

Determinants of migrant perception of the police: The attributes of race, trust and legitimacy



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Abstract

Extensive empirical researches have addressed how police work environment affects police behaviour in their interactions with citizens on the street level. However, most of the explanations addressing these issues have focused on the negative culture of the police work environment in phrases such as “bad apple theory, Window dressing, and the Blue Wall of Silence” Regardless of their accuracy or not these pejorative phrases are often used to explain why police officers’ behave in certain ways. However, in Finland cross-national studies on migrants’ perception of the police: trust and legitimacy are still few in the country. The aim of the present research is to examine, those factors that determine, migrants’ perception of police civility in Turku. The data on which this analysis is based consists of sixty-five immigrants; however, our analysis is based on thirty-five interviews, out of the total participants especially among those who have resided in the country for a certain number of years with resident, permanent permits and nationality status. This includes students, refugees and naturalised citizens of African descent on the basis of how they perceive contacts, experiences and language proficiency acquisition in their interaction with the police on the street level. The findings indicated that Police and immigrants’ encounter are the main

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determinant of the general attitude toward the police. Furthermore, naturalised respondents had the highest trust towards the police while the refugees and students have the lowest trust in the police. This was not surprising as the social perspectives, and the history of policing as well as the socio-cultural structure of the participating immigrants was salient factors that have all contributed to the distrust of the police in the country.

Introduction

Immigration policies are hotly debated issues in Finland with much attention being given to the legal and acculturation process as well as the impact of immigration in society. Furthermore, research on the experiences and adaptation of immigrants and refugees are often used to argue both side of the debate as illustrated in several studies that have examined the pros and cons of immigration policies in the country (Ahmad, 2005; Forsander; 2002; Kaariainen, 2008). For example, the numbers of migrants have increased throughout Finland since the mid-1990s, there has also been an increased in ethnic and cultural diversities of the Finnish population. Thus, requiring government agencies adapting and adjusting the ways they offer their services in the country. However, the number of migrants in Finland is approximately 4% of the total Finnish population of 5.3 million the lowest in the EU countries. The largest migrant groups in the country are Estonians, 29,080 (17.3%) followed by Russians, 28,459 (16.9%) and Swedes, 8,510 (5.1%). The current population of people of African origin in Finland is estimated to be in the range of 20,432 (9%) out of the 233, 184 total migrant population in Finland (Statistical Yearbook of Finland 2010: 120). Somalis are estimated to be half (10,000) of this number and over half of the Somalis are now Finnish citizens by naturalization. It is generally believed that the influx of migrants to Finland and other Western industrialised nations are mainly due to political turmoil, civil wars, and poverty in many countries, but another trend about the immigrants' influx seems linked to the free educational system in Finland. However, the discussions and debates seem to forget all about these developments in the country. This creates a negative and demeaning identity for refugees, asylum seekers or what has disparagingly been termed 'economic refugees' especially among those from African countries. Hence, research into vulnerable populations is complex especially when working with diverse cultures and those that are different from the society with a distinctive and sometimes conflicting definitions of what they have observed and experienced, thus, there is the need for trust and confidence approaches toward these citizens in general in the country (Egharevba, 2006: 2008: 2009, Egharevba and Hannikanen, 2005).

The complexity of exploring vulnerable member of the society's experiences and perception of the public authority, there has to be a new understanding of the underlining issues of racial bias to profess solutions and build trust and confidence within the immigrant communities of the police. For example, the recent developments in several cities across Europe including the UK, Greece, Italy and Spain have given rise to many citizens questioning the fundamental legitimacy of governments in view of the crisis prone nature of many European economies resulting in anger, despair and resentments at the issues of austerity, social inequality and injustice across Europe. More especially the reaction to the riots in the UK and the mass-murder of innocent youths in Oslo on July 22nd 2011 is a clear reminder to all citizens that social inequality and police practices are embedding the feeling of injustice that possibly could lead to further danger and violence in the future. Hence, understanding of how immigrants view the police may help us test the legitimacy of the police and their conducts towards citizens.

This approach will promote the building of collaborative relationship between the police and those policed to enhance safety and crime prevention in the country. This process can also promote social cohesion (Roberts & Hough, 2005); especially during the involuntary contacts immigrants have with the police and when the need arises to call police for help or when citizens are to serve as a witness in court proceedings (Brown and Benedict, 20002). Some of the major challenges immigrant face is that they are often not familiar with explicitly of police duties in a foreign land which tend to exacerbate tension in immigrants and police relations.

Despite a burgeoning of scholastic literatures across the globe has suggested that the police attitudes towards minorities are changing (Skogan and Frydl, 2004, Johnston, 2000, Thompson, 1967; Skogan, 2005, Peirce, 1994; Mason, 2007; Egharevba, 2009). Yet immigrants in Finland believed that police in general hold preconceived view of their groups in the country. In other words, complying with rules and regulations may become difficult due to the lack of trust and confidence in the police (Egharevba, 2010). Thus, it is important to test immigrants' perception of the police as academic research in police and immigrant relations is still evolving in Finland. Furthermore, African immigrants are the most visible and vulnerable of all immigrant groups in the country as research findings on immigrants in the country has suggested (Egharevba, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010). Indeed, it is important to explore immigrants' trust and confidence in the police as confidence is known to have significant influence in citizens' perception of the police, whether the police are trustworthy, honest or humane about citizens' well-being (Tyler, 2006a). Furthermore, when citizens have a positive attitude towards the police there is a feeling of personal safety, trust and confidence and there is no fear of crime

(Nofziger, & Williams, 2005). However, studies on how immigrants interact with the police across the globe have proliferated, just as police work entails tension between the exercises of discretion at the street level.

Discretion in policing play a vital role in the police work environment as it is heterogeneous and technology driven this is intensive in a modern day policing styles. Hence, police officers must devise responses to the complex and dynamic situation they intervene in (Thompson, 1967; Wu, et. al. 2009, Peirce, 1994; Mason, 2007, Egharevba, 2008 and 2010). Furthermore, ethnicity and migration are intertwined with several other social issues brought about by an increase in immigration. Indeed, in democratic societies, citizens 'expect the police constrained not only by the rule of law, but also by the bureaucratic rules and regulations as well as the standard operating procedure of the police. However, a recent study in the USA posit in its findings that the quality of policing has improved in fighting crime and that there is less unprofessional acts (the accidental shooting of civilians, unlawful stereotyping as well as less corruption in the field of performance in police relationship with minority), these issues were known to the police leadership but was not necessarily observed in practices while building trust in police and immigrant relations (Skogan and Frydl, 2004). Hence, a major obstacle to democratic rights is that hierarchical controls which the police have to follow with and the bureaucratic direction and limitations is often monitored and enforced by hierarchical superiors, these approaches to some extent are unreliable especially when the work environment is heterogeneous and technology driven. Bittner (1971) has noted in his research by suggesting in such situation, the police must act based on "an intuitive grasp of situation exigencies". The problem with this approach is that the central discretionary choices relied upon becomes a dilemma for police administrators if not well understood. This can lead to tension between the discretionary nature of police work and the hierarchical controls of citizens and immigrants alike (Whitaker, 1979).

The aim of the present study lies, however, in ascertaining how immigrants view work environment and the forces that underlie police behaviour. This is because any migrants who perceive unfairness in the criminal justice system are more likely unfriendly to the police (Tyler, 2004). Therefore, it is important to look at how immigrants perceive the police in light of the frequent negative contacts that immigrants have with the police especially during police routine stop and search programme, where citizens are given a citation or stopped while walking on the street (Tyler, 2011). These are conducted by the police may increase the quality of policing, but to the immigrants it is the opposite as it increases their frustration as being the target of bias policing (Egharevba, 2009).

Previous research

Literatures on police and ethnic minority relations provide insight into how the work environment affects police behaviour; as different citizens express a different level of trust and confidence in their attitudes toward the police. Yet there are certain limitations that prevent a better understanding of the migrants' perception of the police, research suggests that migrants who are satisfied with police contacts tend to be more positive toward the police (Wu, et al. 2009, Skogan, 2005; Culver, 2005; Reisig and Parks, 2000, Miller and Davis, 2008). Satisfaction in police behaviour is often based on the preconceptions of migrants' attitude toward policing. These preconceptions are influenced by the type of information such as immigrants have access to in the society (Peirce, 1994, Egharevba, 2008b). As often the case, immigrants and others draw on the information at their disposal in shaping their views and opinions about the police in addition to other information emanating from the mass-media (Mason, 2007). However, mass-media reporting are often guided by consumers' need as most citizens are more interested in the sensational and emotional portrayal of news items especially those of minorities than a litany of facts especially if the stories involve the police arrest of immigrant with stolen property, or caught selling hard drugs or the police use of excessive force as well as police scandal and misconduct etc. (Hinds, 2009).

This is particularly true with Finnish mass-media, where the public rating of the local police has become an important measure of the police performance. Hence, any emotional aspect of the news reporting influences citizens' attitude towards the police (Egharevba, 2010, Kelley and Stack, 1997). However, when environmental factors are model of explanations the focus has often been on the negative culture of the police work environment, machismo, and comradeship; these are all pejorative phrases about why certain police officers behave in certain ways. These judgmental explanations constitute a weak explanation for police behaviour as some segments of the public officials still have different understanding about how police work environment affect certain person's behaviour (Egharevba, 2008; Goldstein, 1990; Hinds, 2009). Policing is a complex area of work especially when it involves policing diverse communities. This process is not without challenges as minority groups are still under represented in the Finnish criminal justice system and are often unfairly treated in the law enforcement practices (Egharevba, 2006b, 2008, 2009, and 2010). Available studies on public perceptions of the police have focused largely on the conventional, most citizens whose main sources of information are the print and mass media; little attention has focussed on the perception of immigrants' attitudes towards the police.

Moreover, there is still a vague understanding in Finland about how the mass-media lack of understanding of differences in policing some of the immigrants have experienced are influencing the stereotypical news reporting about immigrants in the country. Studies posit that young persons' perception of the police are often shaped by contextual factors and personal characteristics such as race, involuntary and voluntary police contacts (Decker, 1981) personal experiences as well as racial profiling (Hurst, & Frank, 2000; Brunson and Miller, 2006) these characteristics are among the strongest predictors of attitude toward the police (Weitzer and Tuch, 2002:452). Similarly, research findings suggest that racial minority groups, especially African-Americans and Hispanics tend to view the police less favourable when compared to White Americans (Reisig and Parks, 2000, Miller and Davis, 2008). This possibly has to do with many racial minority groups having more contacts with the police (Alpert et al. 2007) resulting in mutual suspicions and seeing each other as a threat. These findings are clear in police and immigrant relations in Finland (Egharevba, 2008, 2010 Egharevba & Crentil, 2013)

Although earlier research suggests that negative police encounters produces a negative attitude towards the police, whether the experiences are direct and indirect are still evolving in Finland (Egharevba, 2006a). However, Brunson, (2007) findings among young Black men in St. Louis posit that direct and in-direct experiences with the police have cumulative effects on police perception (Brunson, 2007; Hinds, 2009, Miller and Davis, 2008). Indeed, immigrants' perceptions of the police in any encounter are not based on the outcome of such encounters alone, but on their perception of equity and fairness associated with such encounters or bias police treatment. Even though such experiences may be circumstantial or even trivial, the occurrence and situations of such can have a strong influence on citizens' views about the police (Egharevba, 2009, Engel, 2005). This is because there are more immigrants and police contacts either at the street level or at the police station. Any negative experiences in these encounters tend to influence immigrant negative attitudes towards police than the most citizens. In other words, examining immigrants' who may have experienced negative police encounters in the past and how these experiences have influenced their perception of the police is the focus of this research study. Similarly, let us look at the theoretical and empirical research in the field of anxieties and the fear of crime, attitudes, and police occupational and organisational cultures, as these arguments may help us understand those factors that influence immigrants' perceptions of the police.

Across the globe, there is a high volume of researches that have almost exclusively focused on citizen trust and confidence in the police (Tyler, 2011, 2004, & Benendict, 2002: Hurt & Frank, 2000: Engel, 2005 and Skogan, 2005). This is not

surprising as the police have the mandate to protect citizens and properties that is consistent with the public demand as the police become more visible in the society in directing traffic after an accident or controlling crowds during peaceful demonstrations in the society. As the present study focuses on the perception of the police, it is vital for the reader to understand that Finns have a high level of trust in the police (Helminen, et. al. 1999, Lappi-seppala, et al. 1999). In the cited studies of trust of the police in Finland, immigrants were not included as separate groups in their analysis as police personality and culture are often the cover the police uses to shield themselves from the negative aspect of their work in terms of isolation from the larger communities as empirical researches have demonstrated (Leeper-Picquero, 2009; Miller and Davis, 2008, Skogan, 2006 and Engel, 2005). Hence, there are stress and cynicism found among police officers than physical dangers. Given the relationships between two complex ideas exist under the macro and micro influence of the globalised world that tries to add value, equality and solidarity as democratic principles, while at the same time adhering to human rights as societal values. There is the need to measure the police legitimacy as we explore police and policing approaches to safety and protection of citizens in the country. Policing in Finland need to be reconceptualise by our focussing on how policing practices may impact upon the citizens' view about the police in general. A simple approach to building trust and confidence in citizens will help police officers ability to protect citizens against the fear of crime to do their job well. Over the years research have shown that there is anxiety of fear of crime by citizens and immigrants alike research of interest was carried out by Hale (1996) in which he analysed anxiety and fear of crime and came up with four distinctive issues that give rise to anxiety and fear of crime this include: vulnerability, experiences, environmental influence and psychological factors.

While Farrell *et al.* (2007) added five other approaches to the analysis of anxiety and fear of crime: (a) the fear of crime being seen by the victims of crime as media bias reporting (b) the fear of crime being seen as imagined victimisation and risk perception (c) the disorder and low cohesion of the urban environment (d) the structural (economic) changes at neighbourhood level (e) the connection of anxiety and fear of crime to low trust among certain members of the communities. The present author's addition to these approaches will include: (a) the immigrants' attitudes towards the police changes in a new society (b) the issue of race and ethnic class inequality are important in the views of newcomers? (c) whenever newcomers perceived risk among themselves in the society's frustration set in, (d) the effect of the collective ways of thinking among immigrant are responsible for amplifying anxiety and fear of crime in Finland (e) what role does the imported negative experiences with the police before to migrating bring to bear on

immigrants' perceptions of the police directly or indirectly in Finland? Given that immigrants constitute a sizeable proportion of the Finnish population and are subject to police contact, the question is why bother about how immigrants feel about the police? It is important to have an understanding of immigrants' perception in order to have a full compliance with policing efforts, as voluntary compliance with the law may help the police fight crime in societies (Mastrofski et al., 1996:272). There is the need to fill this gap in the research on police and migrant relations in the country. Secondly, let me define immigrants that are the focus of the study

Who are African immigrants?

Despite the lack of empirical research on the determinants of migrants' perception of the police in Finland a general consensus found is that migrants are more hesitant to call the police than the majority population (Egharevba, 2009, 2010, Egharevba & Crensil, 2013, in the USA, Skogan & Frydl, 2004; Davis et al., 1998); UK Hough, 2007, Hough et al., 2010). These explanations are the reasons why most migrants still find it difficult to call the police for help. For a better understanding of the term African immigrants, we are referring to the people of Black African descent residing in Finland. In this study other terms such as Sub-Saharan African and North African descendant are also employed. African immigrants are a diverse group residing in Finland. For instance, in 1990, there were 1,247 Africans in Finland, and by 2008 this number had increased to 18,607 (Statistics Finland, December 31st, 2009). The perception of the police held by these groups of immigrants is still not known in academic research generally speaking (Egharevba, 2005, 2006). Secondly, unemployment among Africans is about four times higher than most population: such as the Somalis' 58%, Moroccans, 47%, while among other foreigners, 24% in 2009 in the period under review. For example, unemployment among the French was 11%, Italians 13%, and for Swedes 10%. These statistics when compared with the majority population, the percentage of unemployment stands at 12% using the 2009 estimates (Statistics, Finland December, 31st 2009). Africans come from the four corners of the continent (East, West, North and South) numbering about 54 independent states were explored in this study. The major religion of Africans includes Christianity, Moslem and Paganism. There are many languages among Africans in Finland each with its uniqueness, historical customs and traditions. Of course there is a variation within African groups due to social class, education, and acculturation as well as their length of residence in Finland. However, the majority of African immigrant

populations is male when compared with women, as it is common in other patriarchal system either in Africa, Asia and Latin American countries.

For instance, African and Asian family structures condole the domination of men over women in the socialisation process from childhood to adulthood, through the instilling of cultural norms, and values as well as religious precepts on the male eldest child is still a challenge in African communities in Finland. Indeed, in Finland and elsewhere some of these values are reinforced in young siblings in their homes to a certain degree in many ways, as young girls are encouraged not to have any affairs with any boy until they are married as this will bring shame to the entire family. For instance, a male child in the family is often told that their place in the family is to lead/make rules that are binding on even their senior sisters at an early age. Moreover, the male child has power of control over the female ones, at the same time, each family members are viewed as part of a collective whole. As failure to give or fulfil one's expected role in the extended family structure can create family instability. For this reason, personal independence is discouraged, while emphasis is placed on the extended family network, while in Finland it is directly the opposite as independence is the key to a successful living among most citizens. Having stated who an African is, let us now move on to the ethical consideration in the study.

Ethical consideration

The internet age has become a permanent fact of life in the international economy as it is the engine of all nations and a source of wealth for many. This seems to have complicated the work of the police as this area has also increased new challenges or threat to many nations such as cyber-terrorism and others unknown threats. In spite of these evolving issues on a global scale, what was paramount to the author was before administering the questionnaire to the volunteers, the purpose of the study was explained to the participants as being a followed-up study from a previous larger study addressing the same issue in police and immigrants' relations in Turku. The participants were told that this was a voluntary study and their response will be treated with confidentiality and it will be anonymous, as well as the assurance that their responses will be compiled and summarised. Secondly, an A4 page written and signed by the researcher describing the nature of the study and the rights of the participants, who had freely consented to participating was made known in an earlier meeting where arrangements were made as to where and when the interviews would take place. There was the assurance in a written form that the rights of the participants would be protected during and after the

interview. These rights include the right to ask questions and the rights to refuse to answer any inappropriate questions in the interviews.

Methodology

The data used in this study were acquired by the use of, (a) questionnaire from sixty-five African immigrants in Turku in 2008 – 2009. The data collected was part of a larger research study that was undertaken to explore immigrants and police relations in Finland in 2001. The site of the research was Turku because there has been a relative increase in the immigrants' population from different parts of the world continuously. For example, the population of Africans in 2008 in Finland was 18607, Males 11,648 and Female 6959 (Statistics, Finland December 31 2009). Out of this number 1209 were residing in Turku (Statistics, Finland December 31st 2010). From the total of 1209 African in Turku, sixty-five were informed verbally in social gatherings, cafe and public library about taking part in a voluntary research on their perception of the police in Finland. The adopted strategy for the research was only those that return their completed questionnaires will take part in the study as the aims and goals were made known to would be participants at the beginning of the data collection stage. From the total number approached that filled out the questionnaire thirty refused being interviewed for fear of reprisal from the police in spite of the assurance of confidentiality in the research after many calls were made to the participants. In the questionnaire and interviews were questions measuring immigrants' perception of the police organisational culture during their interaction on the street level in Turku. In view of the small number of the participants in the study the author has to divide his questions into three sections.

In the first part of the questionnaire, questions were formulated to elicit the participants' attitude toward the police, this was done by the author writing a short story in the beginning of the questionnaire to the participants where they were asked to either agree or disagree with the statements on a five point Likert scale by choosing the appropriate responses that suit their perception well. In the second part of the question the focus was on their earlier encounter with the police over the past twelve months as they were asked to evaluate the services they had received from the police in the country with emphasis on the number of contacts, interactions and their family member may have had with the police in the period under review. Thirdly the questionnaire focused on their perception, attitudes and

expectation from the police as well as other factors that may be influencing their perception of the police were explored.

Overall 65 people were contacted, but only 35 interviews were conducted April 2008 – June, 2009. Some of the interview questions consist of the following: (a) how familiar are the police of immigrants' attitudes to their profession? (b) Is there any proper training towards protecting those that are different within the country by the police that you know of? (c) Are there any unnecessary pressures being put on the police in building a more efficient policing strategy in protecting all within the country equally? Finally, is there any legal problem being encountered by immigrants in the country in their interaction and contact with the police? As well as the impact of discriminatory problems and how these have affected their attitude of about the police, finally, how do you or your friends respond to these existing problems of differential treatment in the country?

Given that the focus is on African immigrants who are mostly vulnerable to crime and racial discrimination, unemployed, and lack language proficiency. Several steps were taken to having all segments of the African population in the city that will be representative of all different parts of the African continent. This includes those from a range of backgrounds that includes students, refugees and naturalised citizens. Other criteria were gender, religion and the lengths of residency in the country, as well as occupation were other areas of inquiry. This study also took into account the difficulties many of the immigrants had experienced before migrating to Finland and their feeling of not being comfortable to discuss any information about their experiences to any researcher in the country.

Data collection strategies

A qualitative inquiry strategy was developed using face-to-face interview and focus group methods as the main data gathering techniques. This strategy helps the researcher in reviewing any complexity of views and opinions and not narrowing meaning of just a few ideas (Creswell, 2003). It is a fact that individuals' beliefs are formed by their social and cultural environment, for this reason, these beliefs should not be viewed in isolation, particularly during immigrants' involuntary encounters with the police as such individual's earlier experiences with the police, if not examined thoroughly may bring about misunderstanding and misconception about the police in general. The police will have the opportunity to have knowledge of how citizens perceive their work to increase trust and confidence in the police. The qualitative method used also gave the participants an opportunity to share

their views and opinions to the researcher freely. The focus group method was applied to provide a dynamic atmosphere in which the participants could interact and discuss with one another on any issues of mutual interest as this method make the participants feel more relaxed and comfortable in giving the researcher information that could shed-light on their experiences with the police (Morgan, 1997). In the focus group interview there were four of such interviews with two families in each interview. The rationale for chosen this strategy was because of the cultural nuances that separate the participating groups in the research. The interviewer's knowledge of the proper cultural wordings in the interview questions was also helpful in the data collection stage of the research.

Research strategies

The two chosen strategies were inductive (who, what and where) and deductive (how many times). The question about how and why the participants come to such conclusions about the police was explored, and what have your experiences been like before migrating to Finland was also explored? This kind of questions helped the researcher to explore the nature of the participating immigrants' accumulated experiences and misunderstanding about the police practices. Secondly, the how many times question is important as it relates to our examining the contacts, interactions and bias policing why have had in the country. Thus, the how and why questions were used to discuss the working links needed to trace immigrants' accumulated experiences and not the frequencies of the occurrence of bias policing.

The other questions asked include:

1. What are the major crime and safety issues confronting you as immigrants in the country?
2. Have you been a victim of crime or victimisation in the past 12 months in Turku?
3. Have you reported any abusive behaviour or experiences to the police in the past 12 months?
4. Are you comfortable in approaching the police in this city with any issue of concern?
5. Are you satisfied with your relationship with the police in this city?
6. How knowledgeable are you of the police duties in this city?

7. What sort of experiences have you had before migrating to the country?
8. Would you or your friends be interested in becoming a police officer in the country?
9. What do you think in your opinion need to be done to bring about a change in attitude to enhance trust between you and the police?
10. What do you think is the proper means if communication the police can use to communicate with your fellow immigrants in the country?

Table 1 Characteristics of the participants

Country of origin	Numbers	Percentages	Residence status	Numbers	Percentages
Sub-Saharan Africa	20	57	Students	5	14
North Africa	15	43	Refugees	13	37
Gender			Naturalised citizens	17	49
Male SSA	11	55	Years of residence in Finland		
Female SSA	9	45	1 - 5 years	7	20
Male NA	9	60	6 - 10 years	13	37
Female NA	6	40	11 - 20+ years	15	43
Age			Education		
23 - 30	8	23	Lower level	13	43
31 - 40	16	46	Middle level (high school)	15	37
41 - 50+	11	31	Polytechnic/University	7	20
Religion			Employment experiences		
Christians	16	46	Less than 3 years	16	46
Moslems	11	31	More than 4 years	11	31
Other religion	8	23	6 or more years	8	23

Note: Sub-Saharan African is shorten to SSA and North African NA

Findings

The core foundations of Finland and other European Union countries are guided by the rule of law and the rights of the citizens. These democratic principles are reflected in all institutions, particularly in police and criminal justice system. For migrants from outside Europe, they are often not familiar with these concepts. Hence, the Finnish criminal justice system that is based on equality and fairness now faces new challenges of addressing intermingled cultures and values within

the country. Most especially among the African population who are more vulnerable to abuses than others in the country from their lack of language proficiency that may give rise to cultural stigma thereby hindering this group member from seeking help from the public authority (Egharevba, 2004).

The lack of enough empirical researches on police and immigrant relations in Finland may be responsible for the lack of knowledge about why many immigrants are hesitant to trust or call the police when they are victims of crime or when they are witnesses to a crime being committed. If, this is how immigrants feel about the police, it may be surprising to note that coercive power that the police bring to bear on citizens will have a minimal effect on citizens and immigrants alike, thereby decreasing the ability of the police to increase citizens' compliance with the rules and regulation while using their authority. The relationship between the police and immigrants are often suspicious of one another, the lack of awareness of immigrants' perception of the Finnish police does enhance apprehension toward the police in the country (Egharevba, 2009 Egharevba, 2010 Egharevba & Crentsil, 2013). In other word, it means that the Finnish police professionalism should be measured by police courtesy, concern and fairness in their contact and interactions with immigrants in the country. According to Skogan, (2005), the most predictor of satisfaction among people who call the police for help depend on how they perceive their treatments by the police (i.e.) police politeness, fairness and understanding about the situation do influence immigrants and minorities' satisfaction with the police (Egharevba 2009 and 2010).

Arguably, the most significant concern underling our understanding of the factors determining immigrants' perception of the police include: the media reporting on immigrants' issues (issues of rioting, in France, 2005, UK, 2011 and Oslo 2011), the experiences of immigrants (heavy policing, disrespectful police practices, stereotyping, less trust and the lack of reporting crime to the police), and language barriers (communication barriers, misunderstanding or racial profiling).

Media reporting of police violence towards minorities had seen a dramatic increase across EU countries in view of the challenges facing the police and minority relations for instance in France in 2005, Duggard case in the UK in 2011 as well as the Oslo mass murder of 2011 are some of the cited examples (Duprez, 2009). What determines immigrants' attitude towards the police are not scholarly investigated as the following comments from some of the participants (23%) of the study shows.

The biggest challenges i have faced in the country is the media bias reporting on immigrants..... when i meet my friends, it is always the same story, that is blacks

are drug dealers, lazy and criminally minded, and do not want to work etc., but the statistics point other way. (29 years old male)

My question is why media are not interested in exploring the high unemployment rate among the immigrants population? And why do some of the educated immigrant's ends up doing dirty jobs instead of their educational training jobs? Where do they get their stories from? I'll submit that their main objective of most media outlets is to show bias towards those that are different in the society. (39 years old female)

These respondents above analysis bring to open the media reporting on the issues of immigrants in the country lead to their being stereotyped, and the other asked a legitimate question on the unemployment among immigrant population in the country but one should be aware that this is not peculiar to Finland alone as in other EU countries are also expecting the same issues:

It has been stressed that Finnish police are committed to providing a police services that include cultural minorities of the community as the growing recognition that a diverse police are able to provide leadership in assessing the local needs of the minorities and majority population, this process can only be possible if there is a close working relationship between the police and representative of immigrants' association in developing guidelines to help the police in their work, this to my mind is still a challenges in the Finnish police:

I had a male friend who often abuse his wife, for her lack of her rights, that whenever her husband beat her up and if she does cooperate or report him to the police and her husband is eventually deported back to Africa, she will be bringing shame and disrespect to their both parents, for this reason she has no the slightest courage to report such incidents to the police, it is certain that wife battery is an offence in Finland, but how knowledgeable are the women suffering for these conducts. (44 years old male)

The comment above is a good example of the complexity of culture as portrayed in the story above supports the generational difference within certain immigrants do shape their understanding of the freedom they have in this country. Some of the participants were also burdened by this aspect of their culture. Another respondent added this:

The younger immigrant groups tend to learn the Finnish culture quicker and faster than their parents, who still finding it hard in adapting. This difficulty tends to lead to tension in the family often. As the younger immigrants tend to neglect the immigrants daily respect accorded to one's parents like saying good

morning in the morning, these behaviour are becoming a challenges in many African family. (39 years old female)

The strained relationship between police and immigrants are exacerbated further, when the younger immigrant experiences with the police in the country is overwhelmingly negative, it becomes a trust and legitimacy issues.

We from the marginalised group in the country, who came from countries where police is the tool of the states deserve to be treated with sensibility and respect as any negative conduct on the part of the police brings back those brutal, vicious and corrupt practices of the police in our country of birth and these intensify the tension in police and immigrants relations in the country. (45 years old male)

This respondent comment brings to the forefront one of the factors responsible for immigrants' distrust of the police. We can learn from the immigrants' experiences as the police in their country of birth are different from the ones in Finland. In this country nobody needs to be intimidated by seeing the police on the street or in immigrant neighbourhood, while it is the opposite in immigrants' country of origin as there is constant detention harassment of citizens due to unwarranted physical and verbal abuse some of the participants' have had with the police before migrating (37%) agree with this statement.

Another comment of interest:

I remember when my wife visited the Finnish embassy for her visiting visa to Finland. The kind of questions she was asked, as to how long and what the husband was doing in Finland and others were too difficult for her even after all relevant documents concerning my stay and citizenship was presented to the embassy. My wife never got the visa with an excuse that she has not proven that she will ever come back to Nigeria, just wondering a practising lawyer will live her work to come stay in Finland unemployed. (37 years old male)

In African culture when an elderly person speaks, you are not suppose to look at the person, because eye contact is not stressed, this is a sign of respect to the person talking to you, but in Finland it is different if you are being talked to and you are not making eye contact, they conclude wrongly that something is wrong of you are lying. It is just a cultural thing and a sign of respect by not making any eye contact. (40 years old male)

The comment above is centred on trusting public officials in Finland, if a citizen decide to invite his or her spouse to his country of resident, the embassy need to ask questions that will enable them make the right decision, if the client's answers are unclear, that can be the ground on which a negative decision will be given, the

husband above felt that his wife was denied the visa based on wrong assumption and stereotyped by the embassy officials as one of those desperate immigrant coming to Europe to become pimps, while the second comment is often the key to being misunderstood in different situation in the country especially when an immigrant is talking with a public official or the police.

Another follows:

Language barriers are big challenges in my encounter with the police, for this reason I and my friends don't bother to call the police for any reason because we cannot speak the Finnish languages..... It is pretty difficult, (29 years old female)

When dealing with the police that will not want to speak English to you, there is bound to be communication barriers even if the issue at stake is a minor or major problem, language does make it even more difficult because there is always misunderstanding; this is a big hurdle to many of immigrants in Finland.

When you are stopped on the street level and immigrants are more than two, one will surely misunderstand the motive of the police stop... i.e. the police don't like us, they are racist and bigots... (36 years, old male)

As these comments above emphasise, depending on the circumstances, the police need to be sensitive to the immigrant and minority population as most of them do not speak the Finnish language, so any verbal or non-verbal expression can be misunderstood and this is tough on the police especially, when the police cannot express their points clearly to the immigrant in any involuntary encounters. In view of the about immigrants' view of the police should be expected to be different from the majority citizens. As for the police, this becomes even more challenging especially when there is a lack of knowledge of the groups' experiences with the police before migrating (Terrill, 2009, Egharevba, 2009, and 2010). This lack of knowledge can also influence negative immigrants' reactions to their personal encounter with the police. As to the question whether the police has been fair or unfair, what Tyler (2011:258) calls procedural fairness is still evolving in the Finland According to Menjival and Bejarano, (2004), immigrants' experiences within the criminal justice agencies in their country of origin do influenced immigrants' perception of the police in new countries. Furthermore, Chu and Hung, (2010) also found similar trends among Chinese participants' negative attitude as being imported from their country of origin in evaluation the police in a new country.

This is similar to the findings in Finland by Egharevba, (2006a 2006b), where he suggested that African immigrants relies more on second hand information from friends and family members or other network experiences affect their perception

of the police. Indeed when there is trust and confidence in police and immigrants' relation there will be an increase in reporting of cases of abuse or assault by immigrants, friends and family members to the police. Moreover, when there is no known trust among immigrant members of the police, there is hesitancy on the part of such groups to come forward with any useful information on any crime they may have encountered, instead they would prefer not to go to the police (Egharevba, 2010). Having said this, the response of the police to the immigrant will determine the kinds of conclusion such immigrant draw in their attitudes towards the police be it contextual, experiential or demographics. These factors do influence immigrant's perception of the police.

Table 2 below reports on the question whether immigrants believed that the police offer an important service in the country. 43% agreed with this statement. On the following question on whether the police were too harsh on immigrants, slightly higher number of the participant agreed with this statement 54%. This is consistent with the findings in an earlier study about police - immigrants' encounter in Finland (Egharevba, 2008b).

Table 2 Immigrants' - police encounter

Questions	Sub-Saharan Africans	North Africans	Questions	Sub-Saharan Africans	North Africans
police provide an important services to all in the country	9 (45%)	6 (40%)	Is it bad to report a crime being committed to the police especially when you are an immigrant	8 (40%)	8 (53%)
police are too harsh when you are an immigrant	11 (55%)	8 (53%)	Police only give traffic violation ticket to immigrants	6 (30%)	5 (33%)
police break the law in their behaviour towards immigrants	8 (40%)	7 (47%)	Would you advice any other immigrants to withhold information on crime to the police on voluntary basis	6 (30%)	6 (40%)
police tend to be suspicious of only racial minorities	13 (65%)	9 (60%)	Would you recommend your children or acquaintance to enlist into the police	5 (25%)	3 (20%)

Police treat minorities unfairly	11 (55%)	7 (47%)	Would you agree or disagree that the police offer you protection in the country	11 (55%)	7 (47%)
Police tend to focus on the wrong set of immigrants in traffic violations	7 (35%)	6 (30%)	How would you evaluate your Finnish language proficiency in general while interaction with the police on the street level?	9 (45%)	8 (53)
How many times have you had contact with the police in the past twelve months?	11 (55%)	7 (47%)			

Table 2 present five attitudinal variables as to the respondents' attitudes toward the police efficiency (addressing crime issues, police response time and the notion of adequate protection, fair or unfair treatment as well as cultural sensitivity in the country). The general perception of the police of immigrants was the key variable in their having issue with police conducts, for instance, (respect towards the police and perceived bias) especially, when it comes to discussing race issues, given the high number of the participants' distrust of the police. It is important to discuss the causes of the constant misinterpretation of police intension among immigrants most especially among those who had suffered assaults on the street in the past; while others were of the opinion that the police will not persecute their own (citizens) because of an immigrant (62.5%) that the police are more suspicious of those that are different in the society. This kind of opinion goes to highlight the likelihood that the police are not knowledgeable about the past negative experiences many of these immigrants imported to the country.

Indeed, the research also explored those factors that could give us a better understanding of the police and immigrants' interactions as race and personal experiences with the police are the strongest and most consistent determinant of attitudes towards the police which can have lasting adverse effects an immigrant' view about the police. Let's explore the following concept to get an understanding briefly of: ***Salient, implicit and social spheres of police interactions.*** ***Salient sphere:*** These approaches do create a set of demands as writing a parking ticket, in stop and search decisions or when to arrest an offender during police patrol. the police abilities underlie these tasks which are terms in this case the salient sphere of duty, ***The implicit sphere*** are sets of subtle behaviour that are less observable (i.e.) police power, achievement and subordinate relationship with other police officers in performing their duties. This implicit sphere can be divided into the following sub-headings for easy understanding: organisational

culture: power based on inequality, the role (structure and rules design to protect minorities) and pride. In explaining these factors, it goes to support the notion that working together is to portray organisational goals of the police, where reward are intrinsic on an individual basis as well as comradeship – organisational culture based on mutual trust between the police and the organisation. While in the *social sphere* this involves three dimensions: relationship, involvement, and how committed and concern the police are in their relationship with immigrant? How is the police training for example geared towards supporting differences in the country? Police leadership: how supportive are they in encouraging immigrant's enlistment into the police, this has been the focus of the police of Finland to date, but there is resistance on the part of immigrants joining the police.

This is one of the challenges that was observed among the participating immigrants in the study. If the police practices leaves an immigrant feeling resentful, any well intentioned policing strategies towards immigrants may be ineffective, therefore the need to have a liaison officer at the police station in Finland and elsewhere could help to explain the criteria the police uses to either proceed with an investigation of the cases of battery or assault or drop such cases will be a welcome idea. This kind of knowledge will be helpful to the immigrant communities in the country as immigrants often share their burden and anguish with friends and family members. Going by the responses to the questions in the study on gender terms, the male immigrants were found to have had more encounters with the police (85%) when compared with the females (53%). Educationally, the male (45%) were slightly more educated than the females (40%). Another major obstacle confronting immigrants in the study was the use of the Finnish languages; the lack of these potentials tends to lead to a degree of poor communication with the police in their various encounters. 49% claimed their Finnish language was poor, for instance, some of the immigrants felt that the Finnish police do not understand the immigrants' culture through the lack of civil engagement with Africans except on job related encounters. For this and other reasons, immigrants see the police in their country of origin to be more effective in resolving crimes than those in Finland.

Having said this, it can be observed that immigrants are willing to trust the police if there will be more interactions between both parties outside official duties. The research findings also point to the fact that immigrants are willing to trust and co-operate with the police (67%) agreed with this view. On the issue of whether the immigrants would recommend any acquaintance in expressing interest in becoming a police officer, only (23.%) would be willing to recommend anybody of

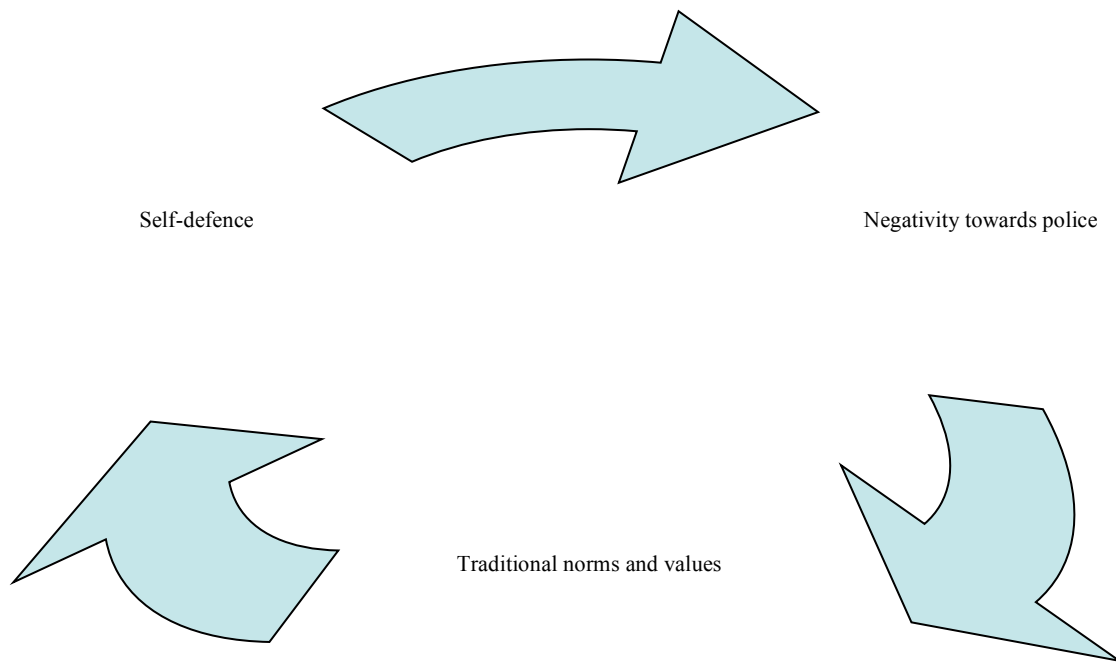
becoming a police officer. This low percentage could be as a result of immigrants' lack of awareness and knowledge about policing profession in the country.

Table 3 Descriptive variables of the participants

Variables	SSA	NA	Controlled variable		
Police efficiency			Fear of crime	13 (65%)	9 (60%)
Solving crime	9 (45%)	4 (27%)	Victimisation	11 (55%)	7 (47%)
Police response time to crime			Poor language skills	9 (45%)	6 (60%)
Slow	8 (40%)	6 (40%)	Cultural misunderstanding	13 (65%)	8 (53%)
Appropriate	6 (30%)	3 (20%)	Local police effectiveness	9 (45%)	4 (27%)
Police provide adequate protection	6 (30%)	5(33%)	Respect from the police in country of origin	9 (45%)	8 (53%)
General perceptions					
Police treat you with respect	11 (55%)	8 (53%)			
No respect/belittle	15 (75%)	7 (47%)			
Stereotype	11 (55%)	9 (60%)			

Table 3 reports on the descriptive variables of the participants' perception of the police, other issues explored include the accumulated experiences, cultural differences and contact with the police as well as language barriers with the police.

Figure 1 Factors influencing immigrants' perception of the police in Finland



Going by Fig. 1, above, as it relates traditional norms and value leading to self-defence and resulting in a negative attitude towards the police should be taken very seriously, for this reason, it is clear to develop a deeper understanding of immigrant' perception of the police in the criminological context is long overdue in the country. The findings in this study helped to move us in this direction in highlighting the differences in attitude toward the police, such as:

Traditional norms and value

In many of the immigrants' country of origin disrespecting female members of the community is slowing giving ways to new norms of mutual respect to the womenfolk. Even though these practices still exist in certain homes in Finland it is still difficult for many immigrant women. For this reason, many of the immigrants' women are still sceptical about calling the police to any domestic violence in the family, because of their fear of deportation and what to expect from the husband

family when she visits her country of origin (see the quotation on page 9 to support this viewpoint).

Cultural differences

There is a sense of feeling among the participants that they are losing control over how to raise their children. This is because children in Finland are brought up in different ways culturally from the children born and raised in Africa, for example, in Finland and other EU countries, when a child attends the age of 18 he or she is seen as an adult and are free to move out of the family home and begin an independent life. In an African culture this kind of behaviour is not heard of in the sense that discipline and sense of value is what children need to know what is right or wrong are often neglected due to cultural differences in Europe and Africa, for instance, being 18 years old is assumed to be adulthood. It is important to state here that there are variations among African immigrants in the country observing these principles, for instance it is common among the immigrant population to find those who still support (domestic violence, threat to spouses and women circumcisions). These stem from the fact that in many African immigrants' orientation, family is very important as it plays an important role in the lives of Africans, for instance, the family is often involved in choosing even future partner or wife. Thus, the male adult has to show total respect to the parents in any decision decided by them even when they are adults. Moreover, it is very disrespectful to look straight into the eyes of an elderly person when he or she speaks. In African settings, the husband makes all major decisions over occupation, education and marriages. These are cultural related matters for the parents to act as trusted friend and confidants, for the fact that when the parents become old and retire the responsibility of taking care of the old parents falls on the eldest child of the family. Having said this, anybody from these kinds of practices may be expected to face major challenges in accepting the freedom children enjoy in Europe 37% of the participants in the study suggest this opinion.

Contact with the police

Anecdotal evidence abounds in the participants' views that describe friends and family member's experiences as the price of their own experiences with the police in addition to their earlier experiences in their country of origin (Menjivar and Bejarano, 2004). This is also similar to an earlier study in Canada by Miedermo and Wachholz (2000) in abused immigrant women they suggested that women do not seek police help if it means interacting with the police. In the present study, many of

the immigrants' participants have contacts with the police in an involuntary ways within the time-frame stipulated for the study (12 months). Consequently some of the immigrants' answers to the questions went beyond the stipulated 12-months period under review before the study being conducted. Some of the immigrants who have had contact with the police did so either as prior victims of assaults or battery 40%. While others claimed to have experienced racial harassment in the form of verbal abuse, name-calling or damage to personal properties without trying to report such cases/incidences to the police 32%. However, a lesser number of the participants claimed to have reported their cars vandalised to the police after much hesitation nothing came out of the police investigation 56%. Others have had contact with the police because of their residence permits, 61% while none of the participants had approached the police on a non-crime related matters, as they are of the belief that making such inquiry would not be necessary. On whether they would like to see police attending their community meetings, there was a general agreement as this would open the door of communication between the police and immigrants in the country.

Language barriers

The Finnish language capacity of the participating immigrants varies considerably in Turku among those that spoke Finnish fluently (37%), while the others said they cannot speak Finnish (29%) while others (34%) said they can get along with the language. Despite the differences in the participants' levels in Finnish language proficiency, some of the participants described how language barriers had affected their reluctance to contact the police even when they being maltreated or have suffered physical abuse and experienced discrimination at their places of work, while 26% of the immigrants admitted their lack of language proficiency has led to their being marginalised in the society thereby reducing their chances of influencing public policies in the country. 71% of the participants in the study think that their lack of language on their part could be misunderstood by the Finnish police as they're being unintelligent in not wanting to integrate into the mainstream society. These kinds of sentiments had led many of the participants to be afraid of getting involved with the police. In sum, this is one of the reasons some of the participants often avoid the police. Having said this, it will be difficult for some of the immigrants to trust and have confidence in the police as this paper has suggested. So it is important for the police to have an open mind when they interact or meet an immigrant's client in the country.

Prior experiences

When most of the participants in the present study arrived in Finland they were confronted with different lifestyles and cultural values that are different from those in Africa. Thus, the way most citizens trust and respect the police is different from the ways they are used to in their country of origin. This has led many to forget that the sort of experiences they have had with the police in Africa is different from the training of Finnish police. These are some of the pressing issues confronting Africans in Finland in general. As has been argued earlier, the accumulated experiences of immigrants do account for the ways immigrants' evaluate their contacts, interactions and encounter with the police in Finland. Even if these sentiments are known to the police it does not stop the immigrants in the country from applying the notion of self-defence, negative-ideas about the police, these sentiments can best be understood by taking into account the nature of the police and traditional norms and values of the immigrants in the country.

Self-defence and negative opinion on the police

Countries of origin influence are often used as defensive tools in not wanting to change their perspectives about the police. In Finland, when you are attacked by a known person or a stranger, you need a witness to collaborate your story before the police will believe you, while in the participants' country of origin, friends and family members can retaliate in their own in such situations, in Finland it is a crime to do so. Consequently, immigrants not only draw from their accumulated experiences with the police but do also from the pattern of events they have been exposed to in the country

Negative opinion about the police

Immigrants with negative view or accumulated experiences of racial bias, and those that have experienced disrespectful treatment are more likely to disrespect a female police officer, some of the participants' in the study seem to have these beliefs in their interaction with female police officers in the country. Some also believed strongly in this metaphor by not wanting to be instructed by a female police officer of any Finnish woman, the immigrants with these views are shaped by

other's experiences,(friends, family member and colleagues) including the meaning they attach to these experiences often end up affecting them in different ways, such as being isolated without any friends, talking to themselves in the house and the lack of awareness of the kind of services being provided by the state to immigrants and other groups in general in need of help. This finding is similar to an earlier finding by Egharevba, (2006b: Egharevba and Hannikainen, 2005) suggesting that cultural barriers prevent immigrants from wanting to speak about any negative experiences they have had with the police before migrating and while already in the country. Instead they would prefer to turn to their family members for support instead of the public authority in the country e.g. social services. Furthermore, these groups of immigrants were observed not to be well-informed about their legal rights in the country. This finding is similar to earlier studies by Egharevba and Hannikainen (2005) where they suggested that there should be cultural sensitivity towards visible immigrants in the country by the public authorities in understanding and implementing culturally appropriate programs within specific ethnic groups in the country. This is similar to what Miedema and Wachholz, (2000) suggested that there is fear about specific police intervention in women abuse cases in Canada and they identified myriad forms of harm that can occur by police involvement. In other words, if visible immigrants are not understood in the country about what their grievances are they tend to be stereotyped.

Discussion/Conclusions

In this study, our analysis is centred on those culturally driven factors that influence immigrants' perception of the police in the country. This research focus is consistent with earlier studies on minorities' negative attitude and frustration towards the police when they are stopped for the reasons best known to the officer. To immigrants there is no basis for such stop and search operation except due to suspicions, negative stereotyping that is common among the police in the country. Similarly, researchers have suggested that public attitudes toward the police are connected to how safe citizens' feel in the country (Williams & Nofziger, 2003). This analysis suggests that perceived personal safety is vital to positive police evaluation. This was not surprising that the police attitude towards minorities has received huge attention in criminological research across the globe. An area that has seen rigorous attention is the police attitude towards minorities which is an area of police work where researchers have found that there are negative attitudes towards minorities during police routine encounters with minority clients depending on the circumstance (Dunham et. al., 2007; Brad, 2005; Chu and Hung, 2010, Egharevba, 2004, 2005 and 2006, Engel, 2005 and Farrell et. al. 2007).

However, in spite of the findings of this kind, immigrant/minorities expect the police to be sensitive to their being difference in their problem - solving capacity in any interaction they have with the police in the country. As often the case, the issues of stereotyping and suspicions play vital role in police decision whether to stop and search immigrants 'car in the city centre (Egharevba and White, 2007).

Having said this, it is normal that social processes do contribute to the development of meanings in human interaction especially in the police and immigrants' encounter. These meanings are derived through social interaction with friends, family members and acquaintance as posited by Stryker (1980:27) about his research on the development of meaning that affect behaviour.

Behaviour is largely governed by the individual's social definition of the situation, interaction with others in the social sphere and the self-concept that is governed to a large extent by others in social processes.

The above reinforces the interactions perspectives in understanding the observed patterns of behaviour. In understanding the status of others in a social group as a dominant construct, as opposed to research in the field of psychology which regard the influence of others slightly in relation to personal decision making. In other word, police authorities are aware that public attitudes toward the police serve a useful purpose. This is because the police rely on the support of the public to be effective in fighting crime and disorder in the societies (Miller and Davis, 2008, Skogan, 2006, Goldstein, 1990 and Egharevba, 2006a). Hence, there is the need to build trust between citizens and the police as citizens' willingness to report crime serves a useful purpose in police daily activities in the country. Furthermore, policing immigrants often present the police with new challenges because immigrants' perception of the police is not the same as that of most citizens the police are trained to protect (Egharevba, 2007 and 2009). Thus, some segments of immigrants have the feeling of vulnerability about whether they would be treated with respect or disrespect, these feelings greatly influence immigrants' attitude toward the police. This is similar; Menjvar and Bejarano (2004) findings in the US among Hispanic immigrants' experiences in the criminal justice system suggested that immigrant country of origin experiences plays a vital role in how immigrants perceive the police. Stryker, (1980) emphasised on our understanding of the family and acquaintance and its influence in their decision making whether to trust or not to trust the police. We found a similar phenomenon among the participating immigrants on their lack of trust of the police (36 %) did not trust the police at all. However (43%) of the respondents agreed with the notion that the police provide an important service to them in the country as well as the police being too harsh on

immigrant groups (54%) responded positively to this question as to how harsh the police are toward immigrants in particular.

This is a debatable issue among immigrants according to Chu and Hung, (2010) research among Chinese immigrants in San Francisco; as there are variations among different immigrant groups, however, what stand out in their findings is that there is an imported perception from the immigrants' country of origin to a new country is influencing how immigrants evaluate any police encounter in any given circumstances. This is similar to the view being expressed by the respondents to the question in the present study. On the question whether the police break the law by constant suspicions towards those that look and sound different (63%) agree with the idea that the police are too suspicious of those that are different directly or indirectly breaking the law, for if there are equality in the judicial system, suspicions should not be directed at one particular ethnic group. These stem from the fact that there are language barriers and fear of the police among immigrants in understanding police practices. This kind of mind-set is common among immigrants' in this study, in other word; this tends to hinder police and immigrants' relations in Finland (Egharevba, 2006b and 2008b). This finding is similar to Culver, (2004) research in Missouri communities on Hispanics in the US he found that language barriers and the fear of the police do hinder the development of police and Hispanic relation with the police.

With the above analysis it is clear that research on immigrants' perception toward the police in a global scale exist, the need has also arisen in many countries of the world to examine how immigrant perceive the police in general including Finland. The present study has provided a starting point for the debates and discussions in different European Union countries in this field of research. However, one is mindful of other factors for instance in a piece of research conducted by Correia (2010) in Reno Nevada pointing out that another factor that influences immigrants' perception of the police includes higher levels of church attendance that enhances immigrants' English communication skills were found to be associated with lower rates of the police. He further argued that immigrants may have the skills that strengthened their social networks in an increased in language skills, but their attitude towards the police may remain negative. This is similar to the finding in the present research where we found similar opinions and attitudes to be common among the participating immigrant of African origin in Finland especially on the question whether it was good or bad to report a crime being committed to the police only 47% of the participant felt the need to make such report to the police. As to the question whether they would encourage their friends and children to enlist into the police profession only 23% were willing to do

so. In sum, research on the perception of police by immigrants' in Finland need to be pursued with a far larger number of immigrant groups to learn about their perception of the police in general.

The result in table 2 in the study raises an important question for future research as demonstrated in the previous parts of the present study, it is important to explore larger views of the police and immigrants' relations to develop a sound basis for formulating a working formula in the police drive to improve trust and confidence among immigrants in the country. Indeed, we have begun to understand how immigrant perceives their encounter with the police. We have also noticed that there is progress in this area as the present study has shown, however, there is the need for more academic attention to be drawn into this field of study in the country. Given that the level of trust in the legitimacy of the criminal justice process influences whether immigrant trust the Finnish police depend on how the immigrant evaluate his/her first encounter with the police and these encounters may determine whether this person will be willing to cooperate with the police in terms of the kind of respect and understanding such immigrant got from such police officer. If, the encounter is based on mutual respect the police should expect to get a co-operative attitude from such immigrant if it is negative the response of the immigrant will be negative.

The findings in this study have important policy implications about the potential escalation of tension in police and immigrant relations if not well understood at the street level, This is also the moment to consider transforming those factors contributing to the immigrant's negative view of the police by putting in place those policies that encourage trust, confidence building and communication among immigrants. It is also important to understand that police departments may elicit the style of policing that patrol officers have to depend upon. According to Goldstein (1990) police officers would often strive to meet up with the expectation and the demand of such departments and institutions. However there is a problem with this approach as the departmental priorities may not be effectively communicated to the patrol officer at the street level about the implementation of the departmental goals of policing. This finding is similar to Lurigio and Skogan, (1994) findings where they suggested that patrol officers tend to have negative attitudes towards problem - solving and community policing than their superiors who gives the policy order.

In the present study, we found similar thinking on the part of the participants, additionally; one major finding of importance is that immigrants with patriarchal beliefs are more likely to disrespect a female police officer as stated earlier. The law responds differently to deviance especially on the status of the offenders (Black,

1998), law in a layman's sense is government social control. In spite of the small number of participants in this research, the study did succeed in addressing an important question that has been neglected in academic research in the past in Finland which is reforming the ways police officers think about the goal of policing and they need to know how those that are different think about their profession. It is my hope that further debates and discussions about immigrants' issues will become more important to both the police and policy makers in the country as the country continues to see increases in its immigrants' population in the future.

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