoples' disappearances for men and women. The results are shown in sub-tables 5.4.2a and 5.4.2b below. The results of each sub-table including chi-square tests and phi statistics are compared with the bivariate table. If the relationship between shelter use and being reported

missing is the same in both partial tables and consistent with the bivariate table – that is, the relationship does not disappear when gender is controlled - this lends support to the hypothesis of a causal relationship between homelessness and going missing.

Sub-table 5.4.2a shows that female shelter users are 35 times as likely as non-shelter users to be reported missing. The chi-square test and phi coefficient are significant. The phi coefficient in sub-table 5.4.2a (0.084) is larger compared to the bivariate table (0.052). Sub-table 5.4.2b indicates that shelters users who are male are 7 times as likely compared to non-shelter users to be reported missing. The chi-square test and phi coefficient indicate that the relationship between the two variables is significant. The phi coefficient in sub-table 5.4.2b is 0.019 which is weaker compared to the bivariate table (0.052). The unique result for each one of the partial tables suggests an interaction effect: that the risk of going missing for homeless people depends on whether they are women or men. The highest risk of going missing is faced by shelter users who are women.

Overall, the chi-square and phi coefficients are significant for each of the partial tables indicating the relationship between homelessness and going missing persists even after controlling for gender. These results support hypothesis 2.4 which suggests that homelessness is a causal factor in going missing. However, it is important to note that the nature of the relationship between going missing and homelessness varies with gender with the highest risk faced by women.

Table 5.4.2 Going Missing by Homelessness, By Gender

Gender	Homeless %	Not homeless %
(a) Women		
Missing	3.5	0.1
Not missing	96.5	99.9
Total percent	100.0	100.0
Total number	3085	242,606
$\varphi = 0.084$ $p < 0.001$		
$\chi^2 = 1817.629$, df = 1, $p < 0.001$		
(b) Men		
Missing	0.7	0.1
Not missing	99.3	99.9
Total percent	100.0	100.0
Total number	2598	256,309
$\varphi = 0.019$ $p < 0.001$		
$\chi^2 = 88.649$, df = 1, $p < 0.001$		

Source: Statistics for the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E (access date: 12 December 2010).

Logistic Regression

To further understand the impact of homelessness on peoples' disappearances logistic regression is employed. This technique assesses the impact of homelessness on being reported missing while controlling for gender.

Results

Table 5.4.3 presents the output from the logistic regression of gender and reported missing from a shelter on peoples' disappearances. The model as a whole is significant with a chi-squared of 10459.772 and $p < 0.001$. This means that the null hypothesis – that peoples' disappearances are unrelated to both gender and homelessness – has been refuted. At least one of the predictors is significantly related to peoples' disappearances.

Table 5.4.3 Logistic Regression Analysis for Homelessness and Gender on Going Missing

Predictor	B	s.e.	Wald	df	p	Odds ratio
Constant	-6.844	0.059	13231.13	1	< 0.001	0.001
Homeless	2.803	0.103	734.995	1	< 0.001	16.493
Female	0.245	0.076	10.507	1	< 0.001	1.278
Likelihood ratio		10459.772				
Cox and Snell R^2		0.001				
Nagelkerke R^2		0.039				
χ^2		414.463	df = 2, p < .001			

The coefficients for homelessness and gender are significant. This means that both variables are independently related to peoples' disappearances. More specifically, both variables are positively associated with being reported missing. In other words, while holding gender constant, homeless people are more likely to be reported missing compared to people who are not homeless. Also, controlling for homelessness, women are more likely than men to be reported missing. Specifically, for homeless people, the odds of being reported missing are more than 16 times greater compared to others. This finding supports hypothesis 2.4 which states that

homelessness is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances. Moreover, the odds of being reported missing for women are slightly greater compared to men, while holding constant whether or not someone was reported missing from a shelter.

Another way to understand the impact of homelessness on peoples' disappearances is to look at the predicted probabilities of being reported missing for homeless people and non-homeless people among men and women. For example, for women who are homeless the probability of going missing is 0.022 compared to 0.001 for women who are not homeless. For men who are not homeless the probability of going missing is 0.021 compared to 0.001 for men who are not homeless. In other words, when holding gender constant, homeless people have a higher probability of being reported missing compared to non-homeless people.

In summary, the conclusions from these multivariate analyses are:

- Hypothesis 2.4 - that homelessness is a causal factor in peoples' disappearances - is supported: regardless of their gender, homeless people were more likely than non-homeless people to be reported missing.
- There may be an interaction effect, in that the impact of homelessness on peoples' disappearances may vary between women and men. Homeless women appear to face the highest risk.

Summary

Exploring causal links between social exclusion and peoples' disappearances reveals that social exclusion may play a causal role in peoples' disappearances. Specifically, gender, Aboriginal identity, and homelessness appear to play a causal role in peoples' disappearances, as the

relationship between both aforementioned variables and being reported missing persists after controlling for age. Further, the results suggest that labour force status is an intervening variable in the relationship between gender and being reported missing, meaning that at least part of the elevated risk of women being reported missing has to do with the fact that women in this city are more likely to be outside the labour force compared to men.

CHAPTER 6: THE INTERSECTION OF RISK FACTORS IN PEOPLES' DISAPPEARANCES

Hypothesis #3: *The intersection of characteristics associated with social exclusion increases the likelihood of being reported missing.*

The concept of social exclusion explores the systemic issues that leave particular groups vulnerable to social and economic disadvantage. An intersectional framework complements the concept of social exclusion by exploring how peoples' experiences of disadvantage are often multiplied if two or more characteristics associated with social exclusion intersect (Knapp 2005; Ontario Human Rights Commission 2001; Crenshaw 1991; Davis 2008). Chapter 4 show that youth, women, Aboriginal people, other minorities, and people who are unemployed and outside the labour force faced a disproportionate risk of being reported missing. Where two or more of these high risk categories intersect, groups are expected to be overrepresented among people reported missing and experience a disproportionately high risk of being reported missing. Specifically, this chapter determines whether the risk of going missing that arises if multiple categories associated with social exclusion intersect is higher than would be expected based on the risk to either group alone. For example, this chapter determines whether the risk to Aboriginal women is higher than the risk to either Aboriginal people or women alone. The dependent variable is missing or not. A description of the dependent variable is provided in Table A6.1a in Appendix A. Specific combinations explored are age and gender, age and gender among Aboriginal persons, labour force status and gender, and ethnicity and gender. A complete description of the independent variables analyzed in this chapter is presented in Table B6.1b in Appendix A.

The intersection of Age and Gender

Hypothesis 3.1 *Young women will face a high risk of being reported missing*

Table 6.1 presents the age and gender distributions of the missing persons sample and the general population. Table 6.1 shows that females in each age group were 1.4 times as likely as their male counterparts to be reported missing. Compared to the reference group - males between zero and 14 years, both males and females 15 to 19 years old faced a high risk of being reported missing. Females 15 to 19 years old faced a particularly high risk of being reported missing. They were 6.4 times as likely to be reported missing compared to the reference category (Males, zero to 14 years old) — the highest risk of any age-gender group. These findings support the hypothesis that young women face a high risk of going missing. These findings are consistent with a nation-wide study in Canada which found that among runaways, there were more females compared to males and 84% of female runaways and 81% of males were between the ages of 14 and 17 years old (Dalley 2007).

In summary, the conclusions from this multivariate analysis are:

- Hypothesis 3.1 - that young women will face a high risk of being reported missing is supported – women 15 to19 years old accounted for almost 27% of the missing persons sample compared to just over 3% of the general population.
- Women 15 to19 years old were over six times as likely to be reported missing compared the reference category (Males, zero to 14years old) – the highest out of any age-gender group.

Table 6.1 Missing Persons and the General Population, by Age and Gender

Age group	Percent of missing persons (25% sample)	Percent of general population	Missing persons as a percent of the general population	Relative risk (versus other gender)	Relative risk (versus Males, 0-14 years)
Female					
0-14 years	15.3	8.7	1.0	1.4	1.4
15-19 years	26.7	3.4	4.5	1.4	6.4
20+ years	16.0	39.3	0.2	1.4	0.3
Percent female	58.0	51.4	0.7	1.3	1.0
Male					
0-14 years	11.2	9.1	0.7	0.7	-
15-19 years	20.0	3.5	3.3	0.7	4.7
20+ years	10.8	36.0	0.2	0.7	0.3
Percent male	42.0	48.6	0.5	0.8	0.7
Total percent	100.0	100.0	0.6		-
Number unknown	1				
Total number	724	504,560			

Notes:
V female = 0.066, p < 0.001
X^2 female = 1129.42, *df* = 2, *p* < 0.001
V male = 0.057, p <0.001
X^2 male = 786.69, *df* = 2, *p* < 0.001

Source: Statistics for the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E (access date: 12 December 2010).

The intersection of Age and Gender among Aboriginal persons

Hypothesis 3.2 *Young Aboriginal women will face a high risk of being reported missing*

To test the hypothesis that the intersection of age and gender will result in a high risk of being reported missing among Aboriginal persons, this analysis explores the age and gender distributions of Aboriginal missing persons and the general population. Table 6.2 shows that Aboriginal women were overrepresented among this sample of missing persons and faced a disproportionately high risk of being reported missing compared to the general population. Aboriginal women accounted for 69% of missing Aboriginal persons in this sample whereas only 52% of Aboriginal people in this city in 2006 were women. Moreover, among Aboriginal persons, women were twice as likely to be reported missing as men.

An examination of the three age groups separately shows that, in the two oldest age groups, Aboriginal women faced a higher risk of being reported missing compared to their male peers. Specifically, Aboriginal women 15 to 19 years of age were 4.3 times as likely to be reported missing as Aboriginal men in this age group, and Aboriginal women 20 years and older were 6.6 times as likely as their male peers. Finally, using Aboriginal males zero to 14 years old as a baseline group, Aboriginal females between 15 and 19 years old were 4.9 times as likely to be reported missing – by far the highest risk of any age-gender group of Aboriginal persons. These findings of the disproportionately high risk to Aboriginal persons, and Aboriginal women in particular, are consistent with anecdotal evidence provided by the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) (2009). These results are also consistent with hypothesis 3.2 which states that young Aboriginal women will face a high risk of being reported missing. However, the findings from this study about Aboriginal missing persons should be interpreted

with caution as the number of Aboriginal persons in the sample was small, reflecting the small number of Aboriginal persons in this municipality.

In summary, the conclusions from this multivariate analysis are:

- Hypothesis 3.2 - that young Aboriginal women will face a high risk of being reported missing is supported – Aboriginal women 15 to 19 years old accounted for 31% of missing persons compared to just over 4% of the general population.
- Aboriginal women 15 to19 years old were 5 times as likely to go missing compared to the reference category (Aboriginal Males, zero to14 years old) – the highest out of any age-gender group.

Table 6.2 Aboriginal Missing Persons and All Aboriginal Persons, by Age and Gender

Age group	Percent of missing Aboriginal persons (25% sample)	Percent of all Aboriginal persons	Missing Aboriginal persons as a percent of all Aboriginal persons	Relative risk (versus other gender)	Relative risk (versus Males, 0-14 years)
Female					
0-14 years	10.3	12.8	1.5	0.6	0.6
15-19 years	31.0	4.3	13.3	4.3	4.9
20+ years	27.6	35.1	1.4	6.6	0.5
Percent female	69.0	52.3	2.4	2.0	0.9
Male					
0-14 years	20.7	14.3	2.7	1.8	-
15-19 years	6.9	4.1	3.1	0.2	1.2
20+ years	3.4	29.3	0.2	0.2	0.1
Percent male	31.0	47.7	1.2	0.5	0.4
Total percent	100.0	100.0	1.8		
Number unknown	5				
Total number	29	7,615			

Notes
V female = 0.102, p < 0.001
X^2 female = 34.707, $df = 2$, $p < 0.0$
V male = 0.056, p < 0.01
X^2 male = 9.605, $df = 2$, $p < 0.01$

Source: Statistics for the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E (access date: 12 December 2010).

The intersection of Labour Force Status and Gender

Hypothesis 3.3 *Women who are unemployed and not in the labour force will face a high risk of being reported missing*

To explore the hypothesis that labour force status and gender will intersect to increase the risk of being reported missing, this analysis explores the labour force activity and gender distributions of the missing persons sample compared to the general population. Table 6.3 shows that unemployed persons and persons not in the labour force were overrepresented in this sample of missing persons. Moreover, people who were unemployed and outside the labour force faced a disproportionate risk of being reported missing compared to employed persons.

The results of this multivariate analysis also show that unemployed women and women outside the labour force were overrepresented among missing persons compared to the general population. Specifically, unemployed women accounted for 11.9% of the missing persons sample and only 2.1% of the general population. Women outside the labour force accounted for 37.8% of the missing persons' population compared to just under 21% of the general population. Unemployed males and males not in the labour force were also overrepresented among the missing persons sample compared to the general population.

A closer inspection of the three categories for labour status by gender shows that unemployed women faced a higher risk of being reported missing compared to their male counterparts. The risk to unemployed women compared to unemployed men was 1.2. On the other hand, men who were outside the labour force faced a *higher* risk of going missing compared to their female counterparts. The high risk to men who are outside the labour force may be explained by the fact that men may be less likely compared to women to have someone

else to rely on for income and support. In other words, for men, detachment from the labour force is likely to lead to poverty and disadvantage. On the other hand, women who are outside of the labour force may rely on the income of a spouse or partner who is the primary income earner. However, when compared to the reference category – employed men, the high risk of being reported missing faced by unemployed women and women outside the labour force is evident. Specifically, compared to the reference category (employed men), the risk to unemployed women was 29.0 and 9.0 for women outside the labour force.

Table 6.3 Missing Persons and the General Population, by Labour Force Status and Gender

Labour Force Status[18]	Percent of missing persons (25% sample)	Percent of general population	Missing persons as a percent of the general population	Relative risk (versus other gender)	Relative risk (versus Employed Males)
Female					
Employed	3.4	28.7	0.1	1.0	1.0
Unemployed	11.9	2.1	2.9	1.2	29.0
Not in labour force	37.8	20.9	0.9	0.8	9.0
Percent female	53.1	51.7	0.5	1.0	5.0
Male					
Employed	3.4	31.7	0.1	1.0	-
Unemployed	10.2	2.2	2.4	0.8	24.0
Not in labour force	33.3	14.4	1.2	1.3	12.0
Percent male	46.9	48.3	0.5	1.0	5.0
Total percent	100	100			
Number unknown	215				
Total number	294	407,590			

Notes:
V female = 0.046, p<0.001
X^2 female = 242.094, $df = 2$, $p < 0.001$
V male = 0.044, p<0.001
X^2 male =234.393, $df = 2$, $p < 0.001$

Source: Statistics for the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E (access date: 12 December 2010).

In summary, the conclusions from this multivariate analysis are:

- Hypothesis 3.3 - that women who are unemployed and outside the labour force will face a high risk of being reported missing is partly supported; specifically, unemployed women

[18] It is important to note that labour force status could only be measured for people 15 years and older.

faced a higher risk compared to their male counterparts whereas men who were outside the labour force face a *higher* risk of being reported missing compared to women in this group.

- Compared to the reference category (employed men) unemployed women and women who were outside the labour force faced a higher risk of being reported missing.

The intersection of Ethnicity and Gender

Hypothesis 3.4 *Minority women will face a high risk of being reported missing*

Finally, to test the hypothesis that minority women will face a high risk of being reported missing, table 6.4 presents the ethnicity and gender distributions of the missing persons sample and the general population. Table 6.4 below shows that Aboriginal, black, and Latin American women (and men) were overrepresented among missing persons compared to the general population. Specifically, 2.8% of missing women were Aboriginal compared to 0.8% of the general population, 2.5% of missing women were Black compared to 1.4% of the general population, and 1.6% of missing women were Latin American compared to 0.6% of the general population.

Moreover, among women some visible minorities faced a higher risk of being reported missing compared to men while other minority women faced a lower risk. Compared to their male counterparts, Aboriginal women, Chinese women, and visible minorities not included elsewhere faced a higher risk of being reported missing. Compared to the reference category - men who were not a visible minority, it is clear that most minorities faced a higher risk of being reported missing. For example, compared to the reference category, the risk of being reported

missing for Aboriginal, Black, and Latin American women was 4.0, 2.0, and 1.8, respectively. Minority men also faced a higher risk of being reported missing compared to non-minority men. Specifically, compared to men who were not part of a visible minority group the risk to Aboriginal, Black, and Latin American men was 2.0, 2.8, and 2.0, respectively. These findings support the hypothesis that minority women face a high risk of being reported missing. However, the high risk to minority women only holds for some groups.

In summary, the conclusions from this multivariate analysis are:

- Hypothesis 3.4 - that minority women will be face a high risk of being reported missing is partly supported – Aboriginal women, Chinese women, and minority women not included elsewhere faced a high risk of being reported missing compared to their male counterparts.
- Compared to the reference category (non-minority men) Black, Latin American, and Aboriginal women (and men) faced a high risk of being reported missing.

Table 6.4 Missing Persons and the General Population, by Ethnicity and Gender

Ethnicity	Percent of missing persons (25% sample)	Percent of general population	Missing persons as a percent of the general population	Relative risk (versus other gender)	Relative risk (versus Not a visible minority, Males)
Female					
Not a visible minority[1]	49.4	43.5	0.7	1.4	1.4
Aboriginal	2.8	0.8	2.0	2.0	4.0
Chinese	0.6	0.9	0.4	2.0	0.8
South Asian	0.4	1.5	0.2	-	0.4
Black	2.5	1.4	1.0	0.7	2.0
Latin American	1.0	0.6	0.9	0.9	1.8
Visible minority n.i.e[2]	1.3	2.5	0.3	1.5	0.6
Percent female	58.0		0.7	1.4	1.4
Male					
Not a visible minority	35.5	41.3	0.5	0.7	-
Aboriginal	1.3	0.7	1.0	0.5	2.0
Chinese	0.3	1.0	0.2	0.5	0.4
South Asian	0	1.5	0	0	0
Black	3.2	1.4	1.4	1.4	2.8
Latin American	0.8	0.5	1.0	1.1	2.0
Visible minority n.i.e	1.0	2.4	0.2	0.7	0.4
Percent male	42.0		0.5	0.7	1.0
Total percent	100	100			
Number unknown	6				
Total number[3]	718	497,390			

Notes:
V female = 0.14, p<0.001
X^2 female = 48.262, *df* = 6, $p < 0.001$
V male = 0.14, p<0.001
X^2 male = 46.541, *df* = 6, $p < 0.001$

[1]"Not a visible minority" includes everyone who was not Aboriginal or a member of any minority group.

[2]"Not included elsewhere," includes Guyanese, West Indian, Kurd, Tibetan, Polynesian, Pacific Islander, Filipino, Arab, Japanese etc.
[3] Data for ethnicity from the general population are based on a 20% sample and population totals are slightly different from those in other tables that are based on 100% data.

Source: Statistics for the general population were obtained from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E (access date: 12 December 2010).

Summary

Linking missing persons with an intersectional perspective to explore the impact of multiply marginalized groups on peoples' disappearances, shows that the risk of going missing increases when particular characteristics associated with disadvantage intersect. In particular, young women, Aboriginal women, unemployed women, and some minority women faced a high risk of going missing.

CHAPTER 7: RISK FACTORS IN LONG TERM DISAPPEARANCES

Hypothesis #4: *Members of socially excluded groups are at a disproportionately high risk of a long term disappearance.*

The following chapter compares the characteristics of people who were missing for a short period of time with people who remained missing for a long period of time in order to identify risk factors in long term disappearances. The dependent variable is long term versus short term disappearances (Table A7.1a Appendix A). Chapters 4, 5, and 6 provide evidence that social exclusion leads to, and even causes, peoples' disappearances. The central argument guiding this chapter is that if excluded groups go missing, they further isolate themselves from family, friends, and other vital social supports. Without these supports overcoming the disadvantage or negative life event that led to their disappearance and reconnecting with mainstream society is very difficult. As a result of extreme deprivation, excluded people and groups are at risk of a long term disappearance. The variables tested in this chapter are drawn from chapter 4 which identifies risk factors in peoples' disappearances and from a review of the literature on the duration of disappearances. A detailed list of the independent variables explored in this chapter is available in Table B7.1b in Appendix A.

Specifically, youth, women, Aboriginal people, visible minorities, and people reported missing from shelters and group/foster homes are all expected to be at risk of a long term disappearance. Not returning on one's own is also expected to be a risk factor in long term disappearances. People who do not return on their own may be fleeing particularly dire circumstances such as violence and abuse at home and returning to these circumstances is perceived to be the worst possible option. Instead these people often remain missing for a long

period of time. They may have remained missing for even longer had they not been traced and located.

The dependent variable is the duration of peoples' disappearance from the day the person was reported missing until the day they were either found, returned on their own, or the case was cancelled for some other reason. A detailed distribution of this variable is presented in Table B7.2b in Appendix A. This variable is highly skewed in the positive direction, with a large number of cases clustering around one, two, and three days. Highly skewed variables can pose a problem for statistical analysis. Therefore, rather than explore the duration of disappearances as a continuous variable, this variable has been transformed into a dichotomous variable with two categories - short term versus long term disappearances. Long term disappearances are defined as missing for eight days or more and short term disappearances are defined as missing for seven days or less.

Long Term Disappearances, by Age

Hypothesis 4.1*Youth will be overrepresented among long term disappearances compared to short term disappearances*

Table 7.1 compares the distribution of people zero to14 years old, 15 to 19 years old, and 20 years and older who were missing for short and long periods of time. It is evident from table 7.1 below that 15 to 19 year olds were overrepresented among long term disappearances. The other two age groups were *underrepresented* among long term disappearances compared to short term disappearances. However, the chi-square and phi statistics are not significant. One possible reason why this analysis fails to find a significant relationship between age and the duration of

disappearances is due to sparse data. Specifically, there are a small number of people in the category representing long term disappearances and the number of cases is reduced further once age is cross-classified by the duration of disappearances. Sparse data can cause problems for statistical analysis. One problem with sparse data is that significant relationships can "wash out" or appear non-significant.

In summary, the conclusions from this bivariate analysis are:

- Hypothesis 4.1 - that youth will be overrepresented among long term disappearances – is not supported by this analysis which finds non-significant results for the relationship between age and long term disappearances.

Table 7.1 Long Term versus Short Term Disappearances, by Age

Age	Percent of short term disappearances	Percent of long term disappearances
0 to 14 years	26.9	22.0
15 to 19 years	45.7	58.5
20+ years	27.4	19.5
Total percent	100.0	100.0
Number unknown	3	
Total Number	680	41

Notes:
$\chi^2 = 2.605$, n.s., $df = 2$
$\varphi = 0.060$ n.s.

Long Term Disappearances, by Gender

Hypothesis 4.2 *Women will be overrepresented among people missing for a long period of time compared to short term disappearances*

Table 7.2 compares the distribution of women who were missing for short and long periods of time. It is evident from table 7.2 below that among long term disappearances, , women were overrepresented whereas men were *underrepresented*. However, the chi-square and phi statistics are not significant. One possible reason why this analysis fails to find a significant relationship between gender and the duration of disappearances is due to sparse data, or the small number of cases in the cells representing the cross-classification of long term disappearances by gender. Sparse data can cause problems for statistical analysis. One problem with sparse data is that significant relationships can "wash out" or appear non-significant.

In summary, the conclusions from this bivariate analysis are:

- Hypothesis 4.2 - that women will be overrepresented among long term disappearances – is not supported by this analysis which finds non-significant results for the relationship between gender and long term disappearances.

Table 7.2 Long Term versus Short Term Disappearances, by Gender

Gender	Percent of short term disappearances	Percent of long term disappearances
Women	57.3	68.3
Men	42.7	31.7
Total percent	100.0	100.0
Number unknown	4	
Total Number	679	41

Notes:
$\chi^2 = 1.920$, n.s., $df = 1$
$\varphi = -0.052$ n.s.

Long Term Disappearances, by Aboriginal Identity

Hypothesis 4.3 *Aboriginal people will be overrepresented among people missing for a long period of time compared to short term disappearances*

Table 7.3 compares the distribution of Aboriginal people who were missing for short and long periods of time. The chi-square and phi statistics are significant indicating that there is a relationship between Aboriginal identity and the likelihood of a long term disappearance. Aboriginal people were overrepresented among people missing for a long period of time compared to short term disappearances. Specifically, Aboriginal people accounted for almost 10% of long term disappearances whereas only 3.5% of people missing for a short period of time were Aboriginal.

In summary, the conclusions from this bivariate analysis are:

- Hypothesis 4.3 - that Aboriginal people will be overrepresented among long term disappearances – is supported: there was a higher proportion of Aboriginal people among long term disappearances compared to short term disappearances.

Table 7.3 Long Term versus Short Term Disappearances, by Aboriginal Identity

Aboriginal Identity	Percent of short term disappearances	Percent of long term disappearances
Aboriginal	3.5	9.8
Not Aboriginal	96.5	90.2
Total percent	100.0	100.0
Number unknown	3	
Total Number	680	41

Notes:
$\chi^2 = 4.017$, $p < 0.05$, $df = 1$
$\varphi = 0.075$ $p < 0.05$

Long Term Disappearances, by Ethnicity

Hypothesis 4.4 *Minority groups will be overrepresented among people missing for a long period of time compared to short term disappearances*

Table 7.4 below shows the distribution of long term and short term disappearances, by ethnicity. The chi-square and Cramer's V statistics are significant, indicating that there is a relationship between ethnicity and the duration of disappearances. Moreover, the strength of the association, as indicated by the magnitude of Cramer's V is moderate. Three minority groups – Black

people, Latin Americans, and Aboriginal people - were overrepresented among long term disappearances compared to short term disappearances. On the other hand non-minorities were *underrepresented* among long term disappearances. Specifically, among long term disappearances, 10% were Black, whereas Black people made up just over 5% of short term disappearances. Moreover, 5% of people missing for a long period of time were Latin American whereas only 1.6% of people missing for a short period of time were Latin American. As discussed above Aboriginal people were also overrepresented among people missing for a long period of time.

Table 7.4 Long Term versus Short Tern Disappearances, by Ethnicity[19]

Ethnicity	Percent of short term disappearances	Percent of long term disappearances
Not a minority	86.2	67.5
Black	5.3	10.0
Aboriginal	3.5	10.0
Latin American	1.6	5.0
Visible Minority n.i.e[20]	3.3	7.5
Total percent	100.0	100.0
Number unknown	7	
Total Number	677	40

Notes:
$\chi^2 = 11.367$, $p < 0.05$, $df = 4$
$V = 0.126$ $p < 0.05$

[19] Chinese and South Asian were combined with the group Minority n.i.e due to sparse data, as there was a small number of people in these two groups..

[20] "Not included elsewhere," includes Guyanese, West Indian, Kurd, Tibetan, Polynesian, Pacific Islander, Filipino, Arab, Japanese etc.

In summary, the conclusions from this bivariate analysis are:

- Hypothesis 4.4 - that visible minorities will be overrepresented among long term disappearances – is supported: Black people, Latin Americans, and Aboriginal people were overrepresented among people missing for a long period of time compared to short term disappearances.

Long Term Disappearances, by Where People were Reported Missing From

Hypothesis 4.5 *People reported missing from shelters and group/foster homes will be overrepresented among people missing for a long period of time compared to short term disappearances*

Table 7.5 below shows the distribution of short term and long term disappearances according to where people were reported missing from. The chi-square test and Cramer's V are significant, indicating that there is a relationship between where people were reported missing from and the duration of disappearances. The magnitude of the Cramer's V indicates a moderately strong relationship between where someone was reported missing and long term disappearances. Specifically, people reported missing from shelters and group/foster homes were overrepresented among long term disappearances compared to short term disappearances. On the other hand, people missing from private residences were *underrepresented* among long term disappearances compared to short term disappearances. First, 27% of people who were missing for a long period of time were from shelters compared to about 15% of people missing for a short period of time. Second, 46.3% of people missing for a long period of time went missing from group/foster homes compared to only 39.3% of short term disappearances.

In summary, the conclusions from this bivariate analysis are:

- Hypothesis 4.5 - that people reported missing from shelters and group/foster homes will be overrepresented among long term disappearances – is supported: both groups were overrepresented among long term disappearances compared to short term disappearances.

Table 7.5 Short Term versus Long Term Disappearances, by Where People Were Reported Missing From

Where missing from	Percent of short term disappearances	Percent of long term disappearances
Private residence	39.2	26.8
Shelter	15.1	26.8
Group/foster home	39.3	46.3
Other	6.4	0
Total percent	100.0	100.0
Number unknown	7	
Total Number	676	41

Notes:
$\chi^2 = 8.001$, $p < 0.05$, $df = 4$
$V = 0.106$ $p < 0.05$

Long Term Disappearances, by Did Not Return On Own

Hypothesis 4.6 *People who did not return on their own will be overrepresented among long term disappearances compared to short term disappearances*

Table 7.6 shows the distribution of short term and long term disappearances according to whether people returned on their own or not. The chi-square and phi statistics are significant

indicating that there is a relationship between these two variables. The magnitude of the phi statistic indicates a moderately strong relationship between the two variables. The results show that people who did not return on their own, were overrepresented among people missing for a long period of time compared to short term disappearances. Specifically, people who did not return on their own accounted for just over 70% of long term disappearances compared to approximately 35% of short term disappearances. This finding suggests that there may be two distinct groups – people who disappear and return shortly thereafter voluntarily and a second group who go missing for longer periods of time and would have stayed away longer had they not been located.

The increased likelihood of a long term disappearances for those who did not return on their own is an important finding in light of what this paper proposes about the relationship between social exclusion and the duration of peoples' disappearances. This finding also has implications for policies of prevention and intervention. Specifically, it may be that people who do not return on their own are escaping particularly perilous circumstances such as violence, abuse, and neglect. In other words, those who do not return on their own are the most disadvantaged. In such cases particular interventions such as counselling for entire families may be more successful compared to those that target solely the individual going missing. Moreover, if people are escaping violence and abuse, returning them to these circumstances is obviously undesirable. Instead, people may require temporary safe accommodation until a more permanent long term solution is reached.

Table 7.6 Short Term versus Long Term Disappearances, by Did Not Return on Own

Outcome of case	Percent of short term disappearances	Percent of long term disappearances
Returned on own	65.3	29.3
Did not return on own	34.7	70.7
Total percent	100.0	100.0
Number unknown	3	
Total Number	680	41

Notes:
$\chi^2 = 21.590$, $p < 0.001$, $df = 1$
$\varphi = 0.173$ $p < 0.001$

In summary, the conclusions from this bivariate analysis are:

- Hypothesis 4.6 - that people who did not return on their own will be overrepresented among long term disappearances – is supported: people who did not return on their own were overrepresented among people missing for a long period of time compared to short term disappearances.

Summary

Linking the concept of social exclusion with long term disappearances shows that several excluded groups are at risk of a long term disappearance. Specifically, Aboriginal people, other visible minority groups (Black people and Latin Americans, and Aboriginal people were overrepresented whereas other minority groups were underrepresented among long term disappearances compared to short term), people reported missing from group homes, foster

homes, and shelters, and people who did not return on their own were overrepresented among people missing for a long period of time.

CHAPTER 8: CAUSAL FACTORS IN LONG TERM DISAPPEARANCES

Hypothesis #5: *Apart from being a risk factor in long term disappearances as hypothesis 4 indicates, social exclusion is also causally related to long term disappearances. Specifically, social exclusion increases the probability of remaining missing for a long period of time.*

The following chapter identifies causal links between social exclusion and long term disappearances for people reported missing in one Canadian city in 2006. Specifically, chapter 7 identifies risk factors in long term disappearances. In this chapter, logistic regression determines whether several of these risk factors are also causally related to long term disappearances[21]. The dependent variable is the duration of peoples' disappearance from the day the person was reported missing until the day they were either found, returned on their own, or the case was cancelled for some other reason. Recall that this variable is highly skewed in the positive direction with most cases clustering around one, two, and three days (Table B7.2b Appendix A). Highly skewed variables can pose a problem for statistical analysis. Therefore, this variable has been transformed into a dichotomous variable - short term versus long term disappearances. Short term disappearances are defined as lasting for seven days or less and long term disappearances are defined as lasting eight or more days. A detailed description of this dependent variable is presented in Table A8.1a in Appendix A.

Specifically, it is hypothesized that being young, female, and a member of a minority group are causal factors in long term disappearances. Going missing from a shelter and not returning on one's own are also hypothesized to impact the likelihood of a long term

[21] Three-way multivariate analyses similar to those presented in chapter 5 were attempted but due to a small number of persons in the category of long term disappearances the results could not be interpreted.

disappearance. Specifically, these two variables may help to explain the impact (if any) of age, gender, and minority status on the likelihood of a long term disappearance. For example, recall that going missing from a shelter is a risk factor in a long term disappearance. It may be that minorities are more likely to rely on shelters and this may, in part, explain why minorities are at risk of remaining missing for a long period of time. A detailed description of the independent variables analyzed in this chapter is available in Tables B8.1b and C8.1c in Appendix A.

The possibility that going missing from a shelter and not returning on one's own help to explain the effect of age, gender, and minority status on the likelihood of a long term disappearance is tested by entering the variable in stages. Specifically, the impact of age, gender, and minority status on long term disappearances is assessed first. The impact of going missing from a shelter and not returning on one's own are explored in subsequent models. More specifically, model one tests the relationship between age, gender, and minority status and long term disappearances. Model two adds a variable representing being reported from a shelter. Model three adds a variable representing whether or not some returned on their own. Evidence of an intervening relationship will arise if a significant relationship between age, gender, or minority status and the likelihood of a long term disappearance is reduced to non-significance in models two or three. For example, if age is significant in model one and is reduced to non-significance in model two, this would suggest that going missing from a shelter helps to explain the effects of age on the likelihood of a long term disappearance. Chi-squared differences between the three models are compared to determine whether the elaborated models two and three improve on model one.

The Impact of Age, Female, and Minority Status on Long Term Disappearances

To understand the impact of age, gender, and minority status on the likelihood of a long term disappearance logistic regression is used. Logistic regression assesses the independent effects of age, gender, and minority status on long term disappearances. In other words, support for a causal relationship between minority status and long term disappearances, depends on ruling out or controlling for, the effects of age and gender. Significant effects for minority status suggest that this variable impacts the likelihood of a long term disappearance independent of the other two variables. Model one assesses the impact of age, gender, and minority status on the likelihood of a long term disappearance.

Results

Table 8.1 below shows the relationship between age, gender, and minority status and long term disappearances. The chi-square is 11.889 and significant meaning that at least one of the predictors has an impact on the dependent variable – long term disappearances. In other words, the null hypothesis - that long term disappearances are unrelated to all three variables - has been refuted. The coefficient for minority status is significant indicating that minorities are at risk of a long term disappearance, independent of age and gender. Specifically, the odds of a long term disappearance for someone who is a minority are almost 3 times greater compared to non-minorities.

Predicted probabilities offer additional insight into the relationship between minority status and long term disappearances, while holding age and gender constant. For example, the

probability that a minority woman who is 22 years old[22] will remain missing for a long period of time is 0.133 compared to 0.050 for a 22 year old non-minority woman. In other words, being a member of a visible minority group increases the probability of a long term disappearance. Consistent with the results from chapter 7, the effects of age and gender on the likelihood of a long term disappearance were not significant. These two variables will be included in models two and three in case significant effects emerge due to a suppressor effect.

Table 8.1 Model 1 Logistic Regression Analysis for Age, Female, and Minority Status by Long Term Disappearances

Predictor	B	s.e.	Wald	Df	P	Odds ratio
Constant	-2.975	0.430	47.813	1	<0.001	0.051
Age	-0.018	0.015	1.377	1	n.s	.983
Female	0.433	0.350	1.526	1	n.s	1.541
Minority	1.069	0.358	8.888	1	<0.010	2.911
Likelihood ratio		296.387				
Cox and Snell R^2		0.017				
Nagelkerke R^2		0.047				
χ^2		11.889	$df = 3$, $p < .01$			

Note: n=717

The Impact of Age, Female, Minority Status, and Shelter on Long Term Disappearances

To assess the impact of age, gender, minority status, and going missing from a shelter on the likelihood of a long term disappearance, logistic regression is used. Logistic regression assesses the effect of each of the independent variables on the likelihood of a long term disappearance, while controlling for the other variables in the model. Moreover, comparing the coefficient for

[22] Age is held constant at it's mean.

minority status in model two and model one will show whether going missing from a shelter helps to explain the relationship between minority status and the likelihood of a long term disappearance[23]. Specifically, if the coefficient for minority status is reduced to non-significance in model two, this would suggest that going missing from a shelter intervenes in the relationship between minority status and long term disappearances.

Results

Table 8.2 below shows the impact of age, gender, minority status, and going missing from a shelter on the likelihood of a long term disappearance. The model as a whole is significant with a chi-square statistic of 17.619. This means that the null hypothesis – that long term disappearances are unrelated to all of the variables – has been refuted. At least one of the predictors has a significant impact on long term disappearances. Moreover, the Cox and Snell and Nagelkerke R squared are larger in this second model compared to the first model indicating an increase in the strength of association between the independent variables and the dependent variable in model two compared to model one. However, comparing the chi-squared difference between model one and model two shows only a very modest improvement[24] in model two compared to the model one.

[23] Minority status was the only one of the three demographic variables that had a significant impact on long term disappearances in the first model. Therefore, it is only possible to test whether being reported missing from a shelter intervenes in the relationship between minority status and long term disappearances.

[24] The chi-square difference between models 1 and 2 is 5.73, df=1 $p<0.025$.

With respect to the individual coefficients, minority status and going missing from a shelter are significant. Specifically, the coefficient for minority status remains significant and positively related to the duration of disappearances. In other words, while controlling for age, gender, and going missing from a shelter, minorities have higher odds of a long term disappearance compared to non-minorities. Therefore, the possibility that the high risk to minorities is due to the fact that minorities are overrepresented among shelter users is not supported. The relationship between going missing from a shelter and long term disappearances is significant and positive. This means that people reported missing from a shelter have higher odds of a long term disappearance compared to people reported missing from somewhere else. Specifically, the odds of a long term disappearance are 2.847 times greater for people who went missing from a shelter.

Predicted probabilities are also a useful way of gaining insight into the effect of the independent variable on long term disappearances. Specifically, the likelihood of a long term disappearance for a 22 year old minority woman who went missing from a shelter is 0.254 compared to 0.107 for a 22 year old minority woman who did not go missing from a shelter. In other words, while holding age, gender, and minority status constant, being reported missing from a shelter increased the likelihood of a long term disappearance.

Table 8.2 Model 2 Logistic Regression Analysis for Age, Female, Minority Status, and Reported from a Shelter on Long Term Disappearances

Predictor	B	s.e.	Wald	Df	P	Odds ratio
Constant	-2.842	0.438	42.151	1	<0.001	0.058
Age	-0.032	0.019	2.915	1	n.s	.968
Female	0.300	0.357	0.706	1	n.s	1.350
Minority	1.122	0.361	9.658	1	<0.01	3.072
Shelter	1.046	0.419	6.232	1	<0.050	2.847
Likelihood ratio		290.657				
Cox and Snell R^2		0.024				
Nagelkerke R^2		0.070				
χ^2		17.619	$df = 4$, $p < .001$			

Note: n= 714

The Impact of Age, Female, Minority Status, Shelter, and Did Not returned on Own on Long term Disappearances

Finally, logistic regression assesses the independent effects of age, gender, minority status, going missing from a shelter, and did not return on one's own on the likelihood of a long term disappearance while holding constant the other variables in the model. A variable representing whether or not someone returned on their own is included in model three to test the hypothesis that this variable helps to explain the impact of age, gender, minority status, and going missing from a shelter on the likelihood of a long term disappearance. For example, if the effects of minority status are altered or reduced to non-significance in model three, this would mean that the risk of a long term disappearance for minorities is due in part to the fact that they are less

likely to return on their own[25]. Age and gender are assessed as their effect on long term disappearances may be altered in model three due to suppressor effects. For example, the effects of either age or gender may reach significance after not returning on one's own is controlled for.

Results

The results for the logistic regression are shown in table 8.3 below. The model as a whole is significant with a chi-square of 39.685. This means that the null hypothesis – that peoples' disappearances are unrelated to any of the five independent variables – has been refuted. In other words, at least one of the variables has an impact on the duration of disappearances. Moreover, the Cox and Snell and Nagelkerke R squared are larger in the third model compared to the first and second models. This means that the combined strength of the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable is greater in model three compared to models one and two. Finally, comparing the chi-squared difference between models three and two indicates a significant improvement in model three after a variable representing whether people returned on their own or not was added[26]

With respect to individual coefficients, the effects of minority status and reported from a shelter remain significant. The coefficient for did not return on own is also significant. The relationship between minority status and the duration of disappearances is positive. This means that while controlling for all other variables in the model, the likelihood of a long term disappearance is higher for minorities compared to non-minorities. Going missing from a shelter

[25] Recall from chapter 7 that people who do not return on their own are less likely to remain missing for a long time.

[26] The chi-squared difference between models 3 and 2 is 21.607, df=1 $p<0.001$.

also increased the probability of a long term disappearance. Specifically, the odds of a long term disappearance are 3 times greater for people who were reported missing from a shelter compared to people reported missing from somewhere else. Moreover, not returning on one's own increased the odds of a long term disappearance by more than 5 compared to people who returned on their own.

Finally, the effects of age on the likelihood of a long term disappearance reached significance in model three, only after not returning on one's own is controlled for. The coefficient for age was negative, indicating that for every year increase in age the likelihood of a long term disappearance decreases. In other words as people get older it is less likely that they will remain missing for a long time. This finding is not consistent with the existing literature on missing persons which indicates that a high number of adults remain missing for extended periods of time (Patterson 2005; Cohen et al. 2008; Newiss 2005; Hirschel and Lab 1988). One reason for the disparate findings between this research and past studies with missing persons may be due to different definitions of long term disappearances. Specifically, this research defines long term disappearances as lasting eight or more days whereas past research has focused on disappearances of one year or more (Newiss 2005) or indefinite disappearances, referring to people who were reported missing and not yet found (Patterson 2005; Cohen et al. 2008).

Another possible explanation for the disparity between the findings from this research and past studies about the duration of disappearances is that this research incorporates sociological theory to understand the complex reasons behind long term disappearances. Incorporating theoretical concepts ensures that as many relevant variables as possible are assessed for their impact on the likelihood of a long term disappearance. For example, in this research, age only reaches significance after not returning on one's own is controlled for. It may

be that youth are more likely to return on their own, and as a result, it appears that youth are less likely to remain missing for a long period of time. Recall from chapter 7 that people who return on their own are *less* likely to experience a long term disappearance compared to people who do not return on their own. Therefore, failing to account for whether or not someone returned on their own, may lead to the conclusion that youth are less likely to experience a long term disappearance compared to adults. However, after controlling for not returning on one's own, it is clear that decreases in age actually increase the likelihood of a long term disappearance.

Table 8.3 Logistic Regression Analysis for Age, Female, Minority Status, Shelter, and Did Not Return on Own by Long Term Disappearances

Predictor	B	s.e.	Wald	Df	P	Odds ratio
Constant	-3.490	0.498	50.857	1	<0.001	0.031
Age (in years)	-0.039	0.019	4.258	1	<0.050	0.962
Female	0.207	0.365	0.458	1	n.s	1.229
Minority	1.110	0.372	8.906	1	<0.010	3.034
Shelter	1.120	0.430	6.792	1	<0.010	3.065
Did not Return on Own	1.609	0.361	19.830	1	<0.001	5.000
Likelihood ratio		268.951				
Cox and Snell R^2		0.054				
Nagelkerke R^2		0.154				
χ^2		39.685	$df = 5$, $p < .001$			

Note: n= 714

Predicted probabilities also offer insight into the relationship between age, gender, minority status, reported from a shelter, did not return on one's own, and long term disappearances. The results from model one and model two shown above indicate that

minorities, people reported from shelters, and people who did not return on their own faced a high probability of remaining missing. Model three confirms these findings. Moreover, in model three the effects of age reached significance. Specifically, to see the impact of age on the likelihood of a long term disappearance, consider that the predicted probability of a long term disappearance for a 19 year old is 0.014 compared to 0.010 for a 29 year old, with all other variables held constant. In other words, as age *increases* the probability of a long term disappearance *decreases,* controlling for gender, minority status, reported missing from a shelter, and did not return on one's own.

This dissertation shows that the relationship between age and long term disappearances only reaches significance after controlling for whether or not people returned on their own. Social exclusion sheds some light on why this might be. Specifically, young people who go missing often sever ties with family, friends, and schools. Many young people who go missing also lack the knowledge or ability to access employment, financial support, and other vital services and resources, resulting in further marginalization and exclusion. As a result, young people who go missing often have difficulty (re)connecting with family, school, and other mainstream institutions. Moreover, some young people are fleeing from violence and conflict at home. These youth may be unlikely to return on their own as they do not wish to renew contact with abusive families. Instead they experience a long term disappearance. In other words, youth who are the most marginalized and disadvantaged are unlikely to return on their own and are at risk of a long term disappearance.

Moreover, model three offers insight into hypothesis 5 – that social exclusion will increase the probability of a long term disappearances. Specifically, the results of model three reveal that the likelihood of a long term disappearance is high when multiple characteristics

associated with social exclusion intersect. For example, the predicted probability of a long term disappearance for minority females who are 22 years old[27], went missing from a shelter, who did not return on their own is 0.425. Consider by comparison, that the probability of remaining missing for eight or more days for a non-minority man who is 22 years old, did not go missing from a shelter, and who returned on his own is 0.013. Finally, the chi-squared difference between model three, which includes all five measures of social exclusion and model one which includes only age, gender, and minority status is significant[28]. This means that model three which tests five measures of social exclusion has more predictive power in terms of explaining the likelihood of a long term disappearance compared to the model with only the three demographic variables.

In summary, the conclusions from this logistic regression analysis are:

- Minority groups, people who went missing from a shelter, and people who did not return on their own face a high risk of a long term disappearance, while controlling for the other variables in the model.
- The odds of a long term disappearance increase as age decreases.
- Hypothesis 5 - that social exclusion increases the probability of long term disappearances – is supported: the highest probability of remaining missing for a long period of time is achieved if multiple characteristics associated with social exclusion intersect.

[27] Age is held constant at its mean.

[28] The chi-squared difference between model 3 and model 1 is 27.436, df=2 $P<0.001$.

CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Discussion

This study shows that excluded groups face a relatively high risk of being reported missing. Youth, women, Aboriginal people, other visible minority groups, homeless people, women escaping domestic violence, youth in care facilities, and people who are unemployed or outside the labour force faced a disproportionately high risk of being reported missing. Social exclusion also emerged as a causal factor in going missing. Further, excluded groups faced a high risk of a long term disappearance. Aboriginal people, minorities, people who were reported missing from a shelter or group/foster home, and people who did not return on their own were at high risk of a long term disappearance. Finally, social exclusion increased the probability of a long term disappearance.

Social exclusion provides insight into why people go missing. Going missing emerges often as a response to stressful life events and is common among people who have few resources to rely on to cope with these events. Access to family relationships, employment, and other activities can shield people from stress and harm or, at least, provide people with resources to cope with various misfortunes. People who are excluded, on the other hand, lack access to one or many of these relationships and activities and, as a consequence, may resort to running away or going missing in the face of extreme adversity. Social exclusion can also expose people to circumstances that are risk factors in peoples' disappearances. For example, disadvantaged youth may end up in foster care and a high number of youth go missing from care. In other words, social exclusion leads directly and indirectly to peoples' disappearances.

Social exclusion also plays a role in long term disappearances. Specifically, missing persons are often disadvantaged and going missing further isolates them from conventional supports and resources. In other words, if people are already excluded, going missing pushes them even further towards the margins of society, making it difficult to (re)connect with mainstream society and institutions such as family. For example, many runaway youth are disadvantaged in that they come from backgrounds characterized by abuse and neglect. Youth who flee from unsafe homes often end up on the streets and this intensifies experiences of exclusion. As one author explains in reference to street involved youth, "...their exclusionary trajectory intensifies as their inadequate access to housing, limited educational and employment opportunities, and restricted access to public space increases their vulnerability to crime" (Gaetz 2004: 445). Therefore, going missing often intensifies experience of disadvantage and this may be a risk factor in a long term disappearance.

One important finding from this research is that young people 19 years old and under were reported missing in high numbers and were overrepresented among missing persons compared to the general population. This finding is consistent with studies in Canada and international research which found that youth go missing in high number (Dalley 2007; Tarling and Burrows 2004; James et al. 2008; Newiss 1999). However, this research is unique in that it explains the linkages between being young and going missing in relation to both macro and micro-level factors. First, due to global economic forces and the changing nature of work, employment histories over the life-course are characterized by sporadic and unstable jobs rather than permanent careers that see people through from early adulthood to retirement age (Young 1999; Fergusson 2004). For young people of working age who rely on the labour market for subsistence, this results in uncertainty, unemployment, and poverty which are associated with

going missing. Second, on a smaller scale, many youth who go missing come from disadvantaged backgrounds characterized by abuse and neglect and studies suggest that they disappear in order to escape these perilous circumstances at home (Social Exclusion Unit 2002; James et al. 2008; Public Health Agency of Canada 2006). Family conflict, including violence and abuse, may be a particularly salient factor in the disappearances of some of the youngest people who go missing, such as the zero to 14 year olds examined in this research. This group is likely to have weak connections with the labour market. Therefore, macro-level circumstances such as the dwindling supply of jobs coupled with micro-level factors such as family violence, conflict, and dissolution, lead to experiences of disadvantage and result in a high number of disappearances among youth.

It is important to note that going missing can expose youth to serious problems later in life. For example, one Canadian study shows that many street youth are shut out of education and employment and, as a result, are often forced to resort to risky and illegal subsistence strategies (Gaetz 2004). Other risks encountered by streets engaged youth include violence, high risk sexual activity, and substance abuse (Gaetz 2004). International studies with missing youth support this finding (Social Exclusion Unit 2002; Biehal et al. 2003). Specifically, according to a study in the United Kingdom (U.K.), one in 14 young runaways, or approximately 5,000 youth per year, are forced to resort to stealing, prostitution, begging, or drug dealing for survival (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). The long term effects of running away include adult homelessness, crime, substance abuse problems, and mental and physical health problems (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). In other words, policies and programs that focus on preventing youth disappearances will prevent future problems.

This study shows that women were overrepresented among missing persons' whereas men were underrepresented among missing persons compared to the general population. Moreover, a higher proportion of the missing persons sample were women compared to men. Several studies have found equal numbers of male and female missing persons (Tarling and Burrows 2004; Biehal et al. 2003). This disparity may be due to differing research goals, samples, and/or data sources. For example, studies of outstanding missing persons and data obtained from private organizations have found higher numbers of men among missing persons, compared to studies such as this one that are based on police data of missing persons. What is clear is that going missing is a gendered process, because the reasons and risks associated with going missing are different for women and men (James et al. 2008; Public Health Agency of Canada 2006; Gaetz 2004; Kempf-Leonard and Johansson 2007). For example, among runaway and homeless youth, females are more likely than males to report sexual abuse in the home (Public Health Agency of Canada 2006; Novac 2006). Moreover, the risks to missing women differ compared to men. For example, one Canadian study found that female street youth were more likely to report being the victim of a crime compared to their male counterparts (Gaetz 2004). This finding is especially noteworthy considering that among young people in the general population males are the more likely victims of crime (Gaetz 2004).

The gendered nature of going missing is not surprising given that women are more likely to experience social and economic disadvantage compared to men (Carr and Chen 2004). Canadian women face higher poverty rates and earn less than men (Townson 2009). For example, in 2007, the average earnings of full-time employed women were only 71% of the average earnings of men with full-time employment (Townson 2009). In Ontario, women were also overrepresented among unemployed persons and persons not in the labour force compared

to men (Statistics Canada 2006a). The extreme significance of labour force status on women's disappearances is supported by the results of chapter 5, which show that labour force status helps to explain the high risk of women going missing. Specifically, women's overrepresentation among people who are outside of the labour force may, in part, explain the higher risk of going missing experienced by this group. Low levels of participation in the labour force may be a particularly salient factor in the disappearances of Aboriginal women and other minority women who face even lower levels of labour market participation compared to other women in Canada (Cranford et al. 2003). Therefore, preventing women's disappearances depends on policies that enhance employment opportunities for women. Policies are also needed that protect those who are outside the labour market, such as caregivers of young children and elderly parents.

One consequence of being outside of the labour force is that women are more likely to be dependent on partners or spouses for subsistence compared to men. For women who are dependent on a partner for subsistence, relationship breakdown and family dissolution often lead to poverty, homelessness and other problems that are associated with peoples' disappearances (Novac 2006). The fact that 22% of the missing women in this sample were reported missing from a shelter indicates that women's disappearances are related to homelessness. Moreover, it is evident from the high number of women in this sample who were reported missing from a Violence Against Women shelter, that domestic violence plays a large role in women's disappearances. Therefore, homelessness and domestic violence contribute to women's disappearances.

The structural disadvantage impacting Aboriginal people and communities including years of oppression, racism, poverty, family violence, homelessness, and other problems contributes to, and may even cause, the disappearances of Aboriginal people. These

aforementioned circumstances also expose Aboriginal people to a high risk of a long term disappearance. For example, Aboriginal people may flee reserves to escape violence, poverty, and substance abuse problems. If Aboriginal people go missing they often flee to city centres where they often continue to encounter discrimination and hardship, and are pushed even further towards the margins. As a result, Aboriginal people may have difficulty (re)connecting with mainstream society and institutions resulting in a long term disappearance.

Moreover, the hardship and poverty experienced by Aboriginal people, and women in particular, forces many to engage in risky lifestyles (Amnesty International 2004). High risk lifestyles have contributed to the long term disappearances of many Aboriginal women in Canada, often with dire outcomes (Amnesty International 2004). For example, many of the 27 women that Pickton is suspected to have murdered in British Columbia (B.C.) were missing for a long time. Due to poverty and disadvantage, most were engaged in high risk activities such as prostitution. Therefore, if Aboriginal women go missing, the extreme disadvantage that they encounter leads often to long term disappearances, and other negative outcomes, even death (Native Women's Association of Canada 2009).

Black people and Latin Americans were overrepresented in this sample of missing persons. Moreover, minority status increased the probability of a long term disappearance. The concept of social exclusion suggests reasons why visible minorities faced a disproportionate risk of going missing and remaining missing. In Canada, visible minorities are twice as likely to have incomes below the Low Income Cut-off (LICO) compared to other Canadians (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics 2001a). Moreover, in Ontario and in the city from which these data were collected, visible minorities experience higher unemployment rates compared to the general population (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada 2009). Particular minority

groups experience higher levels of social and economic exclusion than other groups. For example, a Canada-wide report on visible minorities found that Latin Americans and Black people had higher unemployment rates compared to other visible minorities in 1996 (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics 2001a). Therefore, social and economic exclusion experienced by particular minority groups contributes to a high risk of going missing and may explain the high risk of a long term disappearance.

This research finds that homelessness and other changes in living arrangements brought about by family dissolution are also related to peoples' disappearances. Unfortunately this research was unable to explore directly a major cause of family dissolution that is commonly noted in the background of missing persons - family violence. The main reason for this is that information about violence and abuse often goes unreported to police officers when someone files a missing persons report. In some cases, information about abuse may be deliberately withheld from police if the person filing the report is also the perpetrator of abuse. However, the relationship between family dissolution and missing persons is evident from the fact that shelter users and youth in care faced a disproportionate risk of going missing.

Homelessness is a risk and causal factor in peoples' disappearances. Specifically, shelter users were 17 times as likely as non-shelter users to be reported missing[29]. Moreover, female shelter users were 5 times as likely as male shelter users to be reported missing. It is important to note that 88% of female shelter users were in a Violence Against Women (VAW) shelter. In Canada, approximately 75% of women who rely on VAW shelters are escaping domestic violence (Sauvé and Burns 2009). In other words, homelessness and domestic violence are two

[29] Shelters refer to emergency shelters and women's shelters. Most often the missing person is reported by shelter staff.

major reasons behind women's disappearances. Moreover, going missing from a shelter increases the probability of a long term disappearance. Specifically, shelter users were 3 times as likely as non-shelter users to experience a long term disappearance. Extreme disadvantage results in a high risk of a long term disappearances for women who flee from shelters. For example, women reported missing form VAW shelter are escaping severe crises such as violence, abuse, and neglect. This group may remain missing for a long time in order to avoid being re-victimized in the homes from which they fled.

It is important to note that this research only captures homeless people residing in temporary emergency shelters who were reported missing by shelter staff. However, homelessness is a process. For example, homelessness may be set in motion if an individual or household is forced to allocate more than an acceptable portion of their salary to rent or living accommodation. The individual or family may then be forced to relocate to sub-standard housing where rents are cheaper. Subsequent hardships may force the individual or family into emergency shelters. Over time, ties with mainstream society are severed and these individuals become streets engaged. In other words, the findings from this research about the risk to homeless people represent only the tip of the iceberg. Many others who are homeless but do not rely on emergency shelters and those who are at risk of becoming homeless may have been overlooked in this research. Future research should focus on the risk to other sub-groups of homeless people and others who are at risk of ending up homeless.

Second, over half of the youth in this sample were reported missing from care facilities such as group homes and foster homes. Specifically, this study shows that youth in care were 200 times as likely to be reported missing as youth not in care. Youth tend to end up in care after experiencing family dissolution, often brought about by family violence, neglect, or another

negative life event. Moreover, youth in care report bullying, mistreatment by staff, limited access to family visits, unfair rules, and improper placements as key reasons for going missing (Kerr and Finlay 2006). In other words, youth in care often come from backgrounds characterized by violence, abuse, and neglect which make them vulnerable to going missing already. Care placements may not meet their unique needs, another reason for the high number of disappearances among youth in care.

Going missing often exacerbates experiences of exclusion for youth in care. Similar to all runaways, youth who go missing from care may end up on the streets where they are often victimized and exploited by others (Gaetz 2004). However, youth who flee from care face some unique risks compared to other youth. For example, in some cases, youth in care are on parole and are often required to adhere to strict curfews as one condition of parole (Kerr and Finlay 2006). Going missing, even for one night, exposes them to repercussion from the criminal justice system. One Canadian study asked youth about their experiences going missing from care (Kerr and Finlay 2006). One youth reported, "I'm on probation. If I'm gone after 8:00, I'm in jail" (Kerr and Finlay 2006: 8). Therefore, fleeing from care intensifies experiences of social exclusion. Moreover if youth in care flee in order to return to the homes and families they have been separated from they may be exposed to danger.

Similar to adults, youth homelessness is a process. Youth may flee from home or care at first for brief periods of time and eventually become engaged with street culture. For example, youth who go missing may sever ties with schools, families, peers who are not streets engaged, and other mainstream institutions, leading to homelessness. In other words, among youth, going missing appears to be a precursor to homelessness (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). Moreover, in many cases the reasons for running away and the reasons cited for homelessness overlap (Public

Health Agency of Canada 2006; James et al. 2008). For example, abuse and neglect and other serious conflict at home are all reported by street youth as key reasons for ending up homeless (Public Health Agency of Canada 2006). These are also cited as key reasons for going missing (Social Exclusion Unit 2002; James et al. 2008). In other words, the phenomenon of going missing and that of youth homelessness are intertwined. Going missing may be an early sign of ensuing homelessness. In order to prevent youth disappearances and homelessness, policies of prevention and intervention must pay close attention to early episodes of running away.

Another important finding is that labour force status is related to peoples' disappearances. First, people who were unemployed were overrepresented among this sample of missing persons compared to the general population and faced a higher risk of being reported missing compared to employed persons. One study in the U.K. explains that financial problems were a major reason for adult disappearances (Biehal et al. 2003). Financial crises may be initiated or exacerbated by persistent unemployment. The relationship between unemployment and going missing is also indirect in that persistent unemployment often leads to poverty and homelessness which are also risk factors for going missing. Second, people who were outside the labour force faced a disproportionate risk of being reported missing compared to employed persons. Being unemployed or outside of the labour market may be a particularly salient factor in women's disappearances. This research shows that part of the reason why women go missing in high numbers is due to their labour force status. In particular, in the jurisdiction where these data were obtained women are drastically overrepresented among those who are outside the labour force (Statistics Canada 2006a). People who are not in the labour force are often dependent on a primary income earner and their well-being is often tied to these primary income earners. If confronted with conflict at home, these people have few resources to rely on and may turn to

going missing as a last resort. Therefore, focusing on employment programs and programs that ensure caregivers and others who are outside the labour force are financially stable may prove extremely beneficial in preventing all disappearances. These policies will be of particular value in preventing women's disappearances. Programs that focus on fostering women's economic independence may also be vital in preventing their disappearances.

Exploring the intersections of characteristics associated with social exclusion provides more detail about who is at risk of being reported missing. First, exploring the intersection of age and gender shows that young women aged 19 years and younger faced a higher risk of being reported missing compared to young men. Women between 15 and 19 years old faced the highest risk of being reported missing compared to the reference category (males, zero to 14 years old) and all other gender-age combinations examined here. Young women experience discrimination and disadvantage on account of their age and gender and, as a result, are exposed to risk factors associated with going missing. For example, young women are more likely to report that they left home to escape family violence compared to men (Public Health Agency of Canada 2006). Second, if young women do go missing the risks they experience are quite different from their male counterparts. Women who end up on the streets experience higher victimization rates overall compared to men, particularly sexual exploitation (Gaetz 2004). For example, in one Canadian study 51.4% of female street youth reported sexual victimization, compared to 18.9% of males. In other words, social exclusion is related to the disappearances of young women and young women are exposed to severe risks if they go missing.

Furthermore, the results of this research show that the risk to young Aboriginal women between 15 and 19 years old was even greater than the risk to other young women. This is consistent with evidence provided by the Native Women's Association of Canada (2009) which

found that out of 520 women who have gone missing over the past few decades, more than half were under 30 years old and a large number were 18 years old or under at the time they disappeared. These young women experience youth, gender, and Aboriginal identity as barriers to participation in social life and, as a result, are likely to experience risk factors associated with going missing (Knapp 2005). Specifically, a history of colonization and discrimination have had a devastating impact on Aboriginal persons, particularly women, exposing them to low levels of labour market participation, poverty, isolation from culture and community, and other problems associated with going missing (Amnesty International 2004).

Racism and gender-based violence have also been implicated in the murders and suspicious disappearances of many Aboriginal women in Canada over the past several decades (Native Women's Association of Canada 2009). The Native Women's Association of Canada (2009) identifies 520 Aboriginal women who have gone missing or been murdered in Canada over the past several decades. Of these 520 women, 24% remain missing and another 67% were found dead (Native Women's Association of Canada 2009). In Canada, a greater awareness of the link between gender-based violence and the disappearances of Aboriginal women surfaced following the Pickton case. Pickton was charged with the murder of 27 women abducted from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside[30]. A disproportionate number of whom were young Aboriginal women (Native Women's Association of Canada 2009). Therefore, young Aboriginal women face a high risk of being reported missing and may be exposed to tremendous danger if they do go missing.

Several police initiatives highlight the high risk that Aboriginal women face. For example, in 2006, project E-PANA was developed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police

[30] Pickton was convicted of 6 counts of murder. The remaining cases were dropped (Hall 2012).

(RCMP) to investigate the "highway of tears" - a stretch of highway 16 in northern British Columbia between Prince Rupert and Prince George which has been the site of countless abductions and murders of women, many of them Aboriginal (Missing Women Commission of Inquiry 2012). The RCMP has linked 18 murders or disappearances with this particular stretch of highway 16 (CBC News 2012). Other groups in the area suspect that the actual number of missing and murdered women is as high as 43, and add that many of these women are young Aboriginal women (CBC News 2012; Missing Women Commission of Inquiry 2012). Another police initiative known as Project Kare was devised by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the Edmonton Police Service to respond to the suspicious disappearances of women north of Edmonton. These initiatives highlight the high risk to women, Aboriginal women specifically.

Other visible minority women also face an increased risk of being reported missing. Minority women experience both gender and ethnicity as barriers to employment. For example, minority women have lower employment rates in Canada compared to non-minority women and men (Chui and Maheux 2011). Minority women are also more likely than non-minority women to earn less and be employed part-time (Chui and Maheux 2011). For example, minority women with full-time employment in 2005 earned an average of $4,000 less than non-minority women (Chui and Maheux 2011). Perhaps due to their employment histories, minority women are also more likely to experience poverty and low income compared to non-minority women (Chui and Maheux 2011). Unemployment and poverty are both associated with peoples' disappearances. Therefore, unemployment and precarious employment, poverty, and other forms of disadvantage are associated with the disappearances of minority women.

Finally, this research shows that not returning on one's own increases the probability of a long term disappearance. This finding has important implications in terms of the central hypothesis guiding this research – that socially excluded groups are at risk of a long term disappearance. Specifically, it may be that people who do not return on their own are escaping the most severe circumstances and are among the most disadvantaged. For example, conflict with parents is a common reason youth flee from home and these conflicts range from simple disagreements to abuse and neglect (Biehal et al. 2003; Wade et al. 2002; James et al. 2008). Youth who do not return on their own may be escaping extreme peril at home and perceive returning home to be the worst possible outcome. Instead these youth are at risk of a long term disappearance. Therefore, people who do not return on their own may be the most marginalized and disadvantaged.

This research draws linkages between systemic disadvantage and peoples' disappearances. Specifically, this research isolates groups who face a high risk of going missing. The concept of social exclusion explains that the high risk to these groups is linked to structural inequality. For example, social exclusion elucidates structural inequalities such as gender inequality, colonialism, and prejudice that contribute to the disappearances of Aboriginal women. The extreme significance of this contribution is that policies of prevention must target these underlying issues. In other words, although going missing is a concern in itself, it is really the underlying inequality that needs to be addressed. It is also important to note, however, that the structural disadvantage associated with peoples' disappearances may be largely invisible to the general public. For example, it may be difficult to observe gender inequality or prejudice. Going missing may therefore be one important indicator that an individual or group is experiencing exclusion.

Moreover, by linking the phenomenon of going missing with various micro and macro level circumstances, this research supports a multidimensional approach to the study of disadvantage that is consistent with the literature on the concept of social exclusion (Sen 2000; Percy-Smith 2000; Peace 2001). Specifically, multiple dimensions of inequality such as homelessness, violence, and unemployment are associated with peoples' disappearances. Moreover, consistent with the concept of social exclusion inequalities that manifest themselves among particular groups are also a significant source of disadvantage in that visible minorities, victims of violence, and Aboriginal people faced a high risk of going missing.

Further, this research finds support for two key dimensions of social exclusion – labour market exclusion and exclusion from social relationships (Sen 2000; Percy-Smith2000). According to the literature on social exclusion, employment provides people with income, connects people with social networks, provides people with skills that can be leveraged for better pay, and may even be associated with a sense of self-worth and fulfillment (Sen 2000). This research indicates that labour force status is an important factor in peoples' disappearances. Specifically, being unemployed and being outside the labour force are both identified as risk and causal factors in peoples' disappearances and explain, in part, the high risk of women's disappearances.

According to the concept of social exclusion social connections, or social capital, can mitigate the negative effects of unemployment and provide people with emotional support to overcome adversity. For example, social capital means having access to social networks that provide knowledge, support, experience, and other valued resources such as connections in the job market (Francis 1997). In other words, people with strong social capital will be in a better position to learn about employment opportunities, overcome adversity, and accumulate the

knowledge and skills to compete in an open market. Findings from this research indicate that social connections are vital in understanding who goes missing and why. One example of the extreme significance of depleted social connections in peoples' disappearances is the high risk of going missing among homeless people. Homeless people often lack connections with family or other social networks who possess resources that can be leveraged to overcome adversity (Lee and Schreck 2005). Instead homeless people often experience "disaffiliation," meaning detachment from vital social supports and networks (Lee and Schreck 2005). Among youth, social relationships are also vital since youth generally rely on family for support and well-being often well into their late teens and twenties. Youth who end up in foster care or group homes often lack connections with adults who can assist them to overcome adversity. In other words, lack of social connections is a key risk factor for going missing. Research should continue to explore the relationship between social exclusion and peoples' disappearances with a particular emphasis on social relationships and economic exclusion.

This research finds that the risk of going missing is elevated if multiple categories associated with social exclusion intersect. Specifically, Aboriginal women (especially young Aboriginal women), minority women, and women who are unemployed face a high risk of going missing. Therefore, this research provides a vital starting point for understanding which master categories intersect to impact peoples' experiences of disadvantage and in turn contribute to their disappearances. Moreover, the results of this research indicate that if multiple characteristics associated with social exclusion intersect the risk is higher than would be expected based on the risk to either group alone. For example, the risk to young women is higher than the risk experienced by either women or youth alone.

Further, linking the results of this research with past empirical work and theory elucidates the specific obstacles that each group confronts and the risks associated with going missing. For example, this research shows that young Aboriginal women faced a very high risk of being reported missing. Although many of the general risk factors, including poverty, poor social networks, violence and abuse are also prevalent in the disappearances of Aboriginal women, some unique risk factors must also be considered. For example, abuse endured through residential schools, colonialism, and other government policies have resulted in loss of culture, extreme poverty, social isolation, and other forms of disadvantage associated with going missing. In other words, policies of intervention and prevention with missing Aboriginal women must take into account the unique cultural and historical conditions which have led to the high number of disappearances among Aboriginal women. Therefore, a group specific approach to conceptualizing disadvantage that is sensitive to culture, gender, and age is required to completely understand the high risk to this group. Future research should continue to explore the unique circumstances behind the disappearances of multiply marginalized groups.

In depth analysis motivated by an intersectional perspective will be able to detect the risk of going missing for various groups and sub-groups. This information will in turn be very useful in terms of developing targeted policies of prevention and intervention with missing persons. With respect to quantitative research, interaction terms may prove useful for exploring the risk to specific groups experiencing multiple forms of oppression (Dubrow 2010). This is in turn will depend on large detailed data sets that can be cross-classified along multiple categories. Moreover, researchers should pursue studies with specific sub-groups of the population such as Aboriginal people, youth in care, and other groups who could not be captured in this dissertation such as the gay, lesbian, and transgendered people. Qualitative studies with these multiply

marginalized groups will be vital in terms of understanding how complex systems of inequality contribute to their disappearances. For example, based on this research, it appears that the most typical missing person is a young Aboriginal female who resides in care. If this profile is confirmed following further empirical investigation this information will have major implications on decisions surrounding care placements for Aboriginal girls and subsequent supports offered to young Aboriginal women who do end up in care.

Limitations

There are several limitations that stem from the data sources used in this research. First there are several dimensions of social exclusion that could not be tested in this research either because information was not available from the missing reports or the general population. For example, mental illness is associated with exclusion (Percy-Smith 2000), and studies show that this group goes missing in high numbers (Patterson 2005; Biehal et al. 2003; James et al. 2008). However, information about the prevalence of mental illness in the city where these data were collected was not available. Although broad estimates of the incidence and prevalence of mental illness in Canada are available through the Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA) there is considerable disparity in the categories of mental disorders described by the CMHA compared to those included on missing persons' occurrence reports. These difficulties preclude an accurate comparison of mental illness between missing people and the general population.

Mental illness is one example of an indicator of social exclusion that was not tested in this research. Substance abuse and prostitution are also often associated with peoples' disappearances (Tarling and Burrows 2004). However, these activities often go undisclosed to

the police, meaning they are not included on missing persons' reports. Moreover, obtaining accurate estimates of the prevalence of substance abuse and prostitution among the general population in this city is also problematic. Therefore, these dimensions of exclusion could not be examined.

Second, this research was limited in some cases by the data that was available from the general population. For example, despite the possibility that going missing from care is a causal factor in youth disappearances, this hypothesis could not be tested due to the fact that data on youth in care in the general population that cross-classifies cases along multiple dimensions could not be found. In other words, large comprehensive data sets that cross-classify people along multiple dimensions are required so that all relevant variables can be tested.

Third, it is also important to note that the results related to groups who are at risk of being reported missing may be influenced by reporting practices. Police data likely underestimate the number of people who go missing. Police data provides information about people who are reported missing. However, not everyone who goes missing is reported to the police (James et al., 2008). In fact, a report in the United Kingdom (U.K.) indicates that even cases that end in dire outcomes such as death may go unreported to police, at least for some period of time (Newiss 2011). Moreover, it is possible that many of the most marginalized and excluded people are not reported missing as they either have no one in their social circle who notices that they are missing or people in their social network may be reticent about interacting with police (James et al. 2008; Native Women's Association of Canada 2009). On the other hand, there may be certain groups who are quite likely to be reported missing. For example, this research found that women faced a high risk of being reported missing. This might be impacted

by perceptions about their vulnerability. In particular, people might perceive women to be more vulnerable compared to men and may be more likely to report them missing.

Fourth, the data collected for this research represent incidents not individuals. It is possible that some people were reported missing more than once in the same year. Therefore certain people may appear more than once in this data set. The possibility that the same person is represented more than once in the missing persons' data is potentially problematic since it seems that people with particular characteristics are more likely to go missing multiple times compared to other people. For example, studies suggest that youth often runaway repeatedly (Newiss 1999). This would mean overestimating the risk to youth.

Fifth, the data used in this research represent a sample of cases drawn from one Canadian city. It is possible that the findings from this research cannot be generalized to all missing persons or even missing persons Canada-wide. More specifically, the unique demographic characteristics, social circumstances, and employment opportunities in this one Canadian city, means that the findings from this study cannot necessarily be generalized to all of Canada. For example, the Prairie provinces in Canada (Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Alberta) have a higher proportion of Aboriginal people compared to some of the other provinces and may have higher numbers of Aboriginal missing persons compared to the rest of Canada.

Sixth, this research was based on an analysis of 724 cases, a relatively small sample size. The results from the risk and causal analyses may have been restricted by the small sample size. In particular, the small sample size means that multivariate analyses which cross-classify cases along more than two dimensions may have been limited by sparse data. Sparse data causes problems for statistical analysis. One problem caused by sparse data is that significant relationships may "wash out" or appear non-significant. For example, at the bivariate level a

chi-square test indicates that the relationship between Aboriginal identity and long term disappearances is significant. However, the causal analysis did not yield any further significant results with respect to the relationship between Aboriginal identity and long term disappearances. It is possible that the causal analysis of Aboriginal identity on long term disappearances was impeded by the fact that there was a small number of Aboriginal people in the jurisdiction where the data were collected and therefore a small number of Aboriginal people in the missing persons sample.

Future research with missing persons should be based on larger data sets compared to the one used here. Large data sets would help to overcome issues associated with sparse data noted above. Large data sets would prove particularly useful for exploring the relationship between intersectionalities and going missing. With respect to quantitative research interaction terms may prove extremely useful in order to uncover the experiences of multiply marginalized groups. This research has already identified some key categories that intersect to increase the risk of going missing – age and Aboriginal identity, age and gender, labour force status and gender, homelessness and gender. Understanding which groups face an especially high risk of going missing will ensure that policies of prevention and intervention address the unique needs and experiences of these groups.

Moreover, to overcome limitations associated with police data, alternate data sources should be sought. One major barrier for missing persons research is to incorporate people who are not reported missing, especially since they may be the most marginalized and disadvantaged. In several countries, self-report surveys have been used to understand the prevalence and reasons underlying going missing. For example, in the U.K., questions about going missing or running away have been included on surveys administered to the general population such as the Crime

and Justice Survey, the Families and Children Study 2004, and the Youth Lifestyles Survey 1998. These surveys provide self-report data from a large portion of the general population. Therefore, these surveys are well suited to gathering insights from a large portion of the population, including people who may not have been reported missing to the police. Large scale self-report surveys should be used in Canada to understand risk and causal factors for going missing. These surveys would allow for in depth statistical analysis and the results could be generalized Canada-wide.

Further, to gain insight into the experiences of some of the most marginalized and disadvantaged groups, qualitative research has been used effectively (Native Women's Association of Canada 2009; Social Exclusion Unit 2002). Qualitative studies have been particularly instrumental in understanding what works to prevent disappearances (Kerr and Finlay 2006; Social Exclusion Unit 2002). For example, the Native Women's Association of Canada (2009) interviewed family and friends of several missing and murdered Aboriginal women. The interviews were published in a way that tells the stories of the lives and deaths and disappearances of the women. These accounts implicate discrimination, violence, and cultural conflicts as the root causes of these women's disappearances and highlight the hardship experienced by family members and communities (Native Women's Association of Canada 2009). Qualitative research would be well suited to explore potential linkages between going missing and mental illness, sexual orientation, and other dimensions of social exclusion not often captured in police reports or even self-report surveys. Qualitative studies would also provide insights into the experiences of multiply marginalized groups such as visible minority women and young runaways who identify as gay, lesbian, or bisexual.

Policy Implications

This dissertation makes several contributions to the literature on missing persons. First, it systematically examines many of the correlates of being reported missing and the correlates of long term disappearances for both youth and adults in one Canadian city in 2006. Second, this research incorporates a comparison group from the general population to provide statistical analyses of risk and causal factors associated with being reported missing. One of the main benefits of this analysis is to show that many marginalized groups and individuals such as youth, women, Aboriginal people, other visible minorities, persons who are unemployed and not in the labour force, and homeless people face a high risk of being reported missing. Third, this research identifies risk and causal factors in long term disappearances. Specifically, this research shows that Aboriginal people, other visible minorities, people reported missing from shelters and group/foster homes, and people who did not return on their own are at risk of experiencing a long term disappearance. Most importantly, this research incorporates the concept of social exclusion and an intersectional perspective to highlight the role that structural issues play in going missing and long term disappearances.

From a policy perspective the link between peoples' disappearances and social exclusion means that policies of prevention and intervention must promote inclusion and prevent exclusion by focusing on poverty reduction, overcoming discrimination, homelessness, social disintegration, and other systemic issues that underlie peoples' disappearances. One major barrier to inclusion revolves around the relative emphasis placed on work, family, and state support in liberal regimes like Canada. Specifically, in liberal societies, citizens are expected to rely on work opportunities available to them in a free and open market as a means of subsistence (Silver 1994; Esping-Anderson 1999). Family relationships are a secondary source of support

and are expected to mitigate the negative impacts of unemployment by providing financial support and promoting well-being (Esping-Anderson 1999). Social policy and welfare emerge as options only after these two aforementioned institutions have been exhausted or fail. In other words, liberal regimes such as Canada expect individuals to rely primarily on employment for subsistence.

However, structural unemployment and other macro-economic forces that have drastically altered the nature of work expose many to a high risk of disadvantage in societies such as Canada that promote employment as the key source of subsistence and well-being. First, the decline of manufacturing industries and the out sourcing of low-skilled jobs abroad, means that low-skilled manual workers who are lacking job skills and education face a high risk of exclusion. Second, a growing number of people, often referred to as the working poor, who are employed in temporary, part-time, low-paid jobs in the service industry are also at risk of disadvantage. These workers have tenuous ties to the labour market and despite being employed are often still often unable to raise themselves (or their families) out of poverty. Third, people who are unable to work for reasons related to child care responsibilities, disability, or geographic isolation also find themselves at a high risk of experiencing social exclusion. The disadvantage these aforementioned groups experience is exacerbated if families are also disadvantaged and are unable to provide subsistence, or if ties to family are lacking all together.

Therefore, overcoming exclusion depends, in large part, on policies that promote favourable inclusion into the labour market (Levitas 1996). Favourable inclusion in turn means policies that move people into permanent, full-time, well-paid employment in place of unemployment or precarious employment in low-wage and temporary positions (Cranford et al. 2003). Favourable inclusion also depends on policies that (re)train workers so that they are able

to benefit from high paying jobs in technical fields and other jobs requiring education and training. This retraining is best accomplished before people find themselves out of work and reliant on income supports. Favourable inclusion also means considering the legitimate barriers to labour force participation such as child care, other caregiver responsibilities, or work limiting disabilities and ensuring that social safety nets are in place to provide for these individuals (Levitas 1996). For example, a strong emphasis on employment means that women with young children and little job training may be forced into precarious employment in order to support their families. In other words, policies that promote favourable inclusion by creating permanent, full-time, well-paid positions and programs that provide the training and education people require to capitalize on these opportunities are vital in promoting inclusion. In other cases, recognizing legitimate barriers to employment, such as women's unpaid work and caregiver responsibilities, is an important step in promoting favourable inclusion into the labour market.

Policies to promote inclusion must move beyond the labour market and look at how citizens are integrated and "net-worked in" to their communities (Fergusson 2004). A Canadian report has identified three key pillars to social inclusion - civic vitality, social security, and human development (Canadian Council of Social Development 2000). The report explains that developing policy initiatives in each of these three areas is vital to social inclusion. First, civic vitality refers to communities that are able to uphold an acceptable standard of living for all members, without being plagued by homelessness and poverty. More specifically, investing in social housing, public transit, schools, hospitals, and other essential infrastructure is a key strategy for promoting inclusion. For example, in remote communities, lack of access to affordable transportation results in high travel costs, lost opportunities to access employment, education, or training, and may even lead to risky behaviours such as hitch hiking. Moreover, in

some communities vacancy rates for rental properties have fallen below 1% and low income or affordable housing is almost non-existent. In these communities, homelessness and social exclusion emerge as a risk for many. Therefore, policies that promote fair and equal access to infrastructure, housing, schools, and other resources are a key component of inclusion.

Moreover, maintaining a socially acceptable standard of living depends on fair and equal access to social assistance and benefits. Currently social assistance is inaccessible to many. For others, social assistance and other benefits are inadequate for securing a socially acceptable standard of living. In particular, means-tested welfare benefits require recipients to prove they are destitute prior to qualifying for payments, a process which is stigmatizing and demoralizing for recipients (Arts and Gelissen 2002). Policies of inclusion must move towards universal benefits, which extend fair and equal access to subsistence to all citizens (Esping-Anderson 1999). In other cases, where applicants are able to access social assistance, the payments received are not adequate for securing a socially acceptable standard of living. More specifically, these benefits are kept below subsistence so as not to act as a deterrent to legitimate and gainful employment (Arts and Gelissen 2002). Many groups including seniors, the unemployed, families and children who are eligible for benefits often continue to struggle well below the poverty line (Arts and Gelissen 2002). Finally, the negative impacts of inadequate social assistance are borne disproportionately by particular groups. For example, elderly women, women with caregiver responsibilities, and women with work limiting disabilities may not have the same number of insurable work hours as their male counterparts. Without insurable work hours, accessing social assistance or Canadian Pension Plan benefits is difficult (Canadian Council on Social Development 2000). Therefore, policies must promote universal access to a basic standard of living (Canadian Council on Social Development 2000).

Finally, policies that promote human development and ensure that every citizen has equal access to all of the benefits and opportunities that a society affords are essential. Inequalities based on race, class, gender, disability or some other feature that sets people apart from the dominant group are a source of exclusion. For example, racial and visible minorities may be blocked from accessing employment or other opportunities. Moreover, children of middle class or upper class families benefit from income, inheritance, and capital making it easier for them to attain an education and subsequently employment, compared to other youth (Francis 1997). Subsidies for education and training and programs that invest in disadvantaged neighbourhoods by providing youth groups and recreation, for example, are required to equal the playing field between all groups. Policies of inclusion therefore, must focus on providing universal opportunities that are equally accessible to all groups regardless of race, class, gender, disability, or another characteristic.

At the micro-level, policies of prevention and intervention should focus on people and groups who face a high risk of going missing and on the structural conditions underpinning their disappearances. For example, it is clear that youth are often forced to flee in response to family violence and conflict, problems they experience in care, homelessness, and other serious problems that they lack the resources and social supports to cope with. Based on this knowledge, some strategies that show promise in addressing youth disappearances include child abuse prevention, suicide prevention, and offering counselling and mentorship to youth and families in crisis (James et al. 2008; Social Exclusion Unit 2002; Wade et al. 2002). In other words, improving mainstream programs and policies developed to target other important social problems will also reduce the likelihood of going missing.

However, since young people are at a high risk of being reported missing policies need to be refined and expanded to target the needs of youth at risk of going missing. Services such as counselling and support programs may be the most important resources in combating youth disappearances (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). A British report explains that counselling services that provide youth with alternatives to running away are vital in reducing problems in the home and, in turn, lower the risk of youth disappearances (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). For example, in the United Kingdom (U.K.) young runaways reported that if they had been provided with someone to talk to about their problems this would have prevented them from running away (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). Similarly, parents and family members of runaway youth reported that they lacked the tools and skills to talk to their children about problems (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). Therefore, providing counselling services for youth and families at risk appears to be a promising approach in reducing youth disappearances.

Moreover, according to research in the U.K., counselling and other support services for missing people need not be delivered in person, but can instead be effectively delivered via telephone or internet (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). In fact these alternative methods of service delivery offer some advantages over services delivered in person, including anonymity for the user and the ability to reach people in rural areas (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). The latter is particularly important in countries like Canada where large portions of the population reside in rural areas. Moreover, Aboriginal communities are often isolated from mainstream resources and may also benefit from services provided via telephone or internet. In other words, programs that provide youth and families with the skills to talk about problems and offer alternatives to running away are essential in reducing the high number of youth disappearances. These services

are successfully delivered in a variety of formats to facilitate access and encourage youth to report honestly.

Another promising strategy of intervention focuses on providing education and information to parents, social service agencies, health care workers, teachers, and the community about the complex reasons and risks associated with running away (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). For example, in the U.K. government and other agencies provide resources to teachers and parents in order to inform them about the reasons for running. Strategies are also provided to help prevent behaviours, such as bullying that often lead to youth disappearances (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). These initiatives inform the public that running away is motivated often by serious problems such as violence, bullying, and other issues and that running away exposes youth to real dangers. Promoting awareness about the structural reasons underlying youth disappearances will shift perceptions that runaways are simply rebellious teenagers and instead highlight some of the serious structural issues underlying youth disappearances.

In light of the fact that many youth who go missing are exposed to tremendous risks, policies of intervention must be developed that respond quickly and effectively to runaways. For example, programs that assist young people to reconnect with families (provided they are safe) may prove successful at limiting the duration of youth disappearances, and, in turn mitigate the risks to youth who go missing (Social Exclusion Unit 2002; James et al. 2008). For other youth whose homes are not safe, there is a need to provide emergency services in order to keep them safe while they are missing. For example, if young people runaway they may require temporary safe accommodation to keep them off of the streets until a more permanent solution can be reached. In other words, policies that mitigate the risks to youth who go missing must operate alongside policies of prevention.

Moreover, a high number of youth go missing from care and these youth may be at risk of a long term disappearance (Social Exclusion Unit 2002; James et al. 2008). In some cases youth flee from care if they experience conflict in their care placement, bullying, mistreatment by staff, or other complications. In other cases, youth flee from their care placements to the homes they were removed from. Therefore, policies of prevention and intervention for youth in care must address the underlying issues that lead to care placements. Policies must also focus on the well-being of youth who are in care. The most promising policies include preventing poverty, child abuse, neglect, and substance abuse.

Among youth who are in their mid-to-late teens fleeing from care may be an attempt to transition into independent living (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). Therefore, policies that support and promote gradual and smooth transitions into independent living need to be implemented and enhanced. A report by the Ontario Association of Children's Aid Services (2006) compiled the input and advice from 300 youth and 300 Children's Aid workers regarding areas and issues of concern for youth leaving care. Strategies that promote smooth transitions to independent living include, setting a clear and adequate minimum standard of support for youth, increasing the age of eligibility for economic support to 21, as well as continued emotional support (Ontario Children's Aid Services 2006). Initiatives aimed at improving transitions out of care will limit the likelihood that youth will flee from care and be exposed to risks such as homelessness that arise if transitions are abrupt or incomplete.

Relatively little is known about intervention and prevention in adult disappearances. However, the high risk of being reported missing for disadvantaged and marginalized adults means that effective policies should focus on combating social exclusion. In general, policies should target poverty prevention, employment opportunities, job training and education, and

ending homelessness, domestic violence, and other social problems that impact excluded groups. Moreover, this research shows that limited access to financial resources and homelessness play a major role in adult disappearances. Policies of prevention should focus on generating employment opportunities and ensuring that people have ready access to the training and education required to take advantage of these opportunities.

Moreover, crisis intervention and improved health care for homeless people helps reduce the stigma and shame associated with homelessness (James et al. 2008). This in turn may lower the risk of homeless people severing ties with families who in turn report them as missing (James et al. 2008).

Furthermore, domestic violence plays a major in women's disappearances. Policies of prevention need to focus on ending gender inequality, empowering women, and ending their economic dependence on men. Moreover, critical resources for abused women need to be enhanced and supported including safe housing, transportation, childcare, legal services, education, and employment (Circle of Prevention 2002). These policies need to be designed with the knowledge that certain women such as Aboriginal women, other minority women, and women in rural areas, face additional barriers to accessing services. Aboriginal women living on reserves may also feel that leaving an abuser means leaving behind family, friends, and communities.

Finally homelessness is a risk and causal factor in peoples' disappearances. Going missing from a shelter is also noted as a risk factor in a long term disappearance. Going missing may contribute to homelessness. For many adults, financial crisis, unemployment or precarious employment, and domestic violence are associated with disappearances. Policies that target these aforementioned risk factors in adult disappearances may also prevent adult homelessness.

Future research should focus more closely on adult disappearances to identify risk factors and correlates that can be translated into effective policies of prevention and intervention for adults. Moreover, research with missing persons should be based on large detailed data sets that allow for multi-way cross-classification of data. This will allow for a thorough exploration of risk and causal factors associated with going missing and risk and causal factors in long term disappearances. Data sets that allow for multi-way cross-classification of data are also well suited to exploring the impact of intersecting categories of oppression on peoples' disappearances through the construction of interaction terms. Moreover, research should focus on accessing the most marginalized and disadvantaged groups, who may be at a high risk of going missing. Qualitative studies that are designed to capture the nuances and unique experiences of missing persons will be of great value in understanding the experiences of these groups. Qualitative studies will be especially well-suited to understand the experiences of the most disadvantaged groups such as persons with mental illnesses.

Applying the concept of social exclusion to the phenomenon of going missing provides insight into the systemic factors that are associated with peoples' disappearances. The structural nature of exclusion operates to refute the common misconception that going missing is a simple choice. Rather, even if it appears that people made a choice to go missing, they are often fleeing violence, conflict, abuse, and other circumstances over which they have limited control. In order to prevent disappearances and limit further exclusion policies must target poverty, discrimination, and other aspects of social exclusion. Policies must also explore inclusion and promote favourable inclusion into the labour market, civic vitality, social assistance (income and employment supports), and human development. Specific policies should focus on at-risk

groups and provide people with alternatives to going missing such as counselling, crisis intervention, financial and social support.

APPENDIX A:

CHAPTER 4: VARIABLE CODING

Table A4.1a Dependent Variable

Dependent Variable	Percentage
Missing or Not[31]	
Missing (1)	*0.6*
Total (n)	*724*
Not-missing (0)	*99.4*
Total (n)	*504 560*

Table B4.1b Independent Variables

Independent Variables	Percentage of Missing Persons Sample
Age[32]	
0 to 4 (1)	*0.8*
5 to 9 (2)	*1.0*
10 to 14 (3)	*24.7*
15 to19 (4)	*46.7*
20 to 24 (5)	*5.3*
25 to 29 (6)	*2.6*
30 to 34 (7)	*2.1*
35 to 39 (8)	*1.8*
40 to 44 (9)	*4.6*
45 to 49 (10)	*2.8*
50 to 54 (11)	*1.7*
55 to 59 (12)	*2.1*
60+ (13)	*4.0*

[31] The general population in the city where these data were collected are coded as "not missing."

[32] The decision to group this variable rather than present it as a continuous variable was made for several reasons. First, information about the ages of the general population is presented by Statistics Canada in categories spanning five years (Statistics Canada 2006a). Second, analyzing age as a continuous variable would have resulted in sparse data, meaning small cell counts or even cell counts of zero. Sparse data poses a problem for statistical analysis.

Total (n)	*724*
Gender	
Female (1)	*58.0*
Male (0)	*42.0*
Total (n)	*723*
Aboriginal Identity	
Aboriginal (1)	*4.0*
Not Aboriginal (0)	*96.0*
Total (n)	*720*
Ethnicity	
Not a Minority (1)	*84.9*
Aboriginal (2)	*4.0*
Chinese (3)	*0.8*
South Asian (4)	*0.4*
Black (5)	*5.7*
Latin American (6)	*1.8*
Visible Minority Not Included Elsewhere (7)[33]	*2.2*
Total (n)	*719*
Labour Force Status[34]	
Employed (1)	*7.8*
Unemployed (2)	*22.5*
Not in the Labour Force (3) [35]	*69.7*
Total (n)	*294*
Where Missing From	
Shelter (1)	*16.3*
Other (0)[36]	*83.6*
Total (n)	*720*
Where Missing From[37]	

[33] Visible Minority Not Included Elsewhere includes Guyanese, West Indian, Kurd, Tibetan, Polynesian, Pacific Islander, Filipino, Arab, Japanese etc...
[34] It is important to note that to be consistent with statistics Canada's definition this variable captures only people 15 years and older.
[35] Not in the Labour Force refers to students, people who with disabilities, unpaid caregivers, and dependent partners and spouses.
[36] This refers to a private residence, hospital, place of employment etc.
[37] This category applies only to young people 19 years and under.

Group/Foster Home (1)	*57.0*
Other (0)[38]	*43.0*
Total (n)	*522*

[38] This refers to a school, private residence, hospital etc.

CHAPTER 5: VARIABLE CODING

Table A5.1a Dependent Variable

Dependent Variable	Percentage
Missing or Not[39]	
Missing (1)	*0.6*
Total (n)	*724*
Not-missing (0)	*99.4*
Total (n)	*504 560*

Table B5.1b Independent Variables

Independent Variables	Percentage of Missing Persons Sample
Age	
0 to1 4 (1)	*1.8*
15 to1 9 (2)	*46.7*
20 +(3)[40]	*51.5*
Total (n)	*724*
Gender	
Female (1)	*58.0*
Male (0)	*42.0*
Total (n)	*723*
Labour Force Status[41]	
Employed (1)[42]	*7.8*

[39] The general population in the city where these data were collected are coded as "not missing."
[40] People 20 years and older are the reference category and are excluded from the logistic regression analyses in this chapter.
[41] It is important to note that to be consistent with statistics Canada's definition this variable captures only people 15 years and older.
[42] Employed is the reference category and is excluded from the logistic regression analyses in this chapter.

Unemployed (2)	*22.5*
Not in the Labour Force (3) [43]	*69.7*
Total (n)	*294*
Where Missing From	
Shelter (1)	*15.7*
Other (0)[44]	*84.3*
Total (n)	*720*

[43] Not in the Labour Force refers to students, people who with disabilities, unpaid caregivers, dependent partners and spouses.
[44] This refers to a private residence, hospital, place of employment etc.

CHAPTER 6: VARIABLE CODING

Table A6.1a Dependent Variable

Dependent Variable	Percentage
Missing or Not[45]	
Missing (1)	*0.6*
Total (n)	*724*
Not-missing (0)	*99.4*
Total (n)	*504 560*

Table B6.1b Independent Variables

Independent Variables	Percentage of Missing Persons Sample
Age[46]	
0 to 14 (1)	*1.8*
15 to1 9 (2)	*46.7*
20+ (3)	*51.5*
Total (n)	*724*
Gender	
Female (1)	*58.0*
Male (0)	*42.0*
Total (n)	*723*
Aboriginal Identity	
Aboriginal (1)	*4.0*
Not Aboriginal (0)	*96.0*
Total (n)	*720*
Ethnicity	

[45] The general population in the city where these data were collected are coded as "not missing."

[46] Although age would be best represented as a continuous variable this would result in sparse data, meaning very small frequencies or even frequencies of zero in certain cases. Specifically, in this chapter age is cross-classified with other variables. Grouping age into 3 categories ensures an adequate number of cases in each cell even after age and another variable are cross-classified.

Not a Minority (1)	*84.9*
Aboriginal (2)	*4.0*
Chinese (3)	*0.8*
South Asian (4)	*0.4*
Black (5)	*5.7*
Latin American (6)	*1.8*
Visible Minority Not Included Elsewhere (7)[47]	*2.2*
Total (n)	*719*
Labour Force Status[48]	
Employed (1)	*7.8*
Unemployed (2)	*22.5*
Not in the Labour Force (3) [49]	*69.7*
Total (n)	*294*

[47] Visible Minority Not Included Elsewhere includes Guyanese, West Indian, Kurd, Tibetan, Polynesian, Pacific Islander, Filipino, Arab, Japanese etc...

[48] It is important to note that to be consistent with statistics Canada's definition this variable captures only people 15 years and older.

[49] Not in the Labour Force refers to students, people who with disabilities, unpaid caregivers, dependent partners and spouses.

CHAPTER 7: VARIABLE CODING

Table A7.1a Dependent Variable

Dependent Variable	**Percentage**
Long Term or Short Term[50]	
Long Term (1)	*5.7*
Short Term (0)	*94.3*
Total (n)	*723*

Table B7.1b Independent Variables

Independent Variables	**Percentage of Missing Persons Sample**
Age[51]	
0 to 14 (1)	*1.8*
15 to1 9 (2)	*46.7*
20+ (3)	*51.5*
Total (n)	*723*
Gender	
Female (1)	*58.0*
Male (0)	*42.0*
Total (n)	*723*
Ethnicity	
Not a Minority (1)	*84.9*
Aboriginal (2)	*4.0*

[50] Long Term disappearances are defined as people missing for eight days or more. Short term disappearances refer to people missing for seven days or less.

[51] Although age would be best represented as a continuous variable this would result in sparse data, meaning very small frequencies or even frequencies of zero in certain cases.

Black (3)	*5.7*
Latin American (4)	*1.8*
Visible Minority Not Included Elsewhere (5)[52]	*2.2*
Total (n)	*719*
Labour Force Status[53]	
Employed (1)	*7.8*
Unemployed (2)	*22.5*
Not in the Labour Force (3) [54]	*69.7*
Total (n)	*294*
Where Missing From	
Private Residence (1)	*38.8*
Shelter (2)	*15.7*
Group/Foster Home (3)	*39.6*
Other (4)	*5.9*
Total (n)	*717*
Returned on Own	
Did not Return on Own (1)	*36.9*
Did Return on Own (0)	*63.1*
Total (n)	*721*

[52] Visible Minority Not Included Elsewhere includes Guyanese, West Indian, Kurd, Tibetan, Polynesian, Pacific Islander, Filipino, Arab, Japanese etc...

[53] It is important to note that to be consistent with statistics Canada's definition this variable captures only people 15 years and older.

[54] Not in the Labour Force refers to students, people who with disabilities, unpaid caregivers, dependent partners and spouses.

Table B7.2b Frequency Distribution for the Duration of Disappearances

Days Missing	Number	Percent
1 day	*305*	*42.3*
2 days	*235*	*32.6*
3 days	*52*	*7.2*
4 days	*38*	*5.3*
5 days	*20*	*2.8*
6 days	*15*	*2.1*
7 days	*15*	*2.1*
8 days	*4*	*0.6*
9 days	*5*	*0.7*
10 or more days	*32*	*4.4*
Total Percent		*100*
Number unknown	3	
Total (n)	*724*	

CHAPTER 8: VARIABLE CODING

Table A8.1a Dependent Variable

Dependent Variable	**Percentage**
Long Term or Short Term[55]	
Long Term (1)	*5.7*
Short Term (0)	*94.3*
Total (n)	*723*

Table B8.1b Continuous Independent Variable

Independent Variable	**Mean**	**Standard Deviation**
Age	*22.0*	*15.8*
Total (n)	*724*	

Table C8.1c Categorical Independent Variables

Independent Variables	**Percentage of Missing Persons Sample**
Gender	
Female (1)	*58.0*
Male (0)	*42.0*
Total (n)	*723*
Ethnicity	
Minority (1)	*15.1*
Not a Minority (0)	*84.9*
Total (n)	*719*

[55] Long Term disappearances are defined as people missing for eight days or more. Short term disappearances refer to people missing for seven days or less.

Where Missing From	
Shelter (1)	*15.7*
Other (0)	*84.3*
Total (n)	*717*
Returned on Own	
Did not Return on Own (1)	*36.9*
Did Return on Own (0)	*63.1*
Total (n)	*721*

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