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**UNDERSTANDING THE RACIAL NATURE  
OF POLICE AND IMMIGRANT RELATIONS  
IN FINLAND**

THE CASE OF AFRICANS IN TURKU

**by**

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Egharevba Stephen: **Understanding the Racial Nature of Police and Immigrant Relations in Finland: The Case of Africans in Turku**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The focus of this study is to examine the role of police and immigrants' relations, as less is known about this process in the country. The studies were approached in two different ways. Firstly, an attempt was made to examine how immigrants view their encounters with the police. Secondly, the studies explored how aware the police are of immigrants' experiences in their various encounters and interactions on the street level. An ancillary aim of the studies is to clarify, analyse and discuss how prejudice and stereotypes can be tackled, thereby contributing to the general debate about racism and discrimination for better ethnic relations in the country. The data in which this analysis was based is on a group of adults (n=88) from the total of 120 Africans questioned for the entire study (n=45) police cadets and (n=6) serving police officers from Turku.

The present thesis is a compilation of five articles. A summary of each article findings follows, as the same data was used in all five studies. In the first study, a theoretical model was developed to examine the perceived knowledge of bias by immigrants resulting from race, culture and belief. This was also an attempt to explore whether this knowledge was predetermined in my attempt to classify and discuss as well as analyse the factors that may be influencing immigrants' allegations of unfair treatment by the police in Turku.

The main finding shows that in the first paper there was ignorance and naivety on the part of the police in their attitudes towards the African immigrant's prior experiences with the police, and this may probably have resulted from stereotypes or their lack of experience as well as prior training with immigrants where these kinds of experience are rampant in the country (Egharevba, 2003 and 2004a). In exploring what leads to stereotypes, a working definition is the assumption that is prevalent among some segments of the population, including the police, that Finland is a homogenous country by employing certain conducts and behaviour towards ethnic and immigrant groups in the country. This to my understanding is stereotype. Historically this was true, but today the social topography of the country is changing and becoming even more complex. It is true that, on linguistic grounds, the country is multi-lingual, as there are a few recognised national minority languages (Swedish, Sami and Russian) as well as a number of immigrant languages including English. Apparently it is vital for the police to have a line of communication open when addressing the problem associated with immigrants in the country.

The second paper moved a step further by examining African immigrants' understanding of human rights as well as what human rights violation means or entails in their views as a result of their experiences with the police, both in Finland and in their country of origin. This approach became essential during the course of the study, especially when the participants were completing the questionnaire (N=88), where volunteers were solicited for a later date for an in-depth interview with the author. Many of the respondents came from countries where human rights are not well protected and seldom discussed publicly, therefore understanding their views on the subject can help to explain why some of the immigrants are sceptical about coming forward to report cases of batteries and assaults to the police, or even their experiences of being monitored in shopping malls in their new home and the reason behind their low level of trust in public authorities in Finland. The study showed that knowledge of human rights is notably low among some of the participants. The study also found that female respondents were less aware of human rights when compared with their male counterparts. This has resulted in some of the male participants focussing more on their traditional ways of thinking by not realising that they are in a new country where there is equality in sexes and lack of respect on gender terms is not condoned.

The third paper focussed on the respondents' experiences with the police in Turku and tried to explore police attitudes towards African immigrant clients, in addition to the role stereotype plays in police views of different cultures and how these views have impacted on immigrants' views of discriminatory policing in Turku. The data is the same throughout the entire studies (n=88), except that some few participants were interviewed for the third paper thirty-five persons. The results showed that there is some bias in mass-media reports on the immigrants' issues, due to selective portrayal of biases without much investigation being carried out before jumping to conclusions, especially when the issues at stake involve an immigrant (Egharevba, 2005a; Egharevba, 2004a and 2004b). In this vein, there was an allegation that the police are even biased while investigating cases of theft, especially if the stolen property is owned by an immigrant (Egharevba, 2006a, Egharevba, 2006b). One vital observation from the respondents' various comments was that race has meaning in their encounters and interaction with the police in the country. This result led the author to conclude that the relation between the police and immigrants is still a challenge, as there is rampant fear and distrust towards the police by some segments of the participating respondents in the study.

In the fourth paper the focus was on examining the respondents' view of the police, with special emphasis on race and culture as well as the respondents' perspective on police behaviour in Turku. This is because race, as it was relayed to me in the study, is a significant predictor of police perception (Egharevba, 2005a; Egharevba and Hannikainen, 2005). It is a known scientific fact that inter-group racial attitudes are the representation of group competition and perceived threat to power and status (Group-position theory). According to Blumer (1958) a sense of group threat is an essential element for the emergence of racial prejudice. Consequently, it was essential that we explored the existing relationship between the respondents and the police in order to have an understanding of this concept.

The result indicates some local and international contextual issues and assumptions that were of importance tackling prejudice and discrimination as it exists within the police in the country. Moreover, we have to also remember that, for years, many of these African immigrants have been on the receiving end of unjust law enforcement in their various countries of origin, which has resulted in many of them feeling inferior and distrustful of the police even in their own country of origin. While discussing the issues of cultural difference and how it affects policing, we must also keep in mind the socio-cultural background of the

participants, their level of language proficiency and educational background. The research data analysed in this study also confirmed the difficulties associated with cultural misunderstandings in interpreting issues and how these misunderstandings have affected police and immigrant relations in Finland.

Finally, the fifth paper focussed on cadets' attitudes towards African immigrants as well as serving police officers' interaction with African clients. Secondly, the police level of awareness of African immigrants' distrustfulness of their profession was unclear. For this reason, my questions in this fifth study examined the experiences and attitudes of police cadets and serving police officers as well as those of African immigrants in understanding how to improve this relationship in the country. The data was based on (n=88) immigrant participants, (n=45) police cadets and 6 serving police officers from the Turku police department.

The result suggests that there is distrust of the police in the respondents' interaction; this tends to have galvanised a heightened tension resulting from the lack of language proficiency (Egharevba and White, 2007; Egharevba and Hannikainen, 2005, and Egharevba, 2006b) The result also shows that the allegation of immigrants as being belittled by the police stems from the misconceptions of both parties as well as the notion of stop and search by the police in Turku. All these factors were observed to have contributed to the alleged police evasiveness and the lack of regular contact between the respondents and the police in their dealings. In other words, the police have only had job-related contact with many of the participants in the present study. The results also demonstrated the complexities caused by the low level of education among some of the African immigrants in their understanding about the Finnish culture, norms and values in the country. Thus, the framework constructed in these studies embodies diversity in national culture as well as the need for a further research study with a greater number of respondents (both from the police and immigrant/majority groups), in order to explore the different role cultures play in immigrant and majority citizens' understanding of police work.

**Keywords:** Police, Immigrants, Relations, Fear, Apprehension, Racial Discrimination, Welfare State

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Turku, August 2011

Egharevba, Stephen

## LIST OF THE ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

The present study is based on the listed publications below. In the text these publications are referred to in Roman numbers I–V.

- Study I Egharevba, Stephen (2004a) Rethinking the concept of prejudice: Immigrants' knowledge-based analysis in Turku, *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 32 pp. 191–221
- Study II Egharevba, Stephen, (2004b) An evaluation of African immigrant perspectives on human rights in Finland, *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 6:127–145
- Study III Egharevba, Stephen (2005) An investigation into African immigrants' experiences with the police in Finland, *Journal of Police Science and Management*, Vol. 7 no. 1pp. 44–61
- Study IV Egharevba, Stephen (2006) African immigrants' perception of police in Finland: Is it based on the discourse of race or culture? *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 34 (1) pp. 42–63
- Study V Egharevba, Stephen, and John white (2007) Are Finnish police racists? A critical analysis of police cadets' attitudes towards African immigrants in Finland, *International Journal of Police Science and Management* Vol. 9 no. 1 pp. 14–35

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background to the study

In 1965, David Easton coined the concept of support for political institutions, where he distinguished between two types of support for political institutions: “*specific support*” is the specific benefits and advantages that members of a system experience as being members of the system, whereas “*diffuse support*” is the specific reward that members may feel they obtain from belonging to the system (Easton, 1965: 125). Thus, diffuse support is stable over time, while specific support may vary and becomes stronger depending on the outcome between the governmental agents and citizens in their relationship. Denis (1976) also posited that, there is a link between specific support with the performance of certain roles within institutions – particularly a governmental – and the benefit expected and its impact on the citizens. He argued further that diffuse support involves the generalisation of support for institutional authority; in other words, it is goodwill gesture directed at such institution rather than at particular incumbents, as it is a regime-level sentiment and support or rejection of such institution (Denis, 1976:50). Owing to the fact that diffuse support is built through an intensive series of experiences with public officials, this conduct does not change as rapidly as specific support would change. Denis (1976) argued that any change in the level of specific support for public authorities typically would have no substantial effect on the level of diffuse support for the institution, unless there was a sharp rise or fall in specific support or repeated situations of high or low specific support that can have a marked impact on the level of diffuse support. Even though a single incident would not affect the level of diffuse support, consistent underperformance and decrease in the level of specific support could eventually, if not carefully approached, lead towards a decrease in the level of diffuse support as well (Easton, 1965). Hence, the support for police depends specifically on whether the focus of the studies is on majority or minority citizens.

Furthermore, since Wilson’s (1968) pioneering criminological and influential research paper titled *varieties of police behaviour*, criminologists have carried out numerous studies highlighting some of the factors that could predict police activities. This includes police use of discretionary power to either sanction citizens or not. Furthermore, across the globe it has long been acknowledged that citizens holding positive views of the police are more likely to co-operate with the police in providing crime-related information or even reporting crime to the police. Therefore, public support of the police does not only facilitate police efforts in controlling and preventing crimes, it also enhances police legitimacy (Weitzer, et al., 2008). In other words, whenever sections of the citizens hold negative and distrustful view of the police, that group should be expected to be more unlikely to contact the police on any issue, be they victims of crime or witnesses in providing information to the police for solving a crime (Egharevba, 2003). Another area that has seen detailed analysis is the controversial and unresolved question of whether race influences the police to either arrest or sanction a citizen of minority characteristics (Wilson, 1968; Weitzer et al., 2008). Thus the role of race in criminal justice research has been evolving.

In hindsight, Police and immigrants’ relation in Finland is not different in many ways from those of other Western countries (Egharevba, 2004a) such as the United Kingdom, Canada

and the United States of America, where tension and suspicion are often the case between police and visible racial minorities (Reiner, 1985; Smith, 1983; Fielding and Fielding, 1991; Wortley, 1992). Furthermore, the existence of contradictions in ethnic relations studies is not new if one considers Smith's analysis of this discourse (1986:20), where he posited that, when asking questions as to whether the participants are of the opinion the police were doing a good job, it "was like asking patients as they are being wheeled into the operating theatre whether they thought that surgeons were competent". This is especially interesting in the context of police/immigrants relations in a non-immigrant country like Finland. Similarly, Moore's (1972) and Lijphart's (1975), studies have pointed to that fact that there is increasing scepticism among minority groups' interactions with the police. However, in Finland the debates and discussion on immigrants have largely focussed on experiences of racism and discrimination by proportionally large groups (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind and Vesala, 2002; Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind, 1997; Pitkänen and Kouki, 2002).

Indeed, what the available studies have failed to explore is certain immigrant groups' relations with the police and the consequences of the general lack of trust in the police and the reluctance of some segments of these groups to want to co-operate or even report minor or major cases of crime to the police. This is true even in the cases of discrimination in employment or being the focus of police suspicions some of the immigrants have encountered on the streets, public places and in their neighbourhoods. These are not familiar issues when it comes to many immigrants' lack of trust of the police while investigating why they often abandon the thought of co-operating with investigating police officers regarding any case involving them and a Finn.

This scenario amplifies the stereotypical views that are held by some police officers and certain segments of the population in Finland. Another contributing factor is, what most of these immigrants see on television in their living rooms and what they read in various newspapers also adds to their scepticism about the police. Good examples would include the Rodney King beating by the Los Angeles police in 1991 in the USA, or the programme COP, which was screened on television in Australia and brought about public condemnation of police racism in the early 1990s across the world, as well as the police handling of the protesters at the EU summit in Gothenburg, Sweden (16 June 2001) and the Stephen Lawrence inquiry in the UK. These sorts of coverage certainly do contribute to the common negative view of police practices held by some of the Africans in the present study.

The police relations with recent immigrants tend to have a self-perpetuating quality, as each group organises its everyday relations on the basis of negative stereotypes. However, while racist tension and hostility have led to the eruption of major urban riots in the United Kingdom (Bradford, Burnley and Oldham<sup>1</sup> in 2001), France (2005<sup>2</sup>) and the previous riots in 1960s and 1970s in the United States of America (Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993), police racism in Finland has largely remained in the background of the public consciousness (Egharevba, 2004b). As a matter of fact, African immigrant relations with the police have not yet emerged as a public discourse in Finland, as the immigration of a large number of Africans to Finland is still a recent phenomenon. Nevertheless, there have been some findings which tend to suggest that certain segments of the police hold negative views towards immigrants in general (Pitkänen and Kouki, 2002; Jaakkola, 1999; Makkonen, 2000). For example, Tina Vesala's (2002) analysis centred on immigrants who had experienced racist crime in Finland, and her

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<sup>1</sup> See Guardian.co.uk reports on December 11 2001 captioned "Race riot reports urge immigrant 'loyalty'" for more in-depth analysis of the cause of the ethnic riot in the summer of that year.

<sup>2</sup> See the New Straits Time report of 8 November on p.28 captioned "French violence rages on" for more elaborate analysis.

findings, suggest unreasonably that immigrants tend to view the police in a more negative light than the majority population. In the present study, however, this was not true of all the participating Africans, although a substantial number of the respondents reflect this same sort of view; this was particularly stronger among those who had encountered assaults and batteries on the street in Turku in the past. Consequently, these views were not dependent on personal experiences alone, but they also depended upon other factors such family members, acquaintance and friends, as already mentioned by others (including those above), though their studies' approaches are slightly different from the present research in both origin and purpose.

That said, during the course of this research, the author identified similar issues and themes to earlier studies, but he was methodologically different in his approach in analysing these themes. His adopted approach was multifaceted; this was similar to the approach that Truman et al. (1994) have employed in their study on the relationship between gayness and lesbianism with the police in Manchester. This thesis is an attempt to question this common view of the police held by some African immigrants, which tends to influence the ways some of the participants think and act (this became the core focus/interest of the first two research questions). One cannot deny the fact that there may be many other factors responsible for this kind of phenomenon among the immigrant groups. For instance, one incident is enough to amplify the negative attitude towards the police, even though such an incident arises from just one individual. For the African closely-knit community, incidents that happen to an acquaintance, friend or family member form part of the group consciousness. This was similar to what Smith (1986) identified as Black respondents having vivid recollections of their experiences with the police over an extended period of time, whilst a White sample who had had similar experiences became more casual and distanced over time.

These kinds of experience were anticipated given the historical context of differential status and insecurity that the responding African immigrants had experienced with their local police prior to their arrival in this country, which is partly responsible for their distrust of the police in Finland. This is not to devalue the perceptions of other immigrant groups in Finland of the police (Egharevba, 2004a). Presently, there appears to be lack of study directly concentrating on this aspect of studies in Finland, perhaps because of the relatively low number of immigrants in the country, or because of the lack of knowledge on the part of the Finnish police that in the participating immigrants' country of birth, the relations between the police and citizens have been historically poor (Egharevba, 2005; Ahire, 1991; Bayley, 1969; Brewer, 1994; Cawthra, 1994; Cole, 1999; White, 1997; Goldstein, 1977). Certainly some Africans are still filled with bad memories of their previous encounters with their local police prior to coming to Finland.

While this may be true to some extent among some Africans in Finland, these kinds of experiences are probably contrary to the way the Finnish majority view their encounters with the police in the country. These differences between opinion and views do sometimes amplify the tension and suspicion about police discrimination. Despite this problem, however, African immigrants' relations with the police in Turku are vital to this understanding. However, it should be emphasised that the present study in Turku was not prompted by any serious problem about immigrants and police encounters, but simply, through my desire to understand and explore the participating groups' interactions with the police in view of their prior experiences with the police. Some of the immigrants tend to suggest through their answers to the questions in the research study that they are conscious of the acts of racial stereotyping, unfair police treatment, harassment and abusive police language; these feelings were noted to be especially intense among those who had experienced assaults and batteries in

the early 1990s. Despite the low number of participants in the present research, the participants' views and opinions provide the author with an insight into the relation between Africans and police in this city. This thesis has been partitioned into eight main chapters for better understanding. It consists of the background, objective and ethical issues which shed some lights on the research. The next chapter describes four distinct topics that needed to be explored (1) trends in migration, (2) immigrants in Finland 2000–2008, (3) definition of an immigrant, followed by the concept of immigrants and the protection of minorities. In the same chapter, an attempt was also made to explore police and the duty to provide protection for life and properties as well as the safety of the citizens in the country.

The next chapter explores human rights norms in Finland and non-discrimination as well as the prohibition of discrimination and the protection of minorities in the country. This is followed by two concrete case studies concerning the Russian and the Roma minorities that have been particularly vulnerable to racism and discrimination and intolerance in the country. This is then followed by a look at the police supervisory organ, and a brief analysis of the protection of citizens as it should be understood in the context of this thesis in the country. The fourth chapter continues with the examination of immigrants' perception of immigration and details the theoretical approaches such as the welfare state from migration point of view, social capital, and ethnic relations theories. An attempt was also made to discuss the concept of race, prejudice, stereotypes and racism, and the chapter concludes with the concept of our understanding and explanation of racism.

The (5) chapter takes us to the research design and data settings, research questions, data and methods, and some conceptual distinctions concerning the scope and nature of the fieldwork and the validity and limitations of the research. The (6) chapter examines the racial nature of police and immigrants' relation in Finland, answering the research question by summarising the research findings using the published papers. The (7) chapter provides the summary of the published articles and conclusions and followed by the original article reprints. Finally, the references and appendix consisting of the questionnaire and interview questions

## **1.2 Objective of the study**

Having established in the previous section the need for this study, it should be apparent by now that the interaction and contact between vulnerable groups and public officials, in this case the police, in Finland is an important endeavour worth pursuing at all levels, be they individual or group experiences. The purpose of the thesis is to examine the relations between the police and African immigrants in Turku through interviews conducted with African immigrants, police cadets and serving police officers. A sub-aim of the thesis was to explore the effect of the former groups' previous experiences with the police in their countries of origin. Regarding their relations with the police in Turku, my emphasis was centred on examining the respondents' alleged issues of being ignored, receiving unfair treatment and facing lack of respect when interacting with the police in Turku. This study also focuses on the African immigrants' understanding of police duties as they relate to the protection of life and property in Turku. However, while this form of research is necessary due to the changes and challenges facing the Finnish public authorities in addressing a diverse population as regards tackling racism and discrimination, the present study was not prompted by any known cases of gross police impropriety, but by my desire to contribute to the debate and understanding of African immigrants' view of the police in Turku.

In order to capture properly the concept of police-immigrant relations and how African immigrants understand this concept, the author has embarked on a conceptual inquiry based on his understanding of the relations as it was relayed to him during the course of the study by certain immigrants of African origin. What the author learnt during the course of the research tended to paint a picture of lack of basic knowledge of police duties in the country with a rule of law such as Finland. The burning desire to do something about this basic lack of comprehension of legal norms among these immigrants, especially among the African immigrant clients, became the main motivation. Secondly, even more interesting were the complaints about the police, especially after the immigrants had encountered assaults on the street and in public places. In order to properly understand these issues emanating from the Africans, the author chose to base his entire thesis on this topic, which thus involves only African immigrants in Turku.

Despite the fact that the population of African immigrants in Turku is still fairly small compared to other Western European cities of the same size, there is a need for an adequate understanding of these groups' experiences with the police in Finland and offer suggestion as to how the police training can be geared towards working to regain the trust of these groups, since many of them come from countries in which police-citizens' relations are non-existent. Without our understanding of these previous experiences of African immigrants' views of the police, there may continue to be tension in this relationship; for the tendencies are there that these assumptions learnt in their country of origin will probably continue to generate mistrust of the police in Finland as well. The overall questions which this thesis tried to answer are: What is the relationship between African immigrants and the police like in Turku? What kind of impact do African immigrants' previous experiences in their countries of birth have on their view of the police in Turku? What can the Finnish police do to alleviate the existing tension and mistrust owing to the fact that many of these Africans come from countries where the police are poorly paid, ill-trained and corrupt? Therefore, this group of immigrants needs some sort of reassurance from the Finnish police in their attitude towards them in any of their encounters, because Finnish police are totally different in many ways in their style and training from the police immigrants are used to in their country of origin.

### **1.3 Ethical issues in research of this nature**

What is common in social research is that the participants are made aware of their participation in a research study. This is because of the vital importance of their consent, which is valued in such research undertaking. The present work also raises some ethical questions, as any research finding in projects involving vulnerable groups is incomplete without some reflections on the implication of the ethical issues in such projects, especially in research that concerns vulnerable groups such as immigrants' and police relations. Although the main focus of this study was on immigrants of African origin and police relations in Turku, the findings in this study may have potential implications for other immigrant groups in the country, whether they have contacts with the police or not. As a matter of fact, there are important questions which the researcher has to consider. The first issue of concern is the funding of the research. In this present study, there was no funding from the police or any Finnish ministries during the course of the entire research, neither during the data collection phase nor during the analysis stage. There are therefore no doubts to be raised regarding lack of fairness to my funding bodies as most researchers' dilemmas after being funded by either the police or a government funding body. The present research is independent of these conflicts of interest.

During the data collection stage at both the police school and the police station, I met a high degree of co-operation and enthusiasm for my research into police relations with immigrants in Finland. However, despite this enthusiasm about the research, I could still sense in some of the participants a very sceptical view of my research area by their attitudes and responses to some of my initial questions, both before filling in the questionnaire and during the interviews. The lack of significant interest in this area of research may be a result of the general assumption among the police that everything is perfect in race relations in Finland. Another factor may be my line of questioning; for example, I asked questions such as: “in the past 12 months how many African immigrants have you or your partners interacted with during your official duty or during your free times?”, “would you consider such interactions as friendly or not?” and “if you have to choose a place in which to socialise, where will that be? Will it be where there are more Finns or more foreigners?” The anticipated answer to this last question was, overwhelmingly, where there are more Finns. This answer points to the fact that in Finland even the police were not prepared for the sudden influx of different immigrant groups to this country. A cadet summarised this better:

*In our training, we are not trained to have friends outside our profession. For this reason, why would the police be interested in socialising in places where there are more foreigners instead of more Finns? (27-year-old man)*

This is not to imply that all the cadets questioned and interviewed agreed with this cadet’s views; yet it was not surprising that four out of six of the serving police officers also agreed with the premise of socialising, if they have a choice, where there are more Finns. This brings us to the issue of social capital, in which Putnam (2000) suggested that social capital and economic equality go hand in hand together as they tend to reinforce each other. Thus, going by the phrase above, one can observe that the cadet thinks that in his training he was not taught on whom to relate to, and this goes straight to the point that less social engagement tends to reinforce this kind of defensive pattern even among police cadets. The reason is that the police training does not need to emphasise the types of friends cadets are supposed to have, as it is normal for every individual to be able to create positive social relations, knowing fully well that any pattern of relations the cadets have in the community would yield positive outcomes. Although many critical comments were made during my interview with some of the serving police officers, these have been deliberately omitted from this thesis. Some of these comments can be found in one of my original articles, in the summary and overview of the published articles in this thesis (Egharevba, 2005a). There were comments such as “your 45 questions are too many, “some of these questions are prejudicial”, and more disturbing, that some words in the sentences in my questions were not found in the Finnish dictionary, but this latter was overcome by rephrasing the sentences in Finnish in order to make it closer to the question.

To summarise this part of the thesis, let me refer the readers to how I was asked indirectly “my motive for embarking on this kind of research”. Was I going to be on the police side or on the African immigrants’ side? Of course, if I had a choice I would choose to be on the African’s side; but in this research I chose not to be on either side, because I wanted to be objective and able to see what may be really responsible for the misinterpretation or lack of understanding of the police’s view of the immigrants and the immigrants’ view of the police in Turku and how these work out in reality. Solomos was right by arguing that the research agenda must be a “continual process of self-critical awareness that research can have both intended and unintended political consequences” (Solomos, 1988:13).

## 2. TRENDS IN MIGRATION IN FINLAND

There is no single country on the globe where there is no emigration and immigration. The migration of different people, whether for reasons of ethnic conflicts, civil wars or the lack of political and economic development, will continue to shape our planet as long as human beings survive. History has shown us that this phenomenon has existed since ancient times in all cultures and regions of the world. For example, there were some places that constituted centres of learning and transmission of knowledge for students, scholars, scientists and learned persons, such as Plato's Academy (388 BC), Aristotle's Lyceum (355 BC) in Athens and the Museum-Library established by the Ptolemaic Dynasty in Alexandria Egypt (300 BC). These various centres attracted philosophers and other learned people from places as far as the Mediterranean region, Asia and more distant parts of Europe (Sarton, 1953; Clagett, 1957; Dediđer, 1968). Presently, the advancement in the new technology of the information super-highways and the outbreaks of civil wars in some regions of the world have provoked the movement of people – all over the world – whether as refugees, students or migrant-workers. These people were made to leave their countries due to a mixture of fear, hope and uncertainty. For these reasons, it will not be surprising to find among these people some who have moved because of economic reasons or poverty, and others who have moved as a result of violent wars and fear for their lives.

This distinction is important because of the difficulty in distinguishing a genuine refugee from those fleeing economic depression leading to the upsurge in immigration to different countries in the world. There is no doubt that war and violence are responsible for most of these people fleeing their homeland, while at the same time war may have also affected their livelihoods and sources of existence. In Finland there have been small endogenous minorities such as Finland-Swedes, the Romani, the Tartar and the Sami in the North of the country. However, since the early 1970s refugees and asylum seekers flowing into this country have mainly come from developing countries and countries at war. It is also only recently that countries such as Spain, Italy and Ireland have begun to experience a significant influx of immigrants into their countries (de Putter, 1998:13).

Finland is a small country when compared in terms of population with other European Union countries, but in terms of size Finland is a medium-size country. Culturally speaking, Finland is homogenous as 91% of the population speaks Finnish, while 5.4% speaks Swedish and 0.03% speaks the Sami language. In religious terms, Lutheranism is the dominant religion since the seventeenth century, and it is estimated that approximately 88% of the Finnish population belong to the Evangelical-Lutheran Church and less than 1% belong to the Orthodox Church. Finland has a traditional Lappish minority in the north; the estimates range between 4,000 and 5,000 people. With respect to ethnic minorities, this is a new phenomenon probably because of the country's restrictive immigration policy in the past. This goes to show that traditionally Finland was a country of emigration until the 1980s, when emigration reached its lowest post-war level. For instance, in the mid-1970s most Finns emigrated to many of the economically advanced countries (i.e. Australia, Canada and the United States) to work in mining and forestry industries (Korkiasaari, 1992; Soderling, 1998; Korkiasaari and Söderling, 1998:8). Going by these authors' arguments, it was suggested that in the past hundred years over a million Finns moved out of the country to settle abroad. The estimate ranges between 500,000 before and about 700,000 after the Second World War. What

is interesting is that in the 1950s and 1960s many Finns migrating abroad were Finnish-Swedish (i.e. those from the Swedish-speaking part of the country, estimated to be in a range of 50%), but in the 1960s there was a drop to about 20–30 % (Korkiasaari and Soderling, 2007). In Sweden, ethnic Finns are the largest ethnic minority comprising approximately 50,000 along the Swedish and Finnish border, and 450,000 first and second generation emigrated Finns.

In 2008 there were over 675,000 people in Sweden who were either born in Finland or had at least one parent or grandparent born in Finland. According to Korkiasaari and Soderling (2007), the number of immigrants of Finnish origin offspring in Sweden was estimated to be in a range of 200,000 first generation and about 250,000 second generation immigrants. Out of this number, 250,000 are estimated to be using “Finnish language” on a daily basis, while from this same number an estimated 100,000 remain Finnish citizens (Korkiasaari and Soderling, 2007). According to one estimate by Finnäs (2001), approximately about 450,000 Finnish speakers are still living in Sweden, and it seems that there is a trend towards emigration during economic recessions, for many citizens are in search of a better life and job security; however, during the economic booms there appeared to be a drastic reduction in such emigration (Korkiasaari, 1992 and 1993). It is ironic that some segments of the Finnish population have forgotten about these historical events of the movements of their own people so quickly with the influx of new immigrants into Finland. Indeed, the immigration policy in Finland concerning those from outside the Nordic countries has always been strict (Fischer and Straubhaar, 1996:121–122) for this reason. Little attention has been paid to recruiting workers from outside the European Union countries. In addition, there has been a policy in place of encouraging Finns who had earlier migrated in the early 1960s and 1970s to return home due to the shortfall in labour in the mid-1980s (Ornbrant and Peura, 1993:203–207).

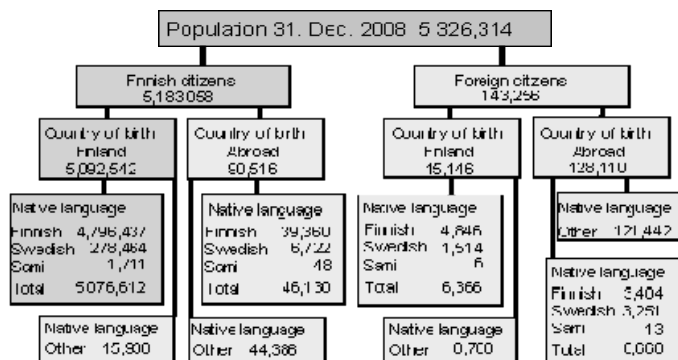
The 1970s also saw the arrival of Chilean and Vietnamese refugees in Finland, as well as an increase in student mobility in the 1980s, in which more students came to the Finnish universities because of the tuition-free education. In the 1990s, however, the flow of immigrants increased, while the number of asylum seekers fell sharply in 1994. In spite of this overall increase in the immigrant population in Finland, their number did not exceed one percent of the total population. That said, the immigrant population continues to grow year by year, and by 2006 this number had more than tripled to 121,739 (Statistics Finland, 2006), while in 2008 the immigrants had increased further to 143,256 (Statistics Finland, 2008), which is now 2.7% out of the total population of the country. Yet the percentage of immigrants in the whole population is still moderate at 2.7%, the lowest in the European Union countries (Statistics Finland, 2008; Ekholm and Pitkänen, 1995:6–7, 13; Pakolais - ja siirtolaisuusasian neuvottelukunnan mietintö, 1994:7).

## **2.1 An overview of recent immigrants and asylum seekers in Finland 2000–2008**

In Finland the official policies on immigration have been quite strict since the Winter War between Finland and Russia. The thinking aftermath of this war gave birth to a period of national identity that was shaped by cultural homogeneity. This period has been termed the period of “isolation”. Hence, the thinking among some segments of the population on the basis of their historical experiences came to the conclusion that it was better to emigrate to another country without thinking that someday others would want to immigrate to the Finnish shore too (Forsander and Trux, 2002:96). History often makes people blind to reality, as the issue of immigration continues to be seen in bad light in this country and others. The consequence of this is the lack of preparation on the part of some segments of the society

when the influx of immigrants into the country began in the early 1990s. However, most of these increases can be explained by the migration from the former USSR. Nevertheless, the overall proportion of immigrant population is still among the lowest in the European Union. Finland had a few endogenous minorities as mentioned earlier; the current population statistics places the number of immigrants living permanently in the country at approximately 143,256 (Statistics, 2008), which is equal to 2.7% out of the total population. Moreover, what is even more interesting is that the majority of the immigrants in Finland (approximately 69%) come from other European countries; this figure is followed by immigrants from Asia (17%) and Africa (8%) respectively. A significant number of these immigrants (17.3%) are nationals of other European Union countries. For example, in 2008 the majority of immigrants comprised the nationals of Russia 26,909 (19%), Estonia 22,604 (16%), Sweden 8,439 (6%) and Somalia 4,919 (3.4%) (Statistics Finland, 2008). Possible explanations for the huge number of Russians, Estonians and Swedes in the country may be their proximity to Finland or historical, geographical and economical ties in the past, while the population of others, especially those from outside Europe such as Africa, is still small. In 1985, for example, there were only 429 Africans residing in Finland, and, overwhelmingly, the majority were male (347) – only 82 were female (Statistics Finland, 1985).

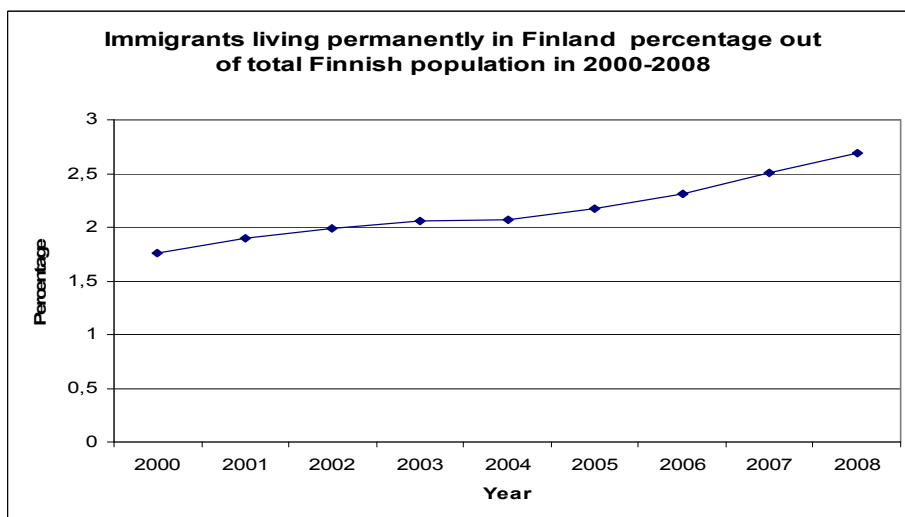
In the present work, no statistical interest on the sectorial distribution of immigrants in the labour market was explored, but an insight gained from talking to some of the immigrants in the study suggest that a number of them are employed in occupations of lower skills, which is often exposed to a greater level of employment volatility in any period of general economic recession. This demographic picture resembles that of most European Union countries. With the middle age dominating, 18% of this population are under 14 years old and 15% are over 65 years old. The influxes of immigrants have reverberated powerfully in the country due to the speed at which this phenomenon occurred, but partially because of the Finnish national identity based on homogeneity, which many felt would be threatened, unfortunately the reverse seems the case. What was even more surprising is that the country has had its fair share of minorities for decades. This number of immigrants was seen as significant increase during a relatively short period of time, just as the new immigrants became hard pills to swallow for many. Finally, in many research findings in the country they often begin their argumentation with the notion that Finland, once an emigrant country, has now turned into an immigrant country. In Figure 1 below, one can see the number of immigrants in the country that were born in Finland and abroad in 2000 and 2008.



(Source: Statistics Finland, population) Structure, December 31 2008

Figure 1: Immigrants' population, country of birth, citizenship and mother tongue 31.12.2008

As can be seen from Figure 1 above, the breakdown of the population figures shows that 2,611,653 were male and 2,714,661 female. A closer look at the statistics suggests that there were 143,256 immigrant citizens in Finland as at December 31 2008. Out of this number 15,146 immigrants were given birth to in Finland, while 128,110 immigrants were born outside the country. Out of the total Finnish population of 5,326,314 million people, we can observe that 90,516 are immigrants who had naturalised as at the 2008 ending (Statistics Finland, 2008).



*(Source: Population register centre, Statistics Finland, December 31 2008)*

**Figure 2: Immigrant population in Finland percentage out of the total Finnish population in the year 2000 – 2008**

Obviously, this relative low number of immigrants may well have been due to the Finnish climate, remote location and the Finnish language. However, there seems to be a change to this phenomenon since the early 1990s, as there has been an increasing flow of new nationalities to Finland from different parts of the world. According to Statistics Finland (2008), immigrants now account for over 2.7% (143,256) of the total population of 5.3 million in the country. In comparative terms with other Nordic countries immigrants' population in 2008, the proportion of the Swedish population born abroad was 13.8% out of the Swedish population, Norway, 11.4 and Denmark, 8.5%. Moreover, the age structure of the immigrants in Finland, demographically speaking, is dominated by younger people. The biggest age group in the immigrant population is those between 25 and 34 (Forsander, 2002); in other words, most immigrants are in the working age. In comparison to the majority population, the single largest age group is 15–64 years old – 66.5%. The percentage of over 65-year-olds among the immigrant population is 6%, while in the Finnish population it is 16.7% (Statistics Finland, 2008).

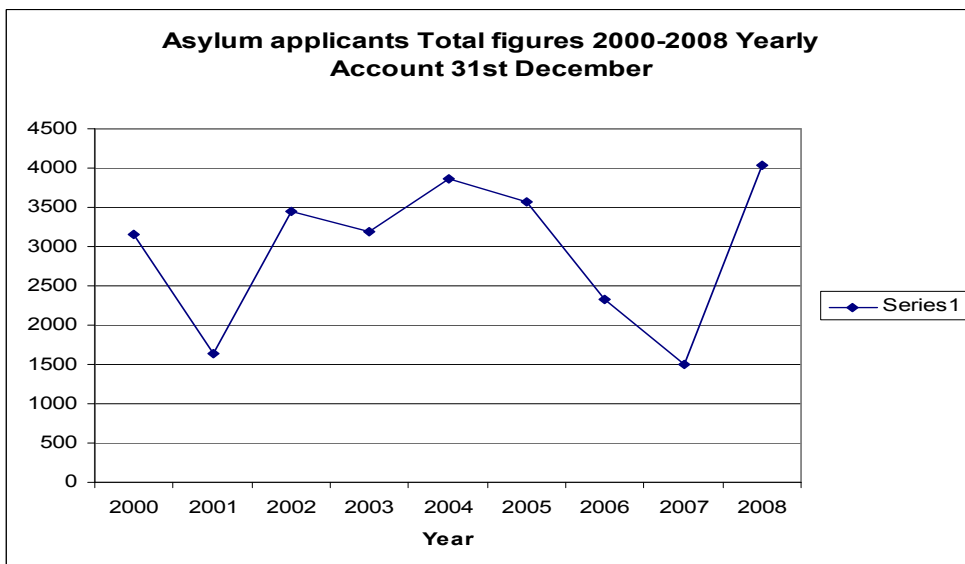
In sum, what is certain is that there is a big difference between the different immigrant groups' nationality and gender distributions. The statistics seem balanced of these immigrants: 51% (61,442) are male and 49% (58,938) female (Statistics Finland, 2008). However, these latter statistics should be taken with caution, as there are certain variations according to the immigrants' country of origin. For example, among the Thai group the percentage of women is 85%, among Russians that have a population of 26,909 it is 61%, and Estonians with a

population of 22,604, 59%, while in the case of Moroccans the percentage of females is 27%, Turks 29%, British 20% and Germans 37% (Statistics Finland, 2008). Despite this growing number of immigrants with a foreign background in Finland, those that were born outside the country and are living in the country permanently are in the range of 143,256. Overall, this number of immigrants represents a fairly small proportion of the population as a whole; in other words, the population of immigrants in Finland is one of the smallest in Europe in relative terms.

Finally, most of the foreigners residing in Finland consist of descendants of former Finns (especially those returning from Sweden, Canada, and Australia, and the Ingrian Finns coming from the former Soviet Union). The second largest group of immigrants in Finland comes from Russia, followed by Estonia. A great number of others include those granted permits on humanitarian grounds such as Somalis, Vietnamese and those from the former Yugoslavia (Ekholm and Pitkänen, 1995:6–7). The number of asylum seekers in Finland is still very low compared with other countries of the European Union, the United States and Canada, even though there is potential for this number to rise in the future over time. This is because as people begin to hear about Finland with its excellent educational system as well as its being a gateway between East and West, it may act as a stimulus in the future for more immigrants to be willing to migrate there.

#### Asylum Seekers in Finland

One major characteristic of the Finnish refugee policy is that it has quota refugee system as part of its humanitarian policy as well as the readiness of the municipalities to accept refugees from the government. The quota is 750, and there is on-going debate in the parliament to increase this number further ([www.intermin.fi/intermin.fi/home/nsf/page](http://www.intermin.fi/intermin.fi/home/nsf/page)). Figure 3 below shows the number of asylum seekers' figures in Finland 2000–2008:



(Sources [www.intermin.fi/intermin.fi/home/nsf/page](http://www.intermin.fi/intermin.fi/home/nsf/page) and Finnish migration services)

**Figure 3: Asylum seekers, figures from 2000 to 2008**

As can be seen from Figure 3, the number of asylum seekers has increased in the years under review. In 2000, asylum seekers' applications were 3,170, while in 2008 the number of asylum seekers stood at 4,035 applicants (Ministry of the Interior, 2008; Finnish Migration Services, 2008), although in absolute numbers of application of asylum seekers on a yearly basis, this is still low compared with other Nordic and European countries. For example, in Sweden in 2006 the number of asylum application was 24,322, while in the Netherlands it was 14,864, and in the United Kingdom asylum applications stood at 21,014<sup>3</sup>. As for Finland, the relative low number of asylum applications could probably be the reason why asylum seekers'/refugees' issues were not initially seen as important issues that need elaborate debates in the country (Egharevba, 2004, 2005a and 2006).

The initial quota for refugees to Finland in 2000 was 700, but by 2006 this had seen a slight increase to 750. At the present time, a debate is on-going concerning increasing this number. Out of this total, a few asylum seekers, approximately 0.22% of all applicants in 2001, were granted the status of refugees, even though a significant number of asylum seekers, 43% of all applicants, are permitted to stay in the country on the grounds that denying them residence would be unreasonable for the fact that the people concerned are in need of protection. As with the quota system in place and other criteria the immigration services use, they depend on the justification for the asylum seekers' protection as deemed fit by the processing authority. In any case, this low percentage of applicants being granted refugee status is due to the restrictive refugee policy in place in Finland. Thus, some of the asylum seekers are granted residence permits based on the official assessment of their need for protection. In 2000 this number was 458, and by 2008 the number of those granted this permit rose to 698 (Ministry of the Interior, Finnish Migration Services, 2008).

There are still on-going debates about increasing this quota system to about 1,000 annually, though no final decision has yet been reached. However, those that have been accepted using the refugee quota system in the past have included people from Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq, as well as the Sudanese. As at December ending 2003, there were fourteen reception centres in Finland, and of these centres three are administered by the state, two by the Finnish Red Cross, and nine by the various municipalities. These reception centres offer accommodation to approximately 2,500 people. Adjacent to the reception centres are four group homes for unaccompanied minor asylum seekers, 108 in total at the end of 2003; in the previous year, the number of minors asylum seekers was only 66 (Immigration Affairs in 2003; [www.mol.fi/migration/toimintaen03.pdf](http://www.mol.fi/migration/toimintaen03.pdf) accessed on 30 September 2004).

The most recent survey by Jaakkola, (2005) suggests that most Finns have had more favourable attitudes toward the immigration of refugees than to labour migration. According to her premise, the favourable attitude towards immigrants became possible after the recession, and the attitude of accepting more foreign labour also saw a dramatic increase. This may probably be because of the booming economy in the period under review. Most favourable attitudes were to be found in her survey among Finns in their opinions about skilled professionals such as doctors, language teachers and scientists. Earlier, it was not surprising that the Finnish attitudes were more negative as a result of the influx of different refugees into the country during the recession of the early 1990s. The attitude then was that the Finns themselves were in need of help, and thus the arrival of refugees (not economic refugees) at a time of recession accidentally and unfortunately amplified the negative feelings among certain parts of the Finnish population.

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<sup>3</sup> For more detailed analysis of this trend see Inter-governmental Consultation on Asylum, Refugees and Migration Policies in Europe, North America and Australia (2006). IGC

The conclusion of one study of importance in this area was that the people who tended to have a more negative attitude towards immigration were males, the elderly, and those with a lower education (Söderling, 1997). The same author also concluded that generally most Finns tend to view immigration as a threat, and, as a consequence of this, negative comments were commonly accepted, especially if they were connected with the threatening aspects of migration, for example, the assumption on the part of certain segments of the population that immigration will bring about more drug problems and criminality in the country. These fears were never justified, but they contributed to the rise in racial and xenophobic attacks on immigrants from Africa in Finland. It is important to emphasise here, that xenophobia and racism are morally deplorable and should be condemned in the strongest terms wherever and whenever they occur and should not be tolerated in a civilised society (Clarke and Bröring, 2000).

It is also important at the outset to define who actually is a refugee: the simplest definition is, those people who are the victims of tragedy that results from civil war, famine and oppression in our fast-changing world, thereby forcing millions of people to flee their homeland into exile. The term “refugee” has implications for the people concerned as regards their rights to protection and assistance, which are embedded in the principles of human rights and international humanitarian law. Immediately following the end of the Second World War, it was estimated that over one hundred million people had been forced to flee their homeland to seek refuge in another country, either because of persecution or because of violence and war. It has been estimated by UNHCR that there are about 20.5 million people in the world today who have been forced to flee their homes; the majority of these people have sought refuge in an area close to their home country, while others have gone further for the same purpose. The number of people meeting this international definition of “refugee” is continuing to increase every year across the world.

The 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees, which has been ratified by Finland, defines a refugee as:

*Any person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it”.*

In Finland, as will be detailed later in this thesis, refugees are often seen as undesirable as a result of the actions of certain individuals among the immigrant population (Egharevba, 2006b). They are also more generally seen as undesirable according to Jaakkola’s (1999:83) finding, in which about 56–68% of her respondents’ admitted not to have anything to do with Somalis, Arabs, Russians, Turks, Moroccans and Black Africans who come to the country. However, in her most recent research, there seems to be a drop from this high negative percentage point to 38% (Jaakkola, 2005). Nonetheless, the huge influx of Somali asylum seekers from Africa coupled with the lack of experience of those in charge of maintaining policy towards foreigners and refugees in Finland and compounded by some of the sensational Finnish tabloid press soon created an atmosphere of intolerance, xenophobia and racism across the country (Horst, 2002; cf. Swyngedouw, 1995).

A direct consequence of this was the increase in lawlessness by groups of skinheads across certain parts of the country in their campaign of violence and terror against African

immigrants in particular. Of particular interest was the city of Joensuu, where most Africans encountered more violence than in other places. In the early 1990s, the findings of Liebkind (1994 and 1995; Liebkind and McAlister, 1999; Puuronen, 2002) confirmed an increase in xenophobic and racially-motivated crime and violence against immigrants residing in Joensuu. As a result of this problem, many Africans began moving to other cities in southern Finland for personal safety. In other words, the feeling of insecurity felt by many immigrants in Joensuu at that particular time, in addition to the scarcity of jobs and the alleged lack of seriousness on the part of public officials towards their troubles regarding the terror of skinheads, and the general hostile atmosphere among the public, caused a mass exodus of Africans from that city. According to Sabour and Antikainen (1995) the remaining Africans in Joensuu at that time were only those who were short of alternative places to move to, or were evidently attached to the city through marriage, different obligations, commitments, work or studies.

## **2.2 Definition of an immigrant**

### **2.2.1 Ethnic minorities**

Ethnic minorities are a group of people distinguished by physical or cultural traits, and are in many cases socially disadvantaged. In other words, they are distinct from the majority, or are set apart and subordinated. The term “minorities” has expanded to include those with physical disabilities, women, as well as gays and lesbians, who are readily placed in a minority framework. One common trait of some of these minorities is that since they share a distinctive identity because of their race and gender (which in most cases are impossible to change), they typically have a keen awareness of their physical distinctiveness. In other words, ethnicity can be defined as the socio-cultural constructs that are discernible features, involving language, religion and the pattern of social interaction within the society (Crew and Bindon, 1991). People experience their social position through a number of ways. Thus, ethnicity can also be seen as part of the socio-cultural content of a group of people that may be biologically heterogeneous. These socio-cultural features often influence its generic structure through the patterns of morality. In this study, an immigrant is defined as a citizen carrying another country’s identification documents, migrating from a different part of the world and living outside their country of birth. In other words, the present study will only focus on those immigrants who sound African and speak differently from the majority citizens, and are residing permanently in the country.

### **2.2.2 Immigrants**

Presently there are huge concerns over immigration, which have often been directed towards people from other countries, most especially those from outside Europe and Muslims including Africans, Arabs and South Asians (Egharevba, 2009). The roots of anti-immigrant sentiments are often fear and ignorance of those who look different and speak differently from the majority population. Moreover, ethnic minority thus include linguistic, indigenous and religious minorities. The terms immigrants, foreigners and non-nationals have been used interchangeably in this work. This is because the procedure for considering who is an immigrant varies from country to country. However, in this work an immigrant is defined as a person whose parents were born abroad; these also include first generation immigrants. According to Mannila and Reuter (2009), immigrants can be classified into ethnic groups on the basis of their mother tongue, country of origin and nationality. Thus, the classification of

ethnic groups often gives different results to our understanding of the concept of immigrants. While it is not true that all minorities are disadvantaged, race often serves as a master status or the core identity that overshadows personal achievement in many present-day societies. One aspect of this classification is the focus of the entire research, which is geared towards those that look and speak differently, by exploring their relationship with the police through a set of their experiences that can easily be marked by individual differences in the society resulting from either language, country of origin or nationality.

### 2.3 The immigrant minority in Finland

As discussed above, Finland only began witnessing the arrival of a substantial number of different immigrant groups to its shores from the mid-1980s and early 1990s. The immigrant population is still relatively low: 2.7% of the total Finnish population. In other words, Finland still has a relative low number of immigrants in its population of 5.3 million people (Statistics Finland, 2008). In spite of this relative low number of immigrants, there seems to have been an increase in racism and racial prejudice and intolerance. Similarly, there is often total rejection towards immigrants in employment, housing, and educational institutions, as well as the denial of access to public places such as restaurants and nightclubs. This is in addition to being the target of monitoring by security guards at the shopping centres (Egharevba, 2006a). The causes of this phenomenon could probably be the restrictive immigration policies in the past or because it is still very difficult for some segments of the Finnish population to understand that Finland is no longer what die-hard nationalists think it is, i.e. a country of blond and blue and brown-eyed physical traits. Finland that was once solidly White and Christian is being recast in a multi-cultural light with the arrival of immigrants and refugees from Latin America, the Middle East, Asia and Africa. Indeed, these increases in immigrants' population are evolving in pushing aside the old concepts of what it means to be Finnish or European.

In Finland, nowhere is this change happening faster than Turku, the country's fifth largest city. Hence, protection against discrimination has become increasingly necessary in view of the number of immigrants from the African continent that has been granted naturalisation. According to international law on the protection for minorities, there are certain criteria which a group must fulfil to be considered a minority. This includes the length of stay of the group in the country; for instance, fifty years in some cases is not considered sufficient (United Nations Minority Declaration, 1993; cf. Thornberry, 1991). There is even a suggestion in some quarters that one hundred years might be sufficient for a group to be able to claim minority status, and only if they want to exist as a separate minority that has the right to claim international minority rights for its members.

With the above criteria in mind, the term immigrant minority can be defined as those immigrants, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups which differ from the rest of the population by (a) being mostly in an inferior position compared with the majority; (b) being in most cases in a subordinate position; (c) having a mutual sense of solidarity; (d) having deep roots in the country of their residence and being well established, in addition to being naturally a citizen of the country in question. International law grants certain basic protection rights to these members as minorities<sup>4</sup> (Thornberry, 1991:140). Fulfilling any one of the above mentioned criteria is sufficient to be considered a minority and it does not matter how long

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<sup>4</sup> See the UN Minority Rights Declaration, 1993, for more detail on the criteria to be fulfilled for a group to be considered a minority group in a country.

an individual has lived in Finland. International law grants such minority groups certain basic rights as collective entities<sup>5</sup>, as Thornberry (1991:141) correctly stated in his analysis of the basic rights. Despite this protection, however, in Finland, immigrant minorities who have fulfilled these criteria are still being discriminated against. A good example is the majority population attitudes towards some segments of the Russian population on linguistic grounds, even though Russians have lived in Finland since the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The question is: why has the Finnish government not granted these groups minority status? The answer to this question is beyond the scope of the present work to analyse, as it is better at this point that this area of research be taken up by others who are interested in this kind of legal question.

Despite the fact that minority protection and equality are principles in international law and in all human rights conventions and instruments, discrimination still persists in many countries of the world. According to Hannikainen (1996:4), there is a fundamental difference in the protection afforded by the Human Rights Convention to migrant workers on the one hand and minorities on the other, probably due to migrant workers' position in the society. In the case of the first mentioned group, the Convention only weakly protects the ethnic identity of migrant workers. This was also echoed by two other authors (Alfredsson and De Zayas, 1993; Glazer, 1995), who argued that while the emphasis is on equal rights and fair economic, social and employment conditions of migrant workers, little is, however, done in reality to protect their dependents. However, as the present thesis is not about migrant workers' rights, this aspect should be left for those with greater interest in this area to explore. Let us now examine some discriminatory tendencies with a view to determining and understanding the experiences of immigrants in the country.

## **2.4 Discriminatory experiences of immigrant minorities in Finland**

The settlement of new immigrants from various conflict-prone regions of the world in many municipalities in Finland presents the local police with a range of new challenges. This is especially the case in Turku; with a population of approximately 175,486, this city has become the second most attractive city after Helsinki and surrounding areas in the country. Thus, the relationship between the police and ethnic minorities has always been filled with tension and apprehension, because most police officers are from the majority population (whites) and immigrant minorities often perceive themselves to be different; this tends to lead to mistrust and animosity towards the police (Vrij et al., 1991). It is true that the police are often perceived to be a threat by those that are different, and this is more evident in police behaviour towards minorities, especially when there is lack of respect towards minorities compared with the majority population (Lumb, 1995). In the recent past, the Los Angeles riot after the acquittal of four white policemen accused of beating the black motorist Rodney King, as well as the shabby investigation of O. J. Simpson's case brings more tension into the open in many ethnic minorities' relations with the police across the world, and Finland is no exception.

Moreover, previous studies in Finland have suggested that immigrant minorities experience more discrimination and racism (Egharevba, 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2002; Pitkänen and Kouki, 2002; Makkonen, 2000), which are mostly manifest in both overt and covert hostility in public encounters in unequal and involuntary circumstances that bring about insecurity and apprehension (Egharevba, 2005; Lepola, 2000). These acts prevent many of the immigrant minorities from getting their rights respected in the country, including the denial of fair

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<sup>5</sup> See Thornberry's (1991:141) discussion on the issue of international law and the rights of minorities.

employment opportunities in many areas of the economy (Jaakkola, 2000; Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind, 1997; Pitkänen and Kouki, 2002; Lepola, 2000). The consequence of this kind of conduct could lead to a more serious conflict if not tackled urgently in the country. For instance, W.I Thomas suggested an insight into this thought when he posited that “those things which men believed to be true are true in their consequences” (Thomas, 1928). Hence, the issues of racism and discrimination have real consequences in terms of how immigrant minorities react to these concepts in Finland. Therefore, we need to examine the socio-economic situation of these groups in order to understand whether this has contributed to their perception/allegation of being racially discriminated against. According to Liebkind et al. (2004:30–38), the Finnish integrative services for immigrants – including employment services, language training and social assistance – were not launched until 1997. In other words, the expected linearly positive effect due to the length of stay in Finland was thus offset by structural factors such as recession and inadequate support structure (Mannila and Reuter, 2009:946). My attempt was to examine whether this perception and allegation is accurate in the first place, before questioning its basis in reality. First, I shall reiterate the purpose of the present thesis which is mainly concerned with the relations specifically between police and Africans in Turku.

As a prelude to acts of prejudice and discrimination among the Finnish employers, the author examines a few studies to determine the reason why an overwhelming majority of the immigrant minority are still without basic job opportunities (Jaakkola, 2000; Filio and Egharevba, 2002). Before examining the situation of immigrants in the country and the politics surrounding it, there has to be an understanding of the continuous demographic change in Finland since the early 1990s, resulting from the arrival of many immigrant groups from different parts of the world. These changes are due mostly to the many wars in Africa, the conflicts in the Balkans, and the end of the Cold War and the break-up of the former Soviet Union countries. This resulted in countries such as Estonia, Latvia and Belarus going their own separate ways through independence. All these are relevant factors to be taken into consideration as to the reasons for the influx of immigrants into Finland. An additional factor is that Finland became a member of the European Union, as well as the EEA agreement, which subsequently led to Finnish laws regarding immigration and the rights of foreign citizens being harmonised with those of the other European countries. Furthermore, with Finland being a Nordic welfare state, the laws on social security also needed to be harmonised with those of the other Nordic countries with whom Finland has had close co-operation after WWII, and in 1954 there came into force a common Nordic Labour market.

As has been pointed out earlier, Finland, which used to be a country of emigration (Korkiasaari, 1992; Korkiasaari and Soderling, 1998; Soderling, 1998), now has its hands full with the influx of immigrants and asylum seekers that continues unabated. Although the number of immigrants in Finland is still modest at 2.7% of the total population compared with other European Union countries with a far higher percentage of immigrant population (such as Switzerland 21.4%, Belgium 12%, France 21.7%, Denmark 8.5% and Sweden 13.7%), the number of immigrants in these countries alone does not explain why some countries are anxious and others are relaxed. In Finland, the relative increase in the 1990s was quite substantial going by the Finnish standard, and this led to an increase in the workload of the administrative agencies handling visas, work permits, integration and support for refugees, asylum seekers and other immigrant groups in Finland. Some common features among immigrants in Finland include the following:

- Many of the immigrants coming to Finland are returning migrants with Finnish ancestry
- The number of immigrants coming from outside the European continent is still relatively low compared to those coming from the former Soviet Union
- Most of these new immigrants have not lived in Finland for a long time

Immigrants of African origin in Finland have been coming in batches or in small numbers either as students who eventually married a Finn, or have arrived as asylum seekers or refugees. The consequence of this is an increase in family reunification applications to the Finnish embassy across the world. In other words, naturalised immigrants, those who have acquired permanent resident status or been granted a resident permit on humanitarian grounds have been bringing in their family members (Ministry of the Interior.fi). Despite this relative low number of immigrants in Finland (this can be seen in Figure 1, page 15, on the foreign population in Finland), many immigrants in Finland still face persistent racism and discrimination (Egharevba, 2004; Makkonen, 2000; Vesara, 2002; Pitkänen and Kouki, 2002). Thus, the immediate causes of discrimination can be portrayed as lack of sufficient available information about many immigrant groups in the society, or rather, because of what is remembered at the time of discrimination (Egharevba, 2005). For a clear understanding, discrimination should be understood in this context as the outcome of a particular mix of likes and dislikes, most especially the ones that majority and similar racial groups can recall at the time of forming such attitude.

Thus, a highly motivated citizen does not necessarily consider a great amount of information; rather, such a citizen draws on the facts that are immediately available in his or her memory where there is space for that given time to act, whereas the opposite seems to be the case with the respondents of a lower level of education in the present research, as they often draw on the negative aspect of information in their memory in coming to conclusions (Egharevba, 2004; Vesara, 2002; Jaakkola, 2000). Similarly, according to Heikkilä (2005:486), vulnerability in immigrants is not just a physical condition but also socially constructed by immigrants in their new countries of residence, which goes to support the structural nature of their vulnerability due to power structures that are often shared unequally in societies, while in the cultural realm this derives from a set of cultural elements, as she correctly argued, ignorance, stereotypes, prejudices and racism, and institutional discrimination is often used to justify these power differentials between citizens and immigrants. Another contributor of importance is Bustamante (2002:339–40), who correctly argued that the vulnerability of immigrants in societies depends on how they are labelled or being seen in the country.

## 2.5 The protection of citizens in Finland

In hindsight, when the European welfare states were developed one fundamental issue was missing from the system, and that was the right projection of the post-war flows of racially and ethnically diverse immigrant groups, whose presence could create social tensions across the EU countries. History tells us that the initial flow of migrants from country A to country B was from neighbouring countries, and those that were willing to settle permanently in the host countries resulting from labour migration were easily assimilated (Garth, 1986; Gordon, 1995). Past examples include immigrant groups from colonial countries such as Algerians in France, Turks in Germany and West Indians and South Asians in Britain (Gordon, 1995; Ireland, 1995; Garth, 1986). One clear distinction is that in spite of the ethno-racial groups' presence in many countries, the issue of racial discrimination and prejudice still continued unabated. This is the new challenge every country now faces. Furthermore, the issues of

indigenous groups in many countries that were initially denied their rights of citizenship including the right to vote or even own properties is still a contentious issue in many countries of the world – for example, majority citizens in South Africa, African Americans, Native Americans, the Maoris in New Zealand, the Inuit in Canada and Denmark, the Aborigines in Australia as well as the Flemish and Walloons in Belgium. The citing of these examples is to incorporate racial and ethnic minorities into the polity in the recent past, Sami and Roma in Finland fall into this group too (Quadagno, 1994 and 2000).

One other interesting issue in the Nordic countries in the past was that it was a fairly homogeneous countries, each of the Nordic countries has chosen different strategies or tactics to address issues relating to refugees and other immigrant groups from the Balkans, Middle East, Asia and Africa. For example, in Sweden a special integration board was set up by the government to mainly prepare and submit annual reports that monitor ethnic and cultural diversity among immigrants within the country and their developments within various sectors of the society. When it comes to addressing the concern of immigrant population, it is clear that the police in particular need to be seen to act in a fair and just manner, because they are the body that arbitrates over so many circumstances where discretionary judgements are made or put into practice. Therefore, the police should be understood as the custodians of public power and the legitimacy of all their actions is extremely important. For example, in Finland, the Act (1272/1997, 15§) on police training stipulates that:

*A person to be selected for the police school has to be suitable for taking care of the duties of the police.*

What this means in practice is that a minor disciplinary record could bar a person from a career in the police force (Reinboth, 2002a and b; Minister of Interior's (Ville Itala's) comments in 2002)<sup>6</sup>. As a result, those eager to enlist into the police school need to avoid such problems. In sum, all new Finnish police recruits are required to produce a certification of their suitability and impeccable past record from the local police chief to the police school authority. To buttress this norm of suitability, let us briefly examine the case of a police officer who had been convicted of several assaults in the past. He lost his job as a result of the publicity that surrounded his misdemeanors or offences (Reinboth, 2002a). When the same person was later hired by another police department on a temporary basis, it once more raised public concern about the police officer's suitability, and, as a result of this, his employment was not renewed (Reinboth, 2002b). It is not surprising to see this rule being enforced in the Finnish police, as blamelessness in the security apparatus is a much higher priority in the police force than any other civil servant position in Finland (Helminen et al., 1999: 329).

Consequently, the legitimacy of the police and other institutions can only be measured through surveys; one such survey was conducted in 1998 by Lappi-Seppälä et al. (1999). Its results suggest that the Finnish police enjoy the confidence of the population, since 92% trusted the police and only about 1% of the sampled population claimed not to do so. This high level of trust compared with other state and municipal institutions might have revealed a different picture if the survey had been carried out differently. What may have been missing from the sampled population was a sample of new immigrant minorities, as a separate group

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See Reinboth, 2002 article in *Helsingin Sanomat* for more analysis of this police officer and <sup>6</sup> on 1 January 2002, the former Interior Minister commented on a case in which a person who had been convicted of assaults was employed as a police officer. The Minister pointed out that in order for the police to maintain the confidence of the public, there has to be a strict demand for blamelessness in the police force. He went on further to stress that a person with a record of conviction for assault in his judgment is not suitable for police work.

from the majority population, probably because there is the belief among scholars that this is still a relatively small population in the country. It is my belief that if this group had been asked separately how they felt about the police, the results may have been different, as has been previously argued by Egharevba (2004a). In other words, it would have revealed that there is considerable apprehension about trusting the Finnish police among immigrant minorities in Finland.

Nevertheless, going by the survey results, the police scored extraordinarily well, as did the Finnish Military Forces, who also enjoyed a high level of confidence of 88%. Other social institutions measured in the survey did not score as high as the two institutions above; in other words, the people's confidence in the police is higher than in other social institutions (Lappi-Seppälä et al., 1999:25). On the basis of these results, it was concluded that the police have a significant status in Finnish society, which led the authors to the conclusion that the police inspire the people with confidence.

These findings should be understood in the context of the fact that the police fulfil the expectations of the population in general. This is not far from the truth if we look at the other Nordic countries' populations' confidence in the police. For example, the citizens' confidence in the police ranges from 89% in Denmark, through 88% in Norway to 85% in Iceland (Listhaug and Wiberg, 1995). The analysis of these countries has shown that there is a great sense of confidence in the police, but since the quoted figures are old we are not entirely sure whether these percentages still hold true. If any section of the mainly immigrant minorities were to be asked the same sort of questions as regards their confidence in the police, the result would probably be different (Egharevba, 2005a). This area of research still requires further investigation in Finland. However, let us now shift our attention to how citizens perceive the police, using the complaint reports made against the police as the medium of our analysis for the years 2000 and 2001.

**Table 1: Complaints to the Prosecutor's Office against the police in 2000–2001**

	2000	2001
Assaults (including aggravated and minor)	92	82
Dereliction of duty (wilful, negligence)	80	97
Misuse of power (including aggravated)	10	8
Bribery/corruption	-	-
Deformation, Discrimination	8	8
False statement	2	5
Traffic offences	58	47
Other offences	20	31
Other investigation	88	111
<b>Total</b>	<b>358</b>	<b>391</b>

(Source: Office of the Prosecutor General, Finland 2002)

As can be seen from Table 1, the high rating of the Finnish police has not prevented citizens from complaining about police tactics or methods. Furthermore, what the above statistics also tell us is that human rights guarantees enacted in the Constitution for the protection of all citizens' rights are being put to proper use through these kinds of complaints from citizens. In Finland, societal order is guaranteed in Section 2 (3) of the Constitution, meaning that in all public activities, the law shall be strictly obeyed. Section 118 stipulates that:

*Civil servants are responsible for the legality of their actions. It also reinforces the notion that everyone who has suffered violation to his or her rights or sustained any loss through an unlawful act or omission by a civil servant or other person in their performing a public task*

*should be held accountable and that the public organisation, official or other person in charge of a public task can be held liable for damages.*

If the injured party feels a suspected crime was not investigated satisfactorily, he or she has the right to complain to either the Parliamentary Ombudsman or the Chancellor of Justice, who acts as the supervisory organ responsible for all lapses by public agencies and civil servants in the country. This is also applicable to any citizen who feels he or she has not been treated fairly or given equal opportunities, and this includes complaints against the police in Finland.

Moreover, in Finland, as elsewhere in the world, human rights and fundamental freedoms are guaranteed to every citizen and legally resident immigrant; for this reason, if any ethnic minority and immigrant thinks he or she has not been treated fairly, then such individual has the right to file a complaint which can be substantiated with facts which can be directed to the Parliamentary Ombudsman's office, the Chancellor of Justice, or the Ombudsman for Minorities, while at the same time any complaint concerning the police authorities can also be addressed by the police department of the state provincial offices as well as the Police Department at the Ministry of the Interior. In addition, the police chiefs in the local districts and the chief of the national police units can also handle any complaints against police officers. When investigating the complaints, if an erroneous action has been committed or serious neglect has occurred, or it has been concluded that an offence has arisen as result of the police officer's neglect, the authority responsible for the investigation can make a formal report on the offence, which can then be sent to the prosecutor's office for further investigation. Offences committed by police officers are investigated following a procedure set out in the Criminal Investigations Act, with the public prosecutor acting as the head of the investigation. All allegations of offences against the police are thoroughly investigated. According to the 2001 figures there were 391 such cases. A pre-trial investigation was conducted in all these listed cases, although in many of the reported cases the pre-trial investigation concluded that the police officers had not committed the alleged offence.

Moreover, the cases labelled as "other investigation" were labelled in the sense that it was obvious from the start that no offence had been committed; in some cases the allegation/complaint had been made without giving sufficient reasons. In some cases, the suspects had made the officers' crime investigation even more difficult by accusing the investigating police officers of committing a crime during the investigation of the criminal case (Vuorinen, 2001:77, Siren, 2001). Concerning the above-mentioned allegations about police investigations, 80–90% of the investigations are dropped by the prosecutor, since the investigating supervisor is convinced that an offence has not been committed. If we subtract those labelled "other investigation" from the total for 2001, we are left with 281 reported of the cases, where prosecuting discretion is exercised. Normally, it is only in very few cases that a police officer is convicted of these allegations, or even prosecuted.

As can be seen from Table 2 below, one-fifth of the lodged complaints to the Chancellor of Justice are against court judgements. This lodged complaint against the courts has also seen a dramatic increase since the early 2000s. From these complaints, about 70–75% was from the general courts' judgements. In the period under review 20–25% of these complaints were from the minority groups. Furthermore, in the same table, one can also observe that one-tenth of the lodged complaints are against the police, especially in the area of police relations with their customers. There is an upward surge in complaints against the police in the area of permits, search warrants and the suspicion of citizens. While the third most frequent reported complaints are lodged against the social services department, mainly in the area of their long delays in making decisions concerning subsidies for housing, social insurance and sub-

existence allowance, which stood at 10% in 2006. Presently, these types of complaints have increased from 8% in 2003 to 10%. There is the potential for more increases in this area in the future. The complaints lodged against the Council of State, the Ministries and the Local Councils Staff have all increased by 40%, while in the health and nursing sector complaints have also seen an upward increase of about 80% in the last few years (Parliamentary Ombudsman's annual report 2002–2006; Litmala et al., 2004).

**Table 2: Complaints lodged with the Chancellor of Justice against public officials 2002–2006**

Offices/branches	2002		2003		2004		2005		2006	
	Complaints lodged	%	Complaints lodged	%	Complaints lodged	%	Complaints lodged	%	Complaints lodged	%
Courts	263	16	297	18	312	22	233	20	226	18
Police	179	11	193	12	227	16	186	16	195	15
Council of state/Ministries	160	10	150	9	133	9	115	9	91	7
Social Services	127	8	134	8	142	10	122	10	132	10
Local Council Officials	111	7	97	6	93	6	115	9	91	7
Lawyers/public Free Lawyers	105	6	102	6	145	10	98	8	111	9
Health & Nursing Officials	94	5	81	5	77	5	58	5	71	6
Persecutors	67	4	62	4	67	5	57	5	68	5
Debt Collectors	56	3	48	3	36	3	35	3	30	2
Tax Officials	39	2	36	3	29	2	32	3	27	2
Others	468	28	444	27	182	12	135	11	231	18

(Sources: Litmala et al., 2004; Oikeusasiamies vuodenkertomus, 2002–2006; Parliamentary Ombudsman Annual Report 2002–2006)

**Table 3: Complaints lodged with the Parliamentary Ombudsman against public officials 2002–2006**

Offices/branches	2002		2003		2004		2005		2006	
	Complaints lodged	%	Complaints lodged	%	Complaints lodged	%	Complaints lodged	%	Complaints lodged	%
Social security	614	24	491	19	584	20	652	22	726	20
Police	427	16	399	16	424	15	505	17	532	15
Courts	256	10	220	9	217	7	245	8	292	8
Health Services	233	9	235	9	243	8	286	9	345	10
Local Council Issues	129	5	127	5	120	4	104	3	143	4
Prisons	114	5	226	9	203	7	235	8	275	8
Taxation	100	4	81	3	113	4	100	3	124	4
Debt collectors	90	3	82	3	90	3	95	3	102	3
Teaching	89	3	47	2	75	3	80	3	99	3
Environment	85	3	97	4	121	4	80	3	124	4
Others	473	18	556	21	699	33	626	21	767	21

(Sources: Oikeusasiamies vuodenkertomus, 2002–2006; Parliamentary Ombudsman Annual Report, 2002–2006)

Of the complaints lodged at the Parliamentary Ombudsman's office in the same period under review one-fourth were against the social services. Over half of these complaints were about social welfare support and the other half were about social insurance. The social welfare aspect of the complaints is mainly about sub-existence allowance support, child protection and handicap rehabilitation places. A large part of these complaints in the social insurance area are on sickness allowance, housing support and health insurance as well as daily allowance, rehabilitation, job-related illnesses and the changes in the pension decisions. These types of complaints had gone up threefold when compared to the 1990s. What is, however, interesting is that the issues examined in the complaints to the Chancellor of Justice on the social services have also increased twofold in the past ten years, that is to say that the Chancellor of Justice

received an average of 135 complaints per year, about 10% of the total complaints compared with the Parliamentary Ombudsman.

In 2005 the Parliamentary Ombudsman received a total of 3,008 complaints, while in 2006 the complaints lodged totalled 3,620. Of this number, 571 statements or decisions were issued, which is about 15%, and 20% of all the complaints were investigated. No prosecutions were ordered, 37 reprimands were issued and about 452 opinions were also expressed by this office, while 57 cases were otherwise resolved. While every eighth complaint lodged with the Parliamentary Ombudsman concerns the police in the area of preliminary investigation and deportation method, these numbers of complaints are also equal to the number sent to the Chancellor of Justice's office in a year. The average number of complaints lodged with the Parliamentary Ombudsman concerning the police is 160 per year, which is 10% of the total; this figure is smaller than that received by the Chancellor of Justice. One tenth of the total number of complaints the Parliamentary Ombudsman receives concern the court and the duration of trial. The average number of complaints about the court in the 1990s was 170; however, in the past few years the figure has increased to 250 complaints per year, which is similar to what is received by the Chancellor of Justice (Parliamentary Ombudsman Report, 2006:25; Litmala et al., 2004:128).

## 2.6 The protection of minorities

### 2.6.1 The Human Rights Committee

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) mechanism on the international level is based on Articles 28–45 of the Covenant and the Optional Protocol to the Covenant. In this provision, we find the establishment of the Human Rights Committee that has eighteen members serving in their personal capacity (Art. 28), and a geographical distribution representing different forms of civilisation and legal systems (Art. 31). The Human Rights Committee has two main functions: (1) considering state parties' reports to the Covenant (Art. 40) and (2) addressing individual complaints (Art. 41) if the state has ratified the Optional Protocol to the Covenant (Fischer, 1982:144). A brief analysis of the Human Rights Committee General Comment on Article 27 also covers new minorities in 1994 and could serve a useful purpose at this stage of my analysis in shedding light on this article.

According to the Human Rights Committee interpretation of Article 27, General Comment 23:

*6.1 Although Article 27 is expressed in a negative term, that article, nevertheless, recognises the existence of a "right" and requires that this shall not be denied. Consequently, a State party is under an obligation to ensure that the existence and the exercise of this right are protected against their denial or violation. Positive measures of protection are, therefore, required not only against the acts of the State party itself ... but also against the acts of other people within the State party.*

*6.2 [...] accordingly, positive measures by States may be necessary to protect the identity of a minority and the rights of its members to enjoy and develop their culture and language and to practise their religion, in community with the other members of their group. [...] However, as long as those measures are aimed at correcting conditions which prevent or impair the enjoyment of the rights guaranteed under article 27, they may constitute a legitimate differentiation under the Covenant, provided that they are based on reasonable and objective criteria.*

The Committee's comments on cultural rights specifically point to the fact that "the enjoyment of those rights may require positive legal measures of protection and other measures to ensure the effective participation of members of minority communities in decisions which affect them".<sup>7</sup> The Committee concluded this Article 27 interpretation by emphasising that "States parties, therefore, have an obligation to ensure that the exercise of these rights is fully protected and they should indicate in their reports the measures they have adopted to this end".<sup>8</sup> Some authors, such as Glazer (1995) and Åkermark (1997), in their analyses of the Human Rights Committee's interpretation of Article 27, concluded that the State party has a demand made upon it by the various positive measures it has to adopt in promoting and securing minority rights, as the fight against racial discrimination can only be achieved with the assistance of the state in providing financial aid, or by their adopting special legislative or administrative measures (Glazer, 1995; Åkermark, 1997: 96–9).

Furthermore, Finland, having ratified all these relevant conventions, has accepted responsibility on the basis of any obligation arising from this ratification, such as the rights of individuals to make complaints to the international monitoring body under Article 14 of the CERD and the Optional Protocol of the ICCPR. Among international lawyers, discrimination has sometimes been defined as wrong or unequal treatment. Going by this definition, the term non-discrimination is used to designate measures which are chiefly aimed at abolishing wrongly unequal treatment, while the expression of the phrase "protection of minorities" is used to designate measures that are chiefly aimed against wrongly unequal treatment.<sup>9</sup>

## 2.6.2 The Advisory Board for Ethnic Relations (ETNO)

The Advisory Board for Ethnic Relations was appointed by the Council of State in August 2001 for a term running from August 2001 to August 2004. The present ETNO Board replaced the Migration Commission (SAN) that had been functioning since 1970, and which had the purpose of dealing with immigration issues. The ETNO Board is composed of governmental and municipal officials, representatives of labour market organisations and the representatives of minority language groups. The ETNO Board can be called a broad-based expert body acting as a consultative organ in giving advice or statements on issues relating to refugees' migration and ethnic relations as well as racism and discrimination. The cross-administrative advisory board assists the Council of State and the various ministries as individual experts on refugee and migration affairs.<sup>10</sup> The work of this advisory board also includes submitting proposals and initiatives on matters concerning racism and ethnic discrimination. The problem is that few immigrants or minority language groups know of the existence of this body, yet it is supposed to represent their interests in matters such as asylum seekers' rights and immigration and other activities in many municipalities outside the capital city, Helsinki.

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<sup>7</sup> The Children's Day Care Provision Decree (1336/1995) and Comprehensive School Act (628/1998), the Act on the Centre for Domestic Language (48/1976) as amended 1 November 1996 and the Act on the Finnish Broadcasting Corporation, as amended in January 1999.

<sup>8</sup> See UN doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.5, 1994.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, the main types and causes of discrimination, UN Publ. Sales no. 49.XIV.3 paragraphs 6 and 7.

<sup>10</sup> See <http://www.mol.fi/etno/siteenglanniksi.pdf>

### 3. HUMAN RIGHTS NORMS IN FINLAND

Human rights norms in Finland from the outset have been categorised and classified according to different principles. As a result of this historical development, an overview of these human rights norms point to the fact that they have been the prevailing values in the society (Törnudd, 1986; Friedrich, 1963). Some authors, such as Braybrooke (1968:69), have argued that these have been the norms even as early as the Middle Ages due to the common Nordic heritage in which the limits and restraints on the power of the political leaders were recognised as an important step to curtail their excesses.<sup>11</sup>

In the subsequent centuries, Finland was also affected by the Reformation and the Enlightenment ideologies of liberalism and socialism as well as other intellectual phenomena of that period in Europe. Finnish political development was also affected by the separation from Sweden in 1809, as well as being made an autonomous Grand Duchy under the Russian Czar with its own Constitution of self-governance. Going by Klaus Törnudd's analysis (1986:13), in addition to self-governance, the other significant event that took place in Finland in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the elevation of the Finnish majority language to the status of the main language of administration, teaching and communication, which subsequently relegated the Swedish language to its minority position. Törnudd (1986) also pointed out that the political reform of 1906, which replaced the old Diet of Four Estates with one parliament, the members of which were elected based on the equal-suffrage of both men and women, was another great achievement of that part of the Finnish history.

Consequently, Finland since its independence has adhered to the republican Constitutional Act. Friedrich (1963) pointed out that the notion of a Constitutional law usually contains rules concerning the exercise of governmental functions, which often involves rules that can be termed as paradoxes, an example being giving commands and enforcing such rules<sup>12</sup> as binding upon all citizens in the state. These paradoxes often occur when the elected leaders refer to certain beliefs that make it clearer to the citizen that the government, too, is subject to the law of the land. These beliefs, according to Friedrich (1963), have two significant elements: (1) the belief in the dignity of mankind and his fundamental rights, which is paramount in any democratic dispensation, and (2) the corruptibility of all men when entrusted with power without any sort of control. For these reasons, according to Friedrich (1963:15), the emphasis should be on checks and balances through the division and careful separation of power. In this respect, all these checks and balances are reflected in the catalogue of civil rights inserted into the Constitutional Act. Another achievement is the belief in separation of power that has resulted in the division of powers and a high degree of political pluralism, which has remained a permanent feature of the Finnish system of democracy. Furthermore, the civil rights guarantee in the Constitution is to afford the citizens a sphere of freedom in a sense that there is no abuse of such rights, which to my understanding has been the prevailing value in this society.

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<sup>11</sup> See Braybrooke, D. (1968) for his analysis of the reorganisation accorded to human rights norms in the Nordic countries of which Finland is a member.

<sup>12</sup> More interesting discussion can be found on this author's analysis in general of mankind and his government in his book.

These rights have been the cornerstone of the Finnish democratic system from the start in affording all citizens protection, as well as allowing all citizens to have a say in the day-to-day running of the government through their elected representatives of 200 members in the parliament (Eduskunta).

### 3.1 The prohibition of discrimination and protection of minorities in Finland

The new Finnish Constitution of 11 June 1999<sup>13</sup> (731/1999) came into force in March 2000 and prohibits discrimination. Chapter 2, Section 6 on equality states that:

*Everyone is equal before the law. No one shall without an acceptable reason be treated differently from the others (persons) on the ground of sex, age, origin, language, religion, conviction, opinion, health, disability or other reasons that concern his or her person.*

This list of rights includes:

- Fundamental human rights (Sections 6, - 16 and 22)
- Prohibition of discrimination (Section 21)
- Rights to one's language and culture (Section 17)
- Right to employment (Section 18)
- Rights to social security (Section 19)

Most of these rights also belong to foreign residents (immigrants) in Finland. The fundamental rights provision in Chapter 1, Section 17 recognises the rights to one's language and culture, which allow indigenous Sami and Roma and other minority groups to maintain their own language and culture. Furthermore, in line with traditional Scandinavian convictions on welfare assistance, the rights to social security were also guaranteed in Section 19. This is in addition to the freedom of movement of both citizens and foreigners legally resident in Finland covered in Section 9 of the Constitution.

Prior to the new Constitution, Finland had not had strong anti-discrimination legislation, even though it was a signatory to all the relevant international human rights instruments, such as the International Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention no. 111, which specifically focuses on discrimination in employment and occupation. What was surprising in most of these international instruments, however, was that they did not include nationality as a ground of discrimination. Most probably this was deliberately left out to allow the states to have more freedom in their treatment of foreigners.

In addition to the principles of equality and equal protection, the Covenant prohibits discrimination on particular grounds. While the prohibition of discrimination under Article 2 of the Covenant concerns the rights of the Covenant only, Article 26 forbids discrimination with respect to the equal protection of the law generally. The freedom from discrimination was established in the Covenant as an independent additional right of general applicability, not merely as a principle governing the enjoyment of the rights recognised in the Covenant. This does not mean, however, that all types of distinction between individuals or groups are considered discrimination under Article 26.

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<sup>13</sup> See legislation (731/1999) for a more detailed analysis of the constitution revision.

Article 27 went further by including the identities of the minorities as a ground for non-discrimination in addition to imploring the states to refrain from infringing the laid-down rights in these articles. On a closer examination of Articles 26 and 27, it is logical to conclude that the state parties have obligations to ensure to all individual subjects in their jurisdiction the rights recognised in the Covenant. In sum, the interpretation of Article 27, which is the main principal provision of universal significance in guaranteeing minorities rights in international law, reads:

*In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right in community with the other members of their group to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language.*

Additionally, in the European context, Finland is a signatory to various European conventions prohibiting discrimination, examples being the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, which was ratified in 1990, and the European Social Charter, which was ratified in 1991. With the country joining the European Union on 1 January 1995, the Constitutional Act also saw dramatic changes in 1995 (969/95), especially in the section on basic rights, which was extended to every citizen living in the country irrespective of their legal status. This revision includes, among other things, the prohibition of ethnic discrimination, the freedom of movement (which was guaranteed<sup>14</sup> to all EU citizens) and also guaranteed equal treatment and protection within the country.

Hence, this chapter examines whether Finland observes its international legal obligations in its treatment of minorities within its territory. The author's intention is to present the practical framework of international human rights conventions for the protection of minorities in Finland. An attempt is also made to shed some light on these conventions, which often imply that there is, has to be, or may be real difficulties in overcoming obstruction by others in doing or having to do what the right entitles a person to do or enjoy. In spite of these guarantees, however, this same right ought to be enforceable by whatever means is available in the law by the government for all within the society, as these conventions oblige the states to uphold it. In this sense, every right thus brings with it an obligation on the part of the government in guaranteeing and promoting the rights in question. According to Weiler (1999), also human rights represent an integrational value, and basic freedoms enshrined and protected by law are among the elements that give society and its population a sense of identity (p.56). Also arguing in the same way was Kennedy (2004:111), who argued that the idea of rights as a tool of legitimacy should be based on the idea of the rights being more than just a claim about what is politically and morally right. In other words, rights should automatically be superior to other kinds of claims.

In spite of all these obligations, many governments around the world, especially those in developing countries, are still struggling with economic emancipation, lack of basic amenities, unemployment within their territories, and the fight against terrorism today. Hence, these problems have made it even more difficult to adhere to these commitments arising from international instruments, which have resulted in many of their citizens being left without this knowledge. Consequently, as a result of these listed factors, the international obligations concerning human rights instruments are often relegated in most cases to the background in their enforcement, especially in countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and some countries in the former Eastern Europe.

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<sup>14</sup> See Salmenhaara (2003) for more analysis on the changes to the Constitutional Act of Finland in 1995.

However, in Finland, these obligations are adhered to in the sense of the words, which is all well and good; nonetheless, there are still some grey areas where there is the need for improvement, especially in the anti-discrimination implementation, negative attitudes and prejudice towards minorities such as Roma and immigrants of African origin. Secondly, the social welfare benefits which used to be generous subsidies given to the unemployed minority tend to have had a negative consequence. For some individuals, after viewing others being unemployed for a longer period of time, even though the social welfare benefit is often oriented towards collective satisfaction, this does often seem like a trade-off of benefits and a burden on different groups within the society. This is especially true of those working and paying high taxes to see their tax money being paid to asylum seekers (or those granted a resident permit on humanitarian grounds) that have not been gainfully employed in the country; this is understandably a problem for many workers within the society to comprehend. Having briefly described the various international and regional obligations of Finland towards the protection of minorities within the country, it is appropriate now to provide a brief account of the obligation upon Finland regarding fighting discrimination within its sphere of activities.

### **3.2 Finland's international obligation to refrain from, prohibit and prevent discrimination and the Finnish conventional obligations**

Persons belonging to immigrant minorities are entitled to nearly the same rights which are enjoyed by all citizens in Finland on the basis of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and human rights conventions, examples being freedoms of expression, association, religion and movement. Finland has obligations regarding ethnic, religious and linguistic groups within the country. Secondly, obligations also arise for Finland in European Union law after becoming a member in 1995.

In this regard, my analysis is focussed on the following conventions, which are of particular interest to the present thesis. The most relevant UN Declaration runs:

*The General Assembly of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Form of Racial Discrimination 1963 stipulates in Article 1: Discrimination between human beings on the ground of race, colour or ethnic origin is an offence to human dignity and shall be condemned as the denial of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations as a violation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as an obstacle to friendly and peaceful relations among nations and as a fact capable of disturbing peace and security among people.*

There is also a list of prohibited grounds in CERD which is obligatory. The International Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, Article 1 (1) (CERD) defines the term racial discrimination as:

*Any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin ... the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.*

Going by this definition, one would expect the state to adhere to this basic principle of non-discrimination, as will be argued later in the part dealing with the traditional minorities. One can observe that sometimes this very principle is violated at will, knowingly or unknowingly,

by the majority citizens justified by whatever reason they might invent, despite the fact that the 1966 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, colour, descent or ethnic origin. In Article 2, the Convention gives support to positive discrimination (affirmative action) if the need arises, only in the interest of achieving human rights and equality for marginalised racial and ethnic groups. In addition, the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education of 1960 stipulates in Article 5 that the signatory parties agree that it is of paramount importance for the recognition of the right of members of national minorities to be able to have educational activities, including the maintenance of schools. The State parties to this convention also undertake not to allow, in any way, any interference with the assistance granted to particular educational activities based solely on the pupils (Article 3).

In addition to CERD, let us review some relevant articles in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) as regards the prohibition of discrimination. Article 2 (1) stipulates:

*Each state party to the present Covenant undertakes to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognised in the present Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or opinion, national or social origin, property or other status.*

Article 2 (3) states that each state party to the Covenant undertakes:

- (a) *to ensure that any person whose rights or freedom herein recognised violated shall have an effective remedy, notwithstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity.*
- (b) *to ensure that any person claiming such a remedy shall have his right thereto determined by competent judicial, administrative or legislative authorities, or by any other competent authority provided for by the legal system of the state, and to develop the possibilities of judicial remedy.*
- (c) *to ensure that the competent authorities shall enforce such remedies when granted.*

While Article 26 of the ICCPR states:

*All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.*

Article 26 of the ICCPR states clearly that equality and non-discrimination constitute the dominant single theme of the 1966 Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Article 2, paragraph 1 also stipulates that the states parties to the convention agree to undertake to respect and to ensure the rights recognised by the Covenant to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other status, while Article 3 provides for the equal right of men and women to enjoy all the rights set forth in the Covenant. Article 4 stipulates that the states parties to the convention may not even in the time of emergency undertake measures involving discrimination solely on the ground of race, colour, sex language, religion, or social origin (Hannikainen, 1996:471–482).

Furthermore, the 1965 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination was ratified by Finland in 1970, and the provisions incorporated into the Finnish legislation through a blank decree (No. 37/70). Thus, the Parliament approved those provisions of the Convention demanding approval by Parliament under Article 33 of the former Finnish Constitutional Act. No reservations were made. Finland did not, however, declare (it has later declared) that it recognises the competence under Article 14 of the Convention on the Elimination All Forms of Racial Discrimination to receive and consider communications from individuals or groups of individuals claiming to be victims of a violation of the convention. Secondly, Finland has also ratified many human rights conventions including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). My emphasis will be centred on two articles in the ICCPR: 26 and 27.

Article 26 of the 1966 Covenant on Civil and Political Rights is a representative example of a general non-discrimination clause of global applicability; Article 26 also proclaims equality before the law and requires the equal protection of the law without discrimination. Although neither equality nor non-discrimination is beyond the need of interpretation, the Covenant provides no guidance as to the scope of these norms. As early as 1949, in the memorandum submitted by the Secretary-General to the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination of Minorities, equality was defined as an independent right. The memorandum declared that the term equality in the Universal Declaration referred to moral and judicial equality, equality in dignity, formal equality in rights and equality of opportunity, but it did not imply material equality in result or in fact.

While Article 14 of the Covenant merely guarantees equality before the law, Article 26 proclaims equality before the law and requires equal protection of the law without discrimination. This Article states that the law must prohibit and provide effective protection against discrimination on the grounds listed, not only in courts, but whenever it detracts from the equal protection of law. In the first drafts of the Covenant, the clause was less wide in scope and much less complicated, as it was shaped mainly after the corresponding Article in the Universal Declaration<sup>15</sup>.

The General Assembly of the United Nations has also adopted a “Declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities”.<sup>16</sup> In the context of the obligation of the state to this declaration, it should be seen as conceptualising the content of Article 27 of ICCPR Covenant in the internationalising of minority rights protection. Arguing in this same way was Thornberry (1991), who pointed out that Article 27, remains the only legally binding provision directly concerning the protection of minorities. Let us now briefly examine the Finnish conventional obligations in enforcing ICCPR articles.

#### The Finnish conventional obligations

The Human Rights Committee definition of what constitutes a minority in the 1994 General Comment on Article 27, which can be considered the general rule on minority rights in international law, is that the rights of Article 27 – rights to culture, religion and language – belong not only to the persons or members of only well-established minorities but also to groups consisting of migrant workers; in this sense, any minority group which fulfils ethnic, linguistic or religious groups that form a numerical minority in any given state, regardless of

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<sup>15</sup> See UN Doc. E/800:26.

<sup>16</sup> GA. Res. 47/135 of 18 December 1992. For more details, see the UN General Assembly resolution with this reference no.

the length of their stay or their members, should be considered a minority group in their opinion.<sup>17</sup>

This was also supported by the UN General Assembly in its 1985 Declaration on the Human Rights of Individuals Who are not Nationals in the Country in which they Live or Reside.<sup>18</sup> I am of the view that the general comment of 1994 on Article 27's interpretation is the most suitable, meaning that the minimum right belongs even to immigrants in Finland. With this background in mind, let us now examine a concrete example, the case of the Russians in Finland. For many decades, a great number of Russians have lived in Finland and have been able to integrate themselves into the majority group in Finland, yet they have still not been accorded the minority status that they deserve. Of course, there is no disputing the fact that the newcomers among the Russians may have views and aspirations that are different from the older Russians. According to Horn, (1995:196–197) on the basis of their previous experiences, even the groups that have been able to integrate may have to rethink their position if this process of integration of the Russians is not rapid enough to safeguard the minorities in the country.

In the late 1990s, Finland ratified the two new conventions concerning minorities concluded at the Council of Europe. The 1995 Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities called upon states to recognise various minority rights for people belonging to traditional ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities, such as the right to study and learn their mother tongue, and participatory rights. In the Finnish first periodic report prepared and submitted to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe on measures being taken to give effect to these principles set in the Convention, Finland for the first time recognised the Old Russians as a minority.

The second Convention is the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages of 1992, which offers protection to traditional minority languages in the ratifying states. According to this legal commitment, the protected language has to be the citizen of the states and those with residence permits. After Finland ratified this Charter, it assumed far-reaching obligations with regard to only two languages, Swedish and Sami. There was the assumption on the part of the government that, as the population of Russian-speakers are scattered throughout the country, for this reason there was no need for a new policy as many of the Old Russians have already integrated into the Finnish society. The Finnish obligation is solely spelt out in Article 7 of the Charter to the Russian language in Finland (Advisory Committee on the framework, 2000). The ways these principles were spelt out were very clear, as it was geared towards promoting regional or minority languages, including the special measures on the promotion of equality between the users of these languages and the rest of the population.<sup>19</sup>

The principal monitoring body of the Framework Convention is the Committee of Ministers. In its first recommendation to Finland in 2001, it called upon Finland to give further consideration to the implementation of the Convention in respect of the Russian-speaking population in the area of education and media in particular (Resolution ResCMN, (2001)3). How this work was carried out in practice was through the Advisory Committee established by the Convention to assist the Committee of Ministers in the monitoring of the status of signatory states' compliance with the Convention's obligations. This Committee examines country reports in depth and expresses its response in detailed comments to the government

<sup>17</sup> See UN Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.5/1994.

<sup>18</sup> See UN Res.40/1449.

<sup>19</sup> The European Bureau of Lesser-Used Languages, a European Union Affiliated body, has already recognised Russian as a minority language in Finland (well established).

concerned. This Advisory Committee gave its comments to Finland in 2000 (Advisory Committee on the Framework, 2000).

The comments were centred on four areas, which were the distinction between Old and newly-arrived Russians, characterised by the Committee as only theoretical and one that should not carry too much weight, and the government was advised to examine these issues in consultation with those concerned. The other recommendation was the establishment by the government of a consultative body of authorities of the Russian-speaking population in Finland; the suggested model was to be the same format as the existing boards for Sami and Roma affairs, which to some extent have functioned well for the welfare of their people.

The other issue addressed in the Advisory Committee's recommendation to Finland was the Finnish-Russian schools, which in most cases are meant for Finnish-speaking pupils interested in the study of Russian as a foreign language.<sup>20</sup> In the schools in question, the teaching language is Finnish, but a substantial part of their teaching is also in Russian. It was the view of the Advisory Committee that the curriculum of the schools concerned should be designed in such a way that it also caters for the needs of the students whose mother tongue is Russian. This was a lofty and well understood statement from the Committee, but still missing from their recommendation were comments on the absence of Russian schools or the limited amount of teaching in Finnish schools done in Russian. As to be expected, the Finnish government's reply to this issue was that Russian speakers are well covered in the Finnish-Russian school in Helsinki.

The teaching process in this school is arranged in such a way that the first two years for the Russian-speaking students are taught in Russian, thereafter they are to participate in the same classes with the Finnish students, and instruction there is partly in Finnish and partly in Russian. In addition, Russian speakers are given two hours of instruction twice a week on the Russian language. The Finnish government's replies also indicated that it was possible for the Russian parents to establish a private school to meet their needs and that such schools could get substantial state subsidies for this effort, or they should try to convince their municipalities of residence to set up Russian or bilingual schools to cater for their needs. Finally, the Committee's recommendation also touched on the government support for a Russian-speaking media, especially those with public interest aims, in such a way that it would increase the volume of Russian language programmes in the Finnish media.

The government's reply was that, as at that time, there were 50 minutes of radio broadcast in Russian every day and that there was a commercial Russian radio channel owned by Radio Satellite Finland Oy, which is available in southern Finland where most Russians live. It was the government's contention that the Russian-speaking population in Finland have a media house in their own language and have their needs already met. As regards newspapers and other printed publications, the government's position was that the Ministry of Education has always support for several publications in Russian, including a newspaper called *Spektr* mainly provided for this purpose.

Subsequently, as a result of the above European instruments, the Finnish government came up with a plan for combating ethnic discrimination in 2001 that intensified its efforts as regards the fight against the menace. In Finland, institutions such as the Parliamentary Ombudsman

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<sup>20</sup> One of these schools can be found in Helsinki, which is being funded by public monies and the other schools are to be found in the Eastern part of Finland which carry out teaching via the Internet. Even these schools are private in a sense, but do still receive partial funding from the state due to political pressure from the Russians.

and the Chancellors of Justice are some of the specialised offices that continue to address any concern of this kind, as these offices act as the guardians of legality in the layman's sense, for these offices can receive an individual's complaints against any public official, and sometimes this office on its own initiative carry out investigations in any area of interest, as well as acting as an expert in giving advice on any new legislation in the preparatory stages. Finally, this same office carries out monitoring of the implementation of the basic human rights and freedom within the society. Examples of this kind of work will be seen in the section detailing the function of the office of the Parliamentary Ombudsman.

The other government offices mainly concerned with minorities' issues include: the Ombudsman for Minorities, the Advisory Board for Roma (RONK, Romaniasiaian neuvottelukunta) and the Advisory Board for Ethnic Relations (ETNO). These two boards were considered important as regards shedding light on minority issues. As for the Roma Board, there seems to have been considerable progress in policy matters due to the active participation of the board members in deliberations as regards bringing to light issues concerning the Roma population in Finland. On the other hand, the ETNO Board is quite different, because most immigrant groups are not even aware of what the ETNO board does to improve their status within Finnish society. The author chose these two groups because of the view that both groups could have similar experiences serving as the basis of the analysis of the main focus of the present thesis is on African immigrants and police relations.

### **3.3 The national legislation and the prohibition of discrimination**

Issues involving the influx of immigrants and anti-immigrant discrimination are recent phenomena in Finland. This is probably because the proportion of immigrants in the Finnish population is still quite small compared with other EU countries. The reason for this low number was discussed in detail in the section addressing the trends in immigration in Finland. Unsurprisingly, this sudden increase in the population of immigrants brought with it the question of racial discrimination. Having laid the groundwork for this part of the thesis, what follows next will be a brief analysis of the various national legal provisions safeguarding and protecting human rights of citizens against racial discrimination, as well as the institutions dealing directly with the prevention of discrimination and the protection of fundamental human rights of both citizens and ethnic and immigrant minorities. These include: (1) the Constitutional Act, (2) the Penal Code, (3) the Labour Code, (4) Civil Servant Code and (5) Equality Acts of 1986 and 2003.

#### **3.3.1 The Constitutional Act**

(1) The Finnish Constitution stipulates that the principle of equality exists according to Chapter 2, Section 6.

My understanding of this section is that the Finnish state has stated unequivocally that nobody should be treated differently on any grounds; yet in spite of this safeguard in the Constitution, discrimination and stereotypes still persist in certain areas, such as being refused entry into a restaurant, in employment, housing and securing educational research grants. This is all due to the origin of the immigrants, as will be demonstrated in the analysis of the traditional minorities in Finland (Horn, 1995; Hannikainen, 1996; Hernesniemi and Hannikainen, 2000; Gronfors, 1979).

Secondly, Section 22 focussing on protection of basic rights and liberties of the Constitution is vital to my analysis of African immigrants' relations with the police, because it states quite clearly that, "The public authorities shall guarantee the observance of basic rights and liberties and human rights." In reality, are these principles adhered to within the Finnish authorities in their dealings with immigrant minorities? This is a question that is examined in this thesis, especially in their dealings with the African respondents, and more especially in the section dealing with African immigrants' experiences with the police.

### 3.3.2 The Finnish Penal Code

The Finnish Penal Code (Rikoslaki as amended 24/4/1995(578/95), Chapter 11, Section 8 stipulates as follows:

*A person who spreads statements or other notices among the public in which a certain race or national, ethnic or religious group or a comparable group is threatened, slandered or insulted shall be sentenced for agitation against an ethnic group to a fine or to imprisonment for the maximum of two years.*

The same penal code prohibits or criminalises discrimination on the basis of race, ethnic origin and religion. Chapter 11, Section 9 reads:

*He, who in the practice of a trade, the practice of a profession, in the offer of public services, in the exercise of duties as a civil servant, or in another public duty or in the organisation of a public gathering or meetings, without an acceptable reason*

- (1) does not serve a person in accordance under general practicable conditions,*
- (2) refuses to allow somebody entry to a gathering or meeting or removes him therefrom,*
- (3) places somebody in an unequal or otherwise significantly worse position due to race, national or ethnic origin, skin colour, language, gender, age, family relations, sexual orientation or health or professional activity or some other reason comparable to these, shall be sentenced for discrimination to a fine or imprisonment up to six months, unless the act is punishable as discrimination in the field of employment.*

There is similar prohibition in the labour market of the 1995 Penal Code in Chapter 47, Section 3 reads:

*Any employers or a representative thereof, which when announcing a vacancy, selecting an employee or during the employment without an important and justifiable reason puts a job seeker or an employee in an inferior position because of (1) race, national or ethnic origin, colour, language, sex, age relations, sexual preference or state of health, or (2) because of religion, political opinion, political or industrial activity or a comparable circumstance, shall be sentenced for work discrimination to a fine or to imprisonment for at most six months.*

Today, racial discrimination and incitement to racial discrimination are criminal offences under Chapter 13 of the Penal Code entitled "Offences against Humanity". The Penal Code was amended slightly in 1974 (by law no. 987/74) in order to bring it into line, or more in line, with the provisions of the Convention. Articles 5 and 6 of Chapter 13 of the Penal Code read:

*5§ Whoever spreads statements or other notices among the public where by a certain race or national or ethnic or religious groups is threatened, slandered or insulted, shall be sentenced for*

*incitement to discrimination against a population group to a fine or to imprisonment for at most two years.*

*6§ If an entrepreneur or someone in his service in business in the pursuit of his profession or another person in comparative activity or an official in the performance of his duties does not serve a customer in accordance with generally followed conditions, due to the race, nationality, ethnic group or religion of his person seeking entrance, he shall be sentenced for discrimination.*

From 1 January 1990, the duty to serve a customer on equal grounds without discrimination was also extended to persons working within the so-called indirect public administration (by-law no. 792/89). The same law also clearly stated that what is penalised in the second clause of Article 4 (a) is the mere act of incitement to discrimination without any intention on the part of the offender. In the same Finnish Penal Code, it is quite obvious that incitement to discrimination constitutes a punishable offence only if the incitement is intentional.<sup>21</sup> Although the law on the protection of Roma is quite clear, this ethnic minority group continues to be at a disadvantage and marginalised, especially in housing, education, employment and other areas, such as their being denied access to some restaurants and bars (Myntti, 1992:4–5).

### 3.3.3 Labour Code

Having ratified the 1965 Convention, Finland has also been a party to the ILO's Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention of 1958 since 1970, as well as to the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education of 1960 since 1971. Under Article 17 of the Labour Contract Act<sup>22</sup>, discrimination in the field of employment is generally prohibited in Finland. It reads:

*An employer must treat employees equally so that no one will groundlessly be situated in a situation differently compared with others because of extraction, religion, age, political or labour-union activity or any other comparable factor.*

Arising from the amendment to the Labour Contract Act in 1987<sup>23</sup>, the provision concerning equal treatment laid down in Article 17 shall also apply when employing a worker. In addition, discrimination in the field of employment was made a criminal offence (Myntti, 1992:176). By an amendment to Article 54 of Labour Contract Act, any employer found guilty of discrimination in the field of employment by a court of law shall, for the act of discrimination, be sentenced to a fine or to imprisonment for at most six months. Article 17 of the same Act also refers to the Act of Equality between men and women and the question of discrimination against women (Jaakkola, 2005; Lepola and Villa, 2006).

### 3.3.4 The Civil Servant Act

The revised Civil Servant Act<sup>24</sup> contains a provision according to which civil servants should be treated equally in the service without discrimination as to birth, religion and sex, as well as to age, political or other opinion, or other similar grounds. Article 13, paragraph 3 of this Act,

<sup>21</sup> See Government Bill no. 19/1970.

<sup>22</sup> See Labour Contract Act No. 329/70.

<sup>23</sup> See Amended Labour Contract Act no. 937/87 that came into force on 1 January 1988.

<sup>24</sup> See the Civil Servant Act No. 755/86 provision on how civil servants should be treated equally without any discrimination.

prohibits discrimination when appointing civil servants. In this regard, it is necessary to look at the Universal Declaration under Article 2, which reads:

*Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration, without any distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political, or other opinion, national or racial origin, property, birth, or other status.*

The declaration also deals with the question of equal rights of women in marriage. Article 16 reads:

*Men and women of full age without any limitation have the right to marry and found a family; they are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and its dissolution. (2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.*

The principle of non-discrimination of women is also implemented in another two UN Covenants of 1966. Apart from the general obligation for the state parties to all individuals without distinction of any kind set forth in Article 2, Paragraph 1, Article 3 of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights stipulates specifically:

*The state parties to the present Covenant undertake to ensure the equal rights of men and women to the enjoyment of all Civil and Political Rights set forth in the present Covenant.*

Within the UN, several other international instruments concerning the general promotion of equal rights of women and non-discrimination against women have been adopted.

### 3.3.4 The Finnish Equality Act of 1986

A brief introduction as regards the events that led to an act on equality being promulgated in Finland is necessary here, in order to help us understand the racial nature of police-immigrant relations in the country and make the equality act clearer to the reader. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women was signed by Finland on 17 July 1980. This was done in connection with the United Nations Decade of Women Congress held in Copenhagen in July of 1980. Before that, on 20 April 1980, a government programme for the promotion of equality between the sexes for the years 1980–1985 had been adopted.

In the Government Bill put before Parliament for the ratification of the Convention, it was stated that Finnish legislation complied with the Convention with the exception that it did not embody a general principle of equality between men and women or an act of legislation that would prohibit every form of discrimination against women<sup>25</sup> (Myntti, 1992:183). According to Myntti, after a rather thorough and detailed examination of the relevant national legislation, the legislative measures considered necessary for the ratification were undertaken as follows:

- Act on the equality between men and women (no. 609/86)
- Child custody and Right of Access Act (no. 361/83)
- An amendment to the Guardianship Act (no.368/83)
- An amendment to the Nationality Act (no. 584/84)
- Family Name Act (no. 694/85)

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<sup>25</sup> See Government Bill no. 152/1985 for more detail.

- In addition, the Marriage Act was amended (no. 41/86) to comply with Article 16 paragraph 1 (a) and (c).

As for the supervision of compliance with the Equality Act, the Equality Ombudsman and Equality Board Act Bill were enacted in 1986<sup>26</sup>. The 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women was ratified by Finland in 1986. Also, the 1986 Equal Rights Act was adopted by Parliament in 1986, and it entered into force, together with the Equality Ombudsman and Equality Board on 1 January 1987. In spite of these elaborate obligations, there still exists discrimination on gender grounds in Finland as elsewhere.

Finland ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority languages in 1994. Before this ratification, the representatives of the Advisory Board for Roma Affairs and other minorities' representatives in Finland were consulted before the decision was made as to what part of the Charter will become binding on Finland. Thus, the Romany language was mentioned as a non-territorial minority language in the Finnish ratification instrument. In 1997, the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities was ratified by Finland. Both of these European Conventions were meant to give protection to old minority languages and old minorities.

In describing discrimination, the term "favourable" is often employed. In most cases, favourable treatment of some individuals or groups constitutes at the same time the unfavourable treatment of another individual or group. Vierdag (1973:68) argues this notion quite correctly by saying that this kind of discrimination may give room for some lapses that, if this favour is justified (not wrong), then the justification renders it impossible for the others to complain legitimately about discrimination against them. Likewise, if the favourable unequal treatment has no justification (is wrong), then it will constitute a discrimination against the others. Despite the extensive international obligation arising from all these international treaties, there is still widespread discrimination in Finland being experienced by the Roma (Grönfors, 1995) as well as immigrants of colour, as will be seen in the analysis of their various encounters with either the police cadets or the police in Turku.

The protection provided by the international instruments as well as the legal protection at the national level has not proven to be sufficient. There is still a great number of discriminatory tendencies or practices being directed at Roma as well as foreign citizens in Finland in general; the biggest problem is that most discrimination directed at either the Roma or immigrants of colour in Finland is difficult to verify. Even among the police, there exists an element of prejudice towards minority groups, including Roma and immigrants of colour in general, for these groups still form the target group that are considered to need more policing in this society (Egharevba, 2006a and 2006b). These same groups are most often subjected to "stop and search" procedures by the police. In many such situations, the driver is asked to produce the car ownership document and their driving licences, which are often checked, and in some cases the police feel the need to verify the ownership of the car by radioing their office to get all the necessary details about the car before the driver is allowed to continue his or her journey. These sorts of events have a negative effect on those checked. The new Equality Act gives more power to the Ombudsman for Minorities, as well as to the Advisory Board for Minorities, on these issues in order to prevent future violations. Let us now shift our attention to the new Equality Act of 2004.

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<sup>26</sup> See Government Bill no. 57/1985 for more detail.

### 3.3.5 The new Equality Act of 2004

The previous section dealt with the Equality Act of 1986; here, the new act of 2004 is examined. It lays down provisions on the prohibition of gender-based discrimination and also covers sexual harassment. Other forms of harassment are dealt with in acts concerning occupational safety and health. The wording in the current legislation on harassment is similar to that in Article 2 (3) of the Directive. This equality act emphasised that it is unlawful for public officials, including the police, to discriminate in the course of their duties. It implored public officials to promote “racial” equality and indicated the need for due regard to eliminate racial discrimination and promote good ethnic relations in the society. In other words, it is very important for the police to explore their relations with immigrants as they are the first point of contact with immigrants, and any negative experiences could have a lasting impact on the lives of such immigrant in the country. Moreover, any frustration among immigrants based on police stereotypes concerning the duty of stop and search could exacerbate more tension between the police and immigrants in the country (Egharevba, 2006a). It is proper to look now at the EU Directive establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation, which was adopted in November 2000 (EU0102295F). This Directive laid down a general framework for combating discrimination as regards employment and occupation on the following grounds: religion or belief, disability, age and sexual orientation.

The Directive was supposed to be implemented by all EU member states by December 2003. In addition, there was a community action programme to combat discrimination from 2001 to 2006 which was adopted at the same time (EU 9912218F). This action programme supports activities combating discrimination on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age, or sexual orientation, and its priorities include analysis and evaluation, developing the capacity of the member states to combat and prevent discrimination, and also raising awareness among the states’ population. Thus, discrimination has been prohibited entirely according to the Constitution of the state, while the Employment Contract Act has also contained a similar prohibition since the 1970s. Nonetheless, in spite of these provisions, many of the visible minorities continue to experience discrimination in employment and occupation in the country.

The Act of Equality between women and men lays down a foundation on the prohibition of gender-based discrimination, and this provision also extends to cover sexual harassment, while other forms of harassment are dealt with in more detail in the Acts concerning occupational safety and health. The Finnish wording of the legislation on harassment is similar to the EU Article 2(3) of the Directive that states:

*Harassment shall be deemed to be a form of discrimination ... when unwanted conduct related to any of the grounds referred to ... takes place ... creating an intimidation, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment.*

In Finland, efforts have been made in this direction, in tackling age discrimination in the labour market that took the form of a National Programme for Older Workers and ran from 1998 to 2002<sup>27</sup>. The programme in question has as one of its main objectives improving the labour market position and employment of older workers by promoting their physical capacity and skills needed in modern-day working life.

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<sup>27</sup> More details can be found in Finland programme of action to combat age discrimination in (F10204101F).

As a result of this commitment on the part of the state of Finland, a thorough revision was carried out on the Employment Contracts Act that came into force on the 1 June 2001<sup>28</sup>. Chapter 2, Section 2 of the revised new Equality Act includes a prohibition of discrimination, and it also requires equal treatment. The full text reads:

*Employers shall not exercise any unjustified discrimination against employees on the basis of age, health, national or ethnic origin, sexual preference, language, religion, opinion, family ties, trade union activity, political or any other comparable circumstance.*

On closer analysis of this legislation, what is surprising is that the law states that placing employees in a different position is allowed, as long as there is an objectively acceptable reason for such action, for example, the nature of the work or the working conditions. This obligation of equal treatment and the prohibition of discrimination may also extend to employers while recruiting. This new Employment Contracts Act also includes specific provisions on the prohibition of discrimination, such as when giving notice to employees.

The Non-discrimination Act (21/2004) stipulates in Section 4(1) that “in all they do ... [they] shall seek purposefully and methodically to foster equality and consolidate [...] practices that will ensure the fostering of equality in preparatory work and decision making. In particular, the authorities shall alter any circumstances that prevent the realisation of equality.” Notwithstanding this strong emphasis on the prevention of discrimination and ensuring equality, the reverse seems to be the case in practice when it comes to many Finnish employers. These are just rules which cannot stop Finnish employers from attaching language proficiency as a requirement in seeking employment in Finland, even if the law says the opposite in order to encourage equality and non-discrimination.

Having briefly described minority protection internationally, regionally and nationally, what follows next is the core aim of the thesis, which is to investigate police-immigrant relations. To help the reader properly understand the problems, i.e. minority and police relations, let me now examine two cases of minorities’ experiences in the country to prove a point or two concerning minority rights protection in Finland.

### 3.4 Case studies of two minorities in Finland

#### 3.4.1 The Russians

The Russian population in Finland currently can be considered a heterogeneous population due to the mixed marriages common among these groups and the cultural closeness to the majority population. Many of the Russians are actually Ingrians – ethnic Finns whose mother tongue was once Finnish and who have been away from Finland, not through their own conscious choice but due to the political situation in this part of the world in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The political situation did not improve and was responsible for the Ingrians’ loss of their language and culture due to Stalin’s policies in the former Soviet Union. It is still too early to know what to expect from these groups of ethnic Russians, whether they will prefer to retain their identity or how the identity of many Ingrians will develop in Finland in the future. Evidently, most of the Ingrians are expected to assimilate into the majority population and others are expected to prefer identifying themselves with other Russian-speaking groups (Kyntäjä, 1997). In the early 1990s, according to Frank Horn (1995: 182–83), at least 25,000 Russian-speaking persons moved to Finland:

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<sup>28</sup> See also more useful details in (F10107193F).

*The total number of Russian speakers in Finland at the end of 2003 was approximately 35,222 of whom 24,988 were Russian nationals. Russian-speaking persons now constitute the second largest minority in Finland, after the Swedish-speaking Finns, and the size of the former is growing steadily. As their ethnic and religious backgrounds are mixed, the Russian speakers are best characterised as a linguistic and cultural community. Areas where there is a sizeable concentration of Russian speakers are in the southern and eastern parts of Finland and North Karelia where the population of Russians is over 6%.*

In the past years, there have been intense academic and public debates concerning the social readiness and the ability of Finnish public officials and the suitability of their training as regards receiving the new immigrants in the 1990s. Many of these immigrants were escaping from civil wars in countries mentioned earlier (Jaakkola, 1994:50–79), and these triggered the arrival of those fleeing the conflicts, which unfortunately coincided with the economic recession period in Finland as previously outlined. This, therefore, provoked major debates at the political as well as the public level. The Somalis' cultural and religious difference and the cost of their stay in hotels were some of the most debated issues. The results of some of these debates were humane in nature, while others were more of intolerance, resulting, according to Sabour and Antikainen (1995), in nationalism and ethno centralism.

In view of these it is hoped that most of these groups will not exclude themselves from the mainstream Finnish society due to their lack of language skills and discrimination on linguistic grounds. The problem with these groups lies in the younger generation, especially those who are already finding it much harder to learn Finnish, which is quite different from the Russian language they have been accustomed to in their daily lives. As a result of this difficulty, some of these groups have ended up being unemployed and some of these groups still identify themselves with Russian culture and, in turn, experience negative treatment in Finnish society, as Kyntäjä (1997:103) has rightly pointed out in her research. These negative experiences may be because of their lack of social contact within the majority, since their only network of contact is with the Russian-speaking immigrants. This is also a familiar problem as we will see when we look more in detail at the issue of African immigrants and the police later in this thesis, since African immigrants, too, tend not to have many contacts among the majority citizens, which could otherwise help many of them in securing work or training in Turku.

This has resulted in the new Russian minority being marginalised (others include the Tatars, Estonian Russians, Ingrians, etc.), for they are not sure where they belong, is it in Finland or in Russia? And what should they make of this new dilemma they are facing in Finland? According to Kyntäjä, the living condition of these immigrants is not good enough, for the majority of these groups still live in low-status suburbs and solely depend on social welfare hand-outs. These factors, compounded with their few contacts within the majority population, have led to the development of a new sub-culture, which is different from the Finnish culture, in other words, ethnic segregation within urban districts (Kyntäjä 1997:112–113). As should be expected, the bulk of these immigrants who still do not speak the official languages may likely form an underclass in Finland if something drastic is not done to address problems such as racism and discrimination in employment, education and housing in the private sectors. I have to stress here, however, that there are some immigrants who have managed quite well in this country in spite of their not being fluent in Finnish. In addition, there are others who are in the process of becoming fluent in the language.

### 3.4.2 Roma in Finland

The gypsies<sup>29</sup> have been suggested as the first group of immigrants to migrate to Finland, coming through Sweden and other Baltic countries in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. They were estimated to number approximately 6,000 to 7,000 in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Grönfors, 1995). The groups met a very hostile attitude from the Finnish government, especially during the period when Finland was still under the Russian empire. In addition to this hostility towards gypsies, the government also had a policy of trying to assimilate them into the majority population and at the same time control the inflow of the gypsies in the border areas. According to Hernesniemi and Hannikainen (2000:18), at this time in the history of Finland, there was a policy of separating gypsies' children from their parents, and it was also forbidden to speak the Romany language. It would seem to me that this arbitrary policy is still in operation in the Finnish immigration policy. For example, in 1999, there were some Slovakian gypsies seeking asylum in Finland, and immediately there was a change in policy by re-imposing visa requirements on any would-be visitors from Slovakia; almost all these gypsy asylum seekers were deported from Finland.

The gypsies have always had problems, and these persist even today in the nature of socio-economic issues, accommodation, poor levels of education, social difficulties and marginalisation. These difficulties will also be seen later in the analysis of African immigrant background ethnic groups in Turku. In the gypsies' case, this marginalisation stems from history, from their initial arrival in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Europe. They tended to face persecution and discrimination, which have had a severe consequence upon many of them. These acts have further resulted in the suspicion and the rampant distrust towards gypsies by the majority population. Furthermore, the rapid structural changes in society and industrialisation as well as the demise of the usual traditional occupational structure of the gypsies together with the high level of education among the majority, have further increased the marginalisation of the gypsies in the country (Hernesniemi and Hannikainen, 2000:19). This may be because the gypsies have always resisted teaching their own language to outsiders, which is why it is only those persons of gypsy origin who had taught the gypsies' language. The gypsies' problems have persisted as long as can be remembered, but in the 1960s their problems began to gather some attention, and this resulted in some sort of improvement through the Finnish government policy change from assimilation to a social policy in the 1970s that included the discussion of their rights as a minority in Finland.

Currently, the number of this minority group in Finland is estimated to be in the range of 10,000, but additional 3,000 or so gypsy-Finns are estimated to be living in Sweden. The gypsies reside in many municipalities in mostly the southern part of the country, especially in bigger cities. Immediately after Finland gained her independence in 1917, all who were residing at that time in Finland were regarded as citizens regardless of their ethnic or cultural background. Formally, the gypsies have been accorded equal and basic rights as to the rest of the population (Grönfors, 1995; Horn, 1995), the question is why are they still vulnerable to discrimination in the country?

In Section 6 of the new Finnish Constitution of 1999, discrimination is prohibited on any grounds, and there is also legislation that protects the culture and language of the national minorities in Finland. This includes the gypsies, and in Section 17 of the Constitution it is stated specifically that the gypsies have the right to maintain and develop their culture and language, which effectively means that Finnish government recognises the gypsies as a

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<sup>29</sup> The use of the forms "Gypsies" and "Roma" interchangeably should be understood as an attempt to reflect the terms employed by different authors in the literature reviewed for these minorities in Finland.

minority in Finland. Other legislation geared towards the same goal of removing discriminatory practices includes the amended school legislation in 1995, the Children's Day Care Provision Decree, the Comprehensive School Act, the Act on the Centre for Domestic Language and the Act on the Finnish Broadcasting Corporation.<sup>30</sup>

The new Constitution, which was adopted in March 2000 in Finland, also stated quite clearly that everyone is equal before the law, and that no person shall be treated differently from other persons on the grounds of sex, age, origin, language, religion, conviction, opinion, health, disability or any other reason that concerns his/her person. The law also states that the official languages are Finnish and Swedish, and that the gypsies have the right to maintain and develop their own language and culture. However, this was challenged as being mostly rhetoric, as the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) report of July 2001 stated that there were deficiencies in implementing these legislative provisions as those mandated to implement these laws do so arbitrarily. These are still contentious issues among the Russian, gypsy and African immigrants in Finland. It is appropriate here for us to look at the agents of the state as well as the supervisory organs established for the full compliance with the rule of the law in the country. An attempt has been made to examine the Finnish police supervisory organs such as the Ministry of Interior, the Minority Ombudsman, the Parliamentary Ombudsman, the Chancellor of Justice and the Discrimination Board against Discrimination. This is necessary in view of the area of concern this dissertation is examining in Finland.

### 3.5 The police of Finland

The powers of the police are based on the Police Act of 1966 with subsequent amendments (493/1995 to 315/2001). These powers are regulated by central principles to be observed by the police while carrying out their duties. This Act includes general provisions on the regulations governing the organisation, functions, duties and the rights of police officers. Chapter 1, Section 1 of the Police Act reads:

*The duty of the police is to secure judicial and social order, and maintain public order and security, prevent and investigate crimes and forward cases to a prosecutor for consideration of charges ...*

This is in addition to the instructions governing police investigation (21/2001). As this duty involves intra-state order, traditionally the Finnish police have been under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior, unlike other Nordic countries where the police are under the Ministry of Justice (e.g. Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland).

The Finnish police are organised on three different levels: (1) the central administration in the Ministry of the Interior, (2) regional administration within the provincial administrative boards, and (3) the provinces are divided into police districts for local administration. The police department at the Ministry of the Interior acts as the central administrative body for the police. The head of this branch of the police department is the commander-in-chief of the police, and he is also the operational head of all the police forces in Finland. This is quite different from the organisation in Sweden, where it has been organised as a separate

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<sup>30</sup> The Children's Day Care Provision Decree (1336/1995, the Comprehensive School Act (628/1998), the Act on the Centre for Domestic Language (48/1976) as amended 1 November 1996, and the Act on the Finnish Broadcasting Corporation as amended in January 1999.

independent, central administrative bureau under the Ministry of Justice. However, the police department of the Ministry of the Interior is organised structurally as a central administrative bureau that functions as the Supreme Police Command for the police.

This command is in charge of police strategies, including co-operative partners of the police, with emphasis placed on the long-term goals of the police. The partners include rescue services, frontier guards, customs, and social and health authorities. The structure is similar for the Border Guard department of the same Ministry, which also acts as the Supreme Command for the Border Guard as the Border Guard have similar duties to the police, namely maintaining public order and safety along the border and in coastal areas. What is different, however, in their area of work is that the police work continuously with the department of Social Affairs and Health in cases concerning drug abuse, vagrants and the protection of the children. The special functions of the police department are handled by the Central Criminal Investigation Department, the Security Police and Mobile Police. The regional administration of the police comes within the sphere of competence of the provincial administrative boards under the governor of the province.

### 3.5.1 National supervision

Any complaint against the police may be dealt with internally by either the superiors of the police officers in question, or externally by the Parliamentary Ombudsman, Minorities Ombudsman and the Board on Discrimination. All these Finnish Ombudsmen are empowered to obtain any information necessary for their investigations. The Parliamentary Ombudsman has the power to issue cautions and reprimands, and suggest that disciplinary action be undertaken. It should be stressed here that being drunken in public places is not a sufficient crime to warrant arrest. The police on the patrol beat do not actually have the power of arrest, but they do, however, have the right to bring a person to the police station where an officer of the rank of a lieutenant or above can give the order for detention of any suspects, which could range from one to two days depending on the seriousness of the case. These superior officers can only authorise the extension of the detention with a court order permitting such extension. Those that can be detained are those individuals that have committed an offence punishable with at least six months imprisonment. If there is a lack of sufficient evidence to prove that the person has committed such a crime, the person is immediately released, but in the event that there sufficient evidence exists, he/she can be transferred to a prison until the case is resolved in a court of law.

### 3.5.2 The Ministry of the Interior

In Finland, societal order is guaranteed in Section 2 (3) of the Constitution, meaning that in all public activities the law shall be strictly obeyed. Section 118 stipulates that:

*Civil servants are responsible for the legality of their actions. It also reinforces the notion that everyone who has suffered a violation of his or her rights or sustained any loss through an unlawful act or omission by a civil servant or other person in performing a public task be sentenced to punishment and that the public organisation, official or other person in charge of a public task can be held liable for damages.*

This is because it was not until 1997 that the Ministry of the Interior gave a directive on what practices are considered discriminatory and how to record such complaints<sup>31</sup>. This directive has helped those researching in the area of racism and discrimination by enabling the separation of what is broader, racially-motivated but not violent crime from acts of racial violence towards ethnic minorities in Finland.

Thus, if the injured party feels a suspected crime was not investigated satisfactorily, he or she has the right to complain to either the Parliamentary Ombudsman or the Chancellor of Justice, who acts as the supervisory organ responsible for every public agency and civil servant lapse. This is also applicable to any citizen who feels he or she has not been treated fairly and includes complaints against the police in Finland. Offences committed by police officers are investigated following a procedure set out in the Criminal Investigations Act with the public prosecutor acting as the head of the investigation. All allegations of offences against the police are thoroughly investigated.

Moreover, in Finland, as elsewhere in the world, human rights and fundamental freedoms are guaranteed to every citizen and legally resident immigrants. For this reason, if any minority or immigrant feels he or she has not been treated fairly, he or she has the right to file a complaint that can be directed to the Parliamentary Ombudsman's office, the Chancellor of Justice, and the Ombudsman for Minorities, while at the same time any complaint concerning the police can also be dealt with by the police department of the state provincial offices and the police department at the Ministry of the Interior. This is in addition to the police chiefs in the local districts and the chief of the national police units, who can also handle any complaints against police officers. When investigating the complaints, if an erroneous action or serious neglect has been found (or it has been concluded that an offence has been committed), the authority responsible for the investigation can make a formal report on the offence, which can then be sent to the prosecutor's office for further investigation.

### 3.5.3 The Minority Ombudsman

The Finnish Constitution guarantees to everyone, whether citizen or immigrant, the right to have his/her case heard appropriately without undue delay by the Court or other public authorities.<sup>32</sup> Everyone also has the right to have a decision affecting his/her rights and duties reviewed by a Court of Law or other judicial body.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, in addition to the general and administrative courts and other special courts such as the Insurance Court, Labour Court and Market Court, there are also other offices responsible for overseeing public official legality. This includes the Parliamentary Ombudsman and the Chancellor for Justice. These two offices will be treated in detail in the next section, which follows that of the Ombudsman for Minorities. In practice, these offices play a significant role in ensuring that anti-discrimination provisions both in the Constitution and the Penal Code are complied with in the work of the public authorities. The Occupational Health and Safety Authority have the mandate to oversee that employers comply with the laws in employment relationships. This is done by their looking into cases to determine if discrimination has occurred and, if necessary, filing and reporting such cases to the prosecutors for further investigation/prosecution.

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<sup>31</sup> Promoting tolerance and combating racism with the police administration, Guidelines, Ministry of the Interior, issued on 30 June 1997.

<sup>32</sup> Section 80 of the Finnish Constitution.

<sup>33</sup> Section 21 of the Finnish Constitution.

As immigration is still a recent phenomenon in Finland, there was a need to streamline the work of the Ombudsman for Minorities. This was when it became obvious that there was a considerable amount of discrimination being experienced by immigrant minority members in public places, employment and housing. This led to long, protracted debates about fighting discrimination and prejudice within the Finnish society. For these reasons, the government finally rose to its commitment to fight discrimination. The tool at the government's disposal was the office for Ombudsman for Minorities (Vähemmistövaltuutetun toimisto), which was set up in 2001. The Ombudsman's duties, as stipulated in the Act (660/2001), for establishing this office include promoting good ethnic relations, monitoring and improving the status and rights of ethnic minorities, writing reports, and taking the initiative and providing information on any relevant pieces of legislation to minority groups. Furthermore, this Ombudsman's office, together with other public officials, is mandated to ensure that all people are treated equally regardless of their ethnic background. As mentioned earlier under the new revised Equality Act (Yhdenvertaisuuslaki), which came into force on the 1 February 2004, an advisory Board for Minority Issues is still in the planning stage but is intended to assist the Ombudsman for Minorities. It must be stressed here that the mandate for the Ombudsman for Minorities is mainly limited to issuing recommendations, instructions and advice, though he can also take the initiative in any area, such as the status of foreigners or different ethnic minority groups in the country.

The Ombudsman for Minorities can advise people who have faced discrimination on what they should do. As an example of this task entrusted to his office, let us briefly look at his investigation into the Tampere police district detention of asylum seekers in 2003. Firstly, however, it is proper at this juncture to state one of the rules regarding the detention of asylum seekers. This possibility of detention only occurs when the asylum seekers' travel route to Finland is unclear, or when an asylum seeker receives a negative decision, and after they have exhausted the appeal processes prior to his/her being considered for deportation. The Alien Act also led to the establishment of a detention centre for foreigners in Helsinki in July 2002. Whereas other detainees who are detained outside Helsinki are held in police detention facilities for a period not exceeding four days, sometimes these detentions can last as long as some weeks and even a few months. What is important is that these detention cases have to be taken to a court hearing every two weeks. Subsequently the district court decides whether the asylum seeker should be released or kept in custody.

This investigation by the minorities' Ombudsman was conducted due to the number of detained asylum seekers in the Tampere police district, which was slightly higher compared with other police districts in Finland, and the detention was considerably longer in some cases. He therefore recommended the conditions under which a foreigner can be detained. The question regarding this higher number of detained asylum seekers, however, remained unanswered as well as the reason for the high number of withdrawals of asylum applications in the Tampere police district. In spite of this lack of classification by the Tampere police district, based on their response to the Ombudsman's inquiry, the Ombudsman concluded that the Tampere police district has not acted contrary to the law.

#### 3.5.4 The Parliamentary Ombudsman

The Parliamentary Ombudsman has been in the forefront of promoting human rights and anti-racism work and other intolerance cases in Finland. An example is the initiative taken by the Parliamentary Ombudsman in a case in 1999, in which a prosecutor had granted an interview to a daily newspaper where he said it was natural to use the word "Neekeri" (nigger), which to the older generation of Finns does not contain any negative connotations. This is in

spite of the fact that a district court in Helsinki had warned an Army official who had called a Black Finnish soldier a “Nigger” (neekeri) (Parliamentary Ombudsman’s Report, 28/2/2002; Egharevba, 2005b). In the interview mentioned, the prosecutor said that he did not see anything wrong with a Black Finn being called Negro, and that in his opinion this was not worth going to court to seek clarification for. This was not acceptable to the superior officers because of the sensitivity of such name-calling, and for this reason the superior officers insisted on bringing the case to the court even if the prosecutor did not see anything wrong in using such a derogatory word. As this issue was being analysed, the Parliamentary Ombudsman stepped in and requested a report from the Army office as to whether the prosecutor had complied with his duty as an official prosecutor. The reply from the Army office was that the prosecutor’s remarks were inappropriate, and since this conclusion from the Army office was acceptable to the Parliamentary Ombudsman, it was subsequently sent to the prosecutor by the Parliamentary Ombudsman. The prosecutor was subsequently issued with a reprimand.<sup>34</sup> This same sort of initiative had earlier been taken by the Parliamentary Ombudsman on the language used by the police officers in describing immigrant minorities of African origin<sup>35</sup>. In spite of these cited examples, much work needs to be done by this office. For instance, there is no constant evaluation of discrimination by this office, most likely because of the lack of resources for carrying out such duties.

### 3.5.5 The Chancellor of Justice

The most active of all immigrants may discover that the office of the Chancellor of Justice from time to time has looked into the issue of racial discrimination and racism within the country. Even though most of these kinds of cases are handled by the Parliamentary Ombudsman’s office, there have been instances where the Chancellor of Justice has had cause to review complaints concerning the issues of minorities and equality. One example can be found in the Annual Report of 2000, in which one worker in one of the municipalities complained that municipal officials were violating the principle of equality by giving extra social allowance to Roma women to pay for their traditional dresses, while other groups do not receive similar allowances. The review of this complaint by the Chancellor of Justice pointed to the provision in the Constitution (6§) on equality stating that this provision did not require everybody to be treated equally in all circumstances in securing not only formal, but also actual equality, which may sometimes require positive discrimination. According to him, Section 17 of the Constitution states that Roma have the right to maintain and develop their own language and culture, meaning that though the traditional Roma dress is more expensive than a common woman’s dress, wearing the traditional dress is an essential part of the Roma minority identity. His conclusion was that the municipal officials had not violated Constitutional equality when entitling a Roma to an extra social allowance.<sup>36</sup>

As already mentioned in other parts of this analysis, there are three important legal provisions prohibiting discrimination in Finland; these include the Constitution, the Penal Code (39/1889), with subsequent amendments, and the Equality Act (21/2004). In addition to these legal provisions, there are still more than a dozen other acts that include the prohibition of discrimination in their application of the particular law. As all these provisions have been treated briefly in this thesis, I will now shift my analysis to the Discrimination Board.

<sup>34</sup> See the full Parliamentary Ombudsman report of 28/2/2002, 839/2/99, 3.

<sup>35</sup> See the Annual Report of the Parliamentary Ombudsman for 1999:173 and the statement of 24/5/2000, 429/2/00.

<sup>36</sup> See a complete analysis on this decision in <http://www.vn.fi/oku> The Chancellor of Justice diary (diario) 83/1/99 and 2000, p.55.

### 3.5.6 The Discrimination Board

The new Act on Equality in Finland came into force in February 2004. This was enacted as a result of the two European Union directives on equal treatment, which were subsequently transposed into the Finnish national law.<sup>37</sup> These two acts explicitly cover any grounds of discrimination including ethnicity, national origin, age, religious belief, health, language and sexual orientation. This means that the scope of the application of this act covers a wide range of areas, including ethnic/racial discrimination. My understanding of these two directives is that, prior to this new act on equality, sex discrimination in the sense of the word in Finland was not especially clear or specific in the act devoted to Equality between Women and Men<sup>38</sup>. The Act did, however, provide for specific legal safeguards through the office of the Ombudsman for Equality and the Council for Equality.

This same Act also provided for just satisfaction. However, this satisfaction does not require the establishment of criminal guilt, as the issue in most cases does not depend on any financial loss of the injured party. In view of the wording of the Act before the amendment, sex discrimination does not include sexual orientation as a ground of discrimination, but today discrimination based on pregnancy has now been outlawed as a ground for discrimination.<sup>39</sup> The new addition to the above-named offices is the Discrimination Board (*syrjintälautakunta*), which resulted from the new Act on Equality of 2004. The Discrimination Board has only been in existence for a few years now. Time will tell how effective this Board will be in deciding discrimination cases in Finland. The Discrimination Board has within its mandate resolving issues of discrimination in general and claims of ethnic discrimination. Despite this new safeguard against ethnic discrimination, discrimination still persists in Finnish society.

A good example is when a group of African immigrants were asked to assess the success or failure of the Discrimination Board (Egharevba, 2008). The sense one gets from their responses point to the fact that there is still a constant scepticism and lack of trust among many immigrant minorities, especially those from Africa, as to whether this new Board will be fair enough in their decisions. Cases that are brought to their attention deal with issues such as social welfare, housing, denial of access to public places and employment, which are still areas of huge concern among many immigrant minorities in terms of everyday experiences. Thus, many of the immigrant minority still consider the situation to be a challenge. According to the Act on Equality under which the Discrimination Board operates, any failure on the part of anybody to provide reasonable accommodation to any ethnic minority on the basis of his or her ethnic origin constitutes discrimination, which should give right to the claim of just satisfaction (whether it is under the Equality Act or the Penal Code).

In view of the wording of Section 5 of the Equality Act, if failure does not amount to discrimination as defined in Section 6 (2) of the Act, no sanction can be applied, but in at least one case (No.1472-766/2004) it is quite clear from the complainant's application that discrimination had taken place but the complainant had failed to supply the required necessary information for the Board to proceed with the case as the time stipulated for getting additional information elapsed. The matter had to be left undecided by the Board. The question is: why was the complainant not able to provide the required information to the Board for a decision to be made? Could this be because of the distrust of the public officials or

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<sup>37</sup> See Council Directive 2000/73/EC and Council Directive 2000/43/EC.

<sup>38</sup> See law 609/1986.

<sup>39</sup> See the Supreme Court of Finland judgement before the amendment to the effect of the Act of Equality between Women and Men KKO: 1992:7.

the frustration associated with having to provide considerable information regarding any reported cases to the Discrimination Board in Finland? In another case, an ethnic minority member was refused entry into a restaurant on the ground of his ethnic origin, and the other situation was that people of Roma origin were denied access to a camping site.

In the summary of the two cases discussed above by the Discrimination Board, two similar cases earlier tackled by the Court were cited. One of these was an employer refusing an immigrant entry into a restaurant, and it was interesting that the position of the Court was quite clear that the employer was more guilty than the employee who was carrying out his/her employer's orders<sup>40</sup>. In sum, it must be stressed here that in any court judgement, in determining which measure is reasonable, the judges should not lose sight of the experiences of the complainant. The above detailed argumentation has shown us that there is now a supervisory organ in place to see to it that public officials adhere to the appropriate rules of the country in carrying out their duties.

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<sup>40</sup> See Court of Appeal of Helsinki 29/10/1998, No 3258, R. 97/1136; Court of First Instance of Riihimäki 23/5/2000; No 10093, R00/13; Court of First Instance of Jyväskylä, 22/11/94, R. 94/882.

## 4. IMMIGRATION, LOCAL SOCIETY AND IMMIGRANTS

Various processes of social change that new comers experience in the hands of their host citizens can lead to profound contemporary forms of racism, for example the forms of our behaviour and attitudes that occur in our classrooms, work places and educational institutions as well as our neighbourhood. The question, is does the country accommodate those that are different in the societies or does certain behaviour exacerbate the issues of difference in increasing racism and intolerance within the country? To be able to answer this question there is the need to investigate these issues in the country. In Finland, there have been mounting discussions and debates on hostility towards immigrants in the past (Makkonen, 2000; Jasinskaja et al., 2002; Vesara, 2002; Pitkanen and Kouki, 2002). In other words, is immigration being seen an issues by certain elements within the society? This kind of issues will continue to be huge challenges in the country in the future, if enough scholarly attention is not utilised to address these sorts of issues. This may probably lead to more dissatisfaction in the social and economical sphere in the society; in other words, the colour-line may develop.

The problem of colour-line as posited by DuBois (1903:13) in *Black and White relations in the United States* can also act as a basis of our exploring the racial nature of police and immigrant relations in Finland. In other words, we now live in increasing diverse societies that have seen relative demographic changes on a continuous basis. In spite of these diversities, however, racial attitude and prejudice is often hindered by societal contradictions in many societies. For example, a citizen may believe that the police treat immigrants of African origin disrespectfully, while during his private time, he may as well support such attitudes and behaviour (i.e. if the immigrants cannot cope with such behaviours, there is the general assumptions that they can go back to their countries of origin (cf. Egharevba, 2009). Unfortunately this is the reality of colour-line that seems visible to some of the immigrants, which may be contrary to other immigrant groups in the country; this misunderstanding should be tackled or it will continue to define police and immigrants relation in the country.

### 4.1 The theory of welfare state from a migration point of view

Studies in social sciences and social policy have consistently acknowledged that race or ethnicity is a clear sign of stratification process. According to Esping-Andersen (1990:42), the concept of “intergenerational risk transmission” explicitly recognises that life chances of some racial groups are restricted, and these disadvantages can be transferred from one generation to another. Moreover, most human beings or individuals would want to have an advantage over others, none would want to have his or her group disadvantaged. This is the self-preservation principle as expressed by Hobbes in his theory of the state – the development of community. Accordingly, these kinds of “inherited” disadvantage often produce inequality in social capital. He therefore suggested that some of the ways to remedy this situation is to expand the opportunities for immigrants or those that are disadvantaged, in order for them to obtain social capital through education.

Furthermore, Esping-Andersen (1990:43) emphasised having a comprehensive approach toward policies, without stating how and what form in reality this approach should take in

order to compensate those that have been relegated to an inferior position; these are challenging questions left unanswered by Esping-Andersen. But one thing is clear: the less unfortunate in our society should be encouraged to acquire new skills, as has indeed been the policy in Finland for some time now. But this is not to say that there is no more inequality. In many societies including Finland class inequality still exists in the form of wage differences and gender inequality. These can be seen in the labour market while certain groups are often to be found in lower paying jobs, for example women and immigrants in general (Egharevba, 2005)

In this part of the study the attempt is to describe the forms racial and ethnic inequality takes in different countries and in different historical contexts. This was also an attempt to explore the relationship between police and immigrants in Finland as a consequence of my conviction, that to be able to obtain a better knowledge or understanding of the type of existing relationship between the focus groups we need to first examine welfare state theory geared towards providing social security protection, equality and effective assistance to the citizens. This then allows a subsequent analysis, with the emphasis more on the interaction between the immigrants and the migration processes. Furthermore, many of the immigrants in the present study are not familiar with or knowledgeable about welfare, social and human rights protection prior to migration to the country. It is not surprising, therefore, to observe a lack of trust on the part of many of these immigrants towards public officials, either due to their previous experiences with the police in their country of origin or their present experiences with the police in this country. According to Freeman's (1986) premise, welfare states are inevitably exclusive in the manner in which social protection is provided to the citizens; in other words, those on visiting/student permits, even to the extreme, those immigrants who are not knowledgeable about social protection within the states, can indirectly be excluded completely from social welfare provision.

For example, other authors such as Soysal (1994) and Jacobson (1996), using the legal argument, profess that the European states are obliged to grant extensive social rights to even those who are residing in their various states, this emanating from their obligatory commitment arising from the human rights laws, which are often associated with citizenship. Additionally, an attempt is being made to briefly discuss the European welfare systems and how they function, given the focus here on the theoretical build-up to establish a link between welfare state theory and police and immigrant relations in the country. In sum, there is one core function of the welfare states that are of paramount importance to the analysis in the present study, even though this function varies from country to country in approaches.

The function is *social investment*: this can be found in the area of education. The concept of education of the police cadets is a relevant and interesting area to explore to help us understand the different qualifications and educational requirements in various African countries police schools and Finland, as well as the difference in the number of year's cadets and police have to study in their training institutions. To this end, what was observed was an enormous disparity in the minimum requirement, which in most of the reviewed countries in Africa is merely a certificate from high school. Initially, in many of the reviewed African countries, the educational requirement was not as important, but presently the least requirement is a high school diploma to be eligible to be recruited into a police school, and there is still favouritism in the recruitment processes (Egharevba, 2005).

These differences between the Finnish and African training are also apparent in the area of theoretical and practical training: in many of the West African countries, for instance Ghana,

police cadets spent only six months in their training to become police officers<sup>41</sup>. In Nigeria, police cadets spend a similar number of months in their training, although since the beginning of this year (2009) there is an on-going debate to extend police cadets' training in Nigeria to twelve months<sup>42</sup>. In South Africa, the educational requirement is similar, a high school diploma, but the area of theoretical and practical training is much longer, as the police cadets spend twenty-four months in training to become police officers<sup>43</sup>. The only difference between the South African example and that of Finland is that in Finland the police cadets train and take part in practical work experience that amounts to thirty months of police training.

#### 4.1.1 Social security provision is enjoyed by those who are residing in the country

*Income redistribution:* due to the uneven distribution of wealth/income, which is socially inequitable, it has been realised that if not tackled it can have a destabilising effect on the entire population. For this and other reasons, there seems to be an urgent focus in terms of policy on the poor within the society. Unfortunately, those to be found in this area are immigrants, the disabled and the unemployed.

Finally, *horizontal redistribution:* This is the process of managing life-time income in the forms of taxes paid towards pension schemes; those saving see their money returned in the form of various benefits in the form of social insurance without redistributive effects. Having surveyed the above, an attempt will be made to examine the welfare principle of equality, its effectiveness and its impact/consequences on African immigrants in their relation with the police in Turku. I will begin with a sketch of the relevance of these groups' experiences for evaluative purposes. As a prelude to this analysis, African immigrants in Turku will be treated as a population paradigm as the entire dissertation is based on police relations and interaction with African immigrants in Turku. This is then followed by my attempt to establish a pathway about our understanding of the racial nature of the focus group's experiences with the police and conclude with the idea of having a welfare programme that will focus more on addressing social justice issues in view of the nature of the interaction between this group and the police for future research.

#### 4.1.2 The core aim of welfare system

One defining feature of modern industrialised society has been the welfare system that came into existence in the nineteenth century. However, thinkers have long suspected that the emerging welfare system with personal contacts between public institutions could increasingly affect citizens' lives, thoughts and opinions on the societies themselves. According to Marshall (1950) and Stalker (1994), this would become a problem of the twentieth century – i.e. the relationship between public officials and citizens which is evident in the system of welfare. For example, the social security provisions are weakening in many states, and the social standards of living among ethnic minorities and immigrants are specifically deteriorating rapidly. These weakening social provisions have all resulted in more inequality of opportunities, leading to widespread unemployment and socio-economic insecurity as well as low household income.

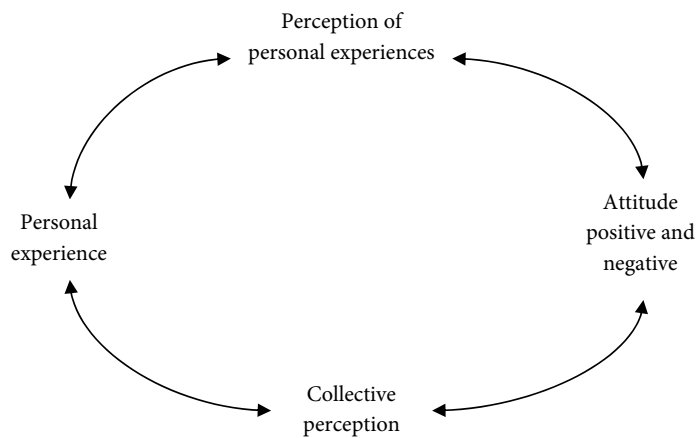
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<sup>41</sup> For the Ghanaian police training and educational requirement, see <http://64.226.23.153/others/recruitment.htm>.

<sup>42</sup> For more detail concerning the information on recruitment and training, see [www.nigerianpolice.org](http://www.nigerianpolice.org).

<sup>43</sup> In the case of south African Police, more detail is available at [www.saps.gov.za/careers/vacanr\\_posts/download/2009/FORMTRAINEESJAN2009.PDF](http://www.saps.gov.za/careers/vacanr_posts/download/2009/FORMTRAINEESJAN2009.PDF).

Thus, personal welfare experiences provide citizens with the relevant tools that may in one way or another influence their political orientation in the country; welfare is more prominent in some countries than others (Korpi, 1983; Castles, 1989), and the organisation of welfare differs from country to country (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Kaase and Newton (1998) have argued that the scope of government has expanded, and its depth of influence on the citizens' everyday lives has also increased. The combination of these two and other elements have given the states a paramount significance in most Western European countries; as Skocpol (1994:21) put it, "public opinion is also influenced by the citizens' experiences with the pre-existing governmental institutions and programmes." Thus, Webber's contention that the output is especially important for the legitimacy of the state is even stronger today than before, because citizens' lives, to a greater degree, are directly dependent on the public sector's programmes and schemes in these ways. For example, after birth we are nursed and educated, and probably we may likely die, under the care of the state, which intervenes in our lives on a continuous basis.



**Figure 4: Personal experiences, perception and attitude among the respondents**

The arrows connecting the perception of personal experience have thus far not been researched in sufficient detail in Finland. This represents the fact that some issues involving immigrants of African background have not been thoroughly researched in many fields of studies; for example, police researchers who participate in discussions and meetings with the police are believed to develop an increased understanding for the constraints and dilemmas of immigrants and police relations in general. These groups can also play a vital role in the general interest of immigrants in their gatherings and meetings, especially when the issues at stake involve the criminal justice system pertaining to policy in general.

It would seem that those elements that seem so important to the day-to-day experiences of many ethnic and immigrant groups, such as employment opportunity, tolerance and respect as well as social justice in their involuntary contact with the police, should be seen not to affect their persona. The effects of major life events, dramatic or persistent interaction with the police in experiencing differential treatment will follow later in other parts of the thesis. It is no secret that welfare system is a product of democracy and electoral competition; in other words, political parties compete for office on the basis of different policy platforms, and when elected they proceed to implement the policies, which generally take the form of conservative/social democratic policies lines.

Moreover, the vagueness of the welfare state system has increased tremendously to reach a level of concern that necessitates the re-examination of the huge cost of the welfare state in terms of reform to the system in many industrialised countries. In some countries, these reforms are occurring on a continuous basis. In the complicated and volatile world of the present era, individuals look to stable institutions and standard operating procedures for guidance as to what attitude and behaviour are appropriate. Hence, it is imperative to briefly examine the welfare state system (Facchini et al., 2004:627), and to understand the consequences of these reforms in immigrant groups in terms of how these reforms have impacted on their well-being due to the re-distributive nature of welfare state social benefits. Thus, the issue of welfare debates has merely centred on the issues of entitlement and citizenship, which seem flawed and Anglo-centric from the onset. Marshall's (1950) conception of citizenship was one of the post-war compacts of the citizenship right to social security in a number of different ways. According to Mann (2005:79), retirees are still the largest categories, as he put it "passive welfare dependents", as many of them still subscribe to the traditional view of the welfare citizenship right that is still influenced by the Marshall model.

Furthermore, the view of welfare states as charity is often cited as an important aspect dividing generations born in the industrialised world and those who had migrated to the West (Irwin, 1999:697); this notion of welfare as charity resonates with the underlying idea behind the "poor laws" (Brundage, 2002) and the notion of isolation as well as idleness necessitating the provision of welfare social benefits. Social justice implies that citizens who have had contact with the police should be able to have a normative view as to what constitutes fair treatment in their encounters. It is only when these kinds of treatment are compared with the actual experiences of immigrants in the societies that social judgements can be formed by all. In many parts of the EU countries, it is a fact that the relative rise in immigrants' population has forced many countries to re-define their immigration policies, especially in the domestic sphere, in terms of providing social protection to the citizens.

The relative demographic change in many European countries, including Finland, with the influx of immigrant groups since the early 1990s can attest to this. Not only do many immigrants see these benefits as a disgrace or shame as they are able-bodied men and women who are ready to work, but they end up remaining unemployed due to their low level of education and the linguistic challenges many of them have to face in a new country. Moreover, the constant debates about the ageing Finnish population in Finland and the anticipated costly social programmes for the elderly in retirement pensions in the near future would not arise if the employers' attitudes towards those that are different within the society were enthusiastic and accommodating in providing many of these groups of immigrants with equal opportunities. Despite this known phenomenon in the country, it is still striking that the continuous debates about the ageing population will be ineffective without a more effective strategy for turning the tide of prejudice and discrimination that is associated with huge unemployment among ethnic minorities and immigrants in the society. This is especially true when it comes to involving these teeming young minority/immigrants, who on average are less skilled and with a much lower level of education than the majority citizens. Many of these immigrants are still not able to secure employment even in the unskilled jobs; subsequently, many of them end up being welfare recipient couples with the stigma attached to being welfare recipients.

### 4.1.3 The theory of welfare state regimes

Considering what we know about welfare systems, the question is, why has welfare developed in the Western industrialised countries and not in other parts of the world? And how do we explain the variations in welfare regimes favoured by different countries? These are all interesting areas of academic interest worth pursuing. More generally, one can observe after reviewing social policy literature addressing these issues that there are differences in welfare regimes from country to country, even though greater percentages of the state's expenditure are directed at this aspect of the citizens' social protection.

The theories behind the welfare system are numerous; for example, Marxist theories profess that welfare is an important ingredient for sustaining a capitalist system (Esping-Andersen, 1990), while the functionalist theories profess that the welfare system helps to integrate societies into an orderly manner under industrialisation. While these are some of the available theories, the one that is of more importance to the present analysis is T.H. Marshall (1950) and Esping-Andersen's (1990), which is explored briefly to support the analysis on the racial nature of immigrant-police relations in Finland. Marshall (1950) has suggested that there are three stages of civil rights development in his view: the eighteenth century was the time when civil rights were achieved. These rights include freedoms such as personal liberties, freedom of speech, thoughts, religion, the right to own properties and the right to fair treatment. In the nineteenth century citizens achieved political rights in the political process, and finally, social rights were only achieved in the twentieth century, when the rights to economic and social security through education, health care, housing, pension and other services became enshrined in the welfare state. This incorporation entails that every citizen was entitled to live a full and active life and had a right to a reasonable income, regardless of their position in society. According to Marshall (1950), these rights associated with social citizenship would greatly advance the ideal of equality for all within the societies; this notion is still true today in the twenty-first century.

Furthermore, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the United Nations (UN) have also been active in formulating transnational social policy from the standpoint of human rights. The ILO has traditionally focussed on the social protection of workers and the promotion of workers' rights. The UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) adopted in 1966 includes very comprehensive sets of rights such as the right to work, the right to an adequate standard of living and the right to just and favourable working conditions. Since its adoption many decades ago, over one hundred countries have ratified this very Covenant (Bilder, 1992:10). For the ratifying states, it implies a legal obligation in implementing the rights arising from the Covenant progressively. In other words, this legal obligation has now become a statement of principles and objectives or a set of standards to be developed within the state framework.

The UN approach to civil and political rights differs significantly from those of economic and social rights. Concerning civil and political rights, states are to implement the Covenant in a procedural nature, which does not imply the mobilisation of material resources (Buergethal, 1988:44-5), while the implementation of the economic and social rights, on the other hand, does require the mobilisation and re-distribution of material resources. In view of the fact that states differ in their economic capacities and other circumstances, complying with the ICESCR became a difficult task for many in the developing world, where most of the immigrants in the present research came from. In spite of the fact that there are mechanisms in place for reporting to the UN body from time to time, many of the immigrants in the present study are not knowledgeable about this mechanism at all. Social rights can be

problematic as well as the substantive rights to a good standard of living, which imply a minimum rather than a full standard of living. In most societies, the full standard of living has been the goal; this frequently brings conflict and tension in that such benefits should be reduced to the minimum.

From the vantage point of today, since the 1990s what has become paramount policy-wise in Finland are the new challenges of seeing many immigrants still facing difficulties as a result of the cutback and social retrenchment in many areas in the welfare system, in addition to the high unemployment these groups had to contend with. This has resulted in stereotyping of immigrants as not willing to engage in work (Egharevba, 2004b); hence, globalisation is being seen in the country as disempowering many citizens within the nation state as far as social rights are concerned. In other words, globalisation has not provided the citizens with any leverage, but with a sense of hope to survive. Instead, globalisation has brought about an influx of diverse groups into the country, which has resulted in stiff competition for the few available places of work. Consequently, no one seems economically safe just as individuals struggle for survival, because no one is invulnerable, and there is a relative equality in strength and shrewdness among human beings. Hence any project of human community can only be correctly defined by language and culture, which are rooted in societal sphere; in the economical sphere this can go global.

Furthermore, it has long been acknowledged that the increase in migration in Finland and other EU countries, for example, has to do with the political turmoil in different parts of the world from the Balkans to Africa, Asia and Latin American countries. The renewed growth in the numbers of people moving to Europe from both the traditional labour migration countries and new migration countries from the Third World has brought to the surface many new challenges to Finland. For this reason, it is important to examine briefly what Marshall (1950) sees as the notion of rights and responsibilities, which is entwined with citizenship and which seems to have galvanised the constant debates about active citizenship in many countries. Of course, Marshall is not without critics; such is the ideal of liberal democracy, which is why it has won world-wide appeal. His critics include those who felt Marshall focussed more on the situation in the UK, and, as there is variation on how welfare regimes evolve, this is understandable, since welfare may have evolved in different ways in many countries in the Western hemisphere. Nonetheless, Marshall's concept of citizens is still an important aspect of viewing social rights in many countries even today.

#### 4.1.4 Civil rights

This concept refers to the rights of the individual in law, such as freedom of speech, religion, movement and the right to own personal properties as well as the right to equal justice and fairness in the judicial process and quality before the law; all these are the principles in the states' bid to address the issues of discrimination and intolerance. The problem with civil rights is that they are individual-centred in nature. The idea that an individual has a right to an adequate income that must be granted from the state resources to which others contribute does raise a number of questions on individual merit. These include whether the individual in question deserves such benefit or not, and the question as to whether the individual in question has contributed through work in order to be eligible to make such claim raises yet another problem. It would be wrong to say that those making such contribution, including the police, cannot complain to see their life-long contribution being given to an immigrant who has barely worked in the country but is placed on welfare benefit as a result of the progressive nature of the welfare system in the country.

#### 4.1.5 Political rights

This concept refers to the right of the citizen to participate in elections and democratic actions within the country. The political rights are concerned with the mechanism of decision making and the distribution and exercise of power through the democratic process. In this area, considerable improvement has been visible, especially in view of the number of immigrants participating in the local as well as the recently concluded national assembly elections in the country. The number of immigrants participating in these elections is growing every year in both the council election and national election. In Turku city council, for example, there are two elected immigrant Muslim women. In spite of this new development in the political sphere, there is still overt and covert discrimination and unfair treatment as alleged to by the respondents in the present research. Egharevba, (2006) has suggested that many Africans in his study lack awareness of their rights in Finland he suggest that this could be responsible for their lack of utilisation of their civil, political and cultural rights that could have made these immigrants familiar with the workings of the police. In other words, this awareness would have reduced their distrust of the police in their various encounters in the country. This is in addition to the common meanings, interests, and values, as well as sentiments, loyalty, affection and collective pride among some of the participants in the study. The naturalised among them felt betrayed because they had hoped that by naturalisation they would be treated on an equal basis compared with the majority citizens; the opposite seems to be the case. This very issue has been taken up by some authors (Egharevba, 2004b, 2005; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind and Vesara, 2002; Makkonen, 2000) concerning the experiences of immigrants in the country as regards discrimination. The first author focussed on African immigrants. The idea that naturalisation would help many of the naturalised citizens is similar to what Walzer (1983) posits as the acceptance into the fold of the “presence” of the minority; this concept does not therefore lower the barrier to immigrants whose presence is in dispute within the country. The other two authors focussed on a number of immigrant groups’ experiences of discrimination within the country in the criminal justice as well as in employment.

#### 4.1.6 Social rights

This refers to the freedom of every individual to partake in the enjoyment of a certain minimum standard of economic welfare and social security within the country, which includes social security support in case of unemployment, sickness benefits and the setting of a basic minimum level of wages. Secondly, this right is concerned with the maintenance of community and social solidarity within states in the universal provision of welfare support. Accordingly, in many other countries, including the Nordic countries, social rights were the last to develop; this is because of the assumption that civil and political rights are the basis on which social rights are based. One can argue that these rights needed to be treated separately, because citizens may have rights to all freedoms within the society as well as the rights to participation but may lack the formal awareness of these rights, which could result in the lack of utilisation of such rights, especially in those aspects of social rights which are necessary for the everyday life of the citizen in case of unexpected sickness or unemployment. This is especially important, since many of the immigrants have a vague idea about the welfare benefits system and very little idea of what kind of entitlements they have within the country (Egharevba, 2004a). Even those who are benefits recipients appear not to know much about the fact that the immigrants still lack sufficient knowledge of what is provided or what they are entitled to or the criteria the authorities use in evaluating each immigrant’s case for welfare benefits, probably because of their level of education and their lack of knowledge about policy issues in the country. Having said this, let us examine more in details the three worlds of welfare and the ideas behind each model.

## 4.2 The welfare model

In most Western European and newly industrialised countries across the world today, there is a renewed debate about the nature of social policy as it relates to the equality of citizens in many societies (Myles, 2002). In particular, there is the realisation that discrimination and prejudice should not be tolerated within any society. There is also a renewed determination to eliminate or stem the tide of discrimination and prejudice, in order for both citizens and immigrants alike to avoid the pitfalls of intolerance as well as the causation of poverty within societies. To this end, there has always been the realisation that full employment, social security and collective participation are integral parts of any democratic society. The past histories have taught us that national integration and nation-building are important in the development of collective social provision in the integration of immigrants into the mainstream society.

In his classic book on the three worlds of welfare, Esping-Andersen (1990:2) argued that there are inadequate theoretical models about welfare states. His emphasis was that most available analysis on this subject area relied more on a misleading comparison of aggregate welfare state expenditure, which he was right in saying. When examined further, it misses the precise focus of different approaches to welfare state expenditure, as the kinds of welfare provided by different states are different. Esping-Andersen (1990), therefore, proposes more analysis in the welfare state, rather than the expenditure made available. On this basis, he suggested three welfare state typology regimes (1990:52) based on the principle of labour market de-commodification: liberal, conservative and the Nordic model. Before going into detail, let us ensure an understanding about the word “de-commodification”. This word means the degree to which welfare services are free from market influence. According to Esping-Andersen (1990), assessment of the welfare regime with high de-commodification suggests that the welfare provided publicly is not in any way linked to the citizens’ incomes or economic standing within the society, while in the commodified system, welfare benefits are treated more as commodities that are sold in the market as are any other goods or services.

Thus, the idea of a mass welfare system uniformly delivering entitlement and services to citizens at the margin has now come to be seen as a problem with an implication for the new immigrants, especially in their individual responsibility for a relatively comfortable living by the neglect of their skills and talents, in many countries. This includes Finland as, like other countries, it has a mismatch of many immigrants’ skills in terms of the vocational training provided through education and re-training. In other words, the idea behind welfare states is that the state governments play a significant role in the citizens’ lives in reducing inequalities through the provision of subsidies for certain services within the country. The various welfare benefits are designed solely to ensure that all citizens’ basic needs are met on a continuous basis. The model that has attracted more interest is the progressive social welfare system, in which welfare rights are usually enjoyed by all citizens regardless of their level of income or economic status internationally, which is the Nordic model.

In all welfare models, entitlement to social security is often based upon citizenship or residence status, while within the EU, policy-wise it is even more controversial in view of immigration from outside the European Union countries. Thus, in most OECD countries, there is the requirement that there be some prior period of residence in addition to being a citizen of another EU country with which there is a reciprocal agreement, before such an individual can be eligible for social security assistance.

Hence, one group that often faces many problems in these areas are the new immigrants from outside the EU, especially groups such as asylum seekers and refugees, as well as those married to majority citizens (Egharevba, 2008; Makkonen, 2000; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2002). The economic vulnerability of these groups suggests that some individuals who are dependant on social assistance for their daily existence do so out of necessity in spite of the fact that they are very healthy and able-bodied people (Egharevba, 2005). The consequence of all this is that there is often tension between the principle of inclusiveness, which is the policy target, and the anxieties about immigrants, who are the main recipients of welfare assistance. This tension is manifest most clearly in certain segments of the Finnish society who have had to pay higher taxes and see their tax money being given to immigrants without a job in the country. Furthermore, these groups of immigrants are sometimes even alleged to be abusing the welfare system in the country through the stereotypical and sensational mass media unbalanced reporting of issues concerning immigrants in the country. In other EU countries, this is a familiar territory in that there are similar approaches to these kinds of issues. In sum, the question of inclusion and exclusion within eligibility for social security assistance by residence and citizenship still remain debatable issues in many countries, including Finland. Unsurprisingly higher levels of insecurity, poverty and inequality, have become acceptable in these societies, with their untold consequences on the new immigrants in their daily existence.

Before proceeding further, a working definition of “welfare regime” is necessary, especially as it should be understood in this part of the thesis. “Welfare regime”, in the context of the argument presented in this analysis, is the governmental legislation which guarantees income maintenance and other support to the citizens in cases involving disability, unemployment, health care, housing, occupational accidents, diseases and old age. Esping-Andersen, (1990:91) contends that the Nordic welfare model has its origin in Bismarck’s social legislation in Germany in 1880s; this has acted as the stimulus behind the Nordic welfare states in introducing social legislation. It is, however, beyond the scope of the present research to give further developmental details concerning the establishment of different welfare regimes in Europe. This is because even in the Nordic countries there are great differences in social service provisions to citizens, and the speed with which these social services are provided in reality depends on the country in question.

In this age of globalisation, immigration is on the increase, especially from the poorest countries, as it is facilitated by the cheap costs of travelling and the increase in cultural interactions – which have drastically reduced the hurdles of travelling – and the availability of goods and services in each country of the world. In the case of Finland, a look at its history points to the fact that the welfare system efforts came through struggle and negotiations, especially in the politics of equality that involve class and politics. Of course, one is not denying the fact that there are many indicators of the importance of social capital in any country, especially in civil participation in social networks, and in building trust in police and immigrants’ relations examined in greater detail in the second part of this theoretical framework.

**Table 4: The three welfare regimes**

	<b>LIBERAL</b>	<b>CONSERVATIVES/ CORPORATISTS</b>	<b>NORDIC MODEL</b>	<b>STATES</b>
Role of:				
Family	Marginal	Central	Marginal	
Market	Central	Marginal	Marginal	
State	Marginal	Subsidiary	Central	
Welfare state				
Dominant focus on solidarity	Market	Family	State	Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark
Dominant mode of solidarity	Individual	Kinship, corporation and statism	Universal	Yes
Degree of decommodification	Minimal	Higher for the one working	Maximum	Yes
Modal examples	Australia, USA and Canada	Germany, Italy and France		
Examples	Private Schemes are of great importance	Rights are connected to occupational status and relying upon family and churches, etc.	Fusion of welfare and work, Redistribution through taxation and comprehensive public health educational systems	

#### 4.2.1 Liberal model

The liberal model, Esping-Andersen (1990) points out, is highly commodified and sold through the market. Means-tested benefits are available to the very needy and become highly stigmatising, because each citizen is required or expected to buy his or her own welfare through the open market. The problem with this model is that the new immigrants are usually not of paramount importance, especially as they continue to struggle with learning a new language compounded with stereotyping and prejudice within the society in addition to their lack of job opportunities in the country. In spite of these obstacles to them, some segments of the majority population still tend to view these poor immigrants as a burden to society, expressed through harassment, intimidation and victimisation in the case of Finland (Egharevba, 2006). Another good example is the UK, with its means-tested benefits. Means-testing means the process by which applicants for welfare are deemed eligible or ineligible for welfare services on the basis of the applicants' income; for example, housing benefits may only be due to those with lower incomes.

Naturally, when analysed in more detail, there are two prevailing arguments co-existing in these debates; one is the *institutional view* which has more emphasis on proving social benefits as a social right for everyone. Those in the institutional camp have often argued that welfare services needed to be financed through taxation, due to the polarisation of the markets. These groups also think that it is the responsibility of the state in any civilised country to provide and protect its citizens against unemployment or loss of incomes.

Those in the second camp, the *residualists*, have argued that those who benefit from welfare support should be those who truly need assistance and those who are unable to meet their own welfare needs within the country. Thus, those in the residualist camp argue for the

neediest as demonstrated through the utilisation of means-testing to determine who should be the recipient of welfare benefits, because in their view welfare is expensive and ineffective, as well as too bureaucratic, and they therefore argue for its reduction (Giddens, 1991:332). Thus, the liberal form tends to focus more on the poor who are incapable of self-help. In the eyes of these groups, government institutions that provide this help are viewed in most cases as being unfair in the ways in which their assistance/services are delivered to the poor. For these reasons, private welfare schemes are prioritised. Of course the classical liberal emphasis has always been on the market to offer solutions and self-reliance on individual, which is the liberal mind set. The role of discriminative tendencies within the country is therefore left to individual immigrant groups to struggle with.

In the liberal states, where welfare provision is minimal and benefits are modest, there are strict entitlement criteria, which has resulted in many cases in recipients being stigmatised (1990:26). In this model, the dominance of the market is encouraged by the state by guaranteeing only minimum and subsidising welfare schemes (1990:27). The consequence of the liberal welfare regime is that there is a stark division between those who are rich and those who are poor, whose sole aim is to continue to depend on the state hand-outs for survival. It is the intention of the present author to argue that, in Finland for example, the obligation arising from welfare benefits to the new immigrants who are not connected to the state either through kinship or linguistic grounds can be taken as a charitable gesture, even though it is a state policy of social protection.

Hence, we should not be too carried away by the above argument, as the majority of citizens will definitely reject any inferior or unequal redistribution of welfare benefits to their kinsmen, because, even if there were any doubt in their minds, this may likely be the stimulus for the majority to portray immigrants as net consumer of the state resources through welfare benefits. This might likely increase the fear associated with immigration in general, which could then lead to intolerance on the part of the majority towards those that are different as was the case in the early 1990s in Finland. However, the guiding principle of liberalism through democracy has worked quite well; in fact, this is one of the achievements of modernity, that majority citizens have learnt to interact and co-operate with those that are visibly different from the majority citizens, even by sharing buses and trains with them as well as study and work places. This contrasts with the conservative welfare models, discussed below, which are distinguished by their status-difference welfare programmes in which benefits are often earnings related, administered through employers and geared towards maintaining the existing social patterns. The role of the family is also emphasised and the redistributive impact is minimal.

#### 4.2.2 Conservative model

In this model, welfare benefits are only connected to social class and occupational status; they tend to be decommodified, but they are not necessarily universal. Strangely, with this model the role of the market is marginalised, and therefore these states are placed by Esping-Andersen (1990) between the low decommodifying liberal regime and the highly decommodifying social democratic regime (1990:27). The amount of benefits citizens receive depends on their position in the society. This type of welfare regime is not aimed at eliminating inequalities, but at maintaining social stability, strong family ties and loyalty to the state. To be eligible for welfare support in this model, you need to have worked in the country for some time before becoming unemployed; this is an enormous problem area for many of the new immigrants across Europe, including Finland. The church also plays an important role in the development of the conservative welfare model in addition to families,

which are important providers of welfare support in many of the immigrants' countries of origin. This is true to many Africans in many parts of the developed world; as there are no welfare benefits available to these new immigrants, the families play an important role in offering all the necessary support to the individuals in need of such support. Thus, in the conservative model, the marginal role of immigrants in the labour market is quite visible in different ways, such as the intolerance, prejudice and stereotypes that are common in these kinds of society. One is not claiming that this is the only kind of system you can find in these unfriendly environments; it is unfortunately common everywhere, no matter what kind of welfare model is available in these societies. Another major problem is that because of the orientation of the welfare towards class and status, these visibly dependent groups then become more vulnerable within such a society.

The critics of the welfare state can be grouped into different categories. (a) Conservatives, this group believe that the welfare state impoverishes the professional middle class, as it is believed that welfare state rewards the idle, unemployed, disabled and pensioners. Also this group strongly believed that welfare system undermines the virtue of self-reliance, and that welfare state increases the strength of the state intrusion into the citizens' lives through bureaucracy and the pursuit of a programme of integration of immigrants. Unsurprisingly, they hold the notion that welfare expenditure is dangerously high and that this often undermines economic freedom and liberties through the high taxation needed to cover the cost of welfare system. The conservatives also believed that the welfare state does not work, as it does not provide security or equality to the citizenry, but does increase their apprehension and family breakdown. (b) The radicals among the welfare states critics believed that statism is based on stereotypes of the middle-class and are biased against the welfare establishments, which they view as agents of a repressive government trying hard to transform the poor into a pale imitation of the middle class. For example, of what good is welfare benefit to an educated African immigrant who has failed to secure employment due merely to stereotypes and prejudice in the labour market? This could result in a move in the opposite direction or have a negative impact on many benefits recipients, and the consequence of these welfare negatives is that many of these immigrants could begin to suffer from neglect and other health problems. Therefore, the government needs to be focussing on how to stem the tide of stereotypes and prejudice policy-wise in the country. These approaches can go hand in hand with integration. I must emphasise that the ideas of vocational training, retraining and short periods of work placement practices have not had a major impact in reducing immigrants' unemployment situation in Finland.

### **4.3 The Nordic model of welfare system**

This model is a highly decommodified welfare system that is subsidised by the state and available to all citizens (universal benefits). This can be described in terms of the broad public participation in the economic and social life of the country. The driving force behind this model is the universal concept, meaning the inclusion of the entire population in the welfare model. In this case, a global programme is preferred to selective ones, for example free education in public-owned educational system with a high standard; this is in order to discourage the demand for private education. Free health care services are provided on the same basis as education, a child allowance for all families with children rather than income-tested as in the liberal system, and universal old age pensions – including spouses that have not been gainfully employed. On paper it looks very good, though in the case of Finland many changes have been taking place over the past years. In the city of Turku, there has been some experimentation for some time in the health sector by which citizens are made to pay a certain

amount of money as consultation fees in health care services, ranging from €33 for a year or €11 for the first to third subsequent visits to the health centre, but for students with valid student ID cards and children of school age it is free.

Thus, the whole idea behind the Nordic model is that the egalitarian institutions are not only helping the poor to achieve the minimum standard of income to live, but also providing services that could help citizens to achieve their social rights in the country. The Nordic model represents these aims fairly well, which is slightly different from the liberal system that is based on equality of minimal needs. The Nordic model incorporates all citizens into one insurance model, but previous contribution plays a crucial role in this aspect of making contribution to the social security in case of sickness or unemployment. This has resulted in general support for this model from all segments of the political parties and citizens in the population. One other remarkable thing about this model is that work, i.e. employment, also plays a vital role. The right to work is often stressed in any policy statement from the government, because this is seen as a crucial component of the welfare model. According to Esping-Andersen (1990), the wide variety of work placements and work possibilities are to encourage, or minimise the number of, citizens that are relying on welfare benefits for their existence. Though in policy this is the norm, in reality it seems the opposite as many of the new immigrants, even the well trained ones among them are still denied jobs on the basis of their surnames (Filio and Egharevba, 2002).

Characteristics of the Nordic model of welfare states compared with other welfare regimes:

- (a) social citizenship
- (b) the right to social security
- (c) expansion of public funding or education, health and welfare
- (d) intervention into facilitating the balancing of work and family life
- (e) social order
- (f) public responsibility

Welfare state regimes should be understood at the most general level as being institutional matrixes of market, state and family forms, which generate welfare outcomes such as:

- Welfare mix: pattern of state, market and household and forms of social provision
- Welfare outcomes and stratification effects

Welfare regime debates include the modification of health services in order to modify life processes, education and investment in human capacities and the recognition of the influence of being different within the society. Moving from the welfare state to welfare regimes, this refers to the family social arrangements and welfare outcomes to be found in OECD welfare states. Welfare regimes are more of generic terms, used when referring to the entire set of institutional arrangements' policies and practices affecting welfare outcomes and stratification effects in diverse social and cultural contexts; thus, welfare state regimes form one "family of welfare regimes alongside others".

Finally, the social democratic model in the Nordic countries and its welfare provision is characterised by universal and comparatively generous benefits, a commitment to full employment and income protection and a strong interventionist state involvement in citizens' lives. This last point is quite disturbing to new immigrants who are not used to explaining their finances or the number of occupants in their household to the authorities in their

country of birth, but in Finland they have to do this in order for the authorities such as KELA to know what kind of housing subsidy can be granted to such families on a monthly basis. This can be understood as the means for the state to promote social equality through a redistributive social security system. Unlike the other two welfare models, the social democratic type promotes equality of the highest standard, but in another sense, this model is often not based on equality of the minimal needs as it only provides the mix of the highly decommodifying and universalistic programme (Esping-Andersen, 1990:28).

#### 4.3.1 Welfare and the integration of immigrants

As indicated earlier, immigration is the movement of people from one country to another. The emigrants of one country become the immigrants in another country. Immigrants in Finland are still relatively small in number. In addition, asylum seekers in Finland are not yet of the numbers that are experienced in central Europe, although they have brought into the open negative attitudes and resentment towards certain immigrant groups in Finland. Besides, the issues of immigrant interaction with the police are still new, and for this reason there are still many fields of study where there is lack of knowledge about the experiences, lives and well-being of many immigrant groups within the country. Moreover, it has not yet been possible to ascertain the long-term effect immigrants' past experiences may have on their interaction with the public authorities in Finland. Another problem is that the small number of different immigrant groups makes it even more difficult to make a reliable comparison between immigrants from different countries (Similä, 2000:6). Nevertheless, a quick comparison of the change over time is possible.

#### 4.3.2 Education

In contrast with the nearly total collapse of the educational system in many developing countries in the past, the Finnish educational system has always been on top of the developed world's educational rating. In spite of this high rating, individuals in the new immigrant groups who are either naturalised or residing permanently in the country with skills and talents are not appreciated by the state's lack of genuine policy of absorbing the graduates in these groups into the Finnish work force. This was analysed by Egharevba (2004b), concerning the socio-economic dimension of the experiences of Africans in view of prejudice within the country. In spite of the abundance of talents in these groups, they are neglected, and most of these individuals are left to become bus and taxi drivers, as elsewhere across Europe. For example, in Finland as elsewhere in the EU, where they pride themselves as enlightened and technologically advanced, it is not surprising to find many immigrants with PhDs and naturalised citizens, even in the area of natural sciences (e.g. cancer research) social Sciences (Law and Criminology), becoming cleaners or a bus or taxis driver after graduation. This phenomenon is not peculiar to natural or social sciences alone; other fields of study as well, as many such citizens end up cleaning offices without any reasonable opportunities available to them in the field of their training.

One would expect that a country like Finland that has developed new hierarchies and new specialties at every academic level would utilise the acquired skills and talents of these immigrants, but the opposite seems to be the case, as the skills and talents of these citizens are often not capitalised or utilised in the society and therefore end up being wasted. While, on the other hand, we continue to hear about debates on the ageing of the work-force in Finland and other EU countries as they are not accommodating the immensely varied cultural

advantages within immigrant groups in encouraging the immigrants to use their skills and talents in their countries of residence.

The consequence of this lack of opportunities has led some segments of the African immigrants with lower levels of educational qualifications to rush to vocational and language schools in order to improve their chances of securing better jobs. From what can be seen from the educated members among this same group of Africans, it was not surprising to find out that their (the participants') own parents had gone through some level of education in their lifetime. These values are then transmitted to their children by encouraging them to get education as their opportunities are boundless.

Some of the advantages of education include influence, status and respect in their community in Africa. Therefore, there is a continuous struggle among this group of Africans for the protection of the privilege of education as their potential is enhanced to become bank workers, lawyers, medical doctors as well as engineers, technicians and other semi-technical personnel (Egharevba, 2006). However, despite the Finnish efforts and the generous welfare support citizens get, which is automatically assumed to contribute to absolute equality and the reduction in the number of the poor among minorities and immigrants, it seems to work in the opposite direction, as these efforts have not drastically reduced unemployment, nor contributed to the notion of equality that could otherwise enhance social mobility and provide opportunities for those with the right kind of education and skills as well as talents (Egharevba, 2004b). Having said this, the underlining ideology of the welfare state in different countries reflects a tension between meritocratic and egalitarian values in the country. In spite of the poor employment situations among Africans, it is a fact of life that immigrants can learn the language by having a first insight into the social-political relationship in the country and knowledge about the labour market, but we should not lose grip on the true reality of immigrants in Finland, nor in other countries of the world in view of their interaction and encounter with the police.

If these sorts of issues are not tackled in the future, they will bring about more resentment and apprehension because of the tight link between education and occupational structure, which is the basic socialisation function of education as has earlier been pointed out by Durkheim (1956: 71–124). Looking at education, it provides advantages, especially to those with higher education compared with those with lower educational background in some ways, but we should not forget that social background also affects the quality of education the new immigrant groups have. For example, the author's observation among certain group of Africans during the cause of the data collection stage of this research point to the fact that some of these participants had a low level of education, which can be adduced to be responsible for their lack of knowledge of their rights, and trust as well as any confidence in the public institutions such as the police in Finland. Particularly, when this group was asked questions centred on their knowledge of the working method of the police in the country, their responses attested to the vague and evasive nature of their understanding. Furthermore, when the reasons given for their low level of education and the environment where they grew up were examined critically, what stood out was that even their parents were illiterates, so there was no need for most of them to go beyond elementary school level. It was not surprising that education was not the priority of their parents in encouraging their offspring to go to school, and this kind of background situation has indirectly affected some of these Africans' occupational possibilities in Finland (Egharevba, 2004b).

### 4.3.3 Housing

Another important aspect of welfare is the principle of access to decent housing for everyone: whether the individual is an immigrant or on a short visit or a citizen, everyone is entitled to housing and accommodation. In many cases, this can be difficult to fulfil in the real sense as housing expenditure is a major component of a good standard of living. This is in contrast to education; the idea behind the welfare regime is to ensure a minimum standard of housing availability to the citizens. T.H. Marshall's (1950) suggestion that social citizenship constitutes the core idea of the welfare state still holds true today, even though many changes have been made to welfare regimes across the Western world. This is because the goal of welfare remains the same, which is upholding social rights that are inviolable if only social rights are given the legal and proper recognition as property rights, while at the same time offering social protection to the new immigrants. However, we have to understand that the concept of social citizenship also involves responsibility in being a citizen, which often competes with one's position in society; we have to be careful regarding the ways in which welfare regime is understood in terms of the social rights it grants to the citizens and others. Thus, an account of how state activities are inter-locked with the market and the family's role in social provision is an important point that even the welfare benefits recipient has to be made aware of in a new country of residence for such immigrants.

What is even true today is that workers are like commodities, in a sense as they have to sell their labour in order to be paid salary for it. This is contingent upon the workers' survival – when the market becomes universal due to globalisation, every citizen has come to depend entirely on the cash incentives, which indirectly strip society of institutional layers that often guarantee social reproduction outside the labour contract, meaning that people are commodified (Esping-Andersen, 1990:21). In view of this, the original publication (ii) examined the knowledge of African immigrants in terms of their rights in the country, especially with regard to their low level of education and the administrative as well as cultural differences in the country (Egharevba, 2004b). This kind of situation is not peculiar to Finland alone: it is a common phenomenon across the European Union countries and others. Castles and Miller (1993) have correctly stated in their research that the idea of immigrants being viewed as a threat to economic well-being and national identity should be discouraged; they pointed out that where this kind of animosity is mostly felt is at the locality that has experienced the social dislocation of economic restructuring and where reform of the welfare state has reduce the housing benefits accruing to citizens.

This has resulted in immigrant groups being mostly concentrated in certain areas of the city housing: in Halinen, Varissuo, Lauste and Pansio in the Turku areas. These areas have a high concentration of immigrant-background residents (Egharevba, 2005; Jaakkola, 2000). Thus, many immigrants want to retain a degree of group cohesion, both as a way of enhancing their cultural identity and in order to avoid the menace of discrimination. Of course, there are advantages and disadvantages in these kinds of housing patterns. For example, on the positive side, the concentration of immigrants in one area of the city of Turku may enhance their communication and development of business ideas among fellow immigrant groups in the same area. On the other hand, their being concentrated in a particular area may reduce the opportunity of integration with the majority citizens. According to Cox (1995:187), there is a close correlation between the spatial clustering of ethnic groups and the distribution of housing stock. This characterisation is quite understandable because when immigrants are often allocated to low-cost housing areas in public housing market, the whole idea of integration is defeated as a result of the city administration seeking to save on the cost of housing immigrants in the council houses. In Turku, the listed areas (Halinen, Lauste and

Varissou) are where most of the immigrant population are concentrated. This is not to say or deny the fact that some Africans who have been very successful have acquired their own houses. In view of the above analysis in the theory adopted for the present study, three basic facts surfaced (i.e. in the area of housing). To return to theory, there are three basic frameworks for examining the issues of immigrants' housing: international, national and regional (locality).

#### 4.3.4 International

There has been a relative flow and diversity of immigrants as asylum seekers into Finland. In particular, there has been a continuous flow of both migrants more specifically for economic reasons and those who are forced to move due to either civil war or instability in their country of origin. Immigrants residing in Turku tend to have followed these same patterns (Egharevba, 2004b). For more detailed analysis, see the part addressing immigration local and society in this dissertation.

#### 4.3.5 National

The type of immigrants granted permits to stay in the country as well as their settlement patterns in Turku are affected by various factors relating to the societal context in Finland. These factors should be expected to change as a result of shifts in political ideology and economic conditions, while other important factors include: the restrictive immigration policy, the attitude towards immigrants in the locality, and the available employment opportunities. The national immigration policy plays an important role in the type of immigrants that are accepted or granted permits to stay in the country. It is a fact that having a residence permit is a major incentive for the willingness to learn new things, since it implies being a member of the community; indeed those denied these rights should be expected to find any illegal means to stay in the country. Immigration policy also determines the new immigrant settlement patterns (Egharevba, 2006a). Attitude towards immigrants is another factor, especially in the political class and organised interest groups as well as the majority citizens' view to differences in the society. The economy, too, plays an important role in helping citizens make their decision about whether to be tolerant towards difference in the housing policy or not, and the nature of the housing market provides an opportunity to many immigrants and can also be an obstacles in their settlement patterns.

#### 4.3.6 Region of locality

This is usually affected by the prevailing circumstances on both the international and national levels, which are then mediated by the local conditions. Other factors include the size of the immigrants' population in the country, the attitude of the native towards immigrants in general, the local labour market and housing market. These points can offer either opportunities or constrains to immigrants within the society. Giddens (1991) has argued that Nordic countries have a long tradition in active labour market policies, which implies a long tradition in vocational rehabilitation. This sort of policy has become even more urgent in view of the influx of different immigrant groups into the country in recent decades, bringing with it new challenges.

This is in addition to Finland being confronted with the need to reduce public spending in welfare system in order to meet pension costs as a result of the demographic changes and the

ageing population of the country. These new challenges are not peculiar to Finland alone – as it has a European dimension to them. This has become even more pronounced as a result of the anticipated increase in the number of retirees in the next few years in Finland, resulting in more Finns seeking pension benefits than those working. The area where this is most prominent is the health sector. There are continuous debates about empowering immigrants within the country and encouraging those elsewhere that are highly educated to migrate to the country in order to fill those anticipated vacancies. The question is: why are the highly trained immigrants with Finnish nationality being neglected in the area of job opportunities to the degree that most of them have to move out of the country due to the attitudes of employers in offering immigrants' jobs? (Filio and Egharevba, 2002; Egharevba, 2005 and 2006) The human side that I see to this new development is that if this issue of an opportunity becomes reality in Finland, it will provide the much-needed incentives, especially regarding the integration rights and duties of many of the new immigrants, to seeking a better quality of life after completing their educational training – in other words, finding jobs in any sector of the economy. Let us briefly examine the population of immigrants in five municipalities, as well as their employment status, in tables 5 and 6.

**Table5: The immigrant population of five Finnish urban municipalities**

<i>Municipalities</i>	<i>Total population (inhabitants)</i>	<i>Immigrants population</i>	<i>Percentage of immigrant out of the total municipal population</i>	<i>Percentage of the total immigrant population in the country</i>
<i>Helsinki</i>	<i>564,521</i>	<i>33,196</i>	<i>5.9</i>	<i>27.3</i>
<i>Espoo</i>	<i>235,019</i>	<i>11,609</i>	<i>4.9</i>	<i>9.5</i>
<i>Vantaa</i>	<i>189,711</i>	<i>8,687</i>	<i>4.6</i>	<i>7.1</i>
<i>Turku</i>	<i>175,354</i>	<i>7,560</i>	<i>4.3</i>	<i>6.2</i>
<i>Tampere</i>	<i>206,368</i>	<i>6,207</i>	<i>3.0</i>	<i>5.1</i>

*(Source: Ministry of Labour 2006)*

Table 5 shows the total population of Helsinki (564,521) and its immigrant population of 33,196, which is 5.9% of the total population. The percentage of immigrants out of the total immigrant population in the whole country is 27.3%. Espoo has a population of 235,019, of which number 11,609 are of immigrant origin or 4.9%, while of the total immigrant population in the country, immigrants in Espoo account for 9.5%. Turku has a population of 175,354, of which 7,560 are immigrants, being 4.3% out of the total population of Turku and 6.2% of the total immigrant population in the entire country. Finally, Tampere has a population of 206,368, of which number 6,207 are immigrants, 3.0% of the city's population, and accounting for 5.1% of the entire immigrant population in the country.

#### **4.4 Employment and unemployment among immigrants 1994–2006**

Table 6 below shows the unemployment rate in 2006 among immigrants and their total population, but we must be cautious, because unemployment among certain groups of immigrants such as those from the Middle East and Africans tends to be slightly higher; for example, among the Somalis, with a labour force of 1,159, unemployment rate was 58% (684). Among the Iraqi work force of 1,042, 66% were unemployed (667), while of the Vietnamese work force of 731, 43% were unemployed compared with Europeans such as those from Bosnia-Hertsegovina, who with a work force of 1,589 had 27% unemployment. These calculated statistics were based on the 2004 estimates, which suggest differences in the unemployment rates among the cited immigrant groups (Statistics Finland, 2006; Ministry of Labour, 2006). What these figures show is that while there may be very skilled and semi-

skilled workers among these groups, the prevailing discriminatory circumstances may probably be preventing these groups from being equitably employed in the country. If these groups of immigrants were to be questioned as to the reason why many of them could not find jobs, their answers might vary as there will be those who do not have any sorts of contacts or the kind of skills required in certain fields of work, and some might lack Finnish language skills, as well as Finnish friends or a social network within the country. This comes on top of the fact that some possess a low level of education that has still further decreased their chances of securing jobs.

**Table 6: Differences in employment rates among Finns and immigrants 2001–2004**

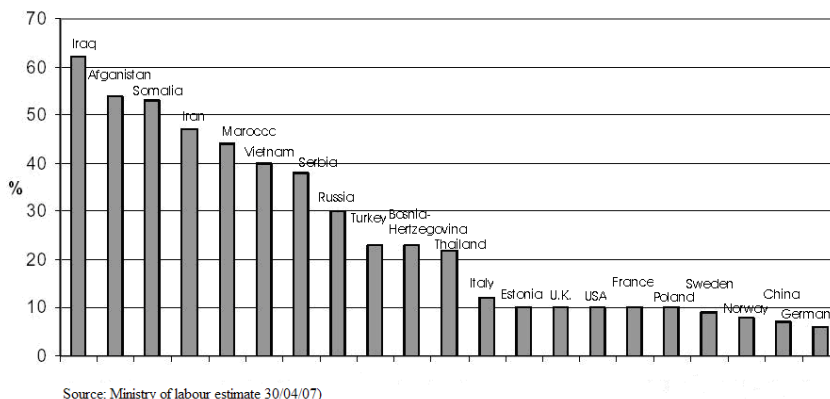
Year	Finnish total	Immigrants total	Finnish male	Immigrants male	Finnish female	Immigrants female
2001	64.7	41.4	65.5	49.3	63.8	35.5
2002	64.8	41.9	65.2	49.2	64.3	34.4
2003	64.8	41.6	65.1	48.9	64.4	34.3
2004	65.1	42.8	65.5	50.6	64.7	34.8

*(Source: Annual Progress Finnish National Reform Report 2005–2008)*

The chart above depicts the general picture of employment rates among Finns and the immigrant population in the period under review. This is consistent with an earlier survey carried out by the Union of Health and Social Care Professionals (TEHY) on the number of immigrant-background employees in education, work and treatment in the social and health sector of the economy. Presently, a small number of immigrants are employed as health care professionals, but there are the possibilities of this situation increasing as more and more immigrants are enrolling into nursing schools since the early 2000s.

The above table points to the employment situation among the Finns and immigrants for those years. Currently the job situations among immigrants in general are improving, as more immigrants are finding jobs in the service sectors of the economy such as security guards at the shopping malls, bus and taxi drivers, etc. However, there is a great difference between the employment of Finns and immigrants, and a great difference in the employment of women, as Finnish women have greater employment opportunities than immigrant women (Finnish National Reform Report, 2005–2008).

However, one does not need to be reminded that there may well be immigrant women who possess the professional skills and requirements, and yet they are still unemployed. One of the reasons for this may be that most of them are subjected to discrimination in employment on gender basis (Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind 1997:94). The present author is aware that there is fierce competition for jobs in Finland, but if many of these immigrants were valued in the country with their foreign degrees and work experiences, the question of their being discriminated against would not arise. Figure 5 gives a view of the unemployment situation in Finland 2007.



**Figure 5: Immigrants' unemployment and citizenship in 2007<sup>44</sup>**

As can be seen from the figure above, the largest groups in Finland out of work include people with immigrant background: in 2007, there was 62% unemployment among Iraqis. Those nationalities from the former Soviet Union countries have the highest number (25,326 people) out of the total immigrant population in the country. Consequently, Russians had 30% unemployment in the country, Somalis 4,623 people and Swedes 8,265. Going by the statistics, it would seem only about 36% of immigrants from outside Europe had a job (Statistics Finland, December 2007). Most of their jobs are to be found in the service sector of the economy, shops (security guard), transport system (bus and taxi drivers) and cleaning (Heikkilä and Pikkarainen, 2007: 9–11). Estonians are the second largest group of immigrants in the country (17,599 people) with approximately 10% unemployment. The Somalis had 52% unemployed at the end of 2007. However, Somalis are only one example of several other African groups who are naturalised (refugees as well as those with permanent resident permits) with similar unemployment predicaments. Serbia and Montenegro, and Bosnia had 1,100 and 456 job seekers in 2004, respectively, of whom 61% and 55% were unemployed.

The Vietnamese also had 40% unemployment over the same period. In addition, the employment rate among Vietnamese immigrants increased from 39% in 2002 to 41% in 2003; thus, there was little improvement in the rate of unemployment among this particular group. Among the African immigrants, with a population of 2,777, the employment and unemployment rates in 2002 in Helsinki were 31% and 41% respectively. In Turku in 2002, the unemployment rate of Africans was 22%, those employed represented 18%, and the other 60% were either students or nursing mothers at home. To better situate the present research let us examine the experience of an African who had been unemployed for a long time with his sibling:

*A boy of eight years old overheard some adult's conversation about immigrants not wanting to work in Finland, and that they sleep from morning to evening in their homes. This conversation got this boy thinking and reflecting on his own family. When he got home from school that day, he asked his father "Daddy, why is that when I go to school you are in bed and when I get back you are still in bed? Is it that you cannot find anything of interest to do just as Mohammed's father?" (Interview 12/10/2002)*

<sup>44</sup> My translation from Ulkomaalaisten työttömyysasteet vuonna 2007, and the countries mentioned are as follows: Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Iran, Morocco, Vietnam, Serbia, Russia, Turkey, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Thailand, Italy, Estonia, United Kingdom, USA, France, Poland, Sweden, Norway, China and Germany. Chart, Maahanmuuttajien työttömyysasteet kansalaisuuden mukaan, Työministeriö, 30/04/2007.

What follows is the analysis of the interview with an African who had the above encounter with his sibling. The dad was unable to answer his son's question. There are many angles to this boy's questioning his father. One was that whenever he got home from school, he noticed his father was either in bed or sitting and watching television at home. Based on the prior discussion he overheard at school, he realised this could be true of his dad as having nothing to get engaged in, which might be contrary to what he had been told earlier on during bedtime stories on how brave and hardworking a man can be in Africa and how a man needs to provide the means for the survival of the entire household – this then would be confusing to the boy (Interview, 12/10/2002). Secondly, the boy may have noticed that his father was not very happy being at home all the time, even though he had skills and talents that he could use to improve their living standard, particularly his constant lack of money to buy play station games whenever the son asked for one. Thirdly, probably because the boy had been taught about how proud a son should be of his parents, these issues further complicated the boy's dilemmas. The non-response to the son's question by the dad can be viewed from many different ways to mean the worst humiliation the dad had faced, which may not be due to his own fault but as a result of the existing policy of lack of opportunities many immigrants like him face in Finland. This kind of issue serves to compound the problem of Africans, in addition to some segments of the majority citizens' negative views of immigrants and name calling. All this goes to support the stereotypical views of immigrants as not wanting to work but only in Finland to live on hand-outs.

In spite of the sorrowful story above, let us remind ourselves that it is indeed quite easy to see the difference in the percentage of those working among the former Yugoslavians and the Africans. In 2007 the unemployment rate among Somali immigrants remained at 52%, with no change from 2006, while in Helsinki in the year 2005 the employment rate among the Africans was 31% with 41% unemployed. When this figure is compared with the Africans in Turku for the same year, you will see there are great differences; this is because Helsinki has a larger African population as a result of the job opportunities that are available in that part of the country. There were no significant changes in either the employment (45%) or unemployment (26%) rates among the nationalities of the former USSR in 2002 and 2003. In sum, immigrants should be regarded as a blessing to the Finnish society. This is only possible when immigrants' talents and skills are harnessed properly for the societal goal either as a substitute for domestic unskilled or skilled workers.

### Inequality and Discrimination

A previous study by Timo Jaakkola (2000) looked at the issue of ethnic minorities' experiences in working life. The study concentrated on both immigrants and Roma in Finland in order to address why immigrants were not being hired. His idea was to examine whether ethnic minorities were treated equally in the recruitment process and the criteria used in their recruitment. His findings suggest that the average unemployment rate among his respondents was 52.4%. His subjects included Russians, Estonians, Bosnians, Iraqis, Somalis, Vietnamese, Americans, British and Roma. His sample included both those that have not been employed in Finland (125 persons) and those who had been employed one time or another in Finland (176). According to Jaakkola (2000), most of his respondents considered the employment office or personal contact with the majority to be the most effective means of getting a job within Finland, while one third regarded the employment office as the most effective means, and another one quarter thought that Finnish friends were the most effective means of getting hired. This finding has relevance to my own findings, in view of the fact that the majority of the respondents in the present research were found to have very low educational qualifications and many seemed not to have many Finnish friends that could help them in securing a job. Going by the above analysis by Jaakkola (2000), the lack of contact or having a Finnish friend

could be responsible for their inability to get hired. Another finding of particular interest (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2002; Jaakkola, 2005; Egharevba and White 2007) came to the same conclusion that an overwhelming majority of the immigrant minority end up having no employment at all.

Nevertheless, in Jaakkola's (2000) study, about 14% found employment through a spontaneous contact with the employer, and this may be true generally to some extent. My question then is: what about those that may have applied for a job and were bluntly told they may have the qualifications and the experience, but that they were not the one needed? These were immigrant applicants who spoke the language, were highly educated and even with citizenship. What do we make of such a statement coming from a potential employer? In spite of this kind of problem, Timo Jaakkola (2000) subsequently concluded that about 84% of his respondents thought that their lack of employment had been caused by the high unemployment rate and the severe competition in Finland. Will this still hold true today when we hear every debate about the ageing population? We should face the fact that many Finnish employers have not woken up to the reality of this ageing population. As more and more educated immigrants are denied enough opportunity in the country, they have no other choice than to move to somewhere else where their talents and skills will be valued more.

Furthermore, in his analysis, 20% of the immigrants and half of the Roma reported to have experienced unequal treatment by employers. This is unfortunate, because Roma have lived in the country for centuries, and they are still in the same delicate and deplorable situation as recent immigrants. The exact number of Roma had been estimated to be in the range of 9,000 (Välimäki, 1997), with earlier estimates by Grönfors (1995) in the range of 6,000–7000. This seems a manageable number for the country, though this does not seem to be the case. Moreover, the history of Roma in Finland dates back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, yet this group is still despised. According to Grönfors (1995), "blatant prejudice and neglect are factors in everyday life of the Gypsy." Roma hold a marginal position in Finland in the area of employment and housing. Quoting Grönfors once again, "*the Gypsies are being variously haunted, persecuted, controlled and despised; it is not surprising therefore that Gypsies on their part have sought security within their own groups*". The past history in Europe has taught many Europeans a lesson on how the Nazis also treated the gypsies. Many of the new immigrant groups are in a similar situation to the gypsies in the country, an example being that the only jobs employers are willing to offer to immigrants are probably the unskilled jobs such as manual labour. Does that mean that there are no qualified immigrants that can compete with Finns in any job opening in the research field or in other areas of employment opportunities within the country? In conclusion, Timo Jaakkola really hit the point that whether you are a Westerner or an immigrant from a Third World country, you are regarded as an alien in Finland.

The question is: how long will it take Finnish employers in both the public and private sectors to finally put prejudice aside and offer equal opportunities to immigrant minority members? For instance, whether concerning the hiring of Roma or Black Finns as police, immigration and customs officials, frontier guards or as bank workers, or voting them in as members of the national parliament, or even employing them in the most successful arena for Blacks across the world, which is sports and entertainment, we are yet to see any sizeable number in the country. What is responsible for this lack of employment in a skilled field among immigrants in this country? Having the sorts of role models who are missing currently would probably go a long way towards showing that Finnish society is willing to demonstrate its determination to achieve the idea of equality in the country. Thus, the introduction of the integration law on 1 May 1999 has tended to shift the focus of the assimilation of ethnic minorities into society, as was the practice in the past with regard to Roma minority group in Finland. This strategy has

now shifted to that of an integration policy in which the integration law and integration plans by different municipalities are combined. This seems to have made at least a little difference to the lives of members of the immigrant minorities. This is in addition to working in the least wanted jobs, such as cleaning restaurants, offices and factories. Are there not educated and qualified immigrants in the country? This is an area requiring further research, which is unfortunately outside the scope of the present thesis.

The above patterns were further corroborated when the present author investigated the impact of previous experiences on African immigrants' view of the police in Finland (Egharevba, 2006b). What was striking was that when the respondents in the present research were questioned on their perception on confidence and the competence of the Finnish police (i.e. their knowledge of the resources and the strength of the police to be able to sustain and fight the issue of discrimination in the society), the majority of them had no idea about the resources available or even the sort of training that is undergone to become a police officer in the country. Additionally, what was also surprising was that many of the immigrants do not know the strength of the police in the country (Egharevba, 2004a). Furthermore, when the respondents were questioned as to whether they thought that the Finnish police was interested in or responsive to African immigrants' opinion in a research such as the present one (i.e. whether their views of the police institution have any impact on any future police interaction with immigrant groups in the country), the answers were overwhelmingly: "Cannot Say" (Egharevba and Hannikainen, 2005). Some of the immigrants did not seem bothered about the allegation of police bias at all; this is probably because some of these respondents had a lower level of education prior to migrating to the country. Education is known to strongly affect citizens' subjective competence and confidence in contact with the police. In other words, citizens with a higher education are much more likely to think that they can make their views heard, which can influence certain police behaviour, than those with low education, as we will see later in the part of this thesis concerning African immigrants in the city of Turku.

On paper, Finland has tough and precise laws barring racial discrimination in areas such as employment and access to restaurants and housing, yet the ways these laws are enforced are hardly felt by those the laws are made to protect. As a result of this, most immigrant minorities still do not have a socio-economic, educational or political voice in the country to protect their fundamental rights and freedoms (Egharevba, 2004a). The lack of understanding of the socio-economic problems that immigrant minorities are facing within the society on the part of the enforcers of these laws on anti-discrimination tends to be a problem. Consequently, this has resulted in many new immigrant minorities, especially those of African origin, perceiving themselves as being marginalised (Egharevba, 2006b), while others, regardless of their social or economic background, seem to be better off than Africans. This poor self-image explains why many new immigrant minority members such as those from Africa take the issue of being called "neekeri" (nigger) so negatively; it is understandable in view of the fact that many of these Africans face more frustrations within the society resulting from many of them being out of work or the lack of employment in general. It is going to be a daunting task to change the attitude of the majority in order for racial equality to be achieved as a goal, but with a refocusing of the authorities' energy more on investing in educational training, housing and employment and minority tolerance this is an achievable goal that should be pursued vigorously in Finland. Frankly speaking, it does not seem likely that this will happen soon, but this is a challenge for the Finnish authorities; unemployment is at the root of marginalisation.

In sum, it is clear that, going by conflict theory, those experiencing socio-economic problems are prevented by certain factors, such as strong competition, lack of required skills, a low level of education and a lack of language skills, from integrating into the mainstream society. Some

of these factors have resulted in the case of the respondents in the present research still finding it difficult to find employment in their professional fields. The problems (personal or professional) among certain members of the immigrant groups have often led to the idea of marginalisation (Egharevba, 2006a). In other words, the lack of these skills has led many of the skilled immigrants to a weaker position in any competition for the few opportunities available. Immigrants' apprehension also supports the contact theory, which stipulates that the more immigrant and ethnic minorities have contact with the majority population the better are their chances of securing employment opportunities, as their contact with the majority could open up more opportunities. This could in turn eliminate the negative consequences of fear and lack of trust to difference and thereby reduce competition and stimulate more opportunities for all within the country. Indeed, the lack of strong social capital relations through the Finnish society may have led to this high level of unemployment among immigrants in the country. This, therefore, provides us with an urgent task when considering the role of unemployment in immigrants' ability to foster social capital.

#### **4.5 The concept of social capital**

The concept of social capital as a strategic analytical tool has exploded in the past decades in both academic and public policy debates and discussions. This is because the concept of social capital is being seen as a key resource for the well-being of citizens and their communities. This concept has been applied in a range of different new challenges facing modern societies finding answers to the most pressing issues confronting the society, such as education, immigrant integration and ethnic relations as well as exploring intolerance and discriminatory tendencies in police cadets and immigrants' relations in Finland (Egharevba and White, 2007). The immense versatility of the concept can be seen in the level at which social capital theory is used in analysis; this is a source of excitement to many researchers such as the present one.

Following an extensive literature review, a network-based conceptual framework was developed in view of the fact that social capital should be seen or understood as a form of access to social relations which may provide resources and support. Furthermore, norms and trust still remain the essential ingredients of social capital. Consequently, my exploration of the concept of social capital points to the fact that this concept encompasses the investments that people make in establishing and maintaining a network in which actors such as families, acquaintances, friends and colleagues as well as fellow immigrant students operate. This norm becomes an important tool, especially when an immigrant moves from his or her country of origin to another. The initial phase is that specific people become even more vital when things are not going smoothly for the new immigrant as a result of either lack of language skills, a network of friends or cultural knowledge in the new country.

Furthermore, advice gained from the specified groups could also play a very important role in the new immigrant's desire to enquire about how and where to find discounted transport tickets, funding and employment opportunities as well as learn about the working ethics in the country. In this sense, it is essential for an immigrant to know people, either to be shown around or given tips on how to survive in a new country. These are some of the vital ideas behind the social capital theory. In sum, existing research (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1990) has pointed to the fact that the utilisation of these various social ties does often make a difference in the well-being of the citizens and immigrants, as the social ties promote interaction between individuals and the society that can also facilitate the co-ordination of activities of both groups within the society.

Secondly, freedom from intolerance, lack of discrimination and acceptance into the mainstream society are some of the fundamental needs of many immigrants in Finland. This is the ideal in every democratic system across the world in order for immigrants and others to improve their living standard in the country. Social well-being has long been recognised by policy makers as an essential component of policy issues across the world, especially in health, education, employment and family. There is, therefore, the recognition that increased national economic prosperity has not necessarily been accompanied by an increase in social well-being for all within the societies, especially concerning the various immigrant groups in terms of social exclusion, health and quality of lives. For instance, in spite of the economic progress in many countries and due probably to policy enforcement, language difficulties and unnecessary bureaucracies (OECD, 2001), these difficulties seem to have led to alienation on the part of many Africans from the Finnish society and allegations of unfair treatment (Egharevba, 2006). What is troubling is that, in spite of the new era of rapid social and economic change in Finland, it can still be observed that some segments of the majority still feel threatened and insecure, as immigrants are still being blamed for much of what seems wrong in their integration processes (Jaakkola, 2005). From the onset, the theoretical base has been on the question of our understanding of why African immigrants often allege police discrimination compared with majority citizens, and what factors influence these allegations against the police in Finland. An attempt is being made to examine social capital in terms of confidence in the police and the co-operative norms among Africans in Turku in their interaction and encounter with the police.

#### 4.51 What is social capital?

Answering this question is not as easy as it may first appear. Nevertheless, the idea behind the social capital concept is simple. According to Putnam (1993), social capital is the stock of social trust, norms and networks among citizens that can improve the workings of the communities and societies. He posits that social capital is an attribute of the community as it also belongs to the civil society of which collective actors and the local community are an integral part. In other words, social capital is in the same category as common goods because of its collective nature, and this concept cannot be changed to an individual private property (Putnam, 1993:167–170). Thus, social capital is social trust, norms and networks that persist in usage, while the concept can also dwindle if not used properly, which can be detrimental to the society in question. Coleman's research (1988) sees social capital as resources in terms of the structure that facilitates a meaningful activity. He therefore identifies the following as the forms of social capital: (a) reciprocity (as trust), (b) the flow of information, and (c) norms (effective sanctions). These concepts he terms resources that actors can apply in order to achieve their interests, in addition to maintaining the norms, which would require a close network structure that will allow a close relationship to monitoring and observing others. The existence of social capital can be realised at the level of interaction between citizens in the sense of a public good either individually or organisationally.

On the other hand, Bourdieu sees social capital as the “the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that may accrue to an individual or groups by virtue of their possessing a durable network or more or less institutionalised” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:119). This can also be understood as either an individual or groups with specific characteristics that can be associated with being a member of a network that respects each other. Bourdieu sees social capital as a personal asset in the ever-competitive society of the globalised world of the twenty-first century, where at the same time individuals try to improve their own position with others, which can easily lead to conflict.

Additionally, Crow (2004) sees social capital as any investment in social relations that would yield returns, especially in effective ties or friendship. This is because friendship as Crow identified it can be seen as a form of social cohesion in the fragmented modern societies we now find ourselves in due to globalisation, where the traditional bonds of family and community have been weakened or have almost disappeared (Spencer and Pahl, 2006). In this sense, the relationship between immigrants and the police can easily be understood as the centre of analysis in the entire thesis progresses. Furthermore, the idea that social capital forms are interconnected is true since social capital, if utilised efficiently, could lead to better informal networks and support that could reinforce social norms of co-operation and trust between immigrants and the police services in any country in the EU. This is similar to what Coleman (1988) suggested in his research, addressing the problem of social bonds either contributing or enhancing the community and strengthening social norms of behaviour. In contrast, his argument can be argued in the opposite way, as strong social support within the bonds identified by this scholar could also affect the civil organisation (the police) as well as those against such organisation which could be certain immigrant groups (Africans), due to their previous experiences with the police in their country of origin prior to migrating to Finland (Egharevba, 2005). The fact is, when those previous experiences are not known to the general public, due to either ignorance or lack of interest in such issues, this can easily lead to the wrong conclusions being drawn in the categorisation of such groups by the majority citizens' contention that immigrants do not want to be engaged in any meaningful employment in the country.

Indeed, what is often forgotten in most cases is this lack of awareness of immigrants' prior experiences; thus, combating unemployment can only be possible through education and training of the citizens for future challenges. In Finland, the focus often on social security dependants' misuse of the welfare assistance programme whenever there is a conflict of public significance in the country due to immigrant stereotyping needs to be challenged. In other words, those immigrants who live with persistent high unemployment and are not able to find any alternative solutions could easily be seen as hostile to the police in their reaction to any confrontation that may arise in their various encounters, which is contrary to the social capital theory. It is clear now that any formal participation by such immigrant groups in any activities within the country, which could provide the much needed support for the understanding of immigrant problems, is often neglected by the general public and the police in their interaction with immigrant groups in the country.

However, the arguments put forward by Robert Putnam (1995b) have been employed to differentiate between the forms of social capital and social networks, by offering the suggestion that bonding can be tied to social networks as opposed to bridging, which tends to build bridges between different social groups that are open to others (Putnam, 2000). Therefore, social capital could be expected to bring together different social groups from different segments of the society; however, what was missing from his argument is that the links between formal and informal social capital are not the same thing. This is because informal relations, whether the bonding types or not, could be weak or strong depending on the societies bridging social ties, as correctly proposed by Mark Granovette (1973: 1362–1378), while the formal aspect can either contain one or both. In these two concepts, the informal are based on social network theories and the formal on social capital, which is based on traditional study of democracy and civil society, which are quite separate although both concepts may be related in comparative perspectives. This is a familiar territory going back to the sociology of Emile Durkheim.

Thus, this social interaction has become even more essential, especially for the new immigrants in the country, as civil participation is essential for a thriving democracy and advantageous to the society at large (Putnam, 1995b and 2000). In other words, social capital can be understood as the concept of civil participation, which involves the participation of the new immigrants in the existing organisations and activities that can facilitate the building of social trust in police relations with immigrant groups, which could go a long way in giving an indication of the level of trust these groups have of the police, whether it is universalistic or marginal in nature (Egharevba, 2006). This is important particularly when it becomes necessary to confirm trust in both the public and private levels of the society (Fukuyama, 1995). Another contributor to this debate was Pierre Bourdieu (1986 and 1990), as earlier stated, when he provided the initial approaches to an informal social capital, while James Coleman enriched the idea with social network theories (Coleman, 1988). In social networks, his emphasis was on the informal bonds between people, while other scholars such as Burt (2001) and Phillipson et al. (2001) have all argued that using a rational choice perspective where the advantages of networking for the individual are prioritised is essential for citizens' civil participation in societal development.

Having said this, there are different types of capital that can accurately describe the range of resources citizens have access to, such as natural capital, produced economic capital, human capital, and institutional and social capital that all citizens have access to or can be put to use very successfully. There is also a significant linkage or interaction that occurs when these capitals are in use. Black and Hughes (2001) define these four capitals as: (a) Natural capital: This is adduced to consist of natural resources, the ecosystem and the aesthetics of nature; in other words, natural resources means the material and energy inputs into production, while the ecosystem is that which all living beings depend on for their existence, such the conversion of carbon-dioxide into oxygen by trees. The aesthetics of nature is those aspects of nature we cherish for their beauty, such as rainforests, seas, birds and flowers. (b) Produced economic capital: This includes all harvested, manufactured or built machineries, such as physical infrastructure constructed as well as money, cultural and intellectual properties. (c) Human capital: This is the knowledge, skills and health embodied in an individual. (d) Social capital: This refers to the patterns and quality of relationship in a community. The OECD (2001) defines social capital as networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that can facilitate co-operation within or among groups. This definition has been chosen for this part addressing the theoretical framework for the thesis, because it captures important elements reflected in social capital's vast literature, such as networks, shared norms in addition to within or among groups. This is to suggest that social capital operates at a variety of levels which include: bonding, bridging and linking.

Taking a cue from the OECD's definition, social capital differs from other types of capital; for instance, social capital can be viewed in relational terms, whereas others such as produced economic and human capitals belong to individuals or businesses. What is even more important is that social capital is produced by societal investment in time and effort in an indirect form compared to other capitals. Rather, social capital is a result of history and culture, which gives rise to norms, values and social relations that often bring people together in a network of associations and results in collective action, for example, the United Nations. Social capital also differs from other capitals in that it increases if used properly by its reinforcing the networks, norms and values, but decreases if not used properly.

#### 4.5.2 Sources of social capital

This concept originates and operates from a variety of sources within the societies. Social capital can be found in educational institutions, organisations, families, school and civil institutions as well as businesses. These sources are important, but more emphasis has been placed on civil associations. According to Winter, (2000), analysis of social capital seems to de-emphasise the role of family in the construction of social capital and instead focus more on the amount of time individuals spend in working for civil associations. He also alerted us to the important role of the family: it is during parenting where many of the norms and networks are created or recognised. This is particularly important when we realise the constant challenges we face in parenting, while schools could also foster shared norms and networks, just as the society plays a major role in our views and attitudes due to the existing culture in the country.

#### 4.5.3 Different aspects of social capital

Social capital may lead to the enhanced social and economic well-being of citizens in the societies, and, in its turn, the economic and social well-being of citizens could lead to enhanced social capital. In this sense, Putnam (2000) has suggested that social capital and economic equality go hand in hand or together, and that they tend to reinforce each other; consequently, he argued that lower economic equality and less social engagement also tend to reinforce each other. His research in Italy demonstrated this in the link between social capital and better governance. Putnam's (1993) study between 1970 and 1989 in Italy suggested a marked difference in efficacy and performance amongst regional governments in Italy and sought to examine further the reason behind these differences. Hence, one important finding in his research was that networks and norms of civil engagement had strong effect on the performance of regional governments. Accordingly, he found in some regions strong vibrant networks and norms of civil engagement, while in others they were characterised with vertically structured politics, i.e. a social life of fragmentation and isolation and a culture of distrust.

This is similar to the findings by Egharevba and Hannikainen (2005) on African immigrants' experiences with the Finnish police, according to which many Africans are still finding it difficult to learn the Finnish language and confront barriers resulting from discrimination in employment opportunities, in addition to lacking the necessary social network. These obstacles/challenges have led many to isolate themselves and their loved ones from trusting the police in Finland. Putnam's analytical method to measure civil engagement included the density of clubs and associations in each region, newspaper readership as a tool for measuring the citizens' interest in civil affairs, voting in the general elections, etc. The most important finding included that socio-economic modernisation could marginally explain the stark differences between government performances in the north and south of Italy and was not able to explain the differences in performance between the two regions. Thus, these differences in civil engagements formed a much more explanatory variable for the differences in government performances, especially in the areas that had similar socio-economic characteristics. In this vein, let us explore the negative aspects of social capital to have an idea on the concept.

#### The negative aspects of social capital

Much as social capital may contribute to a range of positive outcomes in the area of public concern, it is also vital to recognise that there may be negative aspects resulting from social

capital. According to the OECD (2001), these negative aspects include particular forms of bonding. In this sense social capital may impede social cohesion in certain circumstances; for example, Africans in Turku are noted to disrespect females in their relationships as a result of the patriarchal nature of the society from which they came. This kind of behaviour can be extended to a Finnish woman who, in the cause of her duty, has to have contact with an African, as portrays the example of an African who refused to answer a female police officer's question but was willing to answer any question from the male officer (Egharevba, 2004a). This kind of behaviour should not be tolerated in a democratic society, as this may not serve the best interest of the public, especially among those who have had these experiences.

Furthermore, social capital might have a negative influence if certain ways/conducts of behaviour were imposed on immigrants in order to conform to the acceptable ways in the country. This may bring about social division, as was correctly pointed out by Putnam (2000), with the example of a small town in America in the 1950s, in which people were deeply engaged in community life that resulted in an implied condition of conformity and less tolerance for racial and social difference. Continuing the same line of argument, he also pointed out that there have been changes taking place between 1960 and 1990 in America, in that it has become a more tolerant country and that social capital has declined during the same period of time. In addition, he also pointed to the fact that even though social capital has declined in America, states that are tolerant are those that tend to possess higher levels of social capital. Developing this argument further might point to the fact that a strong bonding in social capital is often used to exclude outsiders from the many opportunities within many societies.

Also contributing to this particular issue were Portes and Landolf (1996), who suggested that the domination of some industries in America by particular ethnic groups created great difficulties for those attempting to enter such industries. An example was American construction industries, where the descendants of Italians, Irish and Polish former immigrants dominated the industries to the extent that any newcomers such as African American contractors found it very difficult to get contracts owing to their difference and not being part of the social network where deals were struck. The above argument can be used as a tool to examine the cases of allegations of racism against the police in Finland in future research.

#### 4.5.4 The concept of bonding bridging and linking

The multi-dimensional concept of social capital can be seen as being illustrated in relationships, trust, reciprocity and action for common objectives. In the relational aspects, this can be further divided into three different aspects. According to Woodcock (2000), bonding is the relationship that we have with people who are the same, and typically this is the relationship among family members or ethnic groups as well as religious groups. It is even present in the relational situation in the cadets' training, as we will see later. By bridging, reference is made to those relationships citizens have with total strangers. In other words, the relationship between natives and immigrants who are different is a good example of this kind of relationship in Finland. Finally, linking was suggested by Woodcock (2000) to be the relationships between citizens and the elected representatives (parliamentarians) in power; this is done in order to enable citizens to get their issues of mutual concern prioritised by the government for the benefit of the whole society.

In an ideal society, there is a good balance between three-dimensional aspects as was illustrated by Woodcock. According to him, any lack of balance will definitively lead to fragmentation in the society, as bonding internally makes the citizens trust and co-operate

much stronger. However, we have to be careful with this kind of bonding as it can easily have a negative effect, too, if not done carefully. Thus, it can easily have a negative effect on those that are different within the society, especially if the majority are solely interested in those aspects without a balance to their actions, which can lead to discrimination against those that are different or outsiders. Our understanding of these three-dimensional ways of social capital can enrich us with the advantages of social networks and associations that can occur within society, and which are some of the determinants at any level of interaction between the “us and them” dichotomy.

#### 4.5.5 Networks and trust

As there are different definitions of these concepts across the world, network theory is the most recognised in its sociological contribution to our understanding of immigration internationally. This theory brings to the forefront the common features of migration and the essence of networking among immigrants in a new society; in other words, networks provide the means for connecting many new immigrants in a new country with their family members back home in their country of origin. In Finland, this is also an important channel of communication among the already established group of immigrants in the country for information flow and support when needed in a new environment. This is because, whether actually in their country of origin or with them, family, acquaintances and friends are an important part of many immigrants’ survival technique in securing work and active social lives in a new country. One can see how important to many immigrants in reality the general idea is behind these concepts of social capital involving networks, trust and reciprocity, just as the definition of social capital dictates.

Having said this, there has been much more scientific analysis focussed on the role of formal networks within a community and the social form of engagement that tends to occur through civil associations, immigrants’ associations and religious groups (e.g. Christians and Muslims, members of political parties, sport clubs, unions). However, the informal social networks within society in the form of social interaction between families and their children, friends and informal groups are all important components of social capital. All these have been stressed by Cox (2000) concerning the importance of informal local networks in citizens’ lives, while Putnam (2000) also placed emphasis on formal group membership. Thus, shared social norms, trust and reciprocity enable those within the community to communicate, co-operate and make sense of their common experiences. Trust in the tolerance of difference, beliefs and culture arises from shared norms that imply tolerance, acceptance and respect, while reciprocity encourages us as citizens to balance our own interest with the good of the society. Let me now shift the reader’s attention to an important tool used in assessing and testing societal institution relevance in Finland. This will clarify how the concept of trust is being viewed in the country; one of such surveys was the survey on public trust in public institutions of 1981–2000.

#### 4.5.6 Trust in societal institutions

Confidence as a concept has been examined in many disciplines, in law, medicine, sociology and natural sciences. This concept can be seen as having overall importance concerning how societal institutions are evaluated within many societies. Confidence, in most cases, can also be viewed as sometimes more important than institutional internal rules, as it relates to a particular period within the institutional working method.

In a nutshell, confidence plays a vital role in all human interactions, which can also include citizens' relations with societal institutions. On the other hand, the confidence shown by the citizens towards societal institutions is of greater importance for the functioning of any democratic government. In view of the above, confidence shown by citizens in any judicial system has become of paramount importance in the present world. Furthermore, citizens' confidence in societal institutions is even more important, as the citizens' degree of confidence and experiences within the institutions can play an enviable role in how societal institutions are perceived to function and how official policies are felt within the societies. The citizens' responses can therefore be used by the administrators or public officials as a form of feedback to improve their services to the citizenry. For instance, a citizen who has had experiences within the judicial system may have his or her own view of how the court system works or how certain rights guaranteed in the Constitution work in reality, such as the right to be heard, the right to receive a reasonable decision and the right to appeal against a decision emanating from either court or public officials. Thus, the fairness of the judicial system is put into test by the responses of the citizen to this kind of investigation (Litmala et al., 2004: 383).

In Finland, it has been a long tradition that trusts in official institutions are vital tools acknowledged in measuring societal institutions, especially in a survey that covers a wide range of sectors within the society on accessing justice as it relates to everyday life as well as access to legal protection. Such surveys have been carried out by World Value Survey between 1981–1984, 1990–1993 and 1995–1998 as well as one in 2000 that involves sixty different countries (Litmala et al., 2004). As can be seen from Table 10 below, the police clearly enjoy a high rate of trust within the Finnish citizens:

**Table 7: Trust in societal institutions 1981–2000**

Trust in public institutions							
Branches	1981	1986	1988	1993	1996	1998	2000
Police	86	89	78	82	84	92	90
Military	69	76	70	65	80	88	83
Courts/justice	80	82	68	62	66	66	66
Church	54	52	50	38	55	68	56
Big companies	41	45	61	34	48	-	42
Labour Union	58	54	45	36	49	-	53
Civil servants	54	54	-	20	35	49	39
Parliament	68	68	48	20	32	44	42

(Source: Parliamentary Ombudsman's Report, 2000)

As the above chart shows, the police force is one of the institutions that are well trusted in the country: 90% in 2000. This was closely followed by the Military – 83% trust in the same year – whereas the least trusted institutions using the 2000 data were the civil servants and the parliament. There may be many reasons for these low levels of trust in civil servants, but this is beyond the scope of the present thesis to explore. Analysing the most recent survey on the same issue of trust in societal institutions points to the fact that the Finnish police still enjoy high ratings, even when compared with other European countries' citizens' trust in societal institutions using the 2004 data. The Finnish Police still enjoy the highest trust from the citizens: 88%. That of the German police is 75%, while the French police are at a distant 55% as are those of the United Kingdom, 55% (Litmala, 2004:18). This most recent survey goes to portray that the police force is still the most trusted societal institution in Finland. It is true that in a democratic government the policy makers owe it to the citizens to seek their views and trust in societal institutions in order to evaluate which of their policies are working and which new ones need to be re-evaluated. In Finland, this has always been an objective model to be emulated by many other societies. In spite of the police force's high rating, there are still

a number of complaints lodged against police conduct, and this number seems to be increasing on a yearly basis, as was explained earlier in this thesis.

#### 4.5.7 Social capital and prejudice

Our view of this concept can be derived from our measuring social networks and the link between police and immigrants, and most importantly how these relations are utilised to improve relations between immigrants and public officials in Finland in order to promote tolerance and fight the menace of discrimination. Thus, the present author's examining social capital theory will extend the reader's understanding of how the police and immigrants relate to each other in the various involuntary circumstances of their encounters. This is more than necessary in order to eliminate the tension and suspicions from the police and immigrants alike. According to Cox (2000), the strength of social capital becomes even more important when addressing new challenges brought about by either social conflict or changes that immigrants encounter in a new country. Thus, a society with a high accumulation of social capital would be able to manage difficulties, while a society with a low level of social capital would manage less well. This is probably because collective action involves the use of norms and networks in situations where immigrants might otherwise be reluctant to co-operate or be socially engaged in the society. For example, this worked well with immigrants in Turku, as the various immigrant associations are serving useful purposes in this regard.

Thus, social capital could provide the society as well as the police with an insight about immigrants' view of the police in their daily interaction, thereby strengthening the societal and police understanding of immigrants within the country, especially regarding bad policing experiences they may have experienced prior to migrating to Finland and which may well not have been known to the Finnish police (Egharevba, 2005). A critical examination of social capital could increase our understanding of immigrants' daily experiences with the police in general in the country.

Hence, examining social capital could extend the society's and policy makers' range of social indicators, which are published to provide citizens with information on a range of issues of public concern, examples being racially-motivated crime, assaults and batteries cases, the rate of unemployment among immigrants as well as the experiences of unequal treatment in the country. All the above will serve very useful purposes, but they do not often provide the exact picture of the situation because of the lack of reporting of such cases to the police by immigrants due to their lack of trust in the police (Egharevba, 2004a and 2004b). It can be seen that social capital provides additional explanation variables for social outcomes, which socio-economic and demographic indicators could not adequately explain. Putnam (2000) observed strong correlations between social capital and education, a lower crime rate, child welfare, happiness and democracy. The author, agree with these assessments as there is much more potential for social capital research in this regard, and by so doing we might be expanding our range of social indicators and gaining new insight into how immigrants view their relations with the police in Finland (Egharevba, 2005).

## 4.6 Ethnic relations

Over the past decades, there have been intense public debates about immigration all over the Western world. The fear and anxiety associated with immigration stem from the fact that would-be immigrants are coming from countries with a different culture and political regime.

These worries have expanded the study of sociology even more rapidly (Banton, 1967). The major concern of ethnic relations research has always been examining how social relations become known as race relations in the context of border control, conflict over scarce resources, cultural diversity, legal inter-group distinctions and immigrants' limited interaction with the majority population as well as the creation of a labour market underclass resulting from huge unemployment, thereby fulfilling the stigmatised roles in major urban areas (Solomos and Back, 1996:7).

Thus, in this part of the thesis, the author will be applying the theories gained from analysing ethnic relations in a number of countries (such as the UK, the USA and South Africa) in explaining the situation of immigrant minorities in Finland. Large-scale immigration is still a relatively new phenomenon in the country, and the consequence of this was that in the late 1990s Finland saw the number of immigrants arriving in the country increase fourfold. It is logical then to want to examine some of the lessons from other countries that have experienced large-scale immigration for many decades. It will enable us to deal with the sorts of problems these countries have had to deal with policy-wise with regard to immigrants of different nationalities residing both legally and illegally in our countries, in view of the prevailing fact that prejudice, discrimination and racism will affect immigrant groups in the country resulting from their lack of equal opportunities thus thwarting their integration in society.

Going by both Banton's (1967), Rex and Moore's (1967) analyses in the UK, race became the marker for the exclusion of migrants in key areas of housing and employment. This exclusion subsequently led to the creation of an underprivileged class which some authors referred to as the "underclass" (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979). In the UK, numerous research findings in cities such as Birmingham have suggested that minorities are systematically at a disadvantage compared with their majority counterparts in the areas of housing and employment, which has resulted in many immigrant/minority members not identifying with the majority working class culture and subsequently forming their own culture and communities. Going by Rex and Tomlinson's (1979) analysis of these conducts, there was the admission that these reactions took different forms within different immigrant communities. For example, within the Asian communities this took the form of capital accumulation and social mobility, while in the West Indian communities it took the form of labour market withdrawal and the construction of Black identity (Solomos and Back, 1996, citing Rex and Tomlinson, 1979).

This ethnic relations thesis has been criticised on a number of grounds. This is because the notion of race as the centre of analytical categories tends to postulate the essentialist notion of racial difference, which contributes to the idea of races as culturally or biologically meaningful entities. This belief also leads to the simplistic formulation that discrimination is a by-product of unequal prejudice and power, where Whites have all the power and Blacks have none. While there may be some truth to this assumption at the macro analysis level explaining power at a global level, it fails to explain the experiences of racism and the differences at the local level. The conclusion drawn from these race relations problems tends to be a superficial conceptualisation of racism as simply disordered attitudes and prejudice. This criticism is understood by the present author as the issue of prejudice as an aberration which in most cases is conducted by individuals. This approach is also an over-simplification of a range of complexities that may arise from everyday experiences. By so doing, we are creating this distinction between the perpetrators of racial discrimination and the victims. This brief explanation of race relations should be able to guide the reader to the focus of the entire thesis, which is essentially the experience of immigrant minorities of racism within the police in Finland.

#### 4.6.1 The concept of “race”

Race is a social construction, not a biological one. Thus, this construction is often derived from people’s desire to classify. In many countries, people tend to be natural classifiers, that has resulted from what Gardner (1999a) called “naturalist intelligence” or the need to discern in order to impose it on nature. One is not denying the fact that people’s observation can be classified in many ways; this is because people make categorisation and classification that make sense to them, and in most cases that mean schemes that favour particular situations. For instance, geographically there is one attribute that correlates with geography, and that is the population, which seem to be similar if close enough while distant populations are dissimilar. In other words, the relationship between race and other constructs can only serve social ends; it cannot serve scientific ends (Sternberg et al., 2005; Horn, 1994; Sternberg and Grigorenko, 2002b). This pattern is a common idea of socially defined race, which can be complex. People from different countries can demonstrate different characteristics by their adaptation to different environments.

Thus, the use of the word “race” can sometimes be dangerous, because race as a concept is very muddled (Sternberg et al., 2005; Gardner, 1999a; Horn, 1994). In spite of this danger, however, race came into use between the eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries when some social scientists began referring to “a category of people sharing biologically transmitted traits”. This categorisation into races based on different physical characteristics such as skin colour, facial features, hair texture and body shape have now been proven to be all superficial, for individuals of all races are all members of a single biological species, despite the array of racial traits. Due to migration and inter-marriages over the course of the world peoples’ great history, many generic characteristics that were only common in one place are now common throughout the whole world. Examples of these are the varieties in the Middle East, which has long served as a crossroads of human migration. According to Macionis and Plummer (2002), striking racial uniformity, by contrast, only characterises more isolated people such as the island-dwelling Japanese. Even such areas are changing. In other words, no society lacks generic mixtures and increasing contact among the world’s people to ensure that racial blending continues to exist in different parts of the world.

The nineteenth century theory of A. de Gobineau (1816–1882) on the inequality of human races (1882) developed three different schemes of racial classification: (1) labelling those people with relatively light skin and fine hair as Caucasians; (2) those with darker skin and coarser, curly hair as Negroid; and (3) those with yellow or brown skin and distinctive folds on the eyelids as Mongoloid. Thus this characterisation gave birth to “Race Science”, in which one group was seen and rated as people of greater intelligence and higher morality (Europeans). These theories and categories have been proven by sociologists to be misleading, in the sense that no society is composed of biologically pure individuals (Macionis and Plummer, 2002). Belief in this interpretation often fuels racism, as with the Frenchman Le Pen and nationalist political party members of other nations (Solomos and Back, 1996). Indeed, this is one of the reasons sociologists have all rejected the idea of “race” and instead look elsewhere for better concepts for understanding the issue. Despite this rejection of the existence of a superior race across the world, many people are still being classified on the basis of their “race”, a process which is now termed by sociologists as racialisation; this term is at the heart of inequality and social exclusion.

The most defensive mechanism about this is the assertion that one category of “race” is better or more intelligent than the others with no scientific proof to support these conclusions. However, in many societies, including Finland, racial labelling is still a fact of everyday living,

as many naturalised immigrants are still being called “neekeri” (nigger) in Finland. This may be due to the Finnish location in the northernmost part of Europe, and probably because Finland had not been a major attraction to many immigrants until the early 1990s, when this trend changed substantially, and therefore perhaps some citizens do not mean any particular negative connotation with the use of the word neekeri.

#### 4.6.2 Prejudice, stereotypes and racism

Often, when people are asked why they have a negative view of other races, what usually stand out from their responses are three core concepts: (1) prejudice (2) stereotypes and (3) racism. Let me now give a brief description of each of these concepts.

#### 4.6.3 Prejudice

This has been defined by Macionis and Plummer (2002:261) as a rigid and irrational generalisation about an entire category of people, meaning that prejudice is an attitude of pre-judging others indiscriminately without regard to the facts. For example, holding a prejudice about an individual you do not even know because of his race, age, social class, sex, political affiliation and sexual orientation. Prejudice can either be positive or negative. The positive aspect of prejudice is the constant exaggeration of the virtue of the Europeans as being more intelligent than other races, while the negative aspect of prejudice can range from mild tolerance to outright intolerance or hostility. The main reason for this kind of behaviour is that attitudes are rooted in culture, which dictates that everyone has at least some measure of prejudice. Most immigrants in the present study recognise that White Europeans (e.g. Finns) commonly hold prejudiced views about them in spite of their achievements in education, sports and entertainment. This is similar to most immigrant minorities harbouring prejudices towards Finns by their being judgmental on any issues concerning them and a Finn, especially on issues such as the lack of employment or being subject of verbal abuse either on the street, on the bus, or in a train journey across the country.

#### 4.6.4 Stereotypes

Stereotyping has been defined as a prejudicial exaggerated description of some category of people (Macionis and Plummer, 2002:262) that results from emotions such as love and loyalty towards members of one’s race or hatred and fear towards those that are different from the majority through exaggeration in the form of images that are difficult to change even in the face of contradictory evidence. An example in Finland regarding minorities is that certain segments of the population have a stereotypical understanding about minorities as being poor and lazy, as well as the beliefs that many immigrant minorities are in Finland to depend on the social security benefits rather than support themselves (Egharevba, 2004a). This is also similar to the findings of Waxman (1993) and NORC (1994) in the United States of America. All these forms of problems distort reality because most poor people tend to be refugees, asylum seekers, the unemployed and the elderly.

Consequently, the term “stereotyping” has been devised as a mechanism in modern societies to account for the fear and apprehension associated with immigration which has taken root in many societal cultures. In Finland, there are some elements within the police force, too, who believe that Africans are lazy and that they exploit the social welfare system (Pitkänen and Kouki, 2002). The consequence of this kind of attitude is that it portrays the problem of those

that are socially disadvantaged to be a matter of personal deficiency, which in most cases is not true. My question is: are the Finnish general public knowledgeable about the fact that many skilled immigrants may have tried many times to secure a job without being successful? Is it reasonable, therefore, to suggest that many segments of the majority population's jumping to conclusions concerning African immigrants' laziness is unfair? My answer will be "no" because not much attention has been focussed on the aspect of immigrant minority employability in Finland, going by the responses of some of the participating immigrants in the present study. This has led me to the conclusion that these kinds of assumption still exist among certain segments of the Finnish population. It is therefore suggested that further research needs to be carried out to ascertain this issue of whether Africans are truly lazy in securing employment, whether they're not being employed is due even partly to their being lazy, or whether it is due to the policy of the would-be employers in Finnish society. In sum, as a result of the majority's stereotyping of immigrant minority, this group is more likely than the majority Finns to be poor and most likely to receive welfare social assistance benefits. Furthermore, the majority of Finns hiding behind their rigid attitude on a few selected facts tend to portray stereotyping that distorts reality.

#### 4.6.5 Racism

This is the most demeaning and stressful form of prejudice; this concept refers to the belief that one racial group is innately superior or inferior to another. Racism has been with us over the course of the human history. For example, in the past, the ancient Greeks, Indians and the Chinese despite, or perhaps because of, their numerous achievements were quick to view others who were different from them as inferior. These concepts exist even today across the world; hence this conduct is to be found in every society in different manifestations. In the case of Finland, the most targeted groups that apparently need constant policing are the gypsies (Roma) and Africans (Grönfors, 1979; Egharevba 2004a), in Australia it is the Aboriginals and Pacific Islanders, whilst in Sweden it is either the Somalis or other refugee groups who are the objects of racism. This has become even more prevalent in the present world: it is becoming increasingly difficult to find any culture that does not have some form of racial tensions within it, be they Western European, Eastern European, or indeed any other culture.

#### 4.6.6 Understanding and explaining racism

Essed (1991) has suggested that two kinds of knowledge are necessary in order to understand the issue of racism properly. She calls them "situational knowledge" and "general knowledge" of racism. She considers situational knowledge to be knowledge of what is acceptable behaviour in any given circumstance of the particular situation. According to her usage, this knowledge is necessary in order to be able to cope with the situations of everyday living. This can be obtained from previous generations or directly from other older immigrant groups that have lived in the country in question for a much longer time. It is also wise to add at this juncture, that sometimes the knowledge one acquires from reading scientific literature, through the educational system or various other forms, such as the mass media, is integrated in a person's way of thinking in everyday situations. Essed called this process "the internalisation of diverse information in the socialisation process, which results in situational knowledge based on the person's thinking which thus in turn determines the rules and regulations applied to make assessments of behaviour in a particular situation". (Essed, 1991)

Essed (1991 and 1992) has explained the concept of “general knowledge” of racism as being the accumulation and contextualisation of familiar repetitive and routine experiences encountered by individuals in many racial situations. She went on to add that general knowledge of racism plays a role in the relationship between the personal and group experiences. This process provides individuals with the ability to explain their own experiences in terms of group experiences, by their interpretation of the terms of the historical and contemporary group experiences or racial or ethnic domination. This point is similar to what Schutz (1976) pointed out earlier as a notion of the role of historical time in an individual’s reading of meaning into events. In the same vein, Feagin and Sikes (1994) also pointed out the importance of history, and they even went further by suggesting that as these experiences are stored in individuals’ memories, this result in similar kinds of experience being easily recollected in such situations.

One cannot deny the fact that the past centuries of racial oppression, as it is being reinvented through different movies, television series and documentaries as well as the stories we read from newspaper articles and from history books, have made many Africans, even in Finland, familiar with this part of the history of slavery and oppression of the Black race. This has consciously or unconsciously contributed to the general knowledge of racism. Essed’s (1991) theory on the general knowledge of racism includes a claim that even today this phenomenon is continuously being tested and sometimes changes and adapts to accommodate new information. This is particularly true given that the nature of racism and the manner in which it is expressed may have changed over the last quarter of a century from the traditional (biological inferiority) to more subtle or covert racism. Essed concluded in her argument that knowledge of racism is the most important factor in the interpretation of unpleasant racist situations in order to become informed and to be able to judge, as well as understand, the rules and regulations being applied in both racial and non-racial situations. In addition, a general knowledge of racism itself is important in her opinion, with which I would agree, as without a general knowledge of racism, individuals cannot or will not be able to comprehend the meaning of racism in their everyday life.

Another contributor of interest in this regard was Louw-Potgieter (1989), who has suggested that for an individual to be able to differentiate between those situations prompted by racist and those by non-racist acts, this individual must be able to use both situational knowledge and a general knowledge of racism to interpret events and subsequently make a claim of racism. This process, therefore, follows explicit and logical rules and tests alternative explanations before making an interpretation of racism. Essed (1992) has added cognition theory to concepts to utilise situational and general knowledge to test this process of interpretation and evaluation by individual of specific acts or behaviour that may or may not have racist implications or consequences. Her model was based on Kelley’s (1967) attributional principles and Antaki and Fielding’s (1981) theory of ordinary explanations, which identified three complementary factors (descriptive explanations, agency explanations and morality explanations) that seem to form and function as well as act as a process of explanation. In the present study, I also employed these models to test African immigrants’ interpretations of police actions and behaviour in Turku.

#### 4.6.7 Explaining racism

With the above definition of racism completed, it is necessary to present a brief exploration of the concept of racism in order for us to understand this properly. For instance, in much of the available literature on the definition of this concept many social scientists have suggested the

factors of frustration, personality, culture and social conflict as being the keys to understanding the theory of racism.

#### 4.6.8 Scapegoat theory

The scapegoat theory concludes that prejudice results from frustration, as such attitudes are common among people who are themselves disadvantaged (Dollard, 1939; Liebkind and McAllister, 1999; Jaakkola, 2005). A good example of this concept in Finland would be a Finn who is frustrated with the low wages he earns while working in the service sector (i.e. cleaning offices or factories). Probably, due to the number of hours he works, this Finn may be tempted to direct his frustration about the low wages to the presence of immigrant minority in the service sector of the economy (office or factory cleaners) who are his co-workers. This kind of prejudice will only make this Finn even more frustrated, as there might not be any improvement in his situation. This may be his consolation by venting his frustration on those different from him, as this will naturally serve as his gateway to channelling his anger/frustration at somebody else, and it could also act as a source of comfort in his belief that he is superior to at least some of his co-workers.

Having explained how racism manifests itself in individuals, it is possible to provide a simple definition of a scapegoat. In this study, a scapegoat is defined as occurring as follows: when any person or a group of people, typically with less power, places blame on others unfairly due to their personal problems and as a result finds others to be safe targets for his or her frustration either at work place or elsewhere. A good example of this kind of conduct was in the late 1930s and early 1940s when the Nazis blamed the Jewish minority for all of Germans' problems. This kind of assumption is still visible to a lesser degree even in the present-day democracies across the globe, and includes some segments of the Finnish population that still attribute their domestic troubles to the presence of immigrant/minorities in the society.

#### 4.6.9 Personality theory

Thomas Adorno (1950) and some other social scientists have all suggested that extreme prejudice is a personality trait of particular individuals. They came to this conclusion based on their wide research, which has suggested that people who display strong prejudice toward one minority were usually intolerant of all minorities. Such people usually continue to exhibit authoritarian personalities, rigidly conform to conventional cultural values, and envisage moral issues as a matter of either right or wrong. These groups of people often advocate strong ethnocentric views. I agree with this characterisation of the personality trait, especially when a group of people with authoritarian personalities sees society as being naturally competitive and hierarchical with better people (such as themselves) dominating others who are weaker. In contrast to the above characteristics of the authoritarian personality, Adorno also discovered that people who are tolerant towards one minority were most likely to be tolerant and flexible to all within the society. Another factor attributable to the authoritarian personality group is that they also believe that an ideal society should be relatively egalitarian, and in most cases these groups of people are very uncomfortable when others within the society exercise excessive and damaging power over others. One other factor listed by Adorno's research on authoritarian personalities is that this tends to develop in people with less education, and harsh and demanding parents. Examples of these include insensitive bosses or parents who might be angry at their own failures, and who then look for a scapegoat in their subordinates to subject to inferior status within the organisation or educational institution.

#### 4.6.10 Cultural theory

In extreme cases prejudice may be a characteristic of certain people, and some prejudice may be common to everyone because such an attitude is embedded in our culture. Based on empirical evidence in the present study, I am inclined to conclude that certain individual police and cadets were of the view of the superiority of the White race as the core of the Finnish culture. Recent research on racism and discrimination in Finland could attest to these conclusions with the call for educational awareness training to be intensified in order to help the general Finnish public to move beyond their traditional Eurocentric attitude in order for some of the segments of the society to gain an appreciation of the culture and contribution of immigrant minorities in Finland (Egharevba, 2004a; Grönfors, 1979; Pitkänen and Kouki, 2002).

The concept of cultural prejudice has been researched for decades; one outstanding example of such research was conducted in the United States by Bogardus (1968), where he studied the effect of culturally rooted prejudice on interpersonal relationships. He devised the concept of social distance to distinguish how close or distant people felt in relation to members of racial or ethnic minorities. According to his findings, people throughout the United States shared similar views in this regard, which led him to conclude that such attitudes are culturally normative. Another point of his interesting findings, which to some extent is still true today in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, is that most Western societies still regarded people of European background most positively than others (Macionis and Plummer, 2002). This is also applicable in Finland, as they welcome close relationships with groups of Europeans and subsequently encourage marriages within these groups not in an open manner, but with somehow less priority being given to interaction with other descents (Egharevba, 2007). As Bogardus discovered, most negative prejudice was directed towards people of African and Asian backgrounds, and this has not changed. This is similar to the situation in Finland; most negative attitudes are directed at immigrants as a consequence of cultural prejudice. My question is: if prejudice is widespread, can we dismiss intolerance as merely isolated incidents caused by a handful of abnormal people as has been suggested by Adorno? A more robust approach could reveal that some bigotry is within everybody as we become adjusted to the culture of prejudice.

Another important concept, which is closely related to prejudice, is the term “discrimination”. This concept has been defined as the action that involves treating various categories of people unequally. As our above discussion on prejudice posits, this conduct refers to our attitudes, while discrimination could be based on our overt and covert practices and behaviour. What is interesting is that just as prejudice can be either positive or negative, so discrimination can be either positive or negative. The positive aspect of discrimination is when special advantages are rendered to disadvantaged groups, while in negative terms discrimination means placing obstacles in front of certain categories of people (Macionis and Plummer, 2002:266). Discrimination can also vary from subtle to blatant. One important point that needs to be emphasised on is that prejudice and discrimination do not always occur together. If we take some examples: firstly, a lecturer prejudiced against his or her student with a foreign background as evidenced by his or her refusal to accept the student’s essay for some personal reasons. According to Robert Merton’s (1976) analysis in the United States of this kind of situation, he characterised such a lecturer’s action or conduct as being an *active bigot*. If the student knows his or her rights in the said institution, he or she could commence legal action against such a lecturer. Secondly, another prejudiced lecturer may not actually discriminate for fear of legal action, and therefore become a *timid bigot*. The author argued further that in most cases those he termed *fair-weather liberals* may be generally tolerant of minorities, yet they do sometimes discriminate as opportunities appear, or rather, if their superior demands

such actions. This led Merton to the conclusion that fair-weather liberals are not entirely free of both prejudice and discrimination (Merton, 1976).

However, it has to be pointed out quite clearly that it is not the case that all kinds of discrimination are wrong. People discriminate all the time when putting their emphasis on personalities, looks, sound and the talent of certain individuals. This kind of distinction is necessary in everyday living and these hardly cause any problems, but when people discriminate on the basis of race or ethnicity is where the problem lies. As a result of this, almost all societies practise some forms of discrimination, while at the same time condemning others. For example, lowering the admission policy aimed at accommodating the under-represented minorities in the police force is a form of positive discrimination, which may be contrary to the majority-culture-based expectation that the greatest rewards should go to the people working hardest. Therefore, if the police in Finland, for example, should lower their entry requirement for the police school for the sake of immigrant minorities regardless of immigrant minority members' talents, this kind of argument will only be convincing if it does not affect the performance of the police school. Otherwise this kind of policing would discriminate against the most qualified majority citizens. This could be viewed as morally wrong and against the law of the country.

Looking at this issue from another perspective, we see from historical events that the principle of equality changes when it comes to economic development. For instance, in many of the participating immigrants' country of birth, there are common rules for favouring one's clansman/woman, families and the same religious group members in employment, as it is understood to be a traditional moral duty to look after one's own peers. In Finland, on the other hand, it is quite the opposite, as cultural norms tend to elevate the individual over the group so that achievement rather than ascription guides the Finnish code of fairness. As a result of these principles, it is only the best that get hired while forbidding conflicts of interest. But when it comes to the hiring of immigrant minorities the situation is quite the opposite, which may be due to the race or sex of the minority. My arguments are guided by insights drawn from participants' observations, with an emphasis on socio-legal thinking using Essed's (1991 and 1992) models.

## 5. RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA SETTING

For some time there have been debates about the majority population's attitude towards immigrants in Finland. This is not surprising, due to the fact that immigration brought many new challenges to public authorities in Finland. However, first, I need to define *covert* racism as it should be understood in the present research. The term "covert racism" embraces those ideas and issues that are often shielded by institutions, culture and tradition as well as stereotypical assumptions pertaining to those who are different in the society. The term also means the insidious forms of behaviour that hide behind the face of politeness or political correctness, and expediency in a coded form that tends to blind individuals and obfuscate the reality of this subtle form of racism (Huckin, 2002:163; Van Dijk, 1993b:250). This behaviour or conduct may seem respectful or as an act of tolerance given the constant denial of racism by most citizens, yet this kind of conduct also manifest its ways in subtle forms that are often brushed aside as non-issues.

Thus, this kind of attitude needs to be addressed with the right kind of policy, as this form of racism is unlike the overt forms of racial slurs that are more easily identified and counteracted. Going by Pettigrew's (1989) suggestions, the covert expression of racism has become socially unacceptable, while Greenberg and Pyszczanski (1985) have also argued that, in a contemporary modern society, it has become socially undesirable to show blatant signs of racial prejudice – citing American society as a clear example. Scholars such as Edsall and Edsall (1992) suggested that there has been a public repudiation of racism and discrimination of covert racist expressions. The results of these kinds of finding have led authors such as Feagin and Sikes (1994) to suggest that in the United States the majority of Whites have begun to believe that racism is no longer a widespread and a serious problem.

However, in the case of Finland I intend to argue to the contrary, as immigration of a large number of people into this country is new and it is only recently that the public officials have begun to understand the challenges these influxes of different immigrants have brought. Howitt and Owusu-Bempah (1990) have also suggested that the puzzling problem of the psychology of racism is that racism continues to exist in a society that fundamentally claims to be non-racist. Similarly, Feagin and Sikes (1994) were right in their argument that most Whites share a common historical and cultural heritage of racism and prejudice against Blacks, which is so embedded in certain segments of the White population's psyche; this has led to most of these segments becoming only half-conscious, or even unconscious entirely, of these acts.

Other authors having a similar view include Essed (1991) and Lawrence (1987), who have also suggested that although majority citizens may have an egalitarian racial consciousness (using American Whites as an example), it is under-pinned by a broader racist framework that is used to process their social world. Other social scientists such as Feagin (1980), Jones (1997) and Sniderman and Piazza (1993) have all argued that the outcome of this situation is that many Whites have learnt to pay lip service to the norm of equality, while maintaining a negative attitude towards Blacks. There are more study findings that seem to arrive at the same sorts of conclusions in Europe (Dividio and Gaertner, 1991; Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995) and in Australia (Augoustinos et al., 1994). What all these studies have in common is

that prejudice towards Blacks and others is being expressed more covertly in indirect and rational ways.

Another dimension to this analysis that is very interesting is the proposal by Brown and Willis (1985), where they refer to the concept of “racist or non-racist” in the way that Whites understand their day-to-day racist actions and interactions to be non-racist. Earlier, Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) referred to this kind of conducts as contemporary racism or subtle racism as opposed to the “blatant” nature of the old traditional kind of racism, which is supposed to be based on biology. In their view, subtle racism occurs in the context of everyday routine such as in shopping centres, educational institutions, when using public transport or being refused entry into a restaurant (Egharevba, 2004a). These acts have a tremendous impact on those who experience this kind of conduct on a daily basis. In this sense, race still remains a determining factor, and this may well affect the way police interact with or react to immigrants’ presence in Finland (Egharevba, 2005a). This is also similar to the findings by Essed (1991), in which she suggested that minority groups, due to the racist/non-racist perpetrators, are still experiencing racism.

Continuing in this line of argument, Brown and Willis (1985) suggested that the majority believe that they are neither prejudiced nor racist. The immigrants who have experienced subtle and covert forms of police racism probably have a different perception and understanding about their interactions with the police, due in part to their understanding of the nature of contemporary racism, which is marked by conditions of ambiguity and being easily denied by the perpetrators. According to Essed (1991), rather than dismissing the views of the victims of racism, as has often been the case, the observation of those who have experienced everyday racism may be relevant in identifying its hidden and subtle form. Finally, research design in this sense should be understood as the logic that links the data collected and conclusions drawn to the research questions. Thus, every empirical research has its own implicit research design. This is one of the reasons why the present research examined the issues of police encounters, fairness and respectful treatment. This was embarked upon by examining the manner in which African immigrants respond to behaviour that is ambiguous with regard to racism. In each of these variables, it might not be clear as to whether the behaviour exhibited by the police officer is normative for them, nor will their motive be clear to the participating Africans.

## 5.1 Research challenges

Some of the images of racism in the 1990s that still remain vivid in the public mind include the genocide in Rwanda, ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and the rioting in Los Angeles, USA, as well as the numerous skinhead attacks on asylum seekers across Europe including Germany, Sweden and Finland. Previously, the Vietnam War has been adduced to be a racist war because of the Americans’ use of weapons of mass destruction against a rural people struggling for their independence, which literarily appeared as a part of the continuous civilisation mission of the Western world. This kind of conduct has continued for centuries unabated, in some cases in order to cover up these drastic acts. An example being the UK in the recent past, where the labour migration of earlier years raised a colour bar in Britain in the 1960s, which literarily kept Black immigrants out of dance halls, rented apartments and jobs. While in Finland, in the early 1990s there seemed to be similar attitude towards immigrants in general with the sudden rise in anti-foreigner sentiments in Joensuu and other cities, as well as the countless expressions of everyday racism that affected many more minorities in the country (Puuronen, 2002; Makkonen, 2000). Additionally, racism has not lost its face,

especially in the developed and developing countries' divide, which is still a consequence of domination of the people of former colonies. This domination has added another feather to its wing with countries such as Japan, South Korea and other newly industrialised countries joining the former colonisers in dominating and using unfair bargaining methods in the area of globalisation and technological development.

Thus, when we talk about globalisation fear and apprehension, this concept should be understood in the narrower sense, as the present author is referring to what has given rise to more intolerance in Finland. For example, the FRA survey conducted in 2008 shows that immigrants and ethnic minority experience unexpected high rates of discrimination, and that human rights awareness amongst these same groups is also absent ([http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/eu-midis/index\\_en.htm](http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/eu-midis/index_en.htm)). The survey concluded that there is very low level of integration of immigrant groups in many of the EU countries. Even though the treaty of Lisbon urges member states of the EU to actively develop a European cooperation in the field of integration of the legally resident immigrants in their countries, despite these efforts discrimination still persists on a daily basis. However, in many of the EU countries discriminatory tendencies or practices of an overt racist nature have become less visible – become covert and subtle – and yet the people experiencing these conducts are often very reluctant to speak or even discuss their experiences with researchers (Egharevba 2006, and 2007; Vesara, 2002). One important reason understood to be responsible for the lack of the will in confronting this ugly menace is the strong belief among many immigrants that there is often denial of the existence of racism within the country. This is especially true when the issues at stake involve public officials, such as interactions between the police and Africans, with the view of hiding the hostility directed towards foreigners that has yet to be brought into the open for greater scrutiny.

Having explained why race, migration and social capital have been chosen as the theoretical base for the present thesis, let us now get an idea of the limits and challenges during the data collection processes. Data collection was limited by the difficulties in getting early permission to interview police officers in Turku and the eventual low number of participating police officers, six out of the total of three hundred serving police officers. Secondly, there were three phases of data collection among the participants and a near total lack of funding for the researcher carrying out this research. Thus, I had to rely on my personal savings to accomplish this work. In spite of these obstacles, the author believes the findings in the present research study will make some contribution to the understanding of immigrant minorities' problems in their interactions with the police in Finland. Having set out the empirical evidence relating to police-immigrant interaction, let us now look at the research questions that were explored in the published articles.

## 5.2 Research questions

There are four main research questions in this thesis and a number of sub-research questions (interview questions). The research and sub-research questions were approached generally from an international comparative view point, for any observations on the racial nature of police-immigrant relations from a single country would have made the result of the present study one-sided. Of course, the author is very aware of the differences from country to country as regard citizens' as well as the immigrant population's relations with the police. The strategy employed in this study was geared towards focussing on certain countries that have had experiences in addressing the issue of large-scale migration to a country simply experiencing such a phenomenon recently. These viewpoints could give the author an

interesting angle in exploring the racial nature of police and immigrant relations in Finland. Here are the formulated research questions that form the core area of investigation for this research:

- What is the perceived knowledge of biased treatment and human rights violation among African immigrants in Finland? Is this knowledge pre-determined by the participants as a result of their background or state of origin in Finland? (Papers 1, 2)
- What role do stereotypes play in police interactions with Africans in Finland and what is the consequence of such views? (Papers 3, 4)
- What is the existing attitude within the police on their views of African immigrant clients in Finland? Is it cordial or antagonistic in nature to immigrant clients? (Paper 4)
- What sort of relation exists between the police and African immigrants in Finland? (Paper 5)

### 5.3 Data and methods

The nature of qualitative research has intensified in the past decades across social sciences academic writings. Taylor and Bogdan (1998) posited that there is re-emergence of qualitative research after the 1960s, by qualitative research now becoming more “powerful, insightful and influential in many of the published work that does not need to be discounted” (Silverman, 1985 and 1993). Furthermore, Swanson and Holton (1997:94) also agreed that qualitative research method has grown in the present academic work, that many social scientists who believed in objective world can now develop and text their hypotheses that could yield body of theories that represent the “truth”. The essence is that qualitative researchers study things in the natural settings by focussing on making sense of or interpreting certain phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them. The truth is, researchers are often studying and developing hypotheses in objective ways in order to discover the truth where subjective interpretations are allowed. In other words, methodology as a major aspect of research is still evolving practices that researchers follow or argue against.

Having considered all the options in the present work, I opted for the following strategies: inductive, deductive and abductive, particularly as specified by Norman Blaikie (2000). According to this author, research should be approached from the view point of the participants, while recognising that all relevant purposes and social reality are what the participants expect from the researcher. Secondly, research would only seem credible when the researcher is sufficiently engaged in the interpretation of the reality of the situation and by speculating on the outcomes of the research. Consequently these research strategies became important tools in the present research, in view of the type of questions and the near total control the author had over the participants during the data collection stages. According to Blaikie (2000), research strategies provide a logic or a set of procedures in answering research questions, especially in “what and why” questions; this is adduced to be the second most important element in research design decisions (Blaikie, 1993a and 2000). In the present research, all emphasis was geared towards these very valuable points. For simplicity, table 8 below shows the various approaches that were adopted during the data collection stage of the entire research. Thus, the research will be based on a combination of these three strategies as starting and concluding points.

**Table 8: Research strategies for relevant situations**

<b>Strategy</b>	<b>forms of research question</b>	<b>required control of behaviour</b>	<b>focus on contemporary issues</b>
<b>Questionnaire/interviews</b>	<i>how, why</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Yes</i>
<b>Inductive</b>	<i>who, what &amp; where</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Yes</i>
<b>Deductive</b>	<i>how many times</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Yes/No</i>
<b>Abductive</b>	<i>how, why</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Yes/No</i>

As can be seen from Table 8, there are “how” and “why” questions such as: “What has your experience with the police been like prior to coming to Finland?” This line of questioning can help us in understanding the exploratory nature of the research as well as the aim the researcher intends to develop in order to highlight the issue of racial discrimination in policing. The “how many times” questions become relevant because the research has been analysing the relations between police and African immigrants in the areas of the police acts of targeting, unfair treatment and stereotyping. Therefore, the how and why questions are exploratory and situated to address the operational links needed to be traced over time rather than mere frequencies of the occurrence of bias policing. For example, if one is curious to know why many immigrants do not trust the police, it will be useful to carry out research such as the present one (Egharevba, 2006b). Or rather, if we are interested in knowing about the attitude of the police towards those that are different in the country, one might create a research plan to examine the attitude of a sample of police officers to determine what might be responsible for their attitude towards immigrants in general within the country.

In addition, theories offer ideas (concepts) about how the world works, while research is about empirically documenting whether or not those ideas (assumptions) are correct or not. Thus, research can be seen as either an effort (a) testing established theory or (b) generating new theory. Research conducted to test an already-established theory is called deductive research, while research that starts in the empirical realm and tries to generate theory is called inductive research, and research that investigates the topic knowledge of the subject without losing the bigger picture of what is being researched is abductive. The following three strategies were carefully considered during the research, in order for the data to be explanatory and clear on the issues under investigation: inductive, deductive and abductive strategies.

- (1) Inductive strategy: this strategy was employed in the data collection stages in order to allow generalisation, using inductive logic as a means for determining the nature of the regularities of police and immigrant interactions or encounters in social life. Also, this chosen strategy was selected in order to shed light on police and immigrant encounters in Turku as we embarked on this investigation.
- (2) Deductive strategy: this second strategy was chosen and applied to aid the researcher in finding an explanation for the theoretical arguments being developed in the research in explaining how these interactions and encounters with certain police officers are interpreted in real life situations by African immigrants. Therefore, the idea of testing the theory of race and its impact on these interactions among this group was in order for the researcher to determine whether to continue to use the collected data or not. This became important as the research progressed, because the researcher believed that if the collected data did not match the theory or provide support for the continued use of the adopted theory, the entire data for the research would be useless.

- (3) **Abductive strategy:** this method was developed in order to examine the subjective social construct of issues by the participating immigrants. No one needs to be reminded that methodological problems do arise in the course of conducting any research, given that strategies like a number of other constructs do lack commonly acceptable definitions. One means of avoiding this problem is finding ways to apply the researcher's knowledge of the topic to the subject or process without losing sight of the bigger research context (Blaikie, 2000: 114–119). Moreover, my emphasis on abductive strategy also means approaching the research from the view point of the participants, while recognising that all relevant purposes and the social reality are the goal of the research and at the same time trying to address the focus of the research by being sufficiently engaged in the interpretation of the reality of the situation. Finally, Norman Blaikie's abductive research strategy (2000:117) became important, as the present research focuses firstly on the social world of the respondents being investigated, secondly on the participants' views, opinions and knowledge of reality, thirdly on the participants' ways of conceptualising and giving meaning to their social world, and finally on the participants' knowledge of the rule of law in Finland. All these listed accounts can only be gained by examining the participants' views and opinions provided through research of this nature.

The above is in addition to their construction and interpretation of events, behaviour and their experiences, which may be embedded in their body language, values and norms and religion; hence, the researcher's desire was to question the reasons behind their conclusions. This was in order to discover what motivates some of the participants and the methods they adopt in their interactions. The task before me, therefore, was to re-describe their motives and actions and the situations in which prejudice occurred in more technical terms within social science discourse. This is because individual motives and actions have to be interpreted in specific ways for typical actions and situations in order that this process provides the researcher with an understanding of these actions. The information then becomes an ingredient in more systematic explanatory accounts. Having established the choice of strategies for the research, I will now shift the reader's attention to the data collection and the interview of the participants as well as the scope and the nature of the field work.

## 5.4 Data collection

The survey data was collected in three different stages: stage one was the data on African immigrants in Turku, stage two was the data on police cadets from the police school in Tampere, and stage three involved some serving police officers from the Turku police department. The data collection proper was carried out with the voluntary participation of 47 graduating police cadets a day before their graduation, 6 serving police officers and 120 African immigrants in Turku. Only 88 responses of the participating Africans were analysed in spite of the researcher's numerous attempts to encourage more participation in the research by encouraging and sending reminders twice to the reluctant participants. I chose a self-administered questionnaire, because it was possible to be relatively efficient in obtaining an overview of the police and cadets' views of their African immigrant client encounters over the past 12 months. The main purpose for the survey was to gather information on the nature of their contacts with African immigrants, as well as to canvass their views and opinions on a number of related issues. The school in Tampere made 47 cadets available to me for this purpose on 28–29/01/2003.

These cadets were divided into two groups; in the first group there were 24 cadets, while in the second group there were 23 cadets. My principal objective was to test the differences in their answers to the same set of questionnaire and interview questions. I devised a method using a control group and a test group. The latter group, the test group, had a lecture on citizen relations with the police on a global scale prior to their filling out the six-page-long questionnaire. The presentation was based on examples from countries outside Europe, such as Brazil, India, Nigeria and South Africa. The control group filled out their questionnaire before a similar lecture was given, but this time in Finnish, which I must confess was more difficult because my Finnish language proficiency was still not perfect. To overcome this difficulty, one of the lecturers later assisted me by explaining the main points of the lecture in Finnish to the cadets in detail better than the researcher was able to do in Finnish. What came as a surprise to me was that the group that had a lecture before filling out their questionnaires produced four volunteers for the voluntary interview, while the control group produced only three volunteers. The interviews took place in a classroom specially arranged for this purpose with staff standing guard at the door.

One observation that remained in my mind for many months was the racist attitudes of some of the cadets and one of the police officers that I interviewed. While they tried to be polite to me, there was a widely accepted practice of denigrating Africans. They relied on telling racist jokes about immigrants (as was also noted by Määttä, 2003) within the locker room and even in the station (Egharevba, 2005). One is not naive in coming to a conclusion that both the cadets and the police were very aware of the aim of my research; for this reason they might have given me what I needed to know without being accused of not co-operating with me. In spite of these observations, I must admit that I was genuinely surprised at the level of co-operation I received both at the police school in Tampere and the Turku police department, as well as the professional conduct of a female police officer, which was superb during the course of this research. Even though I had expected an un-cooperative attitude from most of the participating cadets and police officers, the reverse seemed to be the case. I was also impressed by their conduct during and after our interviews on a face-to-face basis. I was not, however, surprised to note that among the police cadets 95% spoke and understood English and that of the serving police officers, with so much experience in the job, five out of six understood and spoke English (83.3%). A substantial number of both the cadets and the police officers held a university degree.

The draft questionnaires were translated from English into Finnish by one of the supervisors, and a covering letter, explaining the aim of the research and also assuring the cadets as well as the officers of the confidentiality and anonymity of their responses, was signed by both the researcher and his supervisor. The cadets were asked to complete the self-administered questionnaire as already stated above, and the six serving police officers also had the same set of questionnaires, although these were written in English. In the case of the serving police officers, four of the officers were directly involved in immigrants' permits decisions that include questioning and interviewing those seeking asylum and immigrants' application for resident permit for their spouse, while the remaining two police officers, one male and a female, were from the patrol team pool. When the responses of the participating officers were analysed in terms of demographic variables, they were found to be reasonably representative of the police population. All of them filled in the questionnaire and they all granted me an interview – three in Finnish and three in English. These interviews were tape-recorded.

## 5.5 The interviews

The semi-structured interviews were conducted with the volunteering cadets on a one-to-one basis, while those of the serving police officers varied: four were on a one-to-one basis and two officers were interviewed together. Access to the cadets and serving police officers was made possible through the intervention of my supervisor. In almost all cases, the interviews lasted between 1–2 hours with focus group formats. Furthermore, my choice of the police school and serving police officers became important, because I wanted to know about police cadets' views of African immigrants while still at the training stage. I also wanted to know about the level of contact that they might have had with Africans prior to their study at the police training school, especially as I was of the view that this would give me an insight into how their relationship with African immigrants had been prior to becoming an officer. The other major point was the serving police officers' attitudes towards African immigrant clients in their various encounters in Turku. It was my belief that they must have had some contact with at least one or two Africans during the course of their duty in the past 12 months. The objective of this interview was to collect information on the police officers' as well as the cadets' knowledge, views and opinions about African immigrants they may have had contact with in Turku or elsewhere in Finland, in order to be able to evaluate and provide contextual details to complement their responses to the questionnaire.

A number of the interview questions were directed at general issues and police strategies, while other questions focussed on detailed aspects of their contacts with African immigrant clients in Turku. In total, seven cadets and six police officers were interviewed, and these interviews were conducted between 28 and 29 January 2003 at the Police school in Tampere, and between 3 and 7 December 2003 at Turku police station. Each interview lasted between one to two hours; on one occasion the interview lasted approximately two hours. All interviews were tape-recorded and the transcripts of the interviews were prepared.

The research results are informed and complemented by a number of personal statements. Some extracts are chosen simply to convey the mixture of their knowledge and understanding of racism and discrimination in Finland and their occasional confusion about these very concepts (papers 1 and 2). While the use of multiple sources of data technique helps the researcher to strengthen his or her research findings in a case study, very often this method yields contradictory results (Yin, 1998; Patton, 1980). For example, the majority of the police cadets and the serving police interviewed were open to change and more training in multi-cultural issues, but most of the African immigrants were full of criticism of the police practice, probably because of their prior and present experiences with the police. This contradictory result reveals interesting aspects to police and immigrants' relations in the country. Although it may not be possible to resolve all these contradictions in the findings, the search for explanations often generates better theories, which is after all the purpose of any study of this nature.

**Table 9: Method of data collection, objects, numbers, method of analysis, and main points of interest**

Method of data collection	Respondents	Numbers	Method of analysis	Main point of interest
<b>Questionnaire &amp; Interview</b>	Africans in Turku	120	Qualitative & Quantitative	(1) The respondents' knowledge of police duties (2) their prior experiences with the police in their country of origin (3) the nature of their experiences with the Finnish police in view of cultural differences
<b>Semi-structured</b>		88		
<b>Questionnaire &amp; Interview</b>	Police Cadets	47	Qualitative & Quantitative	(1) Question on the ways in which the cadets perceive the new immigrant minority (2) to what extent cultural-based problems have been responsible for immigrants' lack of trust in the police in general; whether the cadets were aware of these sentiments; finally, examines cadet relations with immigrants in Finland
<b>Semi-structured</b>		7		
<b>Questionnaire &amp; Interview</b>	Police officers	6	Qualitative & Quantitative	(1) Develops a framework to guide the police in their interaction with African immigrant clients (2) examines the alleged issue of being ignored, receiving unfair treatment and facing lack of respect on the part of the police in Turku
<b>Semi-structured</b>	Finns	6		

Table 9, above shows the participants and the method of data analysis and the main points of interest in the questioning. The next point of explanation is what was recognised at the start of the data collection: the problem of the respondents' representativeness and the possibility of making generalisations. This was inevitable given the small number of participants in the research, which could not be avoided.

However, in spite of this problem, the author was able to use qualitative and quantitative methods to question the three groups of participants. The author examined both the police officers' and police cadets' willingness to interact with African immigrant clients and the perceived experiences of African immigrants' allegation of unfair and unequal treatment by the police through police stereotyping of this group of immigrants in Turku. The prepared questionnaire and semi-structured interviews were very effective in this research. In the case of the serving police officer participants, they were the first contact that immigrants seeking asylum in Turku have. They were also involved in interviewing those applying for their wives'/husbands' permits; most of these officers have served and have had experiences in different capacities in the police organisation.

The serving police officers included one superintendent of police who had served in the force for more than 21 years, another who had been in the police service for 15 years, and finally one who had only 1.5 years of service experience. As for the cadets, they had all had the mandatory 12 months of practical training in various police stations in different parts of the country. In this group, what was interesting was that some of them seldom met Africans before enlisting in the police force.

Many of the participating Africans seemed to have experienced different kinds of police oppressive behaviour prior to coming to Finland, and their experiences can be summed up by what Bayley (1999) termed "regime police". According to Bayley, (1999) "whereas regime police are primarily concerned with what the government requires, democratic police are responsive to the needs of the citizenry and are also held accountable for their deeds and omissions through multiple political and civil mechanisms." With the foregoing, there is

certainly a need to build up or intensify a working relationship between the police and African immigrants in Finland, given the experiences some of the participants have had with the police prior to migrating. Although, it appears to me that there seemed not to be enough preparedness on the part of the Finnish police for the absorption of the impact caused by such massive influx of African would-be refugees in the country in the 1990s.

## 5.6 Some conceptual distinctions of the scope and nature of the fieldwork

At the end of 2000, there were 505 African immigrants residing in Turku. This figure comes from the middle of my first phase of data collection: winter 2000 to spring 2001. The second phase of my data collection was between autumn 2000 and autumn 2001, and by then this number had increased further to 509. By 2002 ending, the number stood at 553 Africans born outside Finland in this city, and from this number I sampled 120 people. These Africans were sampled by my attending their parties, frequenting the international meeting points and cafes in the city centre where they often meet with their friends, as well as meeting those who were students at the university library, and I engaged them in a general discussion on the issue of police and immigrants relations in the country. Of this 120, 88 granted me interviews, and of these, 46 (52.3%) were refugees and 24 (27.3%) were those with permanent resident permits, in addition to those who had already acquired Finnish nationality, numbering 18 (20.4%). The aim was to test their experiences with the police prior to coming to Finland, and their experiences with the police in Finland.

### 5.6.1 Scope and the nature of fieldwork

Designing a questionnaire, carrying out fieldwork, collecting data and analysing empirical data as well as writing articles are all complex processes in conducting research, especially in sensitive research such as the present one examining police racism. In this part of the thesis, the author will be describing how the present research was conducted and emphasise why the devised research strategy became necessary and why it is crucial to have a specific strategy in place before conducting research of a sensitive nature. The fieldwork only covered those Africans who had lived in Turku and fulfilled the criteria set for this research, which was six or more years of residence in addition to the stated status above of being a naturalised citizen, a refugee or in possession of permanent resident permits. Table 10 below shows the periods of data collection and its stages.

**Table 10: Dates of the research stages**

Dates		Empirical data collection
Winter	2000	African immigrant questionnaire
Spring	2000	African immigrant data collection starts
Autumn	2001	African immigrant data collection continues
Summer	2001	African immigrant data collection ends
Autumn	2001	Interview with 88 Africans starts
Summer	2002	Interview with the Africans continues
Winter	2003	Cadet data collection in Tampere
Winter	2003	Police data collection in Turku
Autumn	2004	Publication of first two articles
Summer	2005	Publication of another two articles
Winter	2006	Publication of one article

### 5.6.2 Participants

The data for this research is based on a self-administered questionnaire designed to examine three sets of participants' attitudes, interactions and experiences of equal treatment. The subjects were (a) 47 police cadets who had spent the required 2.5 years of training at the Police school. Seven volunteered for a one-to-one semi-structured interview with the author at the police school after filling out the questionnaire. They were interviewed a day before their graduation from the Police school and they were all Finns, but only 45 police cadets' data were analysed in this study, since two police cadets had to be eliminated due to the incomplete information in their questionnaire. The only explanation that is viable at this point in time is that probably these two cadets were not interested in this kind of research, or they may have other motives for not completing their questionnaire correctly in order to be eliminated from the tally, or it could be because they knew that the research examined their attitudes about Africans and their best option was not to complete the questionnaire correctly.

Secondly, (b) there were 6 serving police officers who had been in police service for an average of 7.5 years, and finally, (c) African immigrant participants consisting of those who had lived in Finland at least for six years at the date of the data collection in 2000–2002 and met the criteria set above. 32 out of a total of 120 participating Africans who answered the questionnaire had their responses removed from the analysis due to insufficient information in their questionnaire. Moreover, on a closer examination of the views of the 32 participants at a later date, they claimed they gave the incomplete or insufficient answers to the questionnaire because they were very afraid of the issue at stake, and that they did not trust the researcher not to want to disclose their identities to the authorities for fear of reprisal. Moreover, they had never trusted the police prior to coming to Finland, and they thought that there was no reason why it would be different about the Finnish police – they believed it was a waste of time to even carry out this kind of research. Such shocking statements from Africans in Turku were somewhat unsurprising as there are complex problems amongst the Africans themselves, for instance, even in Finland between Anglophone and Francophone Africans. Despite the researcher's strong argument that it was worthwhile for them to grant him an interview, it fell on deaf ears.

### 5.6.3 Materials and methods

Several forms of data have been utilised in the present research, a questionnaire and a semi-structured interview were conducted with the selected participants in the development and implementation of the research plan.

### 5.6.4 Materials

Of the 120 sampled for the study, only data for 88 have been analysed. The sampled African immigrants include 57 males (65%) and 31 females (35%), and the group is comprised of 18 (20.4%) naturalised citizens, 46 (52.3%) refugees, and 24 (27.3%) with permanent resident permits. The participating cadets consisted of 27 males (60%) and 18 females (40%), and finally six serving police officers consisting of 3 males (50%) and 3 females (50%). The age of participating Africans ranged from 20 to 52, while the police cadets' age ranged from 20 to 40. The age of the serving police officers ranged from 25 to 47+. Volunteering for a face-to-face, semi-structured interview as well as a content analysis of their responses to my research questions was not an easy task bearing in mind the language difficulties that may arise from time to time during the course of an interview conducted in a foreign language. Although I

was a participant observer in all the meetings on their relations with African immigrants during the cadets' compulsory one year of practical training, the time-frame of the research as well as the delay in getting the permission stated earlier for the various interviews with the experienced officers on time precluded systematic observation of police patrol work.

## 5.7 Validity of the research

The validity of this research rests on the method adopted for gaining information from the three groups of participants: police cadets, serving police officers and participating African immigrants in Turku. Two of the three groups were asked the same set of questions in the same way so that any difference between their answers would be held to be real ones and not the result of the interview situation itself. The validity was checked by asking two out of three participating groups about the same issue, but with a slight modification of the questions by my employing different forms of questions in wording and then comparing their answers. According to Lacity and Jansen (1994), when discussing the validity of a theory, validity should be persuasive and seeming right to the reader, while Polkinghorne (1988) defines the validity of a theory as results that have the appearance of truth or reality. In other words, the inner structure of a thing may not concur with appearance, and many experts' knowledge is counter-common sense even though the criteria of validity in research should endeavour to go beyond face value, appearance and common sense views.

Going by the argument above, of great importance is the fact that, to the researcher, the issues that emerged during the interview were not surprising. As a naturalised citizen himself, he was very familiar with some of these issues about which the participants were being questioned. However, given the fact that this was a qualitative and quantitative study, its validity cannot be interpreted solely in the Finnish context, (Jasinskaja-Lahti, et. al, 2002; Pitkänen and Kouki, 2002) as existing empirical studies across the globe have solidified the position of the existence of racism within the police (Reiner, 1985a; Fielding and Fielding 1991; Wortley, 1992). The rhetoric that emanated from the cadets and police, as well as African immigrants, tended to portray the existence of tension and suspicions concerning the issues of the relations between both parties.

Although the respondents were asked to fill out all the questionnaires provided for them by the researcher, they were also advised as an option to refuse to fill out such a questionnaire or when they deemed the questions were inappropriate. As each questionnaire was completed by the respondents, it was coded and numbered; other extra comments were later attached to the questionnaire with the same number. The numerical results of the questionnaires were tallied. Special care was taken to keep secure the questionnaires and the information contained therein. Virtually every written comment appearing on the questionnaires was recorded, along with the number of the questionnaire from which it came, and labelled according to the question from which it came. Comments that were general and not associated with any questions were similarly recorded and labelled, and there was a separate comment sheet for that purpose.

Every attempt was made to reduce human error and to maintain the accuracy of the tallies. This was made difficult by a few responses that were not consistent with the instructions. For example, for each of the fifteen questions under "Ways to Prevent Prejudice and Discrimination" the respondents were required to mark one choice with a "1" and another choice with a "2". In a few cases some of our respondents marked more than one choice with a "1" or "2". Such responses could not be included. It is estimated that the margin of error in the tallies is about two percent.

Although the tallies and the comments provide valuable information, it is possible that correlation of the results used might have provided even more valuable information, for instance, did the respondents who selected less restrictive measures for preventing prejudice do so across the board or did they tend to be selective? There were insufficient resources at that time to look at correlations; however, the questionnaires have been preserved, and it is possible that these may be obtained at some later date. There was virtually unanimous agreement among all the respondents that Finns and African immigrants must be protected in the same way. In addition, nearly all respondents applauded the notion of having cultural awareness education arranged for both African immigrants and the police, recognising that this (in theory) might reduce the large-scale misconceptions of both Finns and immigrants alike. In addition, there was no disagreement with the prohibition of prejudice and discrimination towards African immigrants in Turku.

There was also a near unanimous agreement among respondents that the present study was well intended, and that the attitude of the majority towards immigrants in general has to change. This is because of the widely held beliefs among African immigrants that it is this public attitude that is responsible for damaging relations between African immigrants and the police in Turku. Many of the respondents raised a number of common issues, which we hope will be emphasised in the spirit of the words that appear in the Finnish Constitution: "... to protect all citizens equally without any differentiation".

## 5.8 Limitations of the research

Although the present study investigation brought to light interesting findings, there are a number of limitations in many ways in the present work. The reliability of the findings depended on the accuracy of the participants' accounts of their own experiences about the police. Even though there are large volumes of comprehensive literatures on police and minorities' relations, and on the intensity and effectiveness of race in those relations, in Finland there are still few of such literatures. The third limitation was the memory aspect of the participants as they were asked to recall in detail all their past experiences with the police. Cognitive distortions are therefore expected in their recalling processes, in spite of all these concerns; however, most of the participants were able to recall some of their most important experiences about the police, both in Finland and in their country of birth, to the researcher. Additionally, the following deficiencies also limited the contribution of the study:

- The Finnish majority, as well as other immigrant groups, were not involved in this study, and this meant that we cannot be certain as to what their own encounters with the police have been like, and whether they have been positive or negative, which could have changed the research conclusions.
- There was a dearth of research, especially local research, focussing on African immigrants alone, which would have otherwise placed our findings in a better perspective.
- The inclusion of the majority into the sampled respondents would have made our result more representative of the entire population, particularly due to the fact that only African immigrants in Turku were involved in the present study, which might have given a skewed picture of the wider immigrant minorities' (encounter) situation with the police in Finland.
- Due to the size of our respondent group, only basic statistical analyses, such as frequency distribution, could be used. A larger sampled respondent group could, for example, have brought to light correlative information.

## 6. OVERVIEW OF THE PUBLISHED ARTICLES

*Study I: Egharevba, Stephen (2004a) Rethinking the concept of prejudice: Immigrants'-knowledge-based analysis in Turku, International Journal of the Sociology of Law 32 (2004) pp. 191–221*

The improvement of relations between police and immigrants is one of the most important aspects of ethnic relations as the country faces a new set of challenges brought about by a relative increase in the immigrant population. A positive relation between the police and immigrants can be a tool in measuring the success or failure of multiculturalism in the country. The purpose of the first study was to lay a foundation as well as develop a model in examining race, culture and belief of Africans and those factors that influence their allegation of police bias in Turku. This study was based on a fieldwork research undertaken for 14 months in Turku between June 2000 and August 2001. Characteristics of the respondents can be seen in the methodology section along with their experiences as expressed in their own words in their various contacts and encounters with the police, which were included as a model.

The model examines and analyses the allegation of police unfairness, police stereotyping in their contact with the police and whether these were predetermined. These concepts were considered interesting from the point of view of African immigrants, as many of them came from countries where there is virtually no trust accorded to the police. This is because police institutions are tools being used by the government in many African countries to suppress their citizens instead of apprehending criminals, even though there is a slight change taking place right now across the continent due to the democratisation processes. These factors were closely examined in my quest for having an understanding of the sorts of contacts many of these respondents have had with the police in the country. Consequently, the respondents' knowledge of these factors was highlighted in the interview questions. The general belief among some of the respondents is that police officers assume that Africans are criminals and violent people. Thus there is the need for further research to examine this kind of allegations.

The result also suggested the existence of tension and misinterpretation on issues involving the police and some segments of the responding immigrant group in Turku; this is because there is the belief among certain police officers that racism does not exist in the country. In other words, this kind of racism does not exist within their organisation, but the notion of suspecting an African in specific manner could trigger serious challenges in the future if it is not addressed as soon as it is appropriate. Also, the result suggests that some of the police officers are yet to fully accept immigrants into the country as citizens on equal standing, as many of the participants are yet to find their rightful places in employment, education and policy-making bodies in the country. This is not to say that there is no improvement in this area, but more needs to be done as the number of immigrants in the country continues to rise on a yearly basis. The findings support this point seriously (Egharevba, 2004a).

*Study II: Egharevba, Stephen (2004b) An evaluation of African immigrant perspectives on human rights in Finland, European Journal of Migration and Law, 6:127–145*

One of the purposes of the police is to protect citizens from the menace of crime and provide safety for life and properties; therefore it is not unusual to find the police on our streets in

Finland and elsewhere carrying out their duties. The style of the policing may be different depending on the orientation of the police institution. For newcomers to a new country it will serve a useful purpose to have some idea about their understanding of human rights and examine the factors that may determine their understanding of their rights. To this end, a question was posed to a group of Africans in order to understand the factors that may be influencing their lack of knowledge of the legal protection available in the country. The aim of the study was to shed light on immigrants' understanding of their rights in order for us to build a model describing how knowledgeable the (African) immigrants are about their rights. The questionnaire and questions were the same as in the first study; the total number of respondents in the entire study was 88, but 30 volunteers' comments were analysed for the study. One of the questions was: who has the responsibility to educate new immigrants in the country?

The result showed that a low level of education exists among some of the participants; this low level of education was adduced to be responsible for their lack of knowledge of human rights in the country prior to their migrating to the country. The females among the participants tended to have a higher rate of low level of understanding compared with their male counterparts. This is probably because most of these women seemed to stay at home most of the time with the barest contact with the majority citizens, while with the males it seemed the opposite as they were often on the move. The reason for this may be that in many of the African countries where most of the immigrants came from, formal equality between the sexes is not even discussed because of the socio-cultural tradition in Africa, which literally assumes that the man is the standard against which the female is compared. In other words, in terms of education and culture these principles are not applied. All these have resulted in many of the immigrants being ignorant and naive in knowing their rights as human beings. In sum, the study result suggests that the pattern of immigrants' understanding of human rights differs in gender terms. The male seem more knowledgeable than the females. There is the need to educate these new immigrants on the basis of their rights in the country.

*Study III: Egharevba, Stephen (2005) An investigation into African immigrants' experiences with the police in Finland, Journal of Police Science and Management, Vol. 7 (1), pp. 44-61*

Social cognitive theory suggests to us that our mental structures and schemas to select and process as well as interpret information gathered from our surroundings do not occur in a social vacuum. On the other hand, information gathered from our acquaintances, family members and friends as well as the information gained from reading newspapers, watching movies and playing Play Station games play a significant role in how we construct the image of immigrants in our midst. Having stated these, to understand how effective the police have been in Turku, we need to know about immigrants' (Africans) expectations of the police. Therefore, assessing the views and experiences of Africans would be a good starting point to this understanding of the nature of their experiences with the police in the country. This is because studies that have examined Black people and the police relationship tend to point to one disturbing fact: that this relationship is characterised by endemic conflicts and tensions. The focus of this study was then for us to search for any police discriminatory behaviour, using the experiences of immigrants (Africans) as a test case. The question was whether Africans had experienced harsher police treatment in the past in Turku.

The data were the same as studies 1 and 2 and included 120 respondents, but only 88 responses have been analysed in the entire research. The feature of the data on which this study was based is that 25 volunteers from the 88 stated above had an in-depth interview on their experiences of voluntary and involuntary contact with the police. Thus, the analysis was

based on the personal experiences of the respondents. This level of measurement allowed the author to pursue to conclusion what kind of experiences these individuals had had with the police in their country of origin prior to migrating to Finland. One interesting observation was that most of the participants had some sorts of experience to share with the author. One respondent said it more clearly by resenting the implication that Africans are inherently more criminally minded, as to why they may be policed differently. To their mind this is a serious issue, as some of the Africans are schooled in their own history and their embittering experiences, as they generally feel abused by the society at large and suspicious or even hostile towards the police who are agents of the state. There may be a grain of truth in these commonly expressed comments, which support the unequal power relations that structure every interaction they have had with the police in the country.

Further analysis produced some dimension indicating the actual frequencies of police activities as well as non-substantial actions and the circumstances in which the participants come into contact with the police. The circumstances under which some of the participants came into contact with the police tend to have affected some of the participants' view of the police in Turku. One remarkable finding is the notion that Africans are the sub-group that need constant policing resulting from prejudice and stereotyping. Furthermore, the study suggests that the respondents are being unfairly targeted by the police stop and search situations on the street and being disrespected by the police on a regular basis. The study result also suggests that while embedding policing strategy there is the need for improvement in police and immigrants' contact in the country. This is necessary to alleviate the problem of fear, which was very common among some of the respondents in the study. The importance of everyday interaction between newcomers and those that can assure them of their safety needs to be stressed in police training if we are to succeed in our fight against racism and discrimination in the country.

*Study IV: Egharevba, Stephen (2006) African immigrants' perception of police in Finland: Is it based on the discourse of race or culture? International Journal of the Sociology of Law, (34) 1, pp. 42-63*

Stereotyping is a concept that is closely linked to social representation among people. Thus, stereotypes are a schema that files information and knowledge about people from different social categories resulting in the construction of everyday communication, thereby forming part of our social representation. This makes people seek the information that is consistent with their stereotypes and often leads them to ignore contradictory information that does not fit into their schema (Trope and Thompson, 1997). It is therefore logical to posit that the mass-media, the majority citizens' attitude as well as personal contact with the police can affect one's view and opinion about the police positively or negatively depending on the situation. The issue of police perception in the criminal justice by minorities is a complex area of research, especially among those from the developing countries. The focus of this study is on determining what influences African immigrants' views of certain police behaviour or conduct and what influences their judgement about the police in our quest to understand police and immigrant relations in the country. The data is the same, while 53 volunteers interviewed were the focus of this study as for the other studies mentioned above. The focus of interest was that the participants' previous experiences tend to influence their view of the police. The question is how aware are the Finnish police about these past immigrants' experiences? Additionally, have the immigrants of African origin had any experiences of prejudice with the police in Turku? Thirdly, would the immigrants agree or disagree that the issue of police disrespect occurs from time to time in their interaction with the police in Turku?

The results suggest that some of the participants have experienced racism and discrimination, but one point of interest was the analysis of culture as a construction among the participants, which has led to some erroneous conclusions being drawn by some of the participants. The reader should need not to be reminded that as human beings we are endowed with functions to produce differences in the ways we evaluate our surroundings, most especially when this involves sensitive issues such as bias and prejudice that can result in unintentional ways. Secondly, there is lack of reporting on cases to the police, even though there is a confidentiality clause in the Constitution of the country; this has added to the confusion among some of the participants on equality issues, especially in the female immigrants (Africans) while trying to be good housewives in new cultural surroundings. Another finding of importance has to do with child circumcision due to strong traditions, which is a cultural thing some of the immigrants in the present adhere to. It seems reasonable to conclude that there is an element of racism and discrimination in the country to a certain extent, and the issues of police racism will continue to provoke great controversy in the country in the future. In sum, as long as in the human society structures continue to divide people into categories either of higher or lower intelligence traits, this problem will continue unabated. The ascribed traits are those we acquire from birth, while those achieved are characteristics we acquire as we continue to live as human beings.

*Study V: Egharevba, Stephen and John White (2007) Are Finnish police racists? A critical analysis of police cadets' attitudes towards African immigrants in Finland, International Journal of Police Science and Management Vol. (9) 1 pp. 14–35*

The theory of racial formulation points to the fact that social stratification requires a categorical definition of out-groups that end up being excluded from the mainstream society or the unequal distribution of people across social categories. Thus, human societies are characterised by social structures that tend to divide people into categories based on certain criteria such as the ability to assess employment, education and training and full participation in the activity in the societies. The causes of social stratification lie in our construction of boundaries to enable us to make social distinctions, especially in our attitudes towards others; a task we intend to explore in this study that focuses on Finnish police cadets' attitudes towards African immigrants and how the cadets have interacted with their immigrant clients during their in-training period in the country. The main purpose of this angle of inquiry was to show the level of awareness on the part of the respondents of the level of trust by immigrants in the country of their profession.

The data on which this study was based is the same as in the previous studies, except that in this study 47 cadets filled out our questionnaire; out of this number two cadets' questionnaires had to be cancelled due to missing vital information and their lack of answering the questions fully, so the data analysed in this study is based on the responses of 45 police cadets. This approach was deemed necessary, as our analysis of these cadets' attitudes towards their immigrant clients will paint a picture on the issue of police racism in the country.

The results point to individuals' preconceived views and the police's problem of insensitivity, which is a challenge in the country. There was the belief among some of the respondents that as Africans they did not count as much, as a result of the mindset of some of the police officers they had encountered in the country. Secondly, the solidarity and conservatism norms were very strong among the police cadets as well as the serving police officers in the study. This kind of result is, however, not uncommon in police occupational culture regarding their making contact with others (Brown and Willis, 1985; Egharevba, 2005; Chan, 1997). There was a shared belief among the cadets, thereby confirming the police culture as a strong bond

ever present in the police. Finally, there was lack of contact between the police and immigrants outside their official duty. One clear contemporary form of cultural racism is the equation between certain geographical locales and the particular racialised groups. A difference in colour is then sufficient to connect the group without any direct reference being made to race. In sum, this has been an attempt to simply document the relation of police and immigrants in Turku and to criticise some of the constructions of criminality that lie behind these particular encounters in the country.

## 7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The previous chapters focussed on the empirical analysis of police and immigrant relations in the country. The issues that developed from the analysis include factors of a dynamic nature with regard to differences in culture, race, attitudes, norms and beliefs, stereotyping, fairness and equality. Indeed, the nature of police and immigrant contacts, encounters and interactions in certain circumstances as well as immigrants' knowledge of police duties, and their past experiences about the police as well as their understanding of their rights in view of their under-representation in any informal consultations were some of the topics examined and analysed in these studies. Let us now examine some of the findings in the published studies.

### 7.1 Summary of the findings

One thing is certain that in any society voluntary co-operation between members of the general public and police is vital in police efforts to combat crime and fight racial discrimination and racism within the country. This is in recognition of the fact that Finland is becoming a multicultural country. In this sense, any lack of such co-operation between the public and the police could make crime control even more challenging for the legal authorities to be seen to be effective. One of the ways in achieving this co-operation, therefore, stems from the capacity of the police to manage immigrant populations through multiplicity of techniques and strategies such as cross-jurisdictional capacity, surveillance (target of policing) and crime control (stop and search). This also includes a universal model of surveillance through the development of new technologies of fingerprinting and photographic databases. These are within the mandates of policing powers that are often applied within and without crime control and prevention that are mostly associated with modern day policing. Indeed, with the foregoing in mind our analysing confidence and trust in the police by immigrants is a vital starting point in getting an understanding about immigrants and police relation in view of the stereotypic trait alleged by immigrants in their encounter with the police in the country.

We do not need to be reminded as to the causes of what happened in France in the fall of 2005 (November 2005) within a Paris suburb that was beleaguered with riots, as a result of police pursuit that led to the death of a teenage boy through electrocution. Some international media debates on these issues called this episode in France as the failure of the French model of integration and the Republic's lack of acceptance of the teeming immigrant population into the French mainstream society (Lapeyronnie, 2006; The Guardian, 10 March 2006). Secondly, between 7 March and early April 2006, we also witnessed high school and university students' demonstrations, protests and damaging properties as a result of ill thought about implementation of a new policy by the French parliament of deregulation of the labour market CPE – Contract Premier Embauché (First employment contact). However, as a result of the general public disapproval the law was repealed on 21 April 2006 (The Guardian, 10 March 2006). These examples go to show that if there is lack of co-operation between any groups and the police in the society it can result in such dire consequences. Another reason is probably the wide gap between the level of trust and confidence found among those immigrant groups in France. In the present study, the results indicate a wider gap in the

immigrant trust and confidence in the police than the native Finns; more detailed analysis can be found in (Egharevba, 2006).

It is fair to say based on the observation of the group of participants in the present study that the issue of race is still a contagious issue in their opinion, as some the respondents' comments tend to suggest that in Finland the idea of a hierarchy between races is still real. In other words, hierarchy meant in the minds of the immigrant groups that some police they had encountered think that they are inferior as a result of their race. When some of these immigrants were questioned further, they claimed that if this assumption is not true, why are some of them being treated with disrespect and unfairness in their contact with the police? We must remember that race per se is a social relationship or a social construct, which has resulted in many societies' justifying differential treatment within society (Miles, 1989:37). Having said this, it is true that social identity theory posits that positive distinctiveness of native population does enhance the social identity of such citizens, whereas a negative comparison tends to create an unsatisfying identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). However, for a comparison to be positive, it is irrelevant whether this is achieved by the notion of being better or less bad. The negative result of stereotype is applied just to evaluate the native population more positively than those that are different in the society (Hewstone et al., 2002). Thus, this kind of conduct can lead to the native population being accorded more respect, while those that are different (immigrants) are disrespected at will (Egharevba, 2005). This is similar to Garofolo's (1977) findings on trust and confidence among minority and White, with minorities most distrustful of the police (Schuman et al., 1997). The results of the study indicate that police is a key political actor in the Finnish society.

This is not surprising as we consider the critical role of the police. To this end, examining the quality of police and immigrants' relations could help us understand the way forward in shaping the principles that underpin democracy, such as respect for cultural differences, fundamental human rights, freedom of movement and general security of life and properties. One fact remains that police work is to some extent bureaucratic, dangerous and filled with tension, especially with regard to minority and police relations. This is coupled with the stress associated with policing work. The title of the thesis focuses on the racial nature of police and immigrants' relation in Finland, with emphasis being placed on some key concepts such as race attitude perception and experiences with the police (more details in the original publications). Thus, reoccurring terms have been that policing in Finland is associated with the Anglo-Saxon, masculine and racism; based on the experiences of the participants in the research the Finnish police portray these tendencies as has similarly been suggested by Haarr (1997) and Hunt (1990).

According to Benedict, et al. (2000), research findings on citizens' interaction with the police suggest that citizens are more eager for police interaction especially at the community-level public places and educational institutions in a non-threatening way and conducive atmosphere. Thus, every citizen and immigrant's positive encounter in a non-criminal and non-threatening circumstance would help such citizen eliminate the fear of the police thereby strengthening the feeling of security in any face-to-face contact with the police. This can lead to positive ways of viewing the police. In the case of the immigrants in the study, my findings indicate that this could be an acceptable way in building trust in their relation with the police in the country, as exemplified by the European Union Commission and the awareness of members of the European Parliament and affirmation of its commitment to combating racism and xenophobia in five different resolutions (1991, 1992a, b, c and d), as well as the Council's mentioning of the importance of the fight against racism and xenophobia at the Maastricht

Summit in 1991, the Edinburg Summit in 1992 and Copenhagen Summit in 1993<sup>45</sup>. Moreover, even today in police studies emphasis has been placed on co-operation between different authorities and the police. In other words, police are to be seen as reaching out to other groups within the country as there is potential for such groups becoming their customers in the future. As will be analysed later, people with prejudice do try to avoid inter-group contact and often end up resisting the positive effect of such contact (Pettigrew, 1998).

In sum, immigrants with prejudice towards the police and vice versa would probably avoid contacting each other even when there is the need for such contact. Prejudice within such groups can result in their refusal to change their minds about a cordial relationship with each other. Of course, when there is positive contact between the police and immigrants, such contact can be built upon by the immigrants instead of many of them still relying on second-hand information emanating from their close friends and associates, which are most often based on stereotypes and of negative nature. Consequently, the dominant position of the native in policing has made the inclusion of minority (immigrants) even more difficult, in addition to their prior experiences about the police in their various countries of origin before settling down in Finland. This kind of experiences has made some immigrants to be very uncomfortable on the sight of the police (Egharevba, 2006). This was one of the major findings in my research as to what leads to the strained relationship between the police and immigrants in Finland. Another major concern was trust and confidence in the police; the concept of trust is very important in citizen and immigrants' relation with the police in any society. Moore stated quite correctly in his analysis that any

*... loss of popular legitimacy for the criminal justice system produces disastrous consequences for the system's performance, if citizens do not trust the system, they are most likely not to use it. (Moore, 1997:17)*

There seems to be similarity to the above findings among some of the participants in the present research in Finland, which led the author to conclude that there is racial discrimination in police and the participants' interaction in the country owing to the lack of recognition of certain behaviour on the part of the police. Furthermore, the existing literatures on the economic sociology of migration suggest that networks provide a vital function by increasing migrant flow as well as assisting newcomers in becoming adapted to a new society (Portes, 1995; Massey and Eggers, 1990). One particular research of interest was carried out by Massey (1990), in which he suggested that "cumulative causation", meaning the concept of migrant social capital, is in the form of a transnational movement over a period of time, which becomes easier and more likely because older immigrants often feel duty bound to help with any associated risks or costs of moving abroad for certain individuals already. He argued further that older immigrants do provide the new comers with information and resources. These practices do act as networks that serve to transplant individuals from less developed to developed countries of the world (Massey, 1990). In other words, the root causes of social stratification lie in the construction of boundaries by citizens in different societies that tends to result in social distinctions being made by the native, who are then mentally predisposed to this kind of thinking and behaviour (Fiske, 2003). Thus, people do often construct general categories of the world and its people with regard to their living standards, per capital incomes, educational achievements as well as health issues.

These issues are classified and evaluated on a daily basis by citizens, especially as they continue to encounter different groups within societies. Arguing further, Fiske (2003) posits

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<sup>45</sup> See European Commission Bulletins, 12-1991, 12-1992 and 6-1993 for more detailed analysis on the issues of fighting xenophobia and racism in Europe.

that these categories are collectively known as schemas, as they represent a cognitive structure that serves to interconnect a set of stimuli of the various attributes and the relationship between them. According to Fiske (2003) the use of schemas takes different forms in people, for instance, schemas can be used to evaluate oneself, the social roles, and social groups as well as social events, or the immigrant groups we encounter either on the street, in our transport system or in our shopping mall, educational institution as well as public places. This process is also known as social cognitive structure. However, one factor remains certain with schemas. The categories in which the social world is grouped can change over time as it evolves with experiences depending on the objects, events and people being evaluated. It is striking to note that these sorts of experiences and behaviour are often fallen back on whenever certain police behaviour is interpreted by some of the respondents in the present study (Egharevba, 2006; Egharevba and White, 2007).

In the present study, this was not surprising for the fact that human beings are programmed psychologically to evaluate or interpret every move by new comers they encounter and then draw their own conclusion on such people from such situations and circumstances as social judgement. According to Fiske (2003), these schemas do not exist simply for the sake of it, but as a result of emotional valences. We know for sure that human brains are comprised of two parallel processors that are interconnected but do function independently (see for more analysis Konner, 2002). Thus the emotional brain is rooted in the neutral structures that are common in all mammals (i.e. limbic system), while the other one (rational brain) is at the neo-cortex especially in the part of the prefrontal cortex that is most developed in human beings (Damasio, 1999). According to Damasio (1999) these two parts of the brain are interconnected; for this reason any information running in the Limbic system to the neo-cortex is often greater than the reverse. Consequently, any information stored in the Limbic system that is typically unconscious often affects how we make use of the categorical groupings that exist within our rational conscious brain (LeDoux, 1996).

Analysing the risk-associated system when we use these categorical groupings is that our emotion stored in the Limbic system may be positive or negative; whenever this information is associated with certain groups of people or events this tends to lead to our being prejudiced, which is a predetermined emotional reaction towards people or events (Bargh, 1996). According to Bargh (1996) a prejudiced orientation for or against some social group does often contain both conscious and unconscious components. To this end, as human beings we can find mental schemas that classify people into categories based on age, gender, race and ethnicity, whether we think of ourselves as prejudiced or not (Taylor et al., 1978). Indeed, this is a part of human condition as these schemas do generally include implicit memories that tend to yield subconscious feelings towards people and events, which do lead to bias towards such people (Egharevba, 2004b; Fiske, 1998). Furthermore, stereotypes are always present, but people are likely to fall back to those factors in making their judgment whenever they feel their position in the society is being threatened (Bodenhausen and Wyer, 1985). In the case of the present study one can observe that police cadet and the serving police behaviour portray this kind of action (Egharevba, 2006). The consequence of making this kind of social judgment is that the police do tend to evaluate others including immigrants, along this same line of warmth and competences. According to Fiske et al., (2002) warmth means how likeable and approachable a person is; such a person gets attracted to others quite easily, which can lead to a mutual discussion on any issue. This is not to say that there are no others of low warmth; these sorts of people and persons are avoided by all means with a minimum contact as should be expected. In other words, such persons are regarded as being “cold” when we evaluate them on their competence (i.e. their ability to act in certain ways and manners, or

rather, to get things done). In some cases over-competence can also be a barrier, but what is certain is that we certainly respect such people.

Thus, we can conclude that police behaviour in Finland tends to portray immigrants as aliens that have swamped the Finnish culture, in such a way that these conducts are reinforced through their stereotyping by suspecting immigrants' every move as target of policing or even viewed as disdain (Egharevba and White, 2007). This kind of conduct does intensify the allegation of racial discrimination, therefore there is the need to urgently examine these kinds of conduct within the Finnish police; if it exists it needs to be tackled. The constant pretence that everything is alright in ethnic relations in the country needs to be re-evaluated on continuous basis, as any negative presupposition on the part of immigrants' experiences with the police would amplify the notion of disrespectful encounter with the police in the country (Egharevba, 2004 a and b; Egharevba, 2005 and 2006). Thus, this kind of negative conclusion if not tackled can have a lasting and negative effect on the police and immigrant relation in the country. Furthermore, any negative experiences on the part of the respondents about the police carry more weight in the development of a more positive attitude towards the police in the country. This kind of sentiments need to be tackled and examined so that a more accommodating atmosphere will be reached to avoid the negative reaction that may follow as was experienced in Paris suburb in late 2005. Finland is not immune to this kind of problem either.

The country-specific analysis showed that some participants made some negative comments on the nature of their experiences with the police in Finland such as being treated without respect, being talked to like a child (insinuating that one is a criminal without any evidence) and being assumed to be aggressive. The culture of the immigrant is another area of tension as observed in two of the included studies (Egharevba, 2004b and 2006; Egharevba and White, 2007). All these tensions stem from the fact that there is a sense of strong community among immigrant groups in the country as well as can be observed in the street culture of the younger generation of African immigrants in Turku. Thus, there is the need for more vigorous analysis and evaluation in future research addressing these issues of relations between the police and immigrants in the country, with a much larger group of participants and with a view to knowing police precepts and practices in any of police encounters with immigrant groups in the country. Skogan (2006) has similarly posited that the police have all the power in interactions with immigrant youth, and generally some police officers view immigrants with more suspicion and disdain. Having briefly analysed the issues of attitude, prejudice and stereotyping, let us examine one or two things in the arena of rights and liberties as understood by the participating immigrants in Turku.

In view of the above, a vital instrument of measurement in determining immigrants' knowledge and understanding of human rights was explored. The result was very disappointing, as there was a low level of human rights awareness among the participating immigrants. More awareness could have helped the immigrants in shaping their knowledge, views and opinions about the police as to whether there was fairness, respect and equality in their interactions with the police. For instance, if an immigrant knows that he or she enjoys the right to free choice of employment in a new country, this will go a long way in encouraging such immigrant to be more competitive or active within the local labour market as long such immigrant is qualified as the native. Additionally, when an immigrant knows of their rights to settlement and family reunion, this could also affect their choice of country of destination. In sum, this knowledge could probably affect how easy or difficult it is for such immigrant to be admitted legally to a particular country. These mentioned factors when tackled properly using the experiences of those suffering from police discrimination and

stereotyping could eliminate the vulnerability some of the immigrant groups face in a new country as they strive to follow the global migration flows and patterns in Finland. It is important to bear this in mind, while discussing human rights, and to be able to distinguish between two overlapping yet distinct approaches to conceptualising and analysing minority rights.

The first approach will be the one adopted by some international organisations, NGOs and other bodies concerned with the protection of minority rights (NGO, Committee on Migration, 2008). Indeed one distinctive feature of human rights includes universality, i.e. it is applicable anywhere and every human being is covered including immigrants, (2) indivisibility, i.e. there is no hierarchy of rights and one right cannot be separated from another, (3) inalienability, i.e. human rights cannot be denied to any human being, nor can they, as well as the principles of equality and non-discrimination, be given up voluntarily.

Having said this, other findings in the published papers include police adversarial contact with immigrants at certain times and places, in public and private places. This is similar to McArdle and Erzen's (2001) research findings in New York that suggests that minorities do expressed wide-spread discontent with policing and the police. They concluded that this must have resulted from the wide gap between the police and minorities on the level of trust and confidence in the police. Some of the findings in the present work also suggest similar issues. However, these findings are not peculiar to Finland alone; it is a common phenomenon as to why minorities are distrustful of the police in America (see Garofolo, 1977; Schuman *et al.*, 1997). This brings us to the research question of the entire research; in my view it is intertwined with the question about the relation between the minorities and other social groups as well as the issues of police racial profiling of minorities (Cole, 1999; Harris, 1999). Thus, there seems to be an increase in both social and cultural pluralism in this country. This process does bring with it new challenges to the police as well as the participating immigrants; in this sense, the police need to be seen to be able to balance in their response to any conflicting demands by the diverse immigrant groups in the country. Given the high rating of the Finnish police and the popular approval rating in the eyes of some of the participants, it is not a realistic tool when the views and opinions of minorities are not considered in such researches, as the picture being painted by the participants in the present study tends to suggest that there is fear and apprehension on the part of the immigrants in contacting the police in Turku (Egharevba, 2004; Egharevba and Hannikainen, 2005; Egharevba, 2006; Vesara, 2002).

The question is: what is the best way to alleviate this kind of problem of misunderstanding between the police and immigrants? Is it for the police to have an improved dialogue with immigrant groups in the country, as well as the police authority addressing any aspects of their job that could or have exacerbated adversarial relations between immigrants and the police in the past in the country? (Egharevba, 2005) This anticipated approach could go a long way in enhancing the noble idea of policing a diverse society. In sum, Mastrofski *et al.* (1998) were correct by reminding us that "concern about police behaviour toward racial minorities is an enduring feature of 20<sup>th</sup> century American politics and public policy". Arguing further, they were also correct by suggesting that hardly a week goes by without a newspaper or television account of an incident, where police officers are alleged to have treated a person who is of a minority group badly, with a subtext that the person's race accounted for mistreatment (p. 1). Although this finding was about New York City, the issues raised about how the minority are policed would be similar going by the comments from some of the participants in the present research (Egharevba, 2005; Egharevba and White, 2007).

## 7.2 Conclusions and the contribution of the research findings to ethnic relations in Finland

In order to enhance police and African immigrants' relations in the country, the original publication had indicated, Finnish police needs to understand the immigrants' culture. Studies available in ethnic and police relations posit that when police institutions are ethnically diverse and resemble the whole country they serve, it can improve police and immigrants' relations (Fiske, 1998 and 2003; Haarr, 1997; Egharevba and White, 2007; Egharevba, 2006). In this vein, most of the original publication in the present study has shed light on our understanding as well as established trends in police and minorities' interactions, particularly relating to the fact that minorities are often disproportionately targets of suspicion in any stop and search situation in many countries including Finland (Egharevba, 2004b and 2005). Another central point of interest that has received scholarly focus was whether race is a highly disputable concept across the world<sup>46</sup> or it has a systematic influence on police and immigrants' relationship in Finland (Egharevba, 2006). The approaches adopted for the entire study are similar to Spohn (2000), whose research findings showed that police and minority relations in the US tend to be characterised by suspicions. In this vein, immigrants' encounters and experiences have acted as a compelling reason to examine whether similar phenomena exist within the Finnish police.

The results indicate that these issues are compounded by the participants' socio-cultural tradition, low level of education and lack of language proficiency. Another finding in the study has shown that the issue of police racism in Finland as regards ethnic minorities, if not urgently tackled may have social and political consequences for the entire population as has been documented with the experiences of rioting in Bristol in the UK and Paris suburb quite recently. As the analysis so far has proven, there has been a relative increase in migration from different parts of the world to Finland since the 1990s. The prevailing recession in the early 1990s acted as an intensifier for an increase in xenophobic attacks on innocent immigrants in different part of the country (Liebkind, 1994; Egharevba, 2004a). However, since 2000, there has been rapid positive economic development in the population's well-being. In spite of this economic development, the groups that have consistently been the target of close policing or police suspicions through pre-determined perceptions, attitude and behaviour are immigrants. For this reason, there is the need to explore African immigrants' situational knowledge about racism and discrimination with the police further in future research in this country.

Secondly, during the course of my interaction with some African immigrants in Turku on their relations, experiences and encounters with the police as well on the issue of police politeness, fairness and helpfulness, most of their answers to my questions were still very vague. This has resulted from their scepticism about the police and their lack of trust, and fear of filing more reports of allegations of police racism with the relevant authorities in the country. Going by the scapegoat theory (Dollard, 1939), it is possible that African immigrants' frustration within the society regarding their opportunities may probably be another reason for their vagueness in reporting to the authorities in the country.

Thirdly, another possible problem area of future tension, if not urgently addressed, may well be the second generation immigrants' children, who have not known any other country other than Finland, when they begin to question their position in the society. This is likely to exacerbate the problem between these groups and the police if action is not taken to provide

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<sup>46</sup> I have to acknowledge that the definition of race as used in the entire studies could be limited and organised by a common construct of Africans that participated in the research.

all the necessary opportunities for this group of citizens on equal basis. Moreover, welfare state redistributive systems have been in numerous cases ineffective and inadequate, especially for those households that are not able to secure employment opportunities, probably as a result of the stigma attached to their parents of not been able to secure long-term employment in the past (Jaakkola, 2000). Similarly, the concept of social capital is often used to refer to social networks, norms of reciprocity and trust: all these characteristics promote interaction between individuals, facilitate the co-ordination of activities and support the attainment of collective individual goals. This is similar to what Pierre Bourdieu (*The forms of capital*, 1986) referred to as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network or more or less institutionalised relationship of mutual acquaintance and recognition in membership in a group”. He argued further that “the volume of social capital possessed by a given agent ... depends on the size of the network connections he or she can effectively mobilise and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected”. (Bourdieu, 1986:249)

In the present work, what became obvious was that there is a strong lack of social capital among certain immigrant groups. This was adduced to be responsible for the rampant mistrust of the police in the country. It is also possible that some immigrants’ deficiency in their ability to master the Finnish language and the lack of social capital may itself be a significant predictor of immigrants’ attitude towards the police in the country. Secondly, the predisposition to behave in culturally specific ways “without being in any way the product of obedience to rules and that can be assumed without being the product of the organisation of the conductor” (Bourdieu, 1980:53) can also be a challenge. When this term is applied to knowing how immigrants of African origin perceive the police in the country, it raises a set of dispositions that serve to structure their views and opinions about the police, which can be culturally based, and this underlies their ways of thinking and behaving. This has also resulted in the ways they relate to others within the country, including the police. This very point led the author to the conclusion that African immigrants know their world through their perceptions about the country.

It is of paramount importance now for us to understand that developing social relations does not necessarily guarantee that the outcomes of such contacts will be positive; therefore emphasis should be placed more on building bridges and linking social capital types of partnership that can create harmonious ethnic relations in the country. Owing to the fact that the first and second generation immigrants who have resided in the country for quite some time and all their lives are finding it difficult to make ends meet, then something must be wrong in the policy of integration in the country. We know for a fact that being referred to as someone belonging to the right circles (having contacts and networks) helps an individual to have a market value, especially if the individual making such a referral has a high social standing, as the police do in the country. Social theory can also be seen as a mechanism that could help form social capital or even act against it. As is well known, there are different variations of definition of social networks, but what it encompasses is that there is a set of actors and relationships (Wasserman and Faust, 1994:20).

In other words, there is the presence of actors in the relations that are linked either directly or indirectly. Moreover, the relations that create the network give its structure, while the actors imbue these networks with their own resources and characteristics. Hence, social network tends to present the structures that create opportunities and constraints in terms of access to resources, and this in turn explains in part any pattern of observed behaviour. Thus, social contact requires us to invest on the behalf of the individual in order for such an individual to

develop. For example, the major problem, as has been analysed in the various studies in this thesis, points to the fact that the lack of regular contact between immigrants and the police is one of the reasons why there is continuous tension in the involuntary encounter some of the immigrants have with the police. James Coleman (1990:302) argues that:

*Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive making it possible for the achievement of certain ends that would not be attainable in its absence ... Unlike other forms of capital, social capital inheres in the structure of the relations between persons and among persons. It is lodged neither in individual nor in physical implements of production.*

To Bourdieu, social capital is a personal asset in the competition among individuals aiming to improve their own position within societies. This also represents the conflict theory perspectives in social capital. For example, economic, cultural and social capital constitutes or provides people or citizens with a resource in their daily struggle for opportunities within societies. In other words, there is obligation and expectation, trust and information, and norms in authority relations and social networks. He argued that social capital was an asset of the individual, while Robert Putnam (1993:167), on the other hand, focussed his attention on the ways social capital represents collective assets. In the case of the police and immigrant relations, it is a fact that people who work together may develop stronger peer support networks, and this causes many police officers to develop stronger social networks both within and outside their working environment. These stronger networks provide police officers with more support in times of difficulty and help open doors to other opportunities.

However, there is evidence to suggest that the police are not free from perpetrating racism as it is still prevalent in Western democracies. The basis of the findings in this present study lies in the view of Africans, who may be influenced by their cultural norms rather than the appropriate situational knowledge of the existence of racism, and may sometimes be overridden by the pre-existing culturally-determined situational knowledge that could be over-generalised. The finding that African immigrants demonstrated some general knowledge of racism suggests that this knowledge may have been acquired by their experiences about racism within the police in Turku.

The fact that the data for the present research concentrated only on a part of the country does not seem to be a problem. Many previous studies/analyses of immigrant experiences in Finland in general tend to suggest that the parameter estimates yielded by the present research are similar to those generated by earlier studies (Jaakkola, 2000; Lepola, 2000; Pitkänen and Kouki, 2002; Makkonen, 2000; Jasinskaj-lahti and Liebkind, 1997; Jasinskaja-Lahti *et.al.*, 2002). Therefore, it is not very likely that any major conclusions drawn here would have been different had my data been collected nationally. The findings include: many Africans are still consumed by the pre-existing values, beliefs and attitudes in their experiences in the country. Such a predisposition has in various ways affected the contacts some of the respondents have had with the police in terms of being treated politely and respectfully. In other words, the role or experiences of an individual African can be significant in amplifying the pre-existing attitude among Africans.

It is no secret that in many immigrant groups, whether in Finland or elsewhere, one can observe that individuals with no personal involvement with an issue are more likely to be lazy and rely on easily accessible cues concerning information sources ("my friend said this" or

“that has happened to someone I know in the past”), and this group of immigrants are also noted to be less likely to be affected by the actual nature and quality of the information in such hearsay. In stark contrast, individuals with greater personal involvement are less concerned with the easily accessible cues and informational shortcuts and are prone to examine in more detail the information available to them before acting. Unfortunately, most of the respondents in the present research seemed to rely more on hearsay without actually experiencing such attitudes. In sum, the collective-level perceptions among the respondents do not seem to be informed by personal-level reality. According to Mutz (1998:66), despite the accessibility and obvious salience of personal experiences, they very seldom have a large or significant effect on judgement about collective-level reality. Finally, the conclusions of the present research point in similar directions among the participating respondents in Turku, Finland. Having touched on a number of potential areas of conflict in the future, it is necessary at this point to give a concrete example of what ethnic conflicts can do if precautions are not taken to reduce or remedy the tensions between the police and the immigrant minority in Finland. The tension between immigrant minorities and the police could explode into a more dangerous conflict as the Bosnia experience has proven to us all.

The Bosnia experience should serve as a wake-up call for us all on how ethnic conflict can be horrendous. In Bosnia, in spite of the long-standing diverse ethnic composition, which was originally made up of the great European empires in the past (the Roman, Carolingian, Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian), the massive destruction of lives and properties was not prevented. Historically, Bosnia harboured many of the religious faiths: Western Christianity, Eastern Christianity, Judaism and Islam. Bosnia was an enclave to many migrants from all over Europe with their own languages and cultures, yet this massive destruction still occurred. Although the Bosnian conflict was an internal one, it provoked an international response, and yet this international intervention did not and could not prevent the tragedy, just as was also the case a year earlier in Rwanda. The Bosnian war can be characterised as a “modern ethnic war” with complete destruction. Despite this alarming characterisation, however, we must remember that the Bosnian war was fought on the European doorstep. A lesson to be learnt from this kind of war is that ethnic conflict is taking a different form in order to persecute; many countries have to be prepared to take another look at the major contributing factors to these kinds of conflict in the future.

In addressing police and immigrant tensions, we should bear in mind what Macoinis and Plummer (2002:262) have suggested is the major important factor that led to this ethnic conflict. This was the pattern of inequality within the Bosnian society, which existed in addition to religion, ethnicity and culture. This can be seen, too, in the history of the Jews and other minorities, such as the gypsies and homosexuals, leading to the Holocaust, one of the most barbaric depths in the twentieth century. Despite these lessons from the Second World War, ethnic conflicts still persist in different parts of the world today: with the collapse of the former Soviet empire, the Azerbaijanis, Moldavians, Ukrainians and other people in Eastern Europe are still struggling to recover their cultural identities. Other examples include the problem that divides Arabs and Jews in the Middle East, while in South Africa, both Black and White are working on establishing a just society; in Turkey, there is a conflict between the government and the Kurdish nationalists; in Sudan there is conflict between the Muslim Arab north and the Christian and animist south; in Sri-Lanka between Hindu Tamils and Buddhist Sinhalese; in Rwanda between Hutus and Tutsis. What all these examples point to is that it does not matter whether it is Africa, Europe or Asia, racial and ethnic problems frequently flare up, which could have a devastating effect or result in confrontations. A clear example of this is in the United States, where ethnic tensions exist in almost all urban areas and can lead to dire consequences, as the Los Angeles riot of 1992, or the British summer riots in Oldham,

Bradford and Burnley of 2001 have all shown. Another important issue is the migration of displaced people everywhere around the world, which nearly always generates cultural conflicts. The consequence of this is that across the globe ethnic hatred remains, and this tends to foment violence.

#### Contribution of the research findings to ethnic relations in Finland

In this part of the thesis, an attempt was made to explore different factors that might have influenced African immigrants' negative view of the police in their country of origin and then of the police in Finland (Egharevba, 2004a). This is because the future of immigrant and police relations does not need to be tension filled, but there has to be an emphasis on understanding the experiences of immigrant groups from different cultural backgrounds and values in the Finnish society, as the future of ethnic relations in this country can be tension free only if there is mutual understanding about these differences in the ways of doing things.

My core argument so far has been that police racism should not be understood by the common view that the police are merely reaching out to the occurrence of crime, and for this reason, if African immigrants seem to claim that they are over-policed, it is because of the police belief about this group that they are most likely to commit crime. This kind of view when held by the police should be nothing more than police racism; a reflection of institutional and cultural stereotyping about a group by police officers should not be tolerated in Turku. It is therefore unreasonable not to argue that the most reliable explanation for understanding this phenomenon will be derived from an understanding about the cultural and structural organisation of the police.

Police practices should be understood as a reflection of the existing values in the Finnish society. As was elaborated on in the theoretical part, social capital can be seen as a resource that stems from participation in certain networks that possess specific characteristics, which open up access to resources of varying values. This argument, according to Burt (2000), fits completely our traditional understanding about social network analysis, while in the field of sociology we can also see in the writings of Pierre Bourdieu (1980) a similar argument. In the context in which social theory has been used in the present thesis, my emphasis has been on the mechanism that helps form social capital or even act against it. It is a fact that there are different variations on the meaning attached to networks, but what it encompasses is that there is a set of actors and relationships (Wasserman and Faust, 1994:20). In Wasserman and Faust's work, they emphasise two things, which are the presence of actors in relations that are linked either directly or indirectly. Thus, the relations that create the network give it its structure, while the actors imbue these networks with their own resources and characteristics. Hence social networks tend to present the structure that creates opportunities and constraints in terms of access to resources and does in turn explain in part any patterns of observed behaviour.

In police and immigrant relations, one would expect that the investment on the part of the individual police officers is to enable them to develop their skills in a diverse Finland, but among many of the participating immigrants there is a general lack of awareness of this investment of the police in the country as a result of lack of social contact outside work-related interactions between both parties. For example, according to some of the respondents, the acts of assault and battery they had encountered in Turku are taken as not worthy of police investigation due to bias against them, for instance by the victims being asked to look for their attackers before they can seek justice. This was alleged by many of the participants in the present study, and there is a need for this kind of allegation to be looked into by the police authority in Turku. It is also a fact that every interaction between citizens and the police

involves moral judgments or social risk, and at the street-level policing is characterised by wide discretionary police powers, with minimal supervision and low visibility. These working conditions tend to give rise to an occupational culture of policing (Manning, 1977) that consists of informal assumptions, values and acceptable practices that easily result in police racism and frequently circumvent or defy legal and formal instructions at the police training school. For this reason, it is often argued that police racism is tolerated and covered up and sometimes rationalised by the police occupational culture. In other words, rules and regulations imposed by those at the top of the organisation are often ignored or “put on the back burner” by individual street-level police officers, while at the same time anti-racism training is forgotten entirely or loses its relevance the moment officers are faced with the reality of police work at the street level.

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(1) Questionnaires for police/Cadets and interview question for African immigrants (2)  
Publication Reprint

## 12. Appendix (1): Police/cadet attitude towards African immigrants 2002

Please answer by encircling or ticking the right choice in the open questions, and feel free to continue on an extra page if necessary. It should be stressed that there are no right or wrong answers to these questions. The principle of confidentiality is uppermost in our mind in the present research.

### A. Background information

1. Age
2. Gender    F        M
3. Number of years spent so far in the cadet school/Police services
  1. 1 year (0–5 years)
  2. 1.5 years (5–10 years)
  3. 2 years (10–15 years)
  4. More than 2 years (15 or more years)
4. Marital status
  1. Single
  2. Married
  3. Cohabitant
  4. Divorced
5. Do you have any children?
  1. One
  2. Two
  3. More than three
  4. None
6. Educational qualification
7. What kind of qualification do you have?
  1. Vocational school certificate
  2. Upper secondary school
  3. Professional certificate
  4. University degree
8. Language skills
9. Which of these languages do you speak very fluently apart from Finnish?
  1. English
  2. French
  3. German
  4. None of the above

### B. Attitude

10. African immigrants commit more crime in Finland, do you agree with this assessment?
  1. Strongly agree
  2. Somewhat agree
  3. Cannot say
  4. Strongly disagree
  5. Disagree

11. How would you view African immigrant clients on the basis of your training?
  1. Positively
  2. Somewhat positively
  3. Hard to say
  4. Somewhat negatively
  5. Negatively
  
12. Would you agree or disagree that African immigrants are a dirty bunch of people with strange habits and views?
  1. Strongly agree
  2. Somewhat agree
  3. Hard to say
  4. Strongly disagree
  5. Disagree
  
13. In your personal opinion, would you agree or disagree that African immigrants in Finland tend to be mostly unclean and unpleasant?
  1. strongly agree
  2. Somewhat agree
  3. Hard to say
  4. Strongly disagree
  5. Disagree
  
14. Is it true that Finns are more reliable than African immigrants?
  1. Strongly Agree
  2. Somewhat agree
  3. Hard to say
  4. Strongly disagree
  5. Disagree
  
15. Would you agree or disagree that Finland is becoming a more multi-cultural society?
  1. Strongly agree
  2. Somewhat agree
  3. Hard to see such evidence
  4. Strongly disagree
  5. Disagree
  
16. Do you think that African immigrants are often complaining of biased treatment in their encounter with the police due to their lack of language proficiency?
  1. Strongly agree
  2. Somewhat agree
  3. Hard to say
  4. Strongly disagree
  5. Disagree
  
17. Do you think that race relations in Finland have improved or deteriorated since the influx of African refugees in the early 1990s?
  1. Strongly improved
  2. Somewhat improved
  3. Cannot say
  4. Strongly deteriorated
  5. Deteriorated
  
18. Would you agree or disagree that Finland needs at least more immigrant population in the next eight to ten years due to the ageing Finnish workforce and the anticipated high retirement in the public sector?
  1. Agree
  2. Somewhat agree
  3. Cannot say
  4. Strongly disagree
  5. Disagree

19. If you were to decide, would you accept that the more skilled Africans should be considered for these anticipated short falls in the public sector?
1. Accept
  2. Somewhat accept
  3. Cannot say
  4. Strongly disapprove
  5. Disapprove

### C. Discrimination

20. Would you agree or disagree that African immigrants are in Finland to explore the Finnish social welfare benefits?
1. Strongly agree
  2. Somewhat agree
  3. Cannot say
  4. Strongly disagree
  5. Disagree
21. Do you think that it is desirable to eliminate racial discrimination if it exists within the country?
1. Strongly desirable
  2. somewhat desirable
  3. Cannot say
  4. Strongly undesirable
  5. Undesirable
22. Whenever Africans play music at odd hours does it disturb you?
1. Yes
  2. Somewhat
  3. Cannot say
  4. No
23. In your view, do Africans pay enough attention to Finnish rules and regulations?
1. Yes
  2. Somehow
  3. Cannot say
  4. No
24. Don't you think that Africans are too aggressive to public officials in this country?
1. Strongly agree
  2. Somewhat agree
  3. Cannot say
  4. Strongly disagree
  5. Disagree
25. What do you think is responsible for many Africans' lack of mastering the Finnish languages?
1. Laziness
  2. Lack of interest
  3. Cannot say
  4. Low level of IQ
  5. Lack of intelligence
26. Don't you think Africans are problems in the neighbourhood because of their uncivilised ways of doing things?
1. Strongly agree they are problems
  2. Somewhat a problem
  3. Cannot say
  4. Strongly disagree that they are problems
  5. Disagree
27. Don't you think that Africans are very unpleasant, and ungrateful in their adopted quest for equal rights in Finland by their being disrespectful of women in Finland?

1. Strongly agree
2. Somewhat agree
3. Cannot say
4. Strongly disagree
5. Disagree

28. How would you characterise seeing Africans in your neighbourhood, owing to the fact that they are problems within the society, especially in renting out apartments in your area?
1. Strongly disappointing
  2. Somewhat disappointing
  3. Cannot say
  4. Strongly not disappointing
  5. Disappointing

#### **D. Contact**

29. Did you have any African friends prior to enrolling at the police or cadet school?
30. What specifically do Africans coming to Finland mean to you and your colleagues, knowing fully well that they are here to take away your jobs and women?
31. When and where have you had contact with any Africans in Finland?
32. Other than your fellow cadet/police colleagues, what other people provide you with inspiration in the course of everyday living?
33. During the past years, how many – if any – Africans have you had contact with in the country?
34. How and what is the most effective way to make contact with Africans in Finland in your view?
35. Where do you socialise in your free time? Would you prefer to socialise where there are more Africans or Finns?

## Appendix (2): Police–African immigrant encounters 2000/2001

*Prejudice and discrimination is becoming an issue in Finland. In order for us to get an accurate view of your experiences about these issues, could you please help us identify them by answering the appropriate questions below in order for us to understand your encounter/ interaction with the police in the past twelve months in Turku, and if possible, could you briefly elaborate on your answer in the space provided in the questionnaire below. We must stress that there are no right or wrong answers in this questionnaire.*

Age:

Race:

1. Black African
2. North African

Gender:

1. Male
2. Female

Residence status:

1. Refugee
2. Naturalised citizen
3. Permanent residence status

Length of residence:

1. 4 years
2. 5 years
3. 6 years
4. More than 6 years

Marital status:

1. Single
2. Married
3. Cohabitant
4. Divorced

Finnish language:

1. Excellent
2. Good
3. Fair
4. Bad

Occupation:

1. Employed
2. Self employed
3. Unemployed
4. Student

Education:

1. Elementary School
2. Secondary school
3. University
4. None

Religion:

1. Christian
2. Moslem
3. Other

**Racism:**

Are you concerned about prejudice and discrimination in general?

1. Yes
2. Cannot say
3. No

Have you ever been insulted by police officers in Turku?

1. Yes
2. Cannot say
3. No

If yes, under what circumstance and how many times have you experienced such insults?

1. Aprox. 1–2 times
2. Aprox. 3–5 times
3. Cannot recount
4. None

Have you experienced abuse, slander or racial slur with special reference to your race either at the police station or on the street in Turku?

1. Often
2. Very often
3. Cannot say
4. Not often

**Police Encounter:**

Police never stop individuals for questioning without a reason: how frequently have you encountered police disrespect in Turku.

1. Often
2. Very often
3. Cannot say
4. Not often

Police will not stop individuals merely based on their appearance or racial background, have you experienced such acts or conduct?

1. Yes
2. No

.....

.....

.....

Do you think the police use lawful means to combat crime? if yes or no please elaborate.

1. Yes
2. No

.....  
 .....  
 .....

**Target of policing:**

Police are more likely to be sympathetic in cases involving you and a Finn, and also Police are more likely to be polite when you are African immigrants. If they were impolite, would you tolerate such behaviour?

1. Yes
2. No

If yes, please elaborate.....  
 .....  
 .....

Finnish police are multi-cultural in their outlook and they are very friendly in their contact with you in Turku. would you agree with this statement or disagree?

1. Agree
2. Cannot say
3. Disagree

**Criminal Justice:**

The police do not make any distinction in their manner and style of policing the Africans in Turku and the rest of the population. Do you think their enforcement of the penal code is fair or unfair when you are Africans?

1. Fair
2. Very fair
3. Cannot say
4. Not fair

If unfair, could you please elaborate: .....  
 .....  
 .....

African immigrants are more likely to receive law enforcement help than their Finnish counterparts.

1. Agree
2. Some what agree
3. Cannot say
4. Disagree

African immigrant residents are less likely to be questioned if there is a crime committed in Turku.

1. Agree
2. Somewhat agree
3. Cannot say
4. Disagree

The police maintain close contact with the African communities in Turku, for this reason they seem to understand how you feel about them.

1. Agree
2. Somewhat agree
3. Cannot say
4. Disagree

**Africans' willingness to report abuse of power to the authorities:**

Do you know your rights and the limitations about the law on how the police are supposed to protect you in Finland?

1. Yes
2. Somehow
3. Cannot say
4. Do not know

Do you know how to assert your rights when confronted with police abuse in Finland?

1. Yes
2. Somehow
3. Cannot say
4. Do not know

Whenever you are confronted with abuse of power either in a public place or on the street, do you know what to do?

1. Yes
2. Somehow
3. Cannot say
4. Do not know

How would you characterise your contact with the local police in Turku?

1. Satisfactory
2. Very satisfactory
3. Cannot say
4. Dissatisfied

**Interview Questions:**

1. Demography (Sex, Age, Length of stay in Finland and Religion)
2. Education (Elementary school, Secondary school and University education)
3. Languages (Finnish and Swedish)
4. Defining an African immigrant
5. Numbers (Birth, Nationality, Gender, Relation/Interaction)
6. Activities (Addresses, Buildings, Sports, Social gathering and Training)
7. Police (Knowledge, Prior/nature of experiences/Cultural differences, Perceive, Sentiments/Relations, Encounter, Fairness and Respectful treatment)
8. Contact (Turku, Helsinki and Abroad)
9. Relation to Finnish society (Turku and being born in the country)
10. Future plans