INVESTIGATING THE POLICE: MIGRANT EXPERIENCES AND TRUST IN FINLAND

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Abstract

In Finland, trust towards the police is measured regularly through the Police Barometer, however, the migrant perspective is underrepresented. Both international and national studies on trust have found that the Finnish police is one of the most trusted police forces in the world, yet studies done with migrants offer contradicting outcomes. This master's thesis aims to shed light on individual migrants' experiences and views around trusting the Finnish police, through in-depth interviews and Critical Grounded Theory analysis. The research questions of the study are: "What kind of views around trust do migrants express on the Finnish police?" and "What main factors do migrants use to explain these views?"

Interview data were collected from five participants from different ethnic and migratory backgrounds, who had been living in Finland for at least a year. Interview questions ranged from previous experiences with the police to trust, expectations, emotions and other aspects relating to trust, attitudes, and views. The findings were then analysed and categorised into three main themes that emerged from the data: expectations of police behaviour, language issues, and perceived racial discrimination.

The participants reported fairly high levels of trust towards the police, however, there were noticeable, underlying issues that could have the potential to affect trust negatively, especially if they go on to have negative experiences with the police in the future. Poor Finnish language skills and fears of racial prejudices were the main factors contributing to the anxiety considering interacting with the police.

The findings, as well as some of the participants themselves, suggest more community outreach and informing migrants about the role of the police in Finland. Additionally, I would suggest more multicultural as well as English language training to the police, in order to help with language and communication issues.

Keywords Migration, Migrants, Trust, Social Capital, Police, Critical Grounded Theory, Critical Race Theory, Group Position Theory

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Tiivistelmä

Suomessa luottamusta poliisiin mitataan säännöllisesti Poliisibarometrin avulla, mutta siinä sekä muissa tutkimuksissa maahanmuuttajat ovat aliedustettuja. Kansainväliset sekä maanlaajuiset luottamustutkimukset ovat osoittaneet, että Suomen poliisi on yksi maailman luotetuimmista poliisivoimista, mutta maahanmuuttajilla tehdyt tutkimukset tarjoavat ristiriitaisia tuloksia. Tämän pro gradun tavoitteena on valaista maahanmuuttotaustaisten yksilöiden kokemuksia ja näkemyksiä luottamuksesta Suomen poliisiin syvähaastattelujen ja kriittisen ankkuroidun teorian (Critical Grounded Theory) analyysin avulla. Tutkimuskysymykset ovat: ”Millaisia näkemyksiä luottamuksesta maahanmuuttajilla on Suomen poliisiin?” ja "Mitä päätekijöitä he käyttävät selittääkseen näitä näkemyksiä?"

Aineisto kerättiin viideltä maahanmuuttajataustaiselta henkilöltä, jotka olivat asuneet Suomessa vähintään vuoden. Haastattelukysymykset vaihtelivat aiemmista kokemuksista poliisin kanssa, luottamukseen, odotuksiin, tunteisiin sekä muihin luottamukseen, asenteisiin ja näkemyksiin liittyviin seikkoihin. Löydökset analysoitiin ja luokiteltiin kolmeen pääteemaan, jotka nousivat aineistosta esiin: odotukset poliisin käyttäytymisestä, kieliongelmat ja koettu rotusyrjintä.

Osallistujat osoittivat melko korkeaa luottamusta poliisia kohtaan, mutta havaittavissa oli myös taustalla olevia ongelmia, jotka saattavat vaikuttaa negatiivisesti luottamukseen, varsinkin jos he kokevat jatkossa negatiivisia kokemuksia poliisin kanssa. Heikko suomen kielen taito ja huoli rasistisista ennakkoluuloista olivat päätekijöitä, jotka loivat ahdistusta ja huolta siitä, miten kohtaaminen poliisin kanssa onnistuisi.

Löydökset, kuten myös osa osallistujista haastatteluissa, kertovat siitä, että yhteisöllisyyttä ja maahanmuuttajille tiedottamista poliisin roolista Suomessa on lisättävä. Lisäksi ehdottaisin poliisille monikulttuurista, sekä englannin kieliopintoja kieli- ja kommunikaatioasioiden avuksi.

Asiasanat Maahanmuutto, Maahanmuuttajat, Luottamus, Sosiaalinen Pääoma, Poliisi, Kriittinen ankkuroitu teoria, Kriittinen rotuteoria, Group Position Theory

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1 INTRODUCTION

Finland could be described as a high-trust society, where most people generally trust each other, as well as institutions and authorities such as the police. Trust is, in fact "clearly one of the most important synthetic forces in a society" (Simmel, 1999, p. 355, as cited in Quéré, 2001, p. 125), meaning that trust is something people themselves create through and for the sake of interaction. High social trust likely leads to happier people and better economic and governmental performance according to Dinesen (2012), which is presumably one of the reasons why Finland has been categorised as the happiest country in the world for 6 consecutive years since 2018 (Yle News, 2023). Kääriäinen (2008) attributes a high level of trust in democratic societies to the public's possibility for accountability and open discussion. As high-trust societies tend to be ethnically homogenous welfare states such as Finland and other Nordic countries, some literature suggests that increasing ethnic diversity ultimately leads to lower levels of social trust (Loxbo, 2017). Examining this in the Swedish context, Loxbo (2017) did indeed find some evidence for this, however, he points out that there is more optimistic literature and research that argues that creating trustful relationships between the majority and minority populations can help build trust in increasingly diverse societies. According to Loxbo (2017), Scandinavian welfare states (which Finland is typically associated with, despite geographically not belonging to Scandinavia) are generally more well-prepared to do this compared to other Western countries. When it comes to policing, high social trust is vital, as it can affect how willing people are to aid the police in their investigations and report crimes (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011). If increasing diversity indeed decreases trust in society and towards the police, it should be a cause of concern in Finland and something to research further. Additionally, Egharevba (2021) points to previous research where it has become apparent that ethnic minority groups face a different experience in the Finnish criminal justice system than the ethnic majority, leading to a tense relationship with the police. This study aims to highlight migrants' personal experiences, trust levels, and views of the police through in-depth interviews and discuss some of the societal implications of the findings.

Finland's Police is one of the most well-trusted police forces according to both national and worldwide studies. As Kääriäinen (2008) emphasizes accountability in democratic societies, he also mentions how citizens can view surveys on trust in the police as a sign of the police organisation being concerned about it and using its power for good. Conducting these surveys adds to the discourse around trust in the police and can give a platform for both positive and negative findings. A national survey, the Police Barometer (Poliisibarometri) is a survey conducted every few years in Finland, the latest executed by Vuorensyrjä and Rauta in 2020. They found that 91% of Finns trust in the actions of the police either very much (50.7%) or fairly much (41.1%). Additionally, an international survey, the World Internal Security and Police Index (WISPI; Abdelmottlep, 2016) found that 85% of Finnish respondents have confidence in their local police, with Finland scoring the second highest rates in police legitimacy worldwide. Even though trust in the police in Finland is surveyed frequently, the migrant population is often missing from these nationwide surveys. There has been some previous research from the migrant point of view (see e.g., Kääriäinen & Niemi, 2014; Egharevba, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2013, 2018, and 2021) however, not enough. Egharevba (2018), for example, calls for further studies in procedural fairness, respect, trust, and evaluation of the police in the Finnish context with migrants and ethnic minorities. Hence, the present study aims to attribute to filling this gap in research, focusing on qualitative, personal experiences and views migrants have of the Finnish police. Gathering in-depth interviews, this study will add to the societal discussion around migrants in Finland and their perspectives of the Finnish police. International news, mostly coming from the United States, cover police brutality towards ethnic minorities and the fight for Black Lives Matter and its opposing movements and the discourse can be seen in the Finnish media, traditional and social, as well. The present study focuses on migrants in Finland and seeks to not only answer the question of do migrants trust the police, but to find out views, attitudes, and assumptions they might have about the Finnish police.

In what used to be a country of emigration, immigration to Finland has been steadily growing, especially from the 1990s onward (Pitkänen & Kouki, 2002). Pitkänen and Kouki (2002) describe a country previously known as quite secluded, and colonized, with a seemingly homogenous population that has seen an increase in diverse backgrounds, ethnicities, and religions. Of course, one might argue that a geographically large area like Finland, even before a steady flow of migration, consisted of various tribes, ethnicities, languages, and cultures. Therefore, although colonized as Pitkänen and Kouki (2002) describe, Finland has had its own share of colonizing and othering indigenous people and other minorities (Keskinen, 2019). In her article investigating the national narratives of Finland, Keskinen (2019) discusses how Finns were portrayed as an inferior race by Swedish and Nordic scientists during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. However, after gaining independence from Russia and slowly crafting a more European identity, Finns began distinguishing themselves

more from the inferior, "non-civilized" Sami and Romani groups (Keskinen, 2019, p. 175). Even today, these groups face othering, racism, discrimination, and even political battles, for example the Sami parliament law failing to pass the Finnish government in 2023 (Yle News, 2023).

The largest cultural minority groups in Finland nowadays include Swedish-speaking Finns, Sami, Romani, Karelian, Jewish, and the Tatar people. It is unclear how many people identify with these minority groups, however, according to THL, there are currently about 10,000 Sami people and 10,000 to 12,000 Romani, being the largest minority groups in Finland. Linguistically, according to data from Statistics Finland (Tilastokeskus, 2023), in 2021, 86,5% of people spoke Finnish as their first language, 5,2% Swedish, 0,04% Sami, and 8,3% spoke other languages as their first language. The largest migrant groups in Finland in 2021 according to nationality are Estonian (over 51,000 people), Russian (over 30,000), Iraqi (over 15,000), and Chinese (over 11,000) (Tilastokeskus, 2023). These numbers, as well as just everyday life and interactions in Finland, show that the country is indeed multicultural and multilingual, even though some people do not seem to be aware of it. Our differences should be celebrated and valued, not fought, and segregated.

The political landscape of the 2010s and 2020s seems to be a polarized one, to say the least, arguably more so than before due to social media. Even though opposing forces have always had their disagreements, the election of Donald Trump as the president of the United States after Barack Obama in 2016 seemed to divide the US, as well as the Western world even more. Even in Finland, where the multi-party system allows for a broader political landscape rather than a strong left versus right, some far-right and far-left (political) movements have gained popularity and discussions both in traditional media as well as social media. Worldwide movements originating from the US, like the Black Lives Matter movement, have gained solidarity as well as critique in Finland as well. What seems to be constant news in American news media about police brutality and outright killings of non-white Americans by police officers are reported in Finland as well, but do not gain as big of a platform, or not as often, as this news does in the US. The present study discusses the prevalent racism people of colour face in Finland, as the Being Black in the EU report (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018) found that out of 12 European countries, Finland leads in perceived discrimination as well as harassment speech and gestures. Interestingly, the same study found that migrants in Finland report the highest levels of trust towards the police in Europe, and there were very few reports of police violence towards ethnic minorities. This could signify that these migrants trust the police to offer them support and protection from the people harassing them, maybe holding the police in higher regard, and trusting that they are not prejudiced and will treat them fairly. These findings, along with following news about police brutality and the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States inspired the topic of the thesis, approaching it with a slightly critical yet open and hopeful mind.

In this study, I will discuss the concepts and theories around trust, migration, race, and ethnicity, and how they tie in with the world of policing. Previous studies on trust in the police are presented and discussed, and the in-depth interviews conducted for the study are analysed through the lens of Critical Grounded Theory and compared to quantitative findings of the Second European Union minorities and discrimination survey (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017; 2018). Finally, the study discusses the societal implications of the findings and presents further questions for future studies.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In order to investigate migrants' views and mindsets revolving around trust in the police, it is important to first look at definitions, different ways of measuring and studying trust, as well as different theoretical frameworks around it. As Pass et al. (2020) point out, trust is a complicated social construct that can be understood in many ways. One definition that the Cambridge Dictionary offers on trust is: "to believe that someone is good and honest and will not harm you, or that something is safe and reliable" (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). Adding to this, Ali et al. (2022) suggest that the belief or expectation of honesty derives from the shared norms of a community. Trust, however, is not always a given. Ilmonen (2000) states, that even if people are situated in similar societal positions, it is not self-evident that these people trust or feel solidarity towards each other. He continues by referring to Georg Simmel's idea on how trust can be built: reciprocity and the associated expectations of fairness will reinforce interaction and create trust (Ilmonen, 2000, p. 14). In the context of policing, trust is often recognized as, for example, effectiveness, as well as procedural and distributive fairness (Ali et al., 2022). Depending on methods and goals, there are many ways trust can be measured, surveyed, and studied. Pass et al. (2020, p. 4) describe the question "Do you trust the police" as a single-item measure, which has been utilized in much of the prior literature on trusting the police, however, they present additional, more multidimensional ways of studying trust. According to them, trust can be studied more profoundly by, for example, asking about expectations of police behaviour, especially in potentially dangerous situations. This way, trust is seen as a developing process that is tied to experiences (Pass et al., 2020), and the present study will focus especially on this view. The methodology section of the present study discusses how different aspects of trust were applied to the interview questions for the study. Research has found that positive and negative experiences affect trust towards the police asymmetrically: losing trust happens easier than gaining or rebuilding it, for example when a person feels they have been treated poorly or unfairly by the police (Kääriäinen & Niemi, 2014).

In addition to the definitions above and focusing on trust in the police, the present study utilizes the concepts of generalized trust and social capital. Concentrating more on the point of view of migrants, this chapter introduces the theoretical frameworks around the Group Position Theory as well as the Critical Race Theory. This chapter will also examine the organisational culture of the police and whether or not the police trust people, and present previous findings of migrants' trust in the police in Finland before discussing methodology and then the interview findings of the present study.

2.1 Trust as social capital

Trust can be directed towards and expected from not only individuals familiar to us but for example institutions and governments, that are more unknown in quality. For example, when going into a government facility, one cannot expect to be assisted by someone they know but should be able to trust that they will be assisted in an expected, socially agreed upon way. Seligman (2000) differentiates this kind of trust, trust toward an unknown person or institution, as social capital. A common definition of social capital comes from Robert Putnam: "Social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam, 2001, p. 19 as cited in Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2012, p. 281). In other words, social capital is the confidence in others that arises in and from social interaction. Kääriäinen and Sirén (2012, p. 68) note that there are three main elements when it comes to defining social capital: social networks, shared norms and values, and trust.

There are two concepts often referred to in the theories around social capital: particularized and generalized trust. Particularized trust comes from personal experiences and alludes to trusting only people we know and have proven to be trustworthy, whereas generalized trust refers to trust in general, not only with people we know (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2012). A high level of generalized trust in a community or even society is indicative of high social capital and as stated before, high societal trust is typically linked to higher governmental performance and happier people. In another article by Kääriäinen and Sirén (2011), it is stated that social inequality weakens generalized trust and social capital, leading to a lack of interaction and shared norms in society. They go on by saying that it seems that certain welfare state-controlled institutions can increase generalized trust (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011, p. 69), by for example, offering financial aid or emotional support, creating a sense of community. With support, groups and people struggling with social inequalities could increase social capital for they feel seen, and not abandoned by society. Social inequality is not always due to race, ethnicity or other minority backgrounds; however, they often go hand in hand. In Finland, studies have found that especially ethnic minorities often face

discrimination and have trouble, for example, finding jobs. There have been studies and articles made by both researchers and journalists that discovered that people with a foreign name, or a name associated with for example the Romani minority in Finland, are far less likely to be hired or even interviewed for jobs (e.g., Ahmad, 2020; De Fresnes, 2018). The EU-MIDIS II survey (European Union for Fundamental Rights, 2017) and Being Black in the EU report (European Union for Fundamental Rights, 2018) will be presented later on in this section, discussing how prevalent racism has been found to be in Finland. Due to prejudiced attitudes and even systemic racism, ethnic minorities and migrants can be more prone to social inequality and marginalisation.

There is plenty of literature on ethnic diversity's effects on social capital. For example, Herreros and Criado (2009) refer to previous literature where it is often assumed that increased diversity leads to lower social capital and that immigration is seen as a challenge or even threat in this sense to communities. Putnam (2007, p. 149 as cited in Kesler & Bloemraad, 2010, p. 321) asserts that "contact with 'out-group' members reduces trust in both out-group and in-group members. Diversity seems to trigger not in-group/out-group division, but anomie or social isolation". Putnam's research comes from the US context, but his claims have been noted and researched in the European context as well, such as Loxbo's (2017) study in Sweden that was mentioned in the introduction chapter, where he found evidence for increased ethnic diversity leading to lower levels of social trust. Nevertheless, Loxbo (2017) as well as Kesler and Bloemraad (2010) and Herreros and Criado (2009) are more optimistic than Putnam and offer different perspectives on immigration and social capital. Kesler and Bloemraad (2010) looked at longitudinal data from various Western countries from the European Values Study Foundation and World Values Survey Association, from the 1980s until the early 2000s. One of their focuses was if increased diversity seems to weaken social capital, which they also refer to as public collective-mindedness. Focusing on immigration, Kesler and Bloemraad (2010) found that immigration indeed decreased trust in some of the countries included in their analysis. However, they also found that "countries with an institutional or policy context promoting economic quality and recognition and accommodation of immigrant minorities experience less dramatic or no declines in collective mindedness" (Kesler & Bloemraad, 2010, p. 320). This view would suggest, and conform with Loxbo (2017), that welfare states might be more equipped to promote equality in a diverse society, leading to less or no decrease in social capital due to immigration. Instead of looking at how immigration affects social capital, Herreros and Criado (2009) studied how a high social capital affects attitudes toward immigration. They describe individuals with high levels of social trust, as "social trusters" (2009, p. 341), and portray them as having social intelligence. Herreros and Criado (2009) hypothesized that people with higher social capital and social intelligence have more positive attitudes towards immigration, excluding signals of racism and cultural stereotypes. Analysing data from the 2002 European Social Survey, they indeed found that people with high social capital carry more

positive outlooks towards immigration. While I am afraid humanity will never be in a position where there is no racism or prejudice, I think Herreros and Criado (2009) offer some optimism as to how we could try to build a more inclusive and trusting world. Diversity is unfortunately seen as threatening, however, if we could increase social capital worldwide with educational programmes for example, to create these so-called "social trusters" (Herreros & Criado, 2009, p. 341), we could be on the right path to less prejudice.

The current political climate seems to be polarized all over the world as well as in Finland, and immigration is brought up in many conversations, whether it is refugees from war or climate change, educational and professional or any other driver of migration. Asylum seekers, refugees and migrants are often classified by their looks and as Cheong et al. (2007) express, views coming from all sides of the political spectrum tend to point to the threats of increasing ethnic diversity. According to them (2007, p. 27), diversity is seen as an opposing force to unity and solidarity. Their views come from the UK already more than ten years ago, however, the discussion in Finland in the 2020s seems to be eerily similar. At the same time, there are formal calls for more work-based migration to Finland, as the population is ageing. Ministry of the Interior of Finland (Sisäministeriö, n.d.) describes the government's efforts to process work-based residence permits faster, attracting companies and "top talents" to Finland. Highly skilled migrant workers are defined as "a migrant worker who has earned, by higher level education or occupational experience, the level of skill or qualifications typically needed to practice a highly skilled occupation" and low-skilled migrant workers as "a migrant worker whose level of education, occupational experience, or qualifications make them eligible to practice a typically low skilled occupation only" (Sironi et al., 2019). The contradictory nature of wanting to attract high-skilled migrants but fearing ethnic diversity in the political climate appears to, in my opinion, be at least partly based on ethnic and racial prejudices. These prejudices are seemingly explained by the issue being economic in nature, however, there is a sense of othering and dividing migrants into two groups: the good and the bad. An example of such a divide is the previously mentioned finding that people with foreign names are less likely to be called into interviews and hired in Finland. In Ahmad's (2020, p. 482) research, the foreign names that were least preferred were Iraqi and Somali names, whereas English and Russian names were preferred more. Nevertheless, Finnish names were far more likely to be favoured. Hence, there is indeed evidence that migrants coming from Western, or perceived white-majority countries like Russia, are in a better position at least in the Finnish job market, than people of colour from Africa or the Middle East. The latter countries are also often connected to lower social capital, which could be one factor in their perceived threat to Finland's high social capital. However, Czymara and Mitchell (2022) argue, that migrants coming from low-trust societies with, for example, government corruption, will trust the destination country's institutions more, due to institutional improvement. Hence, people migrating to

Finland from lower-performing rule of law, tend to trust public institutions, such as the police, more than they did in their country of origin (Czymara & Mitchell, 2022). However, as Ali et al. (2022) illustrate, this trust often decreases for second-generation immigrants, because they do not have lived experience in a low-trust society like their parents.

2.2 Group Position Theory and Critical Race Theory

Moving further from racial prejudice in the political climate to theories revolving around societal groups and social concepts around race, this section discusses Blumer's (1958) Group Position Theory and the Critical Race Theory (CRT; Delgado et al., 2017). The present study utilizes a grounded theory approach, discussed further in the following methodology section. Rather than building on these two theories, however, it is important to present them here to conceptualize and justify the study further. Issues around, for example, group identity and ethnicity may have a factor in how migrants and the participants of the present study view themselves and the police, affecting how they talk about their experiences and expectations. Additionally, theories around discrimination and race are relevant to the context of the present study because surveys have found that Finland has the highest levels of discriminatory and racist harassment in Europe (see e.g., European Union for Fundamental Rights, 2017). Those findings are discussed further in the upcoming section 2.5.

The main elements of the Group Position Theory and CRT are that the theories revolve around ideas of in-group versus out-group and a fight for privileges. CRT is also described as a movement and an umbrella term for many other critical movements, such as the Latino critical (LatCrit), LGBTQ, Muslim and Arab interest groups (Delgado et al., 2017). In addition to Blumer's (1958) ideas on groups fighting to attain and maintain privileges, CRT asserts that because modern societies are built on colonization and oppression of disadvantaged groups, racial prejudices have been built into our societal systems in the Western world. Systemic, societal racism is often included in the American context, where for example, the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement has been gaining popularity. The movement seemingly gained its peak following the death of George Floyd, an African American man who was a victim of police brutality in Minneapolis, in May 2020 (Silverstein, 2021). Floyd was certainly not the first, nor the last person of colour who has been killed due to police brutality in the US, however as Silverstein (2021) writes in his news article, it sparked outrage worldwide. Even amid the COVID-19 pandemic, people took to the streets and more importantly, to social media to raise awareness of institutional racism and white privilege. Because of the global impact of the BLM movement and police brutality news coming from the United States, it is important to reflect on these topics in a country like Finland as well. Even though these two countries are vastly different,

investigating the possible root causes could lead to noticing the structural features that could be leading Finland and its increasing immigration to problems like those in the US.

Offering an approach to studying racial prejudice, Blumer (1958) presented the Group Position Theory. He suggests moving away from the idea that racial prejudice stems from individuals' thoughts and feelings and focusing more on the relationships of different groups. Bobo and Hutchings (1996, p. 955) describe Blumer's four elements of group position. Firstly, there is a belief of superiority in the in-group or in-group preference. Secondly, in-group members view the out-group members as distinctively different, also leading to stereotyping the out-group or groups. Thirdly, the in-group assumes entitlement to certain rights and privileges and lastly, the out-group seeks those rights and privileges to themselves. These privileges typically emerge from historical and societal divides, leading to feelings of competition and a fight for resources (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). In other words, those who are more privileged, want to hold on to it rather than share it with others. The term and social construct of 'white privilege' will be discussed in the context of CRT later.

Critical Race Theory was created by activists, lawyers, and legal scholars in the 1970s United States, as a continuum of the dwindling civil rights movement (Delgado et al., 2017). Delgado and Stefancic (2007) describe the key principles of CRT as follows: Firstly, racism is seen as the norm in society and something that people of colour face every day. On top of blatant racism, for example, people shouting insults, racism is also ingrained in institutions and ways of doing business: this level of racism is much harder to point out and change. Secondly, according to Delgado and Stefancic (2007), there is very little motivation for the white majority, both elites and middle classes, to abolish racism. There is an underlying interest convergence, which means that black people or people of colour will only gain equality when the interests of white people converge with theirs. This is similar to the Group Position theory, in which Blumer (1958) suggests that the privileged group is not willing to share their privilege with others. The third and final principle of CRT is that race is a social construct. Certain physical traits such as skin colour and hair texture are appointed to certain races, however, research shows that "more genetic variation occurs within races than between them" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2007, p. 137). The concept of the human race is controversial entirely, and according to the Jena declaration (Fischer et al., 2019): "the concept of race is the result of racism, not its prerequisite".

Both the Group Position Theory and Critical Race Theory discuss the effects of privilege and the urge to keep it, as well as the struggle to get it. While both theories revolve around similar ideas, it is interesting that only one of them revolves around race and especially skin colour. CRT sees the opposing groups as black and white (both figuratively and literally), whereas the Group Position Theory can be applied to groups more freely, i.e., it could be used not only to uncover issues between ethnic groups, but for example age, gender, political, economic, and other societal issues. It

seems like a more flexible view, especially as it theorizes on such a vastly individual, grey area as humans, whereas a black-and-white approach such as CRT might simplify issues and humans too far. Arguably, and in defence of CRT, historically white people have always been the more privileged group, but there are also different levels of that privilege. The impacts of colonialism are deeply rooted in the Western world, where Delgado et al. (2017, p. 86) describe "whiteness" being the norm: everyone else being the other. In the United States, African slaves were dehumanized and stripped of their rights and even though slavery was abolished, African Americans faced segregation and struggles for civil rights long after (Rudden, 2021). To this day, according to Rudden (2021), black Americans are much more prone to police brutality and imprisonment compared to white Americans. Delgado et al. (2017, p. 89) define white privilege as follows: "the myriad of social advantages, benefits, and courtesies that come with being a member of the dominant race." As discussed previously, the political climate has been increasingly polarizing in recent years with opposite forces debating various issues and the use of social media channels adding fuel to these flames. An example of such opposing forces is the BLM movement versus White Supremacy groups. Even though these ideologies come mainly from the US, the effect they have in European media and politics is visible as well, due to fast-spreading news media but also, for example, conspiracy theories on social media. The ideologies are not bound to the context of their country of origin anymore but spread far and wide online. The Finnish Security and Intelligence Service (Suojelupoliisi, n.d.) has raised concerns about the growing possibility of extreme far-right terrorism in Finland, attributing the power of the Internet as one of the biggest factors in radicalisation around the world. Delgado et al. (2017) raise concerns about threats that white power and far-right movements pose compared to black solidarity and far-left movements. When minority groups come together to raise awareness of equality issues, it is seen as a valid reaction to social issues, however, when majority groups unite to fight against those minorities, it is a slippery slope to extremist groups such as skinheads or neo-Nazis, where there is a larger threat of violence and terrorism. While white supremacy groups are more extreme and blatantly racist, institutional racism is much more covert and harder to abolish. Both the Group Position Theory and CRT offer interesting viewpoints and ideas to the present study since it focuses on a group of people that are often "othered" and put into a separate group from the ethnic majority. As the goal is to create new hypotheses through the findings of Critical Grounded Theory, the present study does not necessarily test the ideas of these two theories but acknowledges the notions that they offer.

2.3 Police organisational culture and trust towards citizens

Even though the present study focuses on the experience of migrants, it is valid to take a look at the other point of view, that of the police. Experiences with the police are a large factor in how migrants form their views and trust in them, and as interactions always have at least the two parties, it is only fair to look at possible factors affecting police behaviour. There indeed needs to be more research on police attitudes towards migrants and ethnic minorities, but for the present study, I present some aspects of police organisational culture as well as a Europe-wide study on whether or not police trust their citizens (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2012), and a study done on police cadets' attitudes towards migrants (Egharevba & White, 2007).

Organisational culture in police departments has often been characterized as conservative, mission-oriented, isolated, masculine, and suspicious, following the descriptions of Robert Reiner made in 1985 (Campeau, 2015, p. 669). Reiner's depictions come from the British context, whereas Campeau (2015) discusses more recent studies in England, the US as well as the Netherlands, noting that these core values are somewhat visible in police organisations even today. Kääriäinen and Sirén (2012) also discuss the suggested cynicism of the police and how the mindset is described as necessary by some to navigate police work. Referring to Skolnick (1966, as cited in Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2012) they present three factors that define police officers' worldviews: the dangerous nature of their work, their authority, and requirements for efficiency. According to these factors, Skolnick (1966) argues that police officers are generally suspicious and isolated from other citizens. Egharevba and White (2007) discuss Skolnick's (1966) ideas further, pointing to the fact that these attitudes can lead to rationalising the use of excessive force, as well as creating a secretive environment in police departments, passing these attitudes onward to cadets and recruits. Even though the dangerous nature of police work has not changed, Kääriäinen and Sirén (2012, p. 286) offer a more optimistic approach to the cynical police culture: "The police occupation does not seem to create a 'culture' with a strongly trust-reducing impact." In their study, Kääriäinen and Sirén (2012) analysed data from the European Social Survey gathered from 2002 to 2008, comparing reported levels of trust from police officers to others in 22 European countries. They found that countries with high social capital reflect in police officers' trust as well: "In countries where citizens generally trust each other, the police also trust the citizens; whereas in countries with a low level of trust in general, the police are also cynical towards citizens" (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2012, p. 276).

As presented earlier, ethnic diversity can affect social capital and generalized trust. Attitudes and levels of trust of the police towards migrants need more research, however, Pitkänen and Kouki (2002) and Egharevba and White (2007) point out that the amount and nature of encounters affect police officers' attitudes towards migrants.

Pitkänen and Kouki (2002) studied Finnish authorities' attitudes towards migrants and found that because the nature of encounters between the police and migrants are typically more negative and crime-related, police officers' views were also more negative. Whereas other social workers and teachers, for example, had more positive views and attitudes towards migrants. Egharevba and White (2007) questioned police cadets graduating from the Finnish Police School about their attitudes towards African immigrants and found that most (58%) had positive attitudes, 18% had negative attitudes and 24% had no opinions on the matter. They emphasize that the police cadets that participated in the study have had mainly if not only, work-related contact with African immigrants. Both Egharevba and White (2007) and Pitkänen and Kouki (2002) suggest that more meaningful connections and friendships can and will make attitudes more positive. Calling for more multicultural training, Egharevba and White (2007) found that 31% of cadets agreed, however, 22% of cadets did not think there was a need for personal contact with migrants, rest stated no opinion. Egharevba (2021, p. 134) points to his prior research (e.g., 2009, 2017, 2018) and states that "racism has been part of the social fabric of the police" for a long time, stemming from racial preferences towards the majority, leading to ethnic profiling and heightened suspicion of minority groups. If the police target migrants and minority groups, or if those groups feel targeted, it can lead to lower levels of trust and uncertainty towards the police.

2.4 Previous findings of migrants' trust towards the police

People's trust in the police in Finland has been studied through the Police Barometer every few years since 1999, and the survey includes approximately a thousand Finnish citizens living in mainland Finland (Police University College, n.d.). The study does not state the ethnicities or backgrounds of the participants, however, according to Watkins and Ylinen (2021) hardly any migrants have ever answered the survey. Studies focusing on the migrant perspective have not been conducted on a national level. Juha Kääriäinen (e.g., 2014) and Stephen Egharevba (e.g., 2005, 2009, 2018 & 2021) seem to be the most notable and consistent researchers looking at migrants' trust towards the police in Finland, whose articles will also be introduced in this section. I will also present a thesis from the Police University College by Watkins and Ylinen (2021) as well as a study utilising Blumer's (1958) Group Position Theory by Ali et al. (2022). Most of these studies establish that the relationship between the police and migrants is a bit more delicate than it is with Finns or majority groups. It seems that migrants that are better integrated into Finnish society report more trust towards the police, those groups often being other Europeans and Russians. People from these groups seem to have better chances at, for example, finding jobs (Ahmad, 2020) and settling down, as Kääriäinen and Niemi (2014) mention how Russian migrants often come to Finland for marriage. Other migrant groups and people with ethnic minority

backgrounds often report lower levels of trust as well as more disrespect and discrimination by the police, although trust levels remain quite high, yet lower compared to the results from the Police Barometer. This would entail that ethnicities other than European and Russian are discriminated against more, suggesting that racism is prevalent in Finland. The authors of these studies call for more research on the topic.

Kääriäinen and Niemi (2014) focused on trust and experiences with the police of Russian and Somali minorities in Finland, based on the 2009 European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. They hypothesize if trust levels can be based on insecurities, fears and victimisations, or experiences with the police, and additionally, if there is a connection between trust and discrimination. The sample size for the survey was 562 Russians and 484 Somalis, and in addition to demographic questions, they were asked if they tend to or not trust the police, as well as their experiences on victimisation, police contact and stops (Kääriäinen & Niemi, 2014). Their findings show that the trust levels of Russian minority groups were in line with the Finnish majority, with 90% of respondents stating that they trust the police, whereas 68% of the Somali respondents stated that they trust the police. Kääriäinen and Niemi (2014) tried to investigate the possible reasons behind this divide through observations about the two ethnic minority groups. They point out that there are quite many demographic differences between the two groups: Russian minorities are often more educated and in better work positions and move to Finland more often for marriage, as mentioned previously. In the survey, Kääriäinen and Niemi (2014, p. 15) did not find significant differences in the amount of police contact between the groups, however, the Somalis reported far more discriminatory behaviour from the police. The authors point out that this is quite surprising, due to the long-standing negative attitudes towards Russians in Finland, however, these seemingly not affecting the police. Negative experiences with the police as well as feelings of police inefficiency and inadequacy can all lead to lower levels of trust, and Kääriäinen and Niemi (2014, p. 19) point out that "the police can build trust among citizens primarily with their own activities", although this is only one approach to building trust. It has been established that ethnic minorities face racism and other challenges in Finland, so it is not surprising that the study reported significantly lower trust levels for the Somali group than the Russians. However, it should be noted that as the data comes from a quantitative survey, the participants likely did not have a chance to explain or open their answers further, describing the reasons behind them. It would be interesting to hear how they themselves define trust, for instance, and if that varies between the Russian and Somali respondents.

Stephen Egharevba has been studying trust and experiences between migrants and the police in Finland since the early 2000s, and next, I will present two of his articles, a qualitative interview-based study (2009) and a more recent, quantitative questionnaire-based study (2021). Egharevba (2009) interviewed 35 African immigrants to discover attitudes towards the police, based on contacts and experiences with the police. The participants were asked to evaluate issues such as fear of crime, slow

response to emergency calls, language barrier and perceived prejudice (Egharevba, 2009, p. 14). Language barriers are an important aspect when studying migrants' trust in the police, as Piatkowska (2015, p. 4) suggests it can be "a key factor contributing to negative views of police". The conclusions to Egharevba's (2009, p. 18) study were quite worrisome: racism and discrimination were reported as "an everyday experience in the lives of many African immigrants" and contacts with the police are often described as full of tension and equally suspicious. While Egharevba (2009) explains some of the tension as a result of poor communication and lack of language skills, he also claims that African immigrants often isolate themselves from society, which can also lead to suspicious, distrustful and even fearful reactions towards the police. In the 2021 study, Egharevba collected data from 205 participants from different migratory backgrounds in Finland, categorising them as Asian, African, Arab and European. The respondents were asked to evaluate the respect, fairness, politeness and courtesy of the Finnish police, and 54% of male and 45% of female participants reported having experienced impoliteness, unfairness and even intimidation in police encounters during the last year (Egharevba, 2021, p. 138). The concepts that were evaluated, politeness, for example, were defined in the questionnaire, however, perceived impoliteness can be different for all individuals. Interestingly, the European participants reported the lowest amount of rudeness or abuse of power by the police, leading Egharevba to conclude that their similarity in race and culture compared to Finns might be a factor in how they are treated, or how they perceive treatment from the police. The main conclusion from these two different studies can be taken as a reminder for the police to be careful with language use: derogatory terms or abusive or apathetic language can lead anyone but especially minorities to distrust authorities. Although Egharevba (2021) presents different demographic characteristics of the participants, for example their level of education, the possible effects of these differences are not commented on when discussing the findings. It is also unclear what levels of Finnish language skills the participants have, and if language issues have had any effect in their experiences with or views of the police.

Egharevba (e.g., 2018, 2021) has continuously called for more research on the topic, both qualitative and quantitative, as well as from both sides, the migrants, minorities as well as the police. The police perspective is missing and there are clear challenges to gathering such data. Due to privacy regulations and fears about speaking out on attitudes towards immigrants, it might be difficult to find participants from the police organisation. However, there is some interest in the topic of migrants' trust, as Watkins and Ylinen (2021), students at the Police University College, wrote their thesis on the matter. Their study surveys migrants in Finland, however, it is encouraging that there are similar studies conducted at the college, by two future (or current nowadays) police officers. There must be at least some potential in more discussions and studies around the topic, and hopefully from both perspectives as well. Watkins and Ylinen (2021) surveyed fifty participants who had been living in Finland for over

two years, aiming to determine trust levels and evaluate experiences with the Finnish police. Through their data, they concluded that 83% of respondents trust the Finnish police and that 91% of them had not experienced racism when in contact with the police. Watkins and Ylinen (2021) also found that unemployed migrants trusted the police the least, whereas employed and retired migrants trusted them most. They ponder if unemployment has a connection to poor integration, which has been found to lead to a lack of trust towards authorities (Juopperi, 2019, as cited in Watkins & Ylinen, 2021). It would be interesting to compare such hypothesis to findings gathered from Finns, to see if unemployment has similar effects on trust. Watkins and Ylinen (2021) conclude their thesis by calling for more national-level studies, such as the Police Barometer, from the migrant perspective.

Similarly, to the present study, Ali et al. (2022) incorporate Blumer's ideas to further understand migrants' trust in the police in Australia. According to them, the Group Position theory would presume that ethnic-minority migrants would be less trusting of police than white majority groups, including white migrants. Ali et al. (2022, p. 3) reference the theory by implying that especially in "countries with higher perceived ethnic discrimination by governments", the police tend to "protect the interests of high-status groups (i.e., the white majority)". Previous studies (e.g., Piatkowska, 2015) found that ethnic-minority immigrants trust the police less in these countries than non-immigrants. Similarly, Ali et al. (2022) found that ethnic-minority immigrants, especially those with a Middle Eastern Muslim background, trust the police less in Australia than white immigrants. Additionally, first-generation immigrants from all backgrounds were more trusting of the police than second-generation immigrants. The difference in trust between generations is explained by the idea of institutional improvement: first-generation immigrants believe in a chance for a better life, whereas second-generation born in the host country do not share this optimism.

2.5 Findings of the European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey and Being Black in the EU Report

The present study will compare and discuss the results of the European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II; European Union for Fundamental Rights, 2017) with the present interview findings to see if there are any noticeable similarities or differences between the in-depth experiences and the large survey numbers. The EU-MIDIS II survey (European Union for Fundamental Rights, 2017) investigates different aspects of discrimination in EU member states, from over 25,000 respondents from different ethnic minorities and migration backgrounds. Different ethnicity groups were chosen from different countries, the target group for Finland being immigrants and descendants of immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa. The same target group was selected from Austria, Germany, Denmark, France, Ireland, Italy,

Luxembourg, Malta, Portugal, Sweden and the UK, so there is a fair number of comparable results as well. The additional Being Black in the EU report (European Union for Fundamental Rights, 2018) is derived from the same dataset, focusing specifically on people of African descent because it has been found that skin colour is one of the main bases for racist and discriminatory behaviour. The report takes a closer look at the data from the aforementioned 12 countries to bring more awareness of the violations of fundamental rights people of colour face in Europe, to gain the attention of the EU policymakers to create a safer and more equal environment for immigrants and their descendants (European Union for Fundamental Rights, 2018). The report shows a distressing number of participants (63%) that reported having faced racial harassment in the last five years in Finland, compared to, for example, 21% in the UK. Participants from Finland also reported the highest amount of racist violence with 14% of respondents. However, on a more positive note, the Sub-Saharan African respondents in Finland reported the highest levels of trust in the police out of all target groups in all countries, with 84% of respondents reporting they 'tend to trust the police', and 7% reporting 'neutral'. Only 6% reported they 'tend not to trust' and the rest did not choose an answer. The high level of trust in the police can also explain the findings that 30% of those who had experienced discrimination in Finland were most likely to report discrimination and harassment to the authorities or the place where it happened (e.g., workplace), compared to the other target groups and countries. From these findings, it is clear that there are a lot of issues when it comes to racism in Finland, however, if both Finns and migrants trust the authorities and the police, it seems like there is a chance to start to change people's attitudes for the better and hold people accountable for racist and discriminatory behaviour.

Taking a closer look at the EU-MIDIS II (European Union for Fundamental Rights, 2017) findings about trust in the police and police behaviour in Finland, it can be seen that Sub-Saharan Africans seem to be racially profiled by the police the least in Finland, compared to other European countries, even though the amount of police stops, in general, seems to be similar. 61% of respondents said they had not been stopped, searched or questioned by the police in the last 5 years, 28% said they had been stopped with no apparent ethnic profiling and 10% reported ethnic profiling. However, when asked "Do you think that the last time you were stopped by the police was because of your ethnic or immigrant background?" 27% of respondents said yes and 73% said no. Compared to data from the other 11 countries, perceived ethnic profiling was the lowest in Finland. During police stops, 66% of participants reported that the police treated them respectfully during those stops, 17% said they were disrespectful, and another 17% answered neither nor. Police behaviour was reported to be respectful the most in Finland (66%) and Ireland (71%). When it came to where these police stops happened, surprisingly, 18% of participants were reportedly stopped when walking on the street, which I think is quite unusual in Finland. However, the amount of police stops on the streets is higher in the other 11 countries, apart from

Ireland (14%). Most police stops happen when driving with 69% of respondents, but this arguably applies to all nationalities and backgrounds, whereas most people in Finland will never in their life be stopped by the police on the street without having called or needing them. Typically, the police in Finland are seen more as an observer, and a passive force until they are needed, and from my own experience, it is quite rare for them to stop people on the streets, in malls or on public transport. Traffic police are more likely to stop anyone if they can spot any curiosities from license plate information in their database, or witness drivers breaking the law. All in all, the police in Finland seem the most respectful and with the least amount of perceived ethnic profiling, and the reported trust levels of Sub-Saharan Africans correspond to these views, being the highest in Europe compared to all target groups in all EU member states.

3 METHODOLOGY

As mentioned previously, this study aims to build theory or hypotheses through a Critical Grounded Theory approach, yet it was important to introduce some of the relevant theories around ethnic groups because the study discusses the experiences of migrants with different ethnic backgrounds. This section will go further into the aim and goals of the present study, as well as introduce the participants, data collection method, Critical Grounded Theory as well as ethical considerations.

3.1 Aim and research questions

The current study aims to gain further knowledge of how migrants in Finland view the police, what they expect of them and if they trust them. The main questions this study addresses are if migrants trust their local police and what kind of beliefs and attitudes prevail around the police in the migrant community and where these might stem from. Additionally, the findings of the present study will be discussed and reflected upon a previous, large-scale survey on similar topics (EU-MIDIS II; European Union for Fundamental Rights, 2017) to see if any similarities and differences can be found. Reflection between a large, quantitative survey and a small qualitative study could potentially reveal conflicting results, inconsistencies, trends and even explanations for some findings. The main focus of the study, however, is the personal and individual experiences and views migrants in Finland disclose in this study.

Through the present study, I hope to contribute to a larger societal discussion on migration, prejudices, and police behaviour in Finland. To meet the goals of the study and to find out more about migrants' experiences and expectations, the research questions are as follows:

RQ1: What kind of views around trust do migrants express on the Finnish police?
RQ2: What main factors do migrants use to explain these views?

The current study focuses on the migrant point of view because it seems to be overlooked by many researchers as well as the police organisation. For example, Egharevba (e.g., 2005, 2009, 2018, 2021), who has done studies on the topic since the early 2000s, has continuously called for more research from migrant and ethnic minority viewpoints. The lack of studies seems odd because, on the national level, trust in the police in Finland is measured consistently through the Police Barometer every few years, most recently by Vuorensyrjä and Rauta in 2020. The barometer focuses on Finnish citizens and does not specifically include a migrant point of view. The Finnish police force, however, seems to recognize the need for more migrant representation. For example, the principal of the Police University College (POLAMK) has called for more migrant recruits for police training to reflect the increasingly multicultural population of Finland (Ziemann, 2019). Additionally, in a recent news article by Zaki (2023), a police officer in charge of renewing the Helsinki Police Department's "Supervision of foreign nationals" duty discussed the challenges and developments in for example, ethnic profiling in Finland. Ethnic profiling and a lack of multicultural representation are only some of the factors in how migrants view the police in Finland, on top of language-related issues, misunderstandings or a general lack of knowledge of cultural aspects.

3.2 Data and method

Previous findings offer inconsistent data on levels of trust; hence this study will not only collect qualitative data through in-depth interviews but will also reflect the findings with a previous quantitative survey. The data comes from the European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (2017) and the additional Being Black in the EU Report (2018) published by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. As the relationship between migrants and the police is relatively under-researched in Finland (e.g., Egharevba, 2018), the survey offers more context as well as a source of comparison for the present study. The EU-MIDIS II survey (2017), conducted in all 28 EU member states, collected data from over 25 000 respondents from various ethnic minority and migration backgrounds. The survey's focus was on discrimination in various situations, including police stops, criminal victimisation, rights awareness, and societal participation. The Being Black in the EU report derives data from the survey and focuses on the experiences of around 6000 people of African descent in 12 EU member states, including Finland.

The interview data, that this study focuses on, comes from five migrants living in a middle-sized town in Finland, whose residency in Finland has lasted ranging from a year to over 20 years. They come from various ethnic and linguistic backgrounds but share some similarities as well. Most notably, they are all highly educated with at least

a bachelor's degree, some pursuing a doctoral degree and working in the fields of IT, education, and social work. It has previously been hypothesized that migrants' unemployment could be linked to poorer integration into the new country (Juopperi, 2019, as cited in Watkins & Ylinen, 2021), negatively affecting social capital. Hence it is possible that the participants of the study are relatively well integrated, or at least have a better chance to do so than some others. Some of the biggest differences between the participants regard their ethnicities and prior experiences, as well as their Finnish language skills. The participants come from India, Iran, Iraq, The Netherlands and Turkey, and their ages range from 28 to 64. Other than that, the selection of participants was quite loose and was mostly based on finding volunteers who would be open to discussing their views on the police, and who had been in Finland for at least one year. The search for participants started by contacting local multicultural associations and asking them for help, however, social media proved to be the most efficient way to find volunteers. Information on the present study and contact details were posted to a Facebook group that focuses on providing information to local foreigners, and the people who showed interest were then offered more information. After confirming their willingness to participate in the study, interview dates were set.

As the topic of the interview was possibly quite sensitive, it was important for me to do them face-to-face. I wanted the conversations to be quite free but follow a similar pattern to be able to analyse the data easier, hence the interviews were conducted as in-depth interviews. There were about 20 interview questions focusing on views and trust in the Finnish police and potential personal experiences with the police (see appendix for the complete list of interview questions). These questions offer a structure, yet participants were encouraged to speak on their views and experiences as freely and openly as they wanted to. Because of the sensitivity of the topic, as well as the inexperience of the researcher, I felt that in-depth interviews offer a safe space for both me and the participants, as Johnson and Rowlands (2012) describe in-depth interviews as an interaction that aims to build reciprocity and trust. They also mention how the interviewer can also express and insert themselves more, which I felt comfortable doing to discuss the interview questions further, of course respecting the participants. Johnson and Rowlands (2012) also describe in-depth interviews as an appropriate method especially with a Grounded Theory approach, encouraging me to choose the method.

Interview questions were worded carefully both in English and Finnish so that they were clear to second language speakers, and as neutral as possible, i.e., not misleading, presupposing, limiting, or manipulative. All participants were more comfortable doing the interview in English rather than Finnish, and the use of translator applications was encouraged if the participant felt it was difficult to find the right words. In addition to interview language and questions, Wang and Yan (2012) point out that in interview situations, the interviewer has the power to control the situation, affecting the dynamic of the people present. While the power dynamic of an interview situation

will always be somewhat unbalanced, it was important for me to create an open and relaxed atmosphere where both I and the participants felt comfortable. The structured, yet open-ended nature of in-depth interviews made it possible for the interview to turn into more of a conversation at times, of course keeping in mind to not steer the conversation with my own views or opinions. When it came to questions about trust, it was essential to me that they not only utilized a "single-item measure" (Pass et al., 2020) of trust (e.g., "Do you trust the police?") but ask questions about experiences, expectations, emotions, language, and approachability. All these different aspects offer varied approaches to trust and give diverse perspectives on the topic.

The present study utilizes Grounded Theory in analysing the findings and as Charmaz and Belgrave (2012) suggest, this approach begins with preliminary interviews to then investigate and analyse further. The study's main limitation is that it has very limited resources as it is a master's thesis, and there is no funding and a limited time frame. To utilize Grounded Theory to its fullest, as Charmaz and Belgrave (2012) advise, there would be back-and-forth with data gathering and analysis, with follow-up interviews and increasingly abstract levels of analysis. However, the present study will offer a starting point for similar future, grounded theory research on the topic. The participants were asked if they would be open to the idea of follow-up interviews, however timing limitations and satisfactory data led to the decision to not conduct further data collection.

To analyse the interview data and support the critical paradigm this research employs, the study utilizes Critical Grounded Theory (CGT). According to Creswell (2007), the main point of Grounded Theory is to develop theories that are grounded in data and that participants have experienced the phenomena studied. Additionally, Malagon et al. (2009) describe Grounded Theory as a flexible, yet systematic way of focusing and building on theory through data. Critical Grounded Theory has had a steady growth after calling for more attention to societal concerns in the early 2000s and especially in the 2010s (Hadley, 2019). Questioning and highlighting social processes in the 21st century is a necessity according to Hadley (2019), due to large political movements and division in people in an unsteady world. CGT is defined as a methodology that "systematically constructs small-scale to mid-range social theories from empirical data" (Hadley, 2019, p. 565) emphasizing the role of power dynamics, inequality, and discrimination in social phenomena.

Hadley (2019) describes the steps of CGT analysis as Open Exploration, Focused Investigation, Theoretical Construction, and Transformative Dissemination. In critical, as well as Grounded Theory approaches, the researcher needs to be reflective of their own beliefs and assumptions, and Hadley (2019) encourages actively considering them, especially in the initial stages of research. As an inexperienced researcher, questioning my assumptions and methods came very naturally with doubts and other concerns. However, with the help of a supervisor and slowly building on the method, data collection and finally analysis, the reflection also progressed and lead to many

learning experiences and moments of clarity. In Hadley's (2019, p. 577) figure on the methodological stages of CGT, he presents the main elements behind the methodology. The first stage of Open Exploration includes, for example, open sampling, explorative interviews as well as observation, and memos. From there, in the stage of Focused Investigation, the focus becomes a bit clearer and includes e.g., theoretical sampling, in-depth interviews, focused coding, literature, and more observation. In the next stage of Theoretical Construction, the grounded theory begins to become more apparent: creating conceptual categories, theoretical coding, possible follow-up interviews, and theoretical memos. The final stage of Transformative Dissemination includes the writing up of the theory based on the findings and background literature.

The present study utilizes these stages in a somewhat simplified way. For example, the stages of Open Exploration and Focused Investigation (Hadley, 2019) merged into one stage where I had open sampling, in-depth interviews, and focused literature. I had quite a clear idea of the themes of the study before I took concrete steps with sampling and the interviews and explored background literature and previous studies. However, the interview process gave me the focus and clarity I needed to overcome previous worries and insecurities with the topic and producing the study. The data gathered from the interviews had a lot of variation, which in and of itself was an interesting finding, however, as I went through the transcriptions and recordings, I noticed similarities in the way certain questions were discussed. This led me to categorising the data into three main sections, in which I would focus the analysis: trust as expectations, the effect of language and language issues, and perceived racial prejudice. Paragraphs and sentences from the interview answers were divided according to the question as well as category they corresponded to, making it easier to compare and analyse the findings. Next, in the stage of Theoretical Construction (Hadley, 2019), the categories that emerged from the data were combined with the background literature, and finally, the stage Hadley (2019) calls Transformative Dissemination, all stages were brought together to create the Grounded Theory hypothesis and suggestions for further research.

Critical Grounded Theory felt like the right approach due to it being data driven and flexible, as Malagon (2009) described it. There were, however, other methodological approaches that were considered, such as narrative research, as well as content analysis. Although there are different ways to approach narrative research, Creswell (2007, p. 55) describes that it is the best method for "capturing the detailed stories or life experiences of a single life or the lives of a small number of individuals". This deterred me from the approach, because prior to the interviews, I had no knowledge of the participants' experiences with the police. Narrative approach could have been a more viable option if I had the possibility to interview people with more first-hand experiences with the police or even criminal records.

3.3 Ethical concerns

The present study has its previously mentioned limitations that can affect the process and results, however, additionally, there are some ethical aspects that I would like to discuss. As mentioned in the previous section, Hadley (2019) recommends researchers actively reflect and ponder on their assumptions, beliefs, and hypothesis before, during, and after the research. As a first-time researcher, it was even more important and constantly present. I utilised a journal along with my research process to write down my thoughts and feelings and reflect on them, as well as discussed some aspects with people who have not done research themselves, as sometimes simply saying things out loud was more effective than trying to silently reflect on them. While true neutrality is impossible to find, especially in critical research, it is important to be aware of one's position. As Mruck and Mey (2019, p. 473) put it, researchers are "actively involved" and their backgrounds and worldviews always shape their research process. I am part of the ethnic majority in Finland but have lived and studied in multicultural environments and other countries where I belonged to the ethnic minority. I have tried to shape my worldview to be as open-minded as possible, but I am aware of the privileges I have as a white woman. Especially through my studies on intercultural communication, I was interested in doing my thesis on a topic with migrants and ethnic minorities, because I have seen and heard how challenging life in Finland can be if one does not "look Finnish". I have also been intrigued by the respected and trusted Finnish police organisation and that is how the topic of the present study was formed.

As the research topic can be sensitive, I made sure to take all the steps needed to be as transparent and open as possible with the research participants. I sent a Privacy Notice and Research Notification as required by the university to the participants well before the interview, and also went through the documents with them right as we were starting the interview. Additionally, I asked everyone to sign a consent form, although I made it clear that they have the right to withdraw their consent at any point, if they wish to do so. At the beginning of the interview, I of course introduced myself but also briefly described my studies and major in intercultural communication. I let them know that if at any point they have any questions, during or after the interview or even much later, they can always get in contact with me. The interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed, and the dataset is stored securely following the guidance and rules set by the university. The research data was pseudonymised, as in all names and exact locations were removed or changed so that the participants would not be recognisable from the data. All things considered, I hope I was able to offer a positive experience for the participants who volunteered to help me.

4 FINDINGS

The present study aimed to gain further knowledge of migrants' trust, views, and attitudes towards the Finnish police through in-depth interviews. Interview questions related to prior experiences with the police and views on trust, expectations, emotions, and approachability. This section will present and analyse the answers and reflect them with the concept of trust as social capital, among other concepts introduced previously. The analysis shows that while all participants reported that they trust the police will act appropriately when in contact with them, there were noticeable differences between participants and their accounts. Clear themes revolving around trust arise from the in-depth interviews that this chapter will present. Said themes are categorised as follows; firstly, attitudes and views around expectations and various reasons behind those, for example, past experiences and trauma, secondly, the notion of language and language barriers, and thirdly, findings around perceived racial prejudice. All these themes can fundamentally affect how a person constructs their views of the police and the whole police organisation, and how trustworthy they are perceived to be. For example, Hall and Werner (2022) discuss the effects armed conflicts and war has on refugees locating to new countries. While the effects vary from person to person as well as the situation, they found that often refugees have a high level of trust towards host country citizens, but less trust towards the political institutions. Interestingly, and in contrast to the low trust in the political system, Hall and Werner (2022) found that exposure to conflicts can increase trust in the police as well as the juridical system.

As demonstrated earlier, 'trust' is a complicated concept that can have different meanings for different individuals. Hence, the participants were asked about trusting the police, as well as their expectations and emotions around interacting with the police, general views of the police organisation, willingness to report crimes and possibilities of corruption. All these questions can reveal underlying views around trust, which are presented in this section according to the themes around expectations, language, and racial prejudice.

4.1 Expectations of police behaviour

When asked “Do you trust the police?”, all participants said they indeed do, and a few clarified that they at least try to. Trying to trust, rather than trusting completely that the police will act as expected when they are needed or when having to interact with them, can tell of uncertainty and deeper issues around trust. Some of the participants come from countries with corrupt governments and conflicts between people and the state, with their possible trauma and previous experiences with the police. Interestingly, when asked about trusting the police, all participants not only reflected on the police but the Finnish society. According to them, Finland and Finns are seen as trustworthy, which also leads to a more trusting relationship with the police and the general population. The high-trust society was also described almost like a culture shock and while pleasant, it was something to get used to. Many of the participants’ ability to trust seems to be affected by their expectations, which are built on a myriad of things, including past experiences, and settling into a new country. When it comes to expectations of the role of the police in society, the Finnish police are seen quite differently from the police in some other countries: the police in Finland are seen to have more of a passive role in policing and while they can be seen driving, cycling and sometimes walking around, they rarely stop people outside of traffic, for example for speeding or unpaid car taxes. When they are needed and called for help, they take action. Whereas, according to one of the participants, the police in Turkey, for example, tend to be much more active and even aggressive in their policing and can stop and search locals walking down the street for seemingly no reason:

> Q: Have you had personal experience with the police here in Finland?
>
> It means they [police] are disturbing the society in Turkey. Maybe it’s necessary for population. [...] Yeah, maybe that’s why, but in Finland, as I see the police, they don’t do this. They don’t tell you, or they don’t come to you “hey stop, where you going, where you come from, show your ID”. I mean they are not disturbing to people or society or community, you know, they are just watching. If they really need to do something then they are coming. (Male, 28, Turkey).

Whether it is due to population as the participant deliberates, high social capital or even limited resources, the way the Finnish police show their presence is framed very positively. Describing the police as “passive” might have a negative connotation, but here it describes the peaceful protectiveness that they show to civilians and as said, are quick to take action when they are needed. It is constructed here by the participant as a good way for the police to build trust.

The Finnish police are described as firstly caring and prioritising people’s wellbeing and only then suspicious crimefighters. Three participants detailed either personal stories or their friends’ accounts of how the police approached certain situations with a person’s health and safety in mind first, surprising them positively and

affecting their view of the Finnish police as more empathetic. For example, one participant told a story about their friend, who was driving when he was sick. Either having a fever or feeling otherwise sick, it affected his driving and most likely seemed that he was driving drunk. The police stopped him, but when they started talking to him, they were instantly concerned about his health and asked him if he wanted to go to the hospital. They did not immediately accuse him of reckless driving or even ask for his driver's licence because they could tell that he was feeling unwell. The participant telling this story said that these kinds of actions tell him that the Finnish police see and treat people as individuals, rather than as "work" or suspects. The other two accounts raised similar positive experiences, that made them look at the Finnish police more positively. It is interesting how the participants described these situations and their reactions to them. Did they expect more judgement and harsh treatment, for example for the sick driver? Was the expectation that they would scold him for driving recklessly and prioritise fining him, and where does that expectation come from? Expectations often stem from previous experiences, and this example comes from the same participant that described the Turkish police as aggressive and disturbing to society, whereas the Finnish police seem more passive and peaceful to him. Seeing the police as more empathetic protectors rather than aggressive crime fighters seems to have a positive effect on the participants' expectations, mainly in that the police do not spark fear, but they are there to help.

Although the answers around trust were mainly positive, there were some issues and even fears that especially two participants recounted. It is important to note, that these two participants varied most from the other participants in their appearance, language skills, as well as previous trauma with the police in their home country. Both women, one of them being from Iran and wearing a hijab, the other being from India with a darker skin tone, look different from the Finnish majority as well as the other participants. They are also just getting started in the process of learning Finnish, so their language skills are that of a beginner. Language issues will be discussed further in the next section. The Iranian participant also recounted that she has previous trauma connected to police forces that she carries with her. Discussing their trust towards the police in Finland, these two participants said they try to trust that most police officers will act fairly and accordingly depending on the situation but are wary and sometimes fearful of them. Calling the police or reporting crimes is presented as potentially harmful for them, and as foreigners, they reflected on their need to justify their decisions more than Finns:

> Q: How willing are you to report a crime?
>
> I would think ten times before reporting a crime because I, my first impression is how would it reflect on me? How would it reflect on my situation here? (Female, 31, India).

As migrants in Finland, these two as well as one other participant explained their need to always justify and make their position in society known to gain respect from

Finns: they have a job and make their living instead of being dependent on government support or crime. The negative stereotypes around migrants stemming from unfortunately common economic situations, and how they might affect policing were also discussed:

> Q: What do you think are the factors that affect the way you are treated by the police?
>
> [...] maybe because many migrant people have economic issues and they don't have any good situation. Because of that, they have some.. They do some criminal activities. It would be a default for them [police], OK? If you're a foreigner, you would be. The the person who don't have rights. (Female, 34, Iran).

One participant, who said she only has positive experiences with and trusts in the Finnish police entirely, recounted discussions with other migrants in her community around trust issues and conflicts between migrants and Finns:

> Q: Do you trust the police?
>
> Well like, to be honest, I don't think migrants have the same trust to the police [as Finns]. I think maybe they think because they are foreigners, they are second-degree people. Like the treatment could be different. And I think, I don't know, I had never been in trouble with Finnish people, but I think if people because I hear something like that: If people have a problem with Finnish people, they even they have their rights, they will not call the police because they scared that the things will turn like, around them. (Female, 30, Iraq).

Uncertainty around contacting the police tells of hesitancy and fear of becoming the target, which could be a reflection of what they expect of police behaviour. The participant excludes herself from this fear, however as the previous participants mentioned, these are real worries for some. Even though all participants expressed trust towards the police, this is a finding that should not be overlooked. Small doubts can lead to bigger insecurities, affecting social capital negatively. Although the participants' views and attitudes remained mainly positive, one participant recalled a time when she first came to Finland and learned about unmarked police (siviilipoliisi). This can mean either plain-clothed policemen in unmarked cars, or unmarked cars with uniformed officers. The possible presence of unmarked police raised concerns and suspicions for her since they remind her of her own country's (Iran) police. She also noted the number of surveillance cameras both in cities and in traffic and told that they make her feel like someone is always monitoring people. However, when asked about police body cameras, all participants responded that they were a good way to protect and keep accountable both the police as well as individuals they interact with. That raises another question: would a truly high-trust society need things like police body cameras? Feeling the need to have proof that holds people accountable could be considered a sign of trust issues, however, of course, even a relatively safe country like Finland has the police facing dangerous situations and people all the time. Maybe it is better to regard the need for body cameras as a good way for the police to show that they try their best with the resources they have. For example, if there is a situation

involving a conflict with the police, they can provide proof of the situation, averting a "he-said-she-said" situation.

One of the most interesting findings emerging from the data was how the participants spoke about corruption and how that might affect expectations of police behaviour. The Finnish government and institutions such as the police organisation are described by the participants as trustworthy and non-corrupt, however, all participants mentioned the likelihood of "bad apples" and individuals that will take advantage of their authority when given the opportunity. These individuals were accounted to be only a few or a rare exception, however, it is interesting that all participants talked about the topic very similarly, describing the police as only human and that there are bad and corrupt people everywhere in society, for example:

> Q: Do you think there is corruption in Finnish police departments?
>
> There is no place where there is no corrupt police, I mean obviously there will be some bad apples somewhere, but by and large this is, I totally trust the police. (Male, 64, The Netherlands).
>
> I know that culture and structure can change people's mind and intentions, but I believe that.. Every people have their justification and their reason to do something wrong, even when they are at work. And it doesn't relate to... It doesn't relate to if you're Finnish police or you're Iranian police. (Female, 34, Iran).
>
> Maybe? Yeah, possibly yeah. There are always some bad apples everywhere, so yeah, yeah. (Female, 31, India).

Even though the described "bad apples" would be more of an exception, not the norm, seeing the police as potentially flawed human beings can have a significant effect on expectations and trust. Would it not be appropriate to hold the police to a higher moral standard than "regular" people? If one expects there to be bad actors in the police force, how can one trust that the police officer they must interact with is not one of them? However, as these "bad apples" are described by participants as rare, it would signify that they mostly trust them to be the exceptions.

All in all, while the police and police organisation in Finland are expected to function quite well, one cannot ignore the underlying issues, uncertainties and fears reported in the interviews. The participants were asked if they thought there could be anything done by the police to make them more approachable to migrants, and ideas such as more community outreach and visitations to schools or even refugee centres, to talk about the role and tasks of the police in Finland were mentioned.

> Q: What do you think could be done to make the police more approachable?
>
> There could be more of going to schools and classes. And talk to people that, especially for refugees, it's important that, OK, I'm police, my responsibility is not to deport you to your country. Yeah you can ask me. Help if you need me. (Female, 34, Iran).

More ethnic minority representation in the police was also brought up, wondering if that might help both migrant communities see the police as more approachable,

and the police themselves gain a better understanding of working with migrants and people from ethnic minority backgrounds:

> So I don't know like does [multicultural] training help? Maybe, it's just always easy, because even in my field when we talk about how do we help teachers oh yeah, let's do, let's do training. But how many training sessions can actually change the mindset? You know it doesn't help, but it's just. It's just with time. I hope that there are more even police officers with different background, perhaps they will add to the, to the.. Way or or kind of, change the way they think about fellow police officers, even so I don't know how how it goes. (Female, 31, India).

A better understanding of how the police organisation works and what is the police's role in Finnish society would help manage the expectations of people with different backgrounds coming to Finland, hence building trust and possibly the relationship between migrants and the police.

4.2 Language issues

One of the biggest reported insecurities affecting expectations and therefore trust in some the participants was their lack of Finnish language skills. While most participants said they were able to get by with their Finnish in everyday life and when, for example, going to the police station to get their Finnish ID card, two participants evaluated their Finnish as poor. All participants expressed and described varying expectations as well as experiences of police language skills, however, most said that Finns often seem shy about their English language skills, which can lead to awkwardness and them even clamming down in situations where it would be important to communicate clearly. Discussing the occupation and nature of policework, one participant described their English skills:

> Q: Where do you think these expectations come from?
>
> Some police officers speak better English. [...] But I'm sure that it, especially policeman doesn't know any English, because it seems that people who work in. Uh, how can I say more? More traditional kind of work? It's not like teachers, professors, you know? I always think that they speak Finnish and they don't have any idea about other languages. I think it's come from my experience. (Female, 34, Iran)

Interestingly, in her answer, she seems to be categorising people working as a police officer in a certain role, or group. She says that some speak better English but goes on to describe her view of people who work "traditional" jobs. Another participant described his frustrations with Finns and their shyness and apprehension to use English in many official circumstances, not just the police:

> Q: Have you had personal experience with the police here in Finland?
>
> I mean the people who work there as a police officer, when I moved to Finland, usually my first meeting with the people they, I feel that they don't want to talk in English. Even the

official places that I have some experience with. Maybe it doesn't include these police things, but once I went to a bank and they say we don't have English workers, so we cannot help. Then they say no we we cannot help you sorry and I just went, yeah, it was weird. And this kind of common in many places. (Male, 28, Turkey).

One participant encouraged Finns, especially in official situations, to be more self-assured with their English skills:

Q: What do you think could be done to make the police more approachable?

For all Finnish people, they have to be more comfortable with their English because they speak very well and they tell me: “I'm not really speak good English” and I’m like are speaking better than me! So yeah, and because I remember like last few times when I had been in police station, they preferred to talk Finnish with me like even my Finnish, it wasn't good. But they prefer to have the conversation in Finnish than in in English and then they are OK when I interrupt more because I do that all the time, like I I put the word in English inside the conversation, but it was OK. (Female, 30, Iraq).

Experiencing a language barrier in official situations such as the police station or bank can lead to uncomfortable and stressful situations, which can thus lead to negative perceptions and lower trust levels. Additionally, framing the police as a “traditional” occupation that does not necessarily emphasize language skills can also lead to the same conclusion, especially if this view is confirmed through experiences. Here a participant ponders if age or a person’s confidence levels affect their readiness to speak English:

Q: What language or languages were used when you went to the police station?

They prefer to talk Finnish with me. Yeah, if actually, it depends on the person who works there. If the person has got kinda self confident, they speak English. And if he doesn't or he doesn't have, then he tries speak Finnish. But I can’t understand the people even here in Europe, people are not used to speak in English, especially adults. OK, maybe students or young people, they're just kind of more international, but not adults. They don't need to speak in their daily life. They are not used to have to speak English and then they don't prefer it. Maybe they're shy. (Male, 28, Turkey).

Using a foreign language is described by a participant to be easier in calm, relaxed situations, where there is a structure or clear expectations, for example, going to the police station to get one’s ID. In a more excitable, stressful situation, it is described as more comfortable to use a language that comes more naturally, like English. However, if the police arriving at the scene speak little to no English, it can complicate the situation and lead to uncertainty and a negatively perceived experience. Two very different experiences of having to call the police were described by participants:

Q: Have you had personal experience with the police in Finland?

Several years ago I chased down a shoplifter from the supermarket and so then I had some talk with the police after that. The the shop called them. [...] We spoke English, That's the kind of, being like when I'm in a totally relaxed state, it's much easier to speak Finnish, than when it's a slightly more exciting situation. And they [police] spoke English very well. (Male, 64, The Netherlands).

Q: Have you had personal experience with the police in Finland; Did they ask you further questions when they came to the scene?

Their spoken English wasn't so good, so my boyfriend was with me and he was the one with doing most of the talking. He's Finnish so he did most of the talking. He told them everything and that's how the situation kind of ended. But then, like after that, I've just been a bit worried in the sense that you know if I ever am in a situation like that and I call the police will the police even take me seriously because they don't get the they, they don't communicate in English that well. (Female, 31, India).

In the latter experience, her worries about language skills in possible future situations with the police implies a level of mistrust and lends to some of the fears and uncertainties expressed by some of the participants regarding their lack of Finnish skills and the potential lack of English skills by the police. Of course, situations like this depend on the individuals who are there, some policemen can communicate excellently in English, some adequately and some more poorly. However, the main issue with having experienced a language barrier is that it can affect how the police are viewed and trusted in the future. A lot of the police work that happens on the ground level requires clear communication skills, so one of the priorities in police training should also be about language, especially English. Language training should revolve around clarity so that the police can diffuse different situations and communicate with people from different backgrounds. It is unclear how much the police emphasize language skills or English skills in training, but at least from the differing views of the participants and reported incidents, many of them describe the English skills of the police as lacking.

While visitations to the police station were mainly praised as being efficient and pleasant, the main criticism was that police departments are not given enough recourses to offer enough appointment times. Outside of the personnel's preference to use Finnish, being able to use English as well was fine, and only one participant had experience with using a translator. She had an appointment at the police station, and even though she was able to speak English and was also learning Finnish at the time, her official records showed that her first language was Arabic. She believes that is why she was allocated a translator for her appointment as she did not request one herself. Important to note, this experience comes from a period in Finland, when there were a lot of asylum seekers coming from the Middle East like her, and Arabic translators were probably booked for appointments a bit more often. The possibility to use a translator is extremely important, and even though a person, for example, an asylum seeker, would be able to get by with English, they might be able to get more and better information in their first language, helping them with their journey. Unfortunately, however, the participant described her experience as unpleasant:

Q: Can you describe language-related aspects in your communication with the police?

When I was there, I remember, there was a translator like automatically, so I think they had booked it, but later it was just English. I think in the, in the, for my record they saw that they need someone [a translator]. I remember, well, sometimes I don't like the attitude

> of the translator. Even until now, if I had a translator at some point and then I don't like it, I will interrupt and say it in English or in Finnish. (Female, 30, Iraq).

This, of course, was only one account of working with a translator at the police station and there could have been many factors affecting the interaction and how it was perceived by the participant. It might have been because she could understand Finnish enough to pick up some nuances or word choices of the translator that she did not agree with, or something else affecting the atmosphere of the meeting. She emphasizes that they were the ones that booked the translator for her, and the interaction did not always reflect what she wanted to say. Translators are a vital part, especially for asylum seekers coming to a new country and trying to settle in. If experiences with translators feel uncomfortable, it could lead to insecurities around appointments and with police officials.

4.3 Racial prejudice and (perceived) discrimination

As discussed previously, the EU-MIDIS II (2017) survey found that people with Sub-Saharan African backgrounds faced the most racial insults, threats, discrimination and even physical violence in Finland, compared to other European countries. In the survey the Finnish police were perceived to be less likely to racially profile people than the police in other European countries, however, if we tie in the present study's finding of the notion of "bad apples" everywhere, we can see why some migrants are afraid of the police. If a person of colour faces racism regularly from seemingly regular people, as a participant of the study described, and they see the police as a group of regular people with "bad apples", how can they trust that the police they encounter are not prejudiced? Some participants talked about their fears about potentially being racially discriminated against by the police. Especially one participant discussed in detail the amount of racial harassment she feels has faced in Finland, and how she feels unsure how the police view her as well. Many things can affect these fears, and certain actions and words can even be perceived as racist, even if they are not intended so. For example, cultural differences in respect, a language barrier, and past trauma and experiences can all change the nature of an interaction. Perceived racism, especially from officials like the police, is difficult to handle because the police organisation might not even be aware of these issues, hence they would be impossible to change if there were no reports or feedback on their behaviour. On top of perceived racism, there is of course blatant and deliberate racism, which can also be hard to fix due to attitudes and issues in for example, the police organisational culture. The notion of perceived versus intentional racism is brought up here not to belittle anyone's experiences, but to keep in mind that the following section contains the personal experience of the participants and only their side of the story, and how they viewed the situation.

Even though the participants of the study reported largely positive views of the police and had little to no contact with them outside of official business such as getting their ID at the station, most participants said that they know other migrants that have had negative experiences with the Finnish police. When asked "Do you believe that Finnish police officers trust you?" one participant said no and explained her personal perspective:

> I think maybe they don't like foreigners. I don't know why. Uh, all the time, it's in my mind that... Because police for me is a symbol of patriarchy. It's, you know what the what I mean? It's a symbol of hegemony and what they want to dominate you and for me is a symbol of that and this symbol linked to discrimination linked to right-wing parties linked against migrant people. (Female, 34, Iran).

The participant spoke about her previous experiences with the police in Iran and as she previously described her view of the police occupation as traditional, this might be a factor in how she constructed and described this view. In addition to that, the discourse revolving around migration and migrants both in social and traditional media is oftentimes very polarizing. Whenever there are reports about crimes and statistics, migrants especially from Africa and the Middle East are easily stigmatized as the perpetrators on social media, even if ethnicity is not mentioned. Furthermore, migration is always one of the main focal points in politics, especially around elections, and some parties have a very critical stand against it. Oftentimes there are racist and prejudiced undertones in these discussions, and it must be difficult to follow them as a migrant or a person of colour. The discourse around migration can influence how migrants view the government and state institutions, such as the police.

Skin colour and ethnicity are common identifiers used by the police to identify and seek out suspected perpetrators in different situations. Even though understandably, skin tone is often one of the first things people notice about each other, it can lead to wrongful accusations and can be perceived as problematic, one participant describing:

> Q: Have you had personal experience with the police in Finland?
>
> I have had to call the police for, for issues. [...] they said that yes, the police will be there shortly, but the police came, of course, much much later, and so of course the first question that they asked me, and they gave me a call, the the first question they asked me was was this person black or white? You know, that kind of the first question. I was like, well, that person was visibly white. But I don't know if if he was Finnish or Middle Eastern or what, because like, "white" doesn't tell you much. (Female, 31, India).

When asked further how she felt when the first question from the police on the phone was about skin colour, she continued:

> It it, I think it's, a very slippery slope when you hear a question like that because then my first thought was OK, will they get really like surprised when they see me? Like will they think that you know, have I done something? Am I going to be under suspicion like? It was, it was just a slippery slope. (Female, 31, India).

This encounter came from a participant that also described the many times she has faced racism in the form of insults when walking down the street, doing groceries and most often when she is taking the bus, leading also to physical violence when someone yanked her hair from behind her. Having faced a lot of racism, she describes how uncomfortable it made her to hear that the police were firstly interested in the ethnicity of the person they were being called for. It did not help that the police spoke very broken English, and when they showed up, they only spoke Finnish with her boyfriend who was also present and did not even look her way:

> They did not even make eye contact with me in the whole conversation, it was just my boyfriend talking. (Female, 31, India).

While this might have been due to language issues as described in the previous section, the interaction might have been perceived as prejudiced and left an uncomfortable impression of the police. She continues with her views on trusting the police and the thought of having to interact with them:

> Yeah of course I would trust the police 100% like they are the kind of the safe guardians of the or guardians of the law in the way. But at the same time I don't know like, being not ethnically Finnish or not ethnically even, even white I have a feeling that I might be feeling scared of the police more than, given the amount of things we've heard in the past, yeah, so yeah, I'm I'm I I will trust them for sure, but I don't feel how. I don't know how how safe I feel around them, yeah.

> I'm personally scared. I wouldn't interact with the police unless I absolutely have to, yeah. I don't know like, fear of of being judged wrongly or something like that because as as a foreigner and as someone who is not native Finnish, or even white for that matter, I have a feeling that I could be perceived in a wrong way and I have a feeling that I might not, my problem might not be given as enough weightage as somebody else's. (Female, 31, India).

Her response shifts from reporting complete trust towards the police into a more insecure view, and while other participants recounted positive experiences and views, there is a level of underlying issues in how the Finnish police are viewed found in the present study. The police organisation could take this as a sign that whatever diversity and language training they offer might be insufficient. The Police University College is aware of the need for more multiculturality and diversity as they called for more applicants from different backgrounds (Ziemann, 2019), so maybe the organisation will start to emphasize these issues both in their training and organisational culture as well. The next section will aim to answer the research questions of the present study and discuss these findings further, reflecting them on the theoretical background and prior studies presented previously.

5 DISCUSSION

The present study was set to investigate migrants' views and trust of the Finnish police through in-depth interviews. Experiences with the Finnish police, expectations and emotions around interacting with the police, as well as language and trust, were discussed. This section offers findings to answer the research questions and ties them in with the background literature, as well as reflects the present findings to the EU MIDIS-II (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017) survey and the Being Black in the EU report (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018). The research questions of the study were:

RQ1: What kind of views around trust do migrants express on the Finnish police?

RQ2: What main factors do migrants use to explain these views?

The interview data show that the Finnish police are mainly well-trusted and seen as non-corrupt, however, there were clear signs of uncertainties and insecurities when it came to the thought of having to interact with them. The likelihood of "bad apples" everywhere, including the police organisation, was corroborated one way or another by all participants, which is an interesting thought to investigate further. Rudden (2021, p. 90) explores the thought of bad apples, or as she calls them "individual bad actors" in government agencies in the United States. She says it is easier to blame these individuals for their actions and not, for example, systemic racism. Rudden (2021, p. 91) explains the dangers behind this thought process: "An analysis of the mind-sets of officials within the agencies, as revealed by their own communications, demonstrates a pattern of organisational dysfunction that escalated and became mutually reinforcing". Essentially, therein lies the danger that these "bad apples" and their perspectives can potentially make their way into the collective mindset of the agency, department or organisation. Egharevba (2021) concurs this notion by saying that "bad apples" might be a result of a bad system, not bad individuals. According to Egharevba (2021), there is also a chance that the systems themselves protect and even encourage unethical behaviour. Furthermore, in the context of the United States, Silver et al. (2022)

discuss the same counterargument of "bad apples" used against the Black Lives Matter movement, which has been strongly focused on the police brutality and oppression people of colour and especially black Americans face. Excessive force and violence by the police are seen both as a result of bad actors or a necessary reaction in areas with high crime rates. What the latter argument fails to mention is that there have been many unarmed black Americans that have been killed by the police, even in their own homes, that have been no threat to anyone or even involved in criminal activity. The United States and Finland are vastly different societies with differences in policing, making it very hard or even pointless to compare, however, the notion of "bad apples" that the participants of the present study discuss, could be a cause for concern in Finland as well. The perception of bad apples in the police, whether is a reality or not, is enough to cause trust issues and poorer expectations of police behaviour. If one expects there to be bad actors, how can one trust that the person they must interact with is not one of them? This can reflect the level of social capital and generalized trust a person has.

Finland has been established as a generally high-trust society, where people trust in the government and the police, as well as each other. Participants reported similar views of the Finnish society, where people are generally honest and hard-working, which contributes to their attitudes towards the Finnish police as well. Having lived in Finland for a while, a participant mentioned how relieving it was when he lost his phone in the city and the first thought he had was where he had dropped it, rather than who stole it. As it turned out, someone had found it and taken it to a security guard in a local mall where he was able to retrieve it. Situations like these are telling of a high level of generalized trust in society. People migrating to high-trust countries like Finland from societies with generally lower trust, tend to experience what is called institutional improvement (Czymara & Mitchell, 2022). Their social capital will increase in the new high-trust environment and trust public institutions more. This was visible in the data, as most participants came from low-trust societies and described Finland as a safe country and Finnish people as trustworthy in general. Most participants also made comparisons to their countries' governments and police organisations, largely implying that the police in Finland are better in many ways. For example, the Finnish police are more passive and not disturbing to people, but take action when needed, and are generally not corrupt (excluding the possible "bad apples"). The participants were all first-generation immigrants; hence it was not possible to further investigate the claim made by Ali et al. (2022) that institutional improvement tends to fade away with the second generation. This would be an interesting as well as important topic for future research, as the number of second-generation immigrants grows in Finland.

There can be differences in trust levels and social capital when it comes to communities or even geographic areas in society, some of the main factors leading to lower trust levels being social inequality (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011) and ethnic diversity

(Loxbo, 2017). Unfortunately, ethnic diversity can lead to social inequality for various reasons, such as having to leave their home and belongings as a refugee or difficulties in finding a job due to language skills or even just a foreign-sounding last name (Ahmad, 2020). Language skills and the lack thereof were brought up multiple times in the interviews and had a clear impact on those whose Finnish skills were lower. The fear of being misunderstood and therefore misjudged and having to explain a situation to a police officer who does not speak English very well were the biggest concerns, which were also corroborated by some of their accounts with the police. Some participants reported having spoken with police that spoke English very well, but it seems that there are big differences in the language skills of the Finnish police. A language barrier having a negative effect on the views of the police as Piatkowska (2015) explains, seems to ring true for those who have faced language issues with the police. Furthermore, Egharevba (2009) combines language issues and prior (negative) experiences with the police to explain migrants' hesitancies and insecurities with the police. Additionally, whether related to language or other issues, negative experiences tend to affect people's trust levels more, as Kääriäinen and Niemi (2014) describe how poorly perceived interactions with the police lower trust far more than positive interactions mend or build it. Furthermore, general negative or for example, racist experiences, can have a negative effect on a person's social capital. This was evident when a participant described the number of racist interactions she has faced in Finland, and then in the way she described her thoughts and views of the police. Having faced the most negative interactions due to being and looking like "a foreigner", she also had the most doubts about how the police would treat her if she had to interact with them. Previous research on ethnic minority groups in Finland seems to suggest that the police as well as the criminal justice system treats these groups differently than the ethnic majority group (Egharevba, 2021), which would suggest there are larger, fundamental issues within the system.

The participants of the present study reported mainly positive experiences with the police, yet it was noticeable that there were some underlying issues around trust. Previous studies on ethnic minorities and migrants' trust towards the police in Finland suggest that ethnic minorities are more likely to face bias and suspicion from the police. For example, Egharevba (2021, p. 134) points to the normality of racial jokes and humour in police culture and ties it into the long-running racism that "has been part of the social fabric of the police". While the accuracy of traditional characteristics of police organisational culture such as conservativeness, isolation, and masculinity (Campeau, 2015) can be debated, it is interesting that they were brought up in an interview unprompted. It seems that the view of policework as traditional and masculine still very much exists, and even more interestingly, a participant connected these traits to right-wing politics that tend to be very critical towards migration. The described mindset or view of "traditional" police seemed to be a factor in how the participant explained at least some of her views of the police. Of course, terms such as

masculine and traditional do not apply to all people working at the police organisation, yet there are hints that the organisation might not be as open-minded as it should be. If there indeed is even an underlying "racial preference" (Egharevba, 2021, p. 134) in the police, it would imply that institutional discrimination affects the Finnish police organisation as well. Egharevba (2009) indicates that there is a prevailing negative attitude towards migrants in Finland, who are already in a disadvantaged position in society.

As research suggests, and a participant confirmed, racism is prevalent in Finland, and it would also appear that at least some aspects of the Critical Race Theory (Delgado et al., 2017) are applicable such as the notion that racial prejudices are built into societal systems. Additionally, notions of Blumer's (1958) Group Position Theory and the fight for privileges could also be validated through the present study. For example, many participants pointed out how they feel like they have to prove themselves to Finns, the police or people in general. They reported a need to prove that they have jobs and families and are "good citizens", not people who depend on governmental support. What about those who rely on different aids and benefits? Looking at the discourse around migrants and migration in Finland, there are prevalent attitudes on how resources should be divided. Some people think resources, such as benefits from the government, should go to Finns first, then to migrants. This is a clear example of the Group Position Theory (Blumer, 1958), and how groups are divided, and which is seen as the group that is entitled to privileges and which is the one that needs to fight for them. The present study, however, focused on the point of view of and experiences of migrants with the police in Finland. They did not report mistreatment, in fact, most experiences were pleasant, especially at the police station with their customer service. Hence, the present study cannot corroborate the presence of systemic or institutional racism in the police, this, of course, would be far beyond the resources of a single master's thesis and would need a full-blown investigation into the government. However, what the study found was that there are underlying trust issues, for example, the notion of "bad apples", that have the potential to lower migrants' social capital further. Especially if they face (or perceive to face) mistreatment or disrespect from the police. Topics surrounding trust on both migrants' and the police's sides are vastly understudied and need more multi-disciplinary research from different angles. Both quantitative numbers to uncover possible patterns, as well as qualitative, individual accounts that open the experiences people are going through with and within the police.

The present study, and more importantly, the Second European Union minorities and discrimination survey (EU-MIDIS II; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017) and the subsequent Being Black in the EU report (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018) have presented the realities of racism that many people of colour face in Finland. While the present study and the EU-MIDIS II (2017) survey are vastly different, it is interesting to see if there are any similarities

and ponder if the interview data reflects the possible experiences and attitudes of the participants of the survey. While the EU-MIDIS II survey focused on immigrants with a Sub-Saharan African background, the present study had a more diverse group of participants and all but one did not report that they had perceived or faced racism in Finland. However, the amount of racially motivated verbal and even physical harassment one participant recounted should be enough to raise concerns on the topic. The EU-MIDIS II survey found that in Finland, 63 per cent of participants had faced racial harassment in the last five years, being the highest percentage out of the European nations surveyed. Somewhat contradictorily, participants in Finland also reported the highest levels of trust towards the police. Treatment from the police was reportedly respectful by 66 per cent of participants, and Finland had one of the lowest results in racially motivated police stops. It is important to note, however, that the question about trusting the police had only three possible answers: tend to trust, neutral, tend not to trust, or not choosing an answer. Even though a clear majority (84%) reported tending to trust, it can mean many different things to the participants. This is one of the weaknesses of quantitative surveys: they get surface-level answers that are often not explained further. Nevertheless, the "tends to trust" answer could potentially reflect the "try to trust" response that a few participants spoke of in the interviews. Trying to trust, as well as tending to trust are not the same as trusting completely. Although in the right direction, these results should not be taken at face value and be contented with but explored further.

From the findings the present study offers and the theoretical background and prior studies it presents, it could be hypothesized that especially migrants with lower Finnish language skills feel the most insecurities and uneasiness around the police. Negative or uncomfortable interactions with the police add to these insecurities and affect trust negatively, potentially leading to lower social capital entirely. Another hypothesis around social capital and the police would be that if one faces negative situations often, for example, racial discrimination, social capital will lower. How are those situations then dealt with could have an impact on trusting the police: do they feel safe enough to report it? If harassment is reported, how do the police handle the situation? What are the consequences for the violator, how about the one who reported it? If the person who reported the crime feels dissatisfied with the police, it will lower their trust towards them. Ethnicity seems to be an important factor in social capital indeed, skin tone seemingly being the biggest source of racist harassment. These theoretical assumptions derived from the study open doors for future research, which will be discussed further in the next section concluding the study, along with the implications and limitations of the present study.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The present study aimed to investigate migrants' views and trust on the Finnish police through in-depth interviews. Three main themes around trust emerged from the interview data: expectations, language, and perceived racial prejudice. Connecting these to the notions of social capital (e.g., Seligman, 2000), CRT (Delgado et al., 2017) and Group Position Theory (Blumer, 1958), it can be concluded that the participants of the present study exhibit a fairly high amount of trust towards the police, however, a few also expressing some underlying worries. All in all, the Finnish police were seen in a rather positive light by all participants. The main factors around some of the worries were language barriers and possible negative stereotypes and perceptions of migrants and if those affect how the police treat them, for example as more suspicious due to their ethnicity. Some participants had experienced a language barrier when interacting with the police, reinforcing these worries, but the fears around prejudice seemed to stem more from previous trauma and racial harassment by others, not from the police themselves. All things considered however, the Finnish police held a positive image in the participants, most describing them as caring and sympathetic from how they have seen and heard them act in different situations.

Additionally, many participants commented on the lack of resources the police face and how they seem to try their best to work around that. The lack of resources were described as for example, difficulties in finding appointment times at the police station. Visitations to the station due to, for example, getting a Finnish ID, were always described as pleasant and efficient, except for one negative experience with a translator. Language-wise, employees at the station were said to prefer Finnish, but have the possibility to speak in English as well and offer appointments with a translator present. Other than increasing resources, participants thought the police could make themselves more approachable especially to migrants by, for example, visitations to schools, migrant and refugee associations and centres, to talk about their role in Finnish society and vice versa, and get to know migrants at the same time. This is an apt suggestion because previous research suggests that Finnish police do not have many contacts or

relationships with people with migratory backgrounds outside of their work, which can hinder attitudes and views towards migrants (Egharevba & White, 2007).

While the present study utilized previous theoretical aspects, it set out to build theory with a critical grounded theory approach that could be studied further. The main theories, or moreover hypotheses that emerge from the study are first, that poorer Finnish language skills create anxieties around the thought of interacting with the police, especially in emergency situations. Secondly, ethnic minorities, especially those whose appearance differs from the ethnic majority, face discrimination in their everyday lives, leading to apprehension about contacting and interacting with the police. And thirdly, when a person with these insecurities encounters the police, there is a substantial emphasis on how the police can communicate and handle the situation that affects the person and their trust either positively or negatively. The findings of the present study along with these hypotheses can be utilised to further the field of studying trust, focusing on how the police are viewed by migrants. The next section offers more suggestions for further research, as well as discusses the limitations of the present study, and lastly, offers possible practical implications.

6.1 Limitations and recommendations for future research

The present study offers a glimpse into the experiences and thoughts of a few migrants in Finland. Although these individual accounts are interesting and important to study and continue to research further, they are not universal or generalizable. A small sample size can offer potential explanations for certain phenomena but cannot give exhaustive answers to most questions. However, as there have been and continues to be calls for more research on trust and the relationship between migrants and the police, it is vital to expand on both qualitative and quantitative research. Along with a small sample size, the present study had other limitations that are common when it comes to a thesis, for example, a lack of resources as well as practical skills when it comes to conducting research. On top of a small sample size, it was quite scattered, as in that the participants were all from different backgrounds. This offered interesting findings, however, if I were to continue with similar research, it would be potentially more effective to find people with more similar backgrounds at a time. Here a lack of time, and for example, no possibility for translators, limited the search for participants.

Aside from the limitations of the sample, I am most likely affecting my interview questions and findings in one way or another. My own bias and worldview certainly affected the study, even though I tried to recognise and reflect on them to keep their effect to a minimum. Arguably, few if any researchers in humanities and social sciences can conduct studies without somehow affecting them, however I would like to believe that it is a skill that can and will lead to increased neutrality, for example in formulating interview questions. Indeed, when it comes to interviews, the researcher

is not the only one with their own agenda, assumptions, views, and goals. The participants also have their own experiences and backgrounds that lead to their subjective responses, which cannot be turned into an objective truth about the research topic. That said, I think it is also important to seek out and listen to these subjective experiences, to try and raise awareness of the complexity of these issues and handle them from multiple points of view. The interviews were one of the most important phases of the study, and organising and conducting the interviews was completely new for me and honestly, anxiety-inducing. However, as a whole, I am pleased with how everything worked out, although I would surely do some things differently with the experience I have now.

Many further questions emerged from the present study on top of a general lack of migrant perspective on views around trust and social capital that could be topics for further research. As the trust levels of Finns are measured so regularly through the quantitative police barometer, it is quite strange that similar measures have not been taken to look at the migrant population of Finland. In addition to the perspective of migrants of different backgrounds, it would be interesting to look into other groups as well, such as police officers and cadets, and second-generation immigrants. Attitudes of the police towards migrants are quite under-researched (e.g., Egharevba & White, 2007) and should be something to investigate further. For example, the Police University College (POLAMK) or police departments themselves might have the resources and means to conduct further research on the police and police cadet perspective. For someone outside of the organisation, it might be difficult to get in touch with police officers on such topics.

The present study commented on institutional improvement, however, as all participants were first-generation immigrants it was not possible to further investigate the claim made by Ali et al. (2022) that institutional improvement tends to fade away with the second generation. This would be an interesting as well as important topic for future research, as the number of second-generation immigrants grows in Finland. Additionally, comparing second-generation immigrants' views to those of other Finns could lead to interesting findings. One major gap in research that the present study revealed was the lack of studies on police language skills. I could only find a single study from 1994 as well as one bachelor's thesis (Kaukonen, 2010). Communication skills are extremely important in policing and the police should always be prepared to encounter people with limited or no Finnish skills. Researching language skills, attitudes and anxieties could unveil more broad communication-based issues or topics between migrants and the police and encourage more language training for police cadets and officers in the future. One main theme that arose from the interview data was the notion of "bad apples" in the police. This could be a point for further research as well: are the police seen more as regular people or as protectors of law and order, and how do these views correspond to trust levels? They could also be compared with

first-generation and second-generation, as well as other Finns and different demographics to see if there are similarities or differences in these views.

6.2 Practical implications

The present study found that the selected participants have mostly positive views of the police and find them mostly trustworthy, yet with some underlying worries. As stated previously, these findings are not universal and offer only a glimpse into the realities of these individuals. That said, there are practical implications that will be presented here, that could be utilised to further the field and evaluate current practices. These implications are mainly directed towards the police, because it would be difficult or impossible even, to offer any practical suggestions to migrants, because of the vastly different backgrounds and experiences they can have. Although, I will repeat the call for more migrant recruits into the Police University College that their principal had expressed (Ziemann, 2019) as well as Egharevba and White (2007) who suggest more migrants in the police force could aid with fighting negative stereotypes and see the migrant population not only as "clients" but as peers. By evaluating current practices, I emphasize the role of the police organisation and the Police University College to reflect on their multicultural and language training, and how they approach migrants and migrant communities in Finland. The participants of the study expressed a willingness and a clear need to communicate with the police more and learn more about their roles and tasks in Finland. As suggested previously, more community outreach in, for example, schools and refugee centres, would offer a situation with a low threshold for migrants to participate in discussions with their local police. Building trust and a relationship with migrants could also offer preventative aid both for migrants as well as the police. It is unclear how much English language training the police have, but it could be argued that they need more. The emphasis in language training should be on the ability to communicate clearly and be prepared to work around a potential language barrier. Sometimes language issues revolve around attitudes rather than skills, in which multicultural or communication-based training could offer more help.

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APPENDIX

Original English interview questions:

Demographic characteristics

- Age
- Gender (male, female, other, don't want to say)
- Ethnicity, background?
- Education level
- Language proficiency, level of Finnish language?
- Employment

- How long have you been in Finland?

Experiences with the police

- Have you had personal experience with the police in Finland?
- Have you ever been stopped by the police on the street or when driving?
- Do you know people who have had experiences with the police?

- If there are personal experiences/know people that have experiences:
- How have police officers treated you/them and spoken to you/them?
- Can you describe language-related aspects in your communication with the police?

Trust, views, and attitudes towards the police

- Describe your views of the Finnish police on a general level.
- What comes to mind when you think of the Finnish police?
- The values that the Finnish police operates by, according to their website are: "customer service, fairness, professionalism and staff welfare".
  - What are your thoughts on this?
- What kind of expectations do you have when interacting with the police?
  - Where do you think these expectations come from?
- What kind of, if any, emotions are connected to the thought of interacting with the police?
- Do you believe that Finnish police officers trust you?
- Do you trust them?
- What do you think are the factors that affect the way you are treated by the police?
- How willing are you to report a crime?

- How does the police take migration into consideration in Finland?
- How do they respond to migrants / work with migrants?
- Do you think there is corruption in Finnish police departments?
- There was a bribing incident caught on camera a while back where a Finnish man tried to bribe a police officer.
  - What do you think of this?
- What do you think could be done to make the police more approachable?