

Reporting crime and the police

4.1 Introduction

This section concentrates mainly on the issue of reporting victimisation to the police. It considers how reporting rates vary across offence types, and across country. The reasons for *not* reporting are then considered: how these differ for different types of victimisation, and whether those in different countries react differently in their decisions not to report. After this, we look at reasons *for* reporting to the police – again in relation to different offence types, and in relation to country differences. The chapter then moves onto what victims who reported felt about the police response: how many were satisfied with it, and if they were not, why not. After this, there is some analysis of how many victims said they received help from a specialised victim support agency, and if they did not, whether they felt such help would have been useful. Finally, we consider how people in general – both victims and non-victims – feel about the performance of the police in their local area, and about how helpful in general they feel the police are.

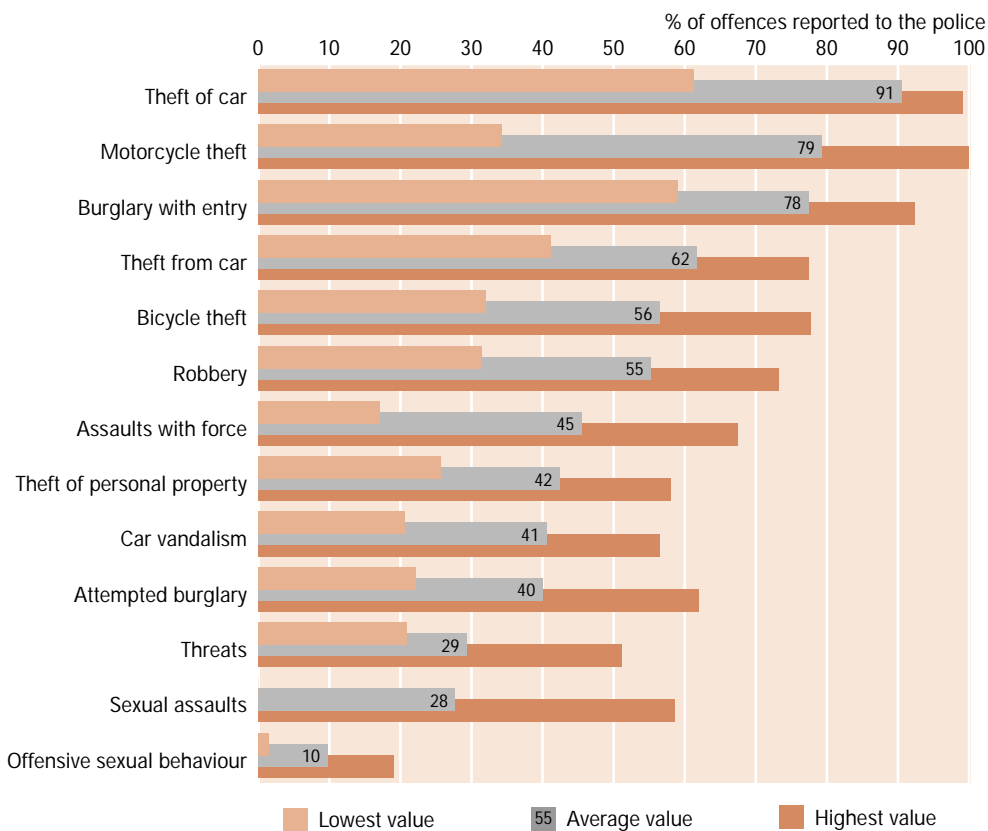
4.2 Reporting to the police

The frequency with which victims (or relatives and friends on their behalf) report offences to the police is strongly related to the type of offence involved. Figure 8 shows average reporting rates in all 17 countries in the 2000 ICVS.³¹ Details are also shown of the highest and lowest reporting rates in the 17 countries. For instance, the proportion of burglaries with entry reported ranged from 59% in Portugal to 92% in Belgium, with an average value for all 17 countries of 77%.

There are differences in reporting rates for different types of offences. In most countries, almost all cars and motorcycles stolen were reported, as well as most burglaries with entry. About two-thirds of thefts from cars were reported, and rather more than half of bicycle thefts and robberies. Only about a third of all assaults and threats were drawn to the attention of the police, although the figure was higher for assaults with force (45%) than for threats (29%). Sexual incidents mentioned to interviewers were least frequently reported (on average 15% were). Where sexual

31 The figures refer to the last incident reported to the police over the previous five years. Reporting rates for corruption and consumer fraud are not given since victimisation rates were insufficiently high (see Chapter 2). Details of the few incidents reported to the police and other authorities are given in Appendix 4, Tables 4 and 5.

Figure 8 Percentage of offences reported to the police (highest, lowest and average values): 17 countries



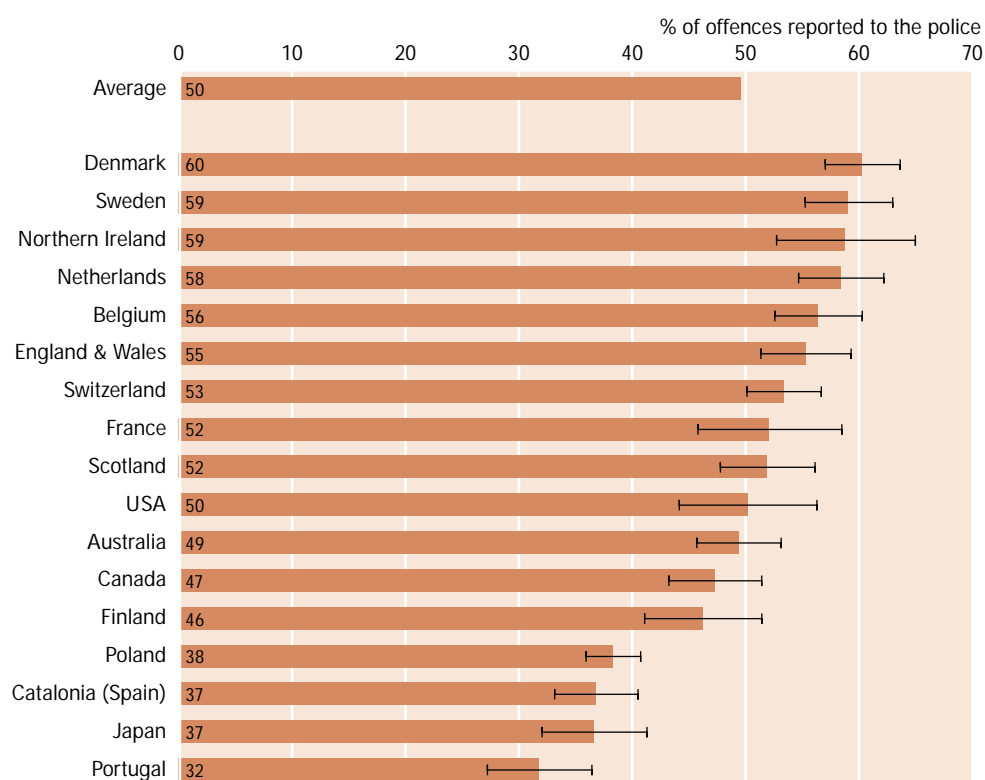
Crimes are sorted by average percentage.

assault was mentioned, though, 28% of incidents were reported; where simply offensive behaviour was involved, only 10% were drawn to police attention.

There was more variation in reporting rates for some crimes than others. One of the largest apparent differences is in relation to motorcycle theft, although this is likely to reflect the small number of victims involved. Relatively large differences across countries are also evident for sexual assaults (with a very low reporting rate in Finland and a very high one in Scotland), and for assaults with force (with a low reporting rate in Japan, but high ones in the Netherlands and Northern Ireland). The small numerical base again, though, needs to be borne in mind.

In considering relative propensities to report crime in different countries, the overall proportion of *all* offences reported is not a sound measure. This is because, as seen,

Figure 9 Percentage of offences reported to the police: overall figure for six types of offences



reporting levels vary by offence type, so overall reporting levels will be influenced by the make-up of crime in each country. Figure 9 offers a compromise by showing reporting levels for six offences for which levels of reporting are most variable and/or experience of victimisation is comparatively high.³² The offences are thefts from cars, car vandalism, bicycle theft, burglary with entry, attempted burglary and thefts of personal property. (The reporting rates relate to the last incident reported over the previous five years.) A full breakdown of reporting rates, including results from previous ICVS sweeps is given in Table 9 in Appendix 4.

In the 17 countries as a whole, exactly half of the six crimes were reported to the police. The highest reporting rates (around 60%) were in Denmark, Sweden, North-

³² Omitted are car and motorcycle thefts (which are usually reported and are relatively uncommon), and robbery (for which numbers per country are small). Also, omitted are sexual incidents and assaults/threats. Here, the proportion reported will be influenced by, respectively, the ratio of sexual assaults to offensive sexual behaviour, and assaults to threats.

Table 10 Percentage of offences reported to the police^{1, 2}

	1989	1992	1996	2000
Australia	49	↓ 43		↑ 47
Belgium	51	↑ 68		↓ 56
Canada	51	51	50	47
England & Wales	56	58	55	55
Finland	50	↓ 44	↑ 50	46
France	53		48	52
Netherlands	54	57	55	58
Northern Ireland	39		↑ 50	↑ 59
Poland		32	32	↑ 38
Scotland	64		↓ 56	↓ 52
Sweden		58	56	59
Switzerland	62		↓ 54	53
USA	55		53	50

1 Based on theft from cars; car vandalism; bicycle theft; burglary with entry; attempted burglary; and theft of personal property. Based on last incident reported over the previous five years.

2 Countries that participated less than three times are omitted.

↑ and ↓ indicate that the difference compared to the previous survey is statistically significant (t-test; $p < 0.10$).

↑ indicates an increase over the previous sweep; ↓ denotes a decrease.

ern Ireland and the Netherlands. The lowest were in Portugal, Japan, Catalonia and Poland, where only about a third or more of crimes were reported. The figures for Portugal and Catalonia are consistent with the low reporting rates for the South European countries – Spain and Italy – from earlier surveys.

Trends in reporting over time

Thirteen countries have participated in at least three rounds in the ICVS. Reporting rates over time for the six crimes taken are shown in Table 10. There are two things of note:

- First, there is no evidence that reporting rates have changed much over the years in most of the countries. The average reporting rates for the six crimes has been within a narrow range of 51% to 53% for the countries taking part at least three times.
- Secondly, *relative* levels of reporting are very broadly consistent over the sweeps, and where there are changes they are not always statistically robust. The most marked change in position is in relation to Northern Ireland. The level of reporting in 2000 was comparatively high, whereas in 1996 it had been comparatively low. One explanation for this may be the change in the profile of crime, with a larger proportion of the total count of crime comprising burglaries with entry

and thefts from cars, which have higher reporting levels than some other offences. Reporting has also increased in Poland, but there is no evident change in the profile of crime that explains this. In Scotland, reporting has gone down since 1989, and this is consistent with there being proportionately fewer crimes in 2000 with higher reporting rates (e.g., burglary with entry). There is a similar fall in reporting in Switzerland, and here again changes in the profile of crime may be more an issue than a change in the propensity to report. Reporting rates in Belgium have also fluctuated somewhat, but there is less change in the profile of crime to explain this.³³

4.3 Reasons for not reporting to the police

Victims who did not report were asked why not in relation to five crimes – burglary with entry, thefts from cars, robbery, sexual incidents, and assaults and threats. (The last three are termed ‘contact crimes’). More than one reason could be given. Those who *did* report were also asked to say why they had done so, and this is discussed later.

Table 11 shows reasons for not reporting the five crimes for all 17 countries together. That the incident was ‘not serious enough’ was by far the most important reason for not bringing in the police. About four in ten non-reporters mentioned this, and even more when thefts from cars went unreported. A quarter of victims felt it was inappropriate to call the police, or said they or the family solved it. The idea that the police could do nothing was mentioned fairly frequently (e.g., by one in five victims of thefts of cars who did not report). Few victims mentioned fear or dislike of the police as a reason for not reporting, although it was slightly more often mentioned in relation to contact crime. Fear of reprisals was also infrequently mentioned, though it was rather more often mentioned in relation to contact crime than the two property crimes.

Some response categories are fairly close in meaning. For instance, an incident considered as ‘inappropriate for the police’ might be one that the victim felt was not worth troubling the police about, or in which someone known to the victim was involved. There is also some ambiguity in some of the reasons for not reporting. For instance, ‘the police could do nothing’ might mean that the harm, loss or damage cannot be rectified; that there was insufficient proof of what happened; or that it seems impossible that an offender could be apprehended.

33 There was an unusually high proportion of victims in Belgium in the 2000 ICVS compared to 1992 who did not report to the police because they felt they could not or would not do anything about. On the face of it, this may signify lower confidence in the police, although general attitudes to police performance in Belgium actually improved between the 1992 and 2000 sweeps.

Table 11 Reasons for not reporting to the police: all countries (percentages)¹

	Theft from car ²	Burglary with entry	Robbery	Sexual incidents	Assault & threats	All five crimes
Not serious / no loss	53	34	39	38	34	42
Solved it ourselves / inappropriate for the police ³	14	26	21	31	29	24
Police could do nothing	19	13	16	13	13	14
Police wouldn't do anything	16	10	12	7	10	11
Fear of reprisals	<1	2	7	8	7	5
Fear / dislike of the police	1	3	4	4	4	3
Reported to other authorities	1	2	2	4	4	3
No insurance	3	1	1	<1	<1	1
Other / don't know	18	25	23	24	23	22

1 Multiple responses were allowed, so percentages may add to more than 100%. Based on last incident over the previous five years.

2 Reasons for not reporting thefts from cars was not asked in Switzerland.

3 'Solved it myself', 'My family solved it' and 'Not appropriate for the police' are taken together.

There was a clear pattern in which, as one would expect, crimes that were rated as serious by victims were reported most often (72% were). Of incidents judged to be 'somewhat serious', 56% were reported. Of those judged 'not very serious', a much lower 37% were drawn attention to the police.

Assessments of seriousness made most difference to reporting levels for threats and sexual incidents: very few incidents were reported which were considered not very serious. For burglaries, thefts of cars, motorcycles or bicycles, seriousness judgements certainly made a difference, but to a lesser degree. This is probably because other factors also exerted an influence (such as wanting property back, or needing to make an insurance claim).

Reasons for not reporting differed somewhat across country. This will in part reflect the relative weight of different crimes among the five types considered. Table 12 shows details of why respondents said crimes were not brought to the attention of the police. (Tables 10, 11 and 12 in Appendix 4 show results in more detail for all five crimes.)

A technical issue needs mentioning first in relation to Table 12. This is that the number of answers respondents gave in Belgium was greatly in excess of that in other countries; the same applied to Poland, although to a lesser extent. (Survey

Table 12 Reasons for not reporting to the police, five crimes: by country (percentages)¹

	Not serious / no loss	Solved it ourselves / inappropriate for the police ³	Police could do nothing	Police wouldn't do anything	Fear of reprisals	Fear / dislike of the police	Reported to other authorities	No insurance	Other / don't know
Australia	47	14	9	6	<1	<1	4	<1	34
Belgium	52	45	42	35	4	4	6	4	18
Canada	41	22	6	5	2	2	3	1	36
Catalonia (Spain)	51	12	10	17	<1	<1	2	2	16
Denmark	42	31	9	6	1	1	2	1	24
England & Wales	34	21	12	11	3	3	3	1	28
Finland	55	23	7	6	<1	<1	4	1	13
France	39	24	8	10	1	1	<1	1	19
Japan	48	22	18	8	3	3	6	<1	30
Netherlands	32	21	9	9	<1	<1	1	<1	34
Northern Ireland	37	24	17	8	8	8	4	<1	10
Poland	46	24	39	31	7	7	2	3	6
Portugal	41	23	13	10	2	2	1	<1	12
Scotland	37	18	6	7	3	3	3	<1	34
Sweden	34	33	11	11	2	2	1	2	17
Switzerland ²	36	22	9	4	2	2	<1	<1	13
USA	27	24	17	9	6	6	6	<1	24
All countries	42	24	14	11	3	3	3	1	22

1 Multiple responses were allowed, so percentages may add to more than 100%. Based on last incident over the previous five years.

2 Reasons for not reporting thefts from cars was not asked in Switzerland.

3 'Solved it myself', 'My family solved it' and 'Not appropriate' are taken together.

company practice is likely to explain this.) Results from these two countries, then, need to be interpreted with this in mind.³⁴

That the matter was inappropriate for the police or solved privately was far the most frequently mentioned in Belgium. It was also mentioned relatively frequently in Sweden (as was the case in the 1992 ICVS) and Denmark. This was also true in

34 In Belgium, there were about 2.3 reasons coded per respondent for not reporting the five crimes, and 1.7 in Poland. The average for the other countries was 1.1.

relation to contact crimes in Northern Ireland and Poland. The feeling that the police could or would not be able to help was most often cited in Belgium and Poland (though note the technical issue mentioned above). Those in Catalonia, Japan, the USA and Northern Ireland were also slightly more likely to mention the police response. Fear and dislike of the police was most often mentioned (though even then not often) by those in Northern Ireland, Poland and in the USA (in relation to contact crime only).

4.4 Reasons for reporting to the police

The 1996 ICVS introduced the question why victims *did* report. Table 13 shows first the results from the 2000 ICVS for all countries combined for the five crimes the question was asked about. (Multiple responses were allowed.)

The reasons why sexual incidents and assaults/threats were reported differed somewhat from those for other offences. Victims here were especially concerned to stop what happened being repeated. More also wanted help. For the two property offences and robbery, more than a third were reported because assistance was sought in recovering property. When a burglary or theft from a car was involved, about a third were reported for insurance reasons. About four in ten victims overall referred to the obligation to notify the police, either because they felt a crime such as theirs should be reported, or because what happened had been serious. Retributive motives – the hope that offenders would be caught and punished – weighed with nearly as many victims, though this was less evident when thefts from cars were involved. Results from the 1996 ICVS were fairly similar when the comparison is restricted to the countries in each sweep.

The patterns across country are broadly in line with the overall picture. Tables 13, 14 and 15 in Appendix 4 show results for the five crimes together, for burglary with entry, thefts from cars, and for contact crime. However, close comparisons are difficult for three reasons. First, there will be some variation because of the small number of incidents involved in some cases. Second, the ‘mix’ of offences reported in different countries will make a difference. (For instance, wanting an offender caught and punished was more an issue with burglary than with thefts from cars, while wanting to stop an incident happening again was more common a reason for reporting for sexual incidents than other contact crimes.) Thirdly, as was the case with reasons for *not* reporting, simply more responses were given in Belgium, Poland and (in this case) Japan.³⁵ For these countries, then, high values on any particular reason for reporting may well simply reflect this technical difference.

35 In Belgium, there were about 4 reasons coded per respondent for reporting the five crimes, 3 in Poland, and 2.3 in Japan. The average for the other countries was 1.6.

Table 13 Reasons for reporting to the police: all countries (percentages)¹

	Theft from car ²	Burglary with entry	Robbery	Sexual incidents	Assault & threats	All five crimes
Should be reported / serious	38	44	38	25	35	39
Retribution	27	38	40	43	39	35
To recover property	41	35	38		3	30
To stop it	21	27	26	53	39	28
Insurance reasons	36	33	12		4	27
To get help	7	12	15	26	23	12
Compensation	7	8	7	9	7	7
Other / don't know	11	13	17	21	15	12

1 Multiple responses were allowed, so percentages may add to more than 100%.

2 Reasons for reporting for theft from car was not asked in Switzerland.

4.5 Victim's satisfaction with the police response

If they had reported to the police, victims were asked whether they were satisfied with the police response.³⁶ Figure 10 shows the results for the two property crimes, and for the three contact crimes taken together. (Further details are in Appendix 4, Table 16, which also shows results from the 1996 sweep.

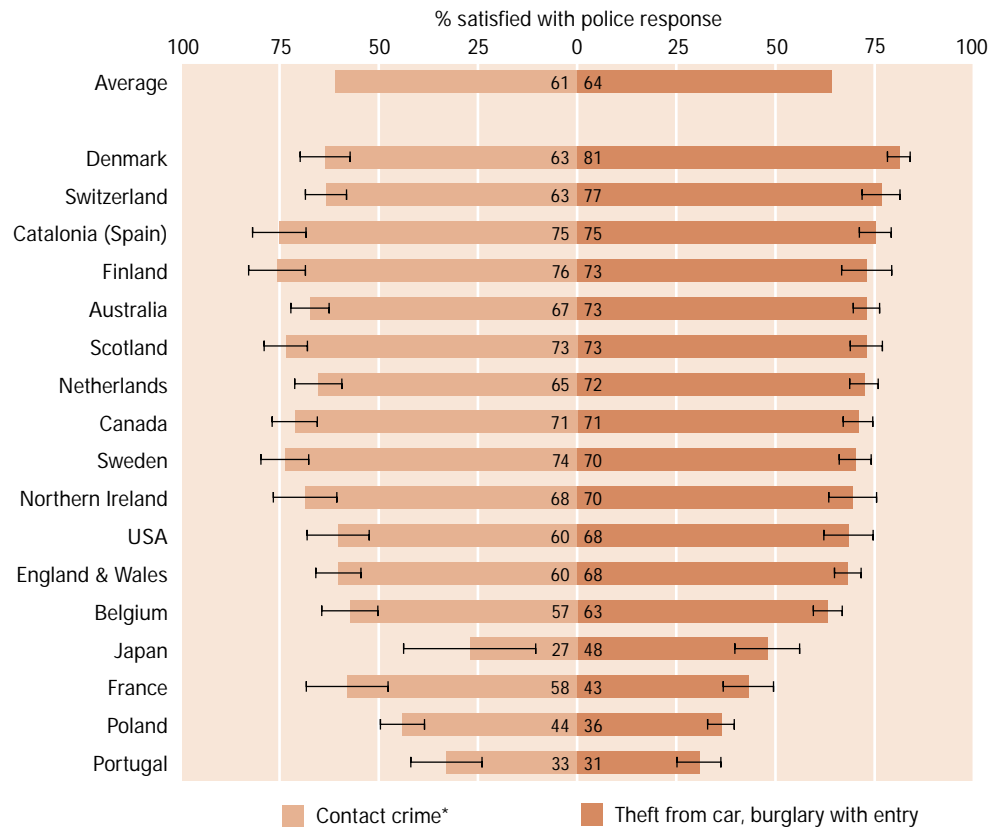
Overall, there is not much difference between how victims felt when they reported property crimes as against contact crime. For both, about six in ten felt satisfied. But looking at countries individually, the police were rated lower in their handling of contact crime in more countries (eight) than they were for property crime (five); there was little difference in the rest.

Those in Denmark (81%), Switzerland (77%) and Catalonia (75%) were most satisfied after reporting burglaries and thefts from cars, although figures in several other countries were not far behind. Victims of contact crime in Denmark and Switzerland, however, were relatively less satisfied when reporting contact crime. Those in Sweden ranked higher in their assessment of how the police handled contact crimes reported than they did property crimes. The police response was considered least good in Portugal, Poland, France, and Japan (particularly for contact crime).

Levels of satisfaction with the police after reporting were lower when crimes were rated as serious (59% were satisfied) than when they were judged 'somewhat serious' (67%), or 'not very serious' (72%). On the face of it, this might suggest that the police do a poorer job when 'serious' crimes are reported. More likely, probably, is that vic-

36 This question was asked for the same five crimes as questions about reporting to the police: burglary with entry, thefts from cars, robbery, sexual incidents, and assault and threats.

Figure 10 Percentage satisfied with police response after reporting



Countries are sorted by 'theft from car and burglary with entry'.

* 'Contact crime': robbery, sexual incidents and assaults and threats.

tims have higher expectation of the police when they report crime incidents which they judge to be more serious.

Trends over time in satisfaction with the police response

For the 11 countries in the 1996 sweep of the ICVS, the picture was generally similar with respect to *relative* levels of satisfaction with the police on reporting. Those in Poland and France, for instance, ranked comparatively low in assessments of police performance in 1996, as they did in 2000; those in Finland ranked police performance relatively highly in both years. The main changes were confined to three countries. In England and Wales, victims who reported were rather less happy with the police response in 2000 than in 1996. In Switzerland and Northern Ireland, in contrast, satisfaction with the police response was higher in 2000 than in 1996.

Table 14 Reasons for dissatisfaction with the police after reporting: all countries (percentages)¹

	Theft from car ²	Burglary with entry	Robbery	Sexual incidents	Assault & threats	All five crimes
Did not do enough	41	49	50	49	51	47
Were not interested	36	33	35	34	31	34
Did not find offender	27	22	21	22	13	22
Did not recover goods	26	22	13		3	18
Gave no information	14	17	8	20	12	15
Impolite	13	15	16	17	22	15
Were slow to arrive	9	16	7	11	15	11
Other / don't know	18	19	20	23	19	21

1 Multiple responses were allowed, so percentages may add to more than 100%.

2 Reasons for dissatisfaction when reporting thefts from car was not asked in Switzerland.

Reasons for dissatisfaction with the police

Those respondents who indicated that they were not satisfied with the way the police handled the matter were asked why not. (Multiple responses were again allowed). Results for all five crimes for the 17 countries combined are in Table 14.

Overall, the main reason for dissatisfaction was that the police 'did not do enough'. This held across all five crimes, and was the complaint of about half those who answered. The second cause for dissatisfaction was that the 'police were not interested' - mentioned by about a third. For four of the five crimes, the next most common complaint overall was that no offender had been caught. The exception was assaults and threats, where impoliteness on the part of the police was more often mentioned. An explanation for this might be that the police think that some assault incidents involve a degree of victim responsibility. For theft from cars and burglary with entry, around a quarter were dissatisfied because the police did not recover any stolen goods. Victims were most dissatisfied with lack of feedback information from the police when they reported sexual incidents. The relative importance of different reasons for dissatisfaction in the current ICVS sweep was the same as in the 1996 survey.

Results for individual countries are in Table 17, Appendix 4. One needs to bear in mind, though, the small numerical base since answers are based only on those who (a) were victim of one of the five crimes; (b) reported to the police; and (c) were not satisfied. Also, as was the case with reasons for reporting, more responses were given in Belgium, Poland and Japan. Thus, high values on any particular reason why victims were dissatisfied will reflect this.

That the police did not do enough was the most common complaint everywhere except Catalonia, England and Wales and Finland – where as many were unhappy that the police were not sufficiently interested. Those in Portugal were particularly dissatisfied with the effort the police put in. Dissatisfaction with the amount of information the police gave was particularly high in Northern Ireland and the USA, while rather more victims in Catalonia and Sweden mentioned police impoliteness. There was some indication that in Sweden and Northern Ireland, more victims felt that the police were slow to arrive. Some but not all of these findings were also evident in the 1996 ICVS, where comparisons across sweeps can be made.

4.6 Victim support

Some victims who had reported to the police were also asked whether they had received support from a specialised victim support agency. The victims covered were those who has experienced four crimes: burglary with entry, robbery, sexual incidents, and assaults and threats. Because of the small numerical base, the last three are taken together below as ‘contact crime’. Those who had not received any help were asked whether they would have appreciated help in getting information, or practical or emotional support. Results are in Table 15, with further details in Tables 18 and 19 in Appendix 4.

Victims offered support

Overall, support is more frequently offered to victims of contact crimes (10% were offered help, as against 5% of burglary victims). Victims in the UK – where the victim support movement is strong – were most often offered help, with relatively little difference between victims of burglary and contact crime. For the four crimes together, a full 21% of victims were supported in Northern Ireland, 18% in England and Wales and 12% in Scotland. Elsewhere, there were comparatively high levels of support for victims in the Netherlands (13%), Canada (12%), Sweden (12%), the USA (9%) and Denmark (8%). Least support seems to have been available in Portugal, Japan, Finland, France, and Poland.

Comparing figures from the 2000 ICVS with those from countries in the previous sweep, there was little change that was statistically robust in the proportion of victims contacted by support agencies after they reported to the police. More victims in Northern Ireland, though, seemed supported on 2000 (21%) than in 1996 (11%). The *relative* amount of support offered in different countries was much the same in the two sweeps of the survey.

Victims wanting support

On the question of whether victims *wanted* help, about one in three burglary victims overall felt it would have been useful, with the proportion rather higher for

Table 15 Percentage of victims who received, or would have appreciated receiving help from a specialised agency: 2000 ICVS¹

	Received help ²		Help would have been useful ³	
	Burglary with entry	Contact crime ⁴	Burglary with entry	Contact crime ⁴
Australia	3	7	21	33
Belgium	3	7	22	34
Canada	3	22	30	31
Catalonia (Spain)	7	3	49	59
Denmark	1	19	26	40
England & Wales	16	20	29	36
Finland	-	2	35	35
France	-	3	14	24
Japan	-	-	39	48
Netherlands	9	16	13	23
Northern Ireland	18	23	41	45
Poland	na	4	na	51
Portugal	-	-	52	48
Scotland	12	12	36	35
Sweden	5	16	29	29
USA	5	12	33	38
All countries ⁵	5	10	31	41

1 Results for Switzerland are not available; nor are results for burglary in Poland.

2 Asked of victims who reported to the police.

3 Asked of victims who reported to the police but did not receive victim support.

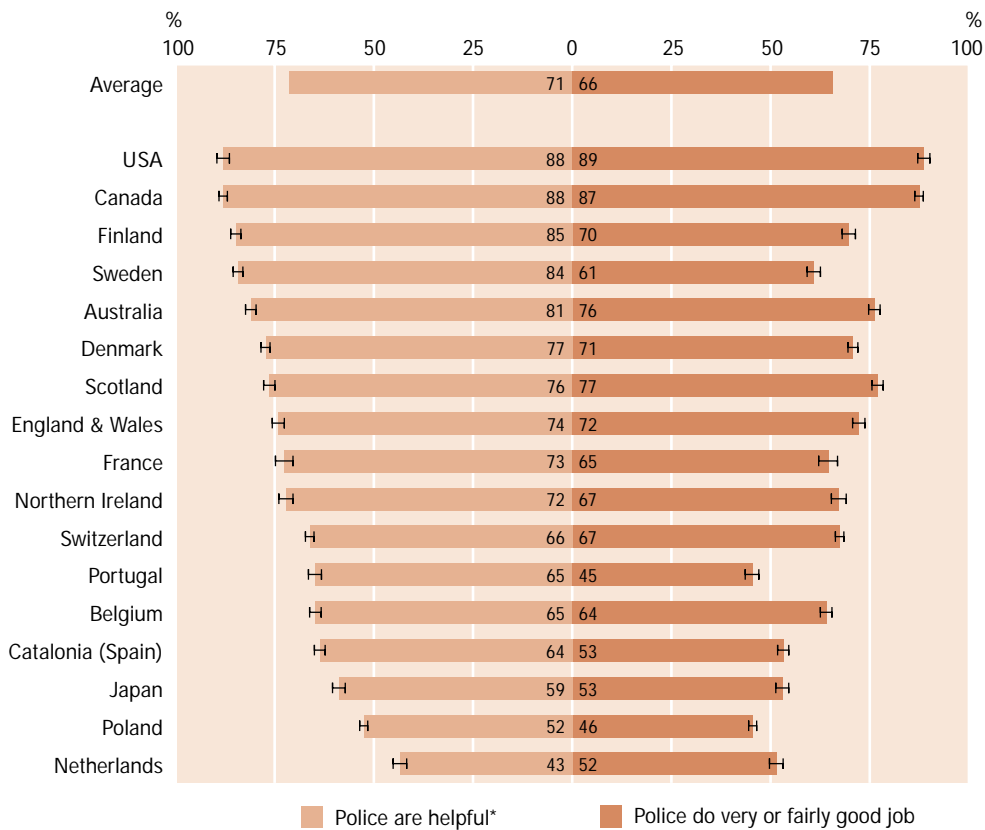
4 Based on robbery, sexual incidents, and assaults and threats.

5 Poland omitted from the average for all countries.

contact crime (four out of ten). Most need was expressed by those in Catalonia, Poland, Portugal, Japan, and Northern Ireland (despite the relatively high level of support already given).

Comparing figures from the current and previous ICVS for countries in both, there was generally little change in the amount of help wanted. There was rather less demand in Sweden, England and Wales, and France, but changes in the nature of incidents reported could explain this. For countries in the current and previous sweep, the *relative* amount of help needed was similar. For example, there was the highest level of demand in Poland and Northern Ireland in both sweeps.

Figure 11 Percentage thinking the police (a) do a good job in controlling crime in their area, and (b) are helpful



Countries are sorted by 'police are helpful'.

* 'Police helpful' based on those fully and tending to agree the police are helpful.

4.7 General attitudes to the police

All respondents were asked to give a judgement on the overall performance of the police. The question asked was:

'Taking everything into account, how good a job do you think the police do in your area in controlling crime. Do you think they do a very good job, a fairly good job, a poor job or a very poor job?'

In the 2000 ICVS, there was also a new question:

'And what about the helpfulness of the police. How far do you agree that the police do everything they can to help people and be of service? Do you fully agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree or totally disagree?'

Figure 11 shows results from the two questions (More detailed results are in Tables 20, 21 and 22 in Appendix 4.)

Generally, in those countries where people feel the police do a good job, the police are also considered helpful, and *vice versa*.³⁷ The most satisfied were in the USA and Canada, where nearly nine out of ten thought both the police performed well, and were helpful. (There were also high levels of satisfaction in the USA and Canada in the 1996 ICVS.) Police performance was also rated relatively highly in Scotland (77%), as it was in 1996, and in Australia (76%). The helpfulness of the police was also rated highly in Finland and Sweden. The poorest judgements of police performance were in Portugal, Poland, the Netherlands, Japan and Catalonia. (Figures for Poland and the Netherlands in 1996 showed the same picture). The police were considered relatively unhelpful in these countries too, though not especially so in Portugal.

Trends over time in attitudes to the police

Several countries have taken part in at least three sweeps of the ICVS. Table 16 shows results.

Four things are of note.

- First, the rank order position of countries participating in two or more sweeps is very stable. Countries with relatively high figures in one sweep tend to have relatively high figures in other sweeps, and *vice versa*. For instance, in the four countries with measures of attitudes to police performance in all four sweeps of the ICVS, the rank order positions were identical.
- Secondly, there was a general shift downwards in assessments of police performance after 1989, bearing in mind that some of the changes are not particularly statistically robust. For instance, all but one (Finland) of the six countries with measures for 1989 and 1992 had lower figures in 1992. And of nine countries with measures for 1989 and 1996, six had lower figures in 1996 and one (Northern Ireland) had the same.
- Thirdly, police performance was rated more highly in 2000 than in 1996 in all but one of the 11 countries with measures for both years. (The exception was Sweden, where there was little change.) There is good reason, though, to be cautious about this result. This is because – to improve sensitivity of measurement – respondents in the 2000 ICVS were offered four alternatives to judge police performance: that the police did a *very good* job; a *fairly good* job; a *fairly poor* job, and a *very poor* job. In previous sweeps, these were truncated into two: that the police did a *good* job, or a *poor* job. The consistent upward trend in assessments

37 The Spearson correlation between the two measures is 0.82 ($p < 0.05$; $n = 17$).

Table 16 Percentage thinking the police do a good job in controlling crime in their area

	1989	1992	1996	2000 ¹
Australia	73	72		↑ 76
Belgium	53	↓ 48		↑ 64
Canada	89	↓ 82	80	↑ 87
England & Wales	70	↓ 66	68	↑ 72
Finland ²	64	66	68	70
France	62		↓ 56	↑ 65
Netherlands	58	↓ 50	↓ 45	↑ 52
Northern Ireland	63		63	↑ 67
Poland		38	↓ 27	↑ 46
Scotland	71		69	↑ 77
Sweden		58	62	61
Switzerland	50		↑ 55	↑ 67
USA	81		↓ 77	↑ 89

1 For 2000, the categories 'very good job' and 'fairly good job' are taken together.

2 The differences in Finland between the consecutive years is not statistically significant, but the four-year upward trend is (test for linear association, $p < 0.07$).

↑ and ↓ indicate that the difference compared to the previous survey is statistically significant (t-test; $p < 0.10$).

↑ indicates an increase over the previous sweep; ↓ denotes a decrease.

of police performance in 2000 suggests that this coding change is probably more at issue than any 'real' change in attitudes to the police.

- Bearing in mind the probable 'technical inflation' of the 2000 results, there have been some notable changes in attitudes to the police over time. The most prominent improvements between 1992 and 2000, for instance, were in Poland, Finland, Switzerland, the USA and Belgium. There was a different pattern in the Netherlands however. Satisfaction with the police dropped after 1989, and although it improved in 2000, the percentage feeling the police do a good job is still lower than in 1989.