Immigrant's relations with the police in Finland: A Lamarckism or a self-induced exercise?

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Every year, thousands of immigrants emigrate from different parts of the globe to the northernmost part of Europe (Finland) either to study or start a new life. These new immigrants are expected by at a point in time in their stay in the country to become familiar with the law enforcement norms as well as the Finnish ways of life. It is against this background that many immigrant groups are becoming increasingly frustrated by their being easy targets of police stop–and-search practices carried out in pre-determined manner. Moreover the experiences of immigrants are rarely examined. The present contribution is set to fill this vacuum by arguing that racial controversy is not new to police work nor is it a recent phenomenon across many police institutions across the globe. However, our understanding of immigrants' views of the police and what influences them to want to co-operate with the police could be of help in this direction. Therefore, those immigrants who view the police as a legitimate institution are more likely to trust and report crime to them. The key to stemming this tide is by our examining procedural justice in immigrants' interaction with the police in Turku, Finland.

Introduction

The relative increase in immigrant's population in Finland is posing a significant new challenge to public authorities, including the criminal justice system. Thus, the importance of citizens' co-operation with the police is the key to any successful policing of crime and disorder in a modern day society, both in theory and practice (Thurman *et. al,* 2001). Hence,

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any effective police establishment requires the support and voluntary co-operation of the general public for the police to be effective. This is evident in Turku, where changing population patterns are dictating how police initiative can now be implemented. Moreover, the police as institutions across the world have one issue in common: a long history of conflict with minorities (Walker, et al., 1996). Research supporting this kind of conflict, particularly minority citizens' attitude towards the police, includes Cao et al. (1996), on African Americans Webb and Marshall (1995) Hispanics while Jacob, (1971), is on Native Americans in the US. In Finland, research on police-immigrant relations should be a good starting point for our understanding of policing in general and in particular race and ethnic relations in the country.

In this way, the concept of race should be understood as the signifier of the relationship. The premise is that race is a social construct, a form of categorization that places people into groups which is then defined by erroneous biological/cultural characteristics, which in most cases are not based on facts, but on the individual's actions and values. According to Banton and Harwood, (1975), race is a way of categorising people, race is based upon a delusion because popular ideas about racial classification lack scientific validity and are moulded by political pressure rather than by evidence from biology, in spite of this understanding, little is still known of minorities'/immigrants' attitudes toward the police in Finland (Egharevba, 2005b; Egharevba, and White, 2007). In the latter study, police cadet's attitudes toward an immigrant group in the country were explored on their level of contact (s) they have had with immigrants prior to enrolling at the police cadet school. We need to remind ourselves that social roles define situations and the kind of behaviour that is appropriate at any point in time by our emphasis of what is right or wrong. When rules are enforced, the violators of such rules are often categorised as criminals that should not be

trusted to live by the rules agreed upon by all within the society.

Similarly, other research support the premise that immigrant/minorities evaluate the police very poorly given the nature of their contact with the police. Additional research suggests that minorities were more likely to have contact with the police than the majority in involuntary situations (Murty et al., 1990, Carter, 1985). In the USA, for example, research has shown that when minorities have contact with the police they were disproportionately more likely to suffer verbal abuse and harassment (Carter, 1985), to be hassled without cause (Browning, et al., 1994), to be victims of excessive force, and to observe racial discrimination in police shootings (Radelet, 1980, Walker, et al., 1996) to be arrested (Brown, 1977). Others have argued that minorities' poor evaluation of the police may be the consequence of their unfulfilled expectations of the police (Carter, 1985). In sum Carter, (1980:490) was correct in his analysis by suggesting that this phenomenon is common:

…significantly more diverse for Hispanics – or any other culturally distinct group – than the police, who predominantly consist of, and are administered by, members of the dominant society, anticipated.

There is no doubt that if there were an increase in police-immigrant/minorities' contacts outside their official line of duties, could improve police/immigrant relations and at the same time increase co-operation in crime prevention and help in fighting prejudices in the country. In Finland, research evaluating new immigrants' views of the police in the country still lacks two fundamental issues: (1) given that immigrants have a poor evaluation of the police in the country, the cultural dimension has not been explored in sufficient details. Moreover, the existing research has failed to clarify the issue of race in police immigrants' relations in the country sufficiently. (2) One research in particular does support the assertion that the poor evaluation of the police may be caused by probably unfulfilled expectations of the immigrants/minority with regard to their various experiences prior to migrating to the country (Egharevba, 2005a).

There is element of truth to this fact, but the existing research has failed to explore the impact of race and socio-cultural well being of the focus group's ex-

pectation of police in the country. The question is, are the immigrants satisfied with the police pattern of conduct in their involuntary contacts in the country? This line of questioning would make the analysis of contact between immigrant and the police more interesting, just as Smith's research suggests (1994), similarly, Cordner, (1997) has posited that given some negative aspects of police work in giving sanctions (traffic tickets), in stop-and-search situations as well as arrests this does increase the misunderstanding between immigrants/minorities and the police. Police need to understand that these kinds of involuntary contacts with immigrant/minorities can either lead to positive or negative interaction with the police. Hence, police need to be reminded that any positive interaction with immigrants could bring about some advantages, such as familiarity, trust and confidence in the police by the new immigrants, which in turn symbolise the due respect which many immigrants expect from sensitive police conducts. Similarly, whether a rule has the force of law, tradition or professional ethics, the enforcement of such rules should be every citizen's duty, most especially of the group upon which such enforcement is particularly focused.

The aim of the present study is two-fold (1) to examine police-immigrant relations, especially those immigrants who have only been in the country for a certain period of time, (2) explore the nature of police interactions with new immigrants in Turku. A comprehensive analysis of these aims should help us to understand the frequency of their voluntary/involuntary contacts, such as when do immigrants ask for police assistance as well as their confident in the police after being stopped on the street and how these experiences are linked to their previous experiences prior to migrating to the country.

Previous Research

A large body of research has contributed to our understanding of race/ethnicity in the criminal justice system, yet many of these empirical studies continue to generate controversy (Vrij, *et al*., 1991) In other words, it is often the case that citizens make their decisions based on either to co-operate or not to-co-operate with the police on their evaluation of the circumstances of their meetings. Their decision may be precipitated by

their reaction based on personal value assessment, in the sense that whenever these values are in conflict with the law, co-operation should not be expected; thus, the manner in which immigrants view the police will be consistent with their own values, which is one factor shaping any law-related behaviour independent of prior experiences (Egharevba, and Hannikainen 2005b). However, just as an immigrant's values can be an obstacle to the law, so too can such individual's compliance with the law, also be determined by the immigrant's values. This is similar to what Tyler and Darley 2000, Skogan and Frydl, 2004 suggested in their research findings in the US.

The content of immigrants' specific interactions or encounters with the police has been found to influence immigrants/minorities' views of the police, whether it is a police-initiated contact or not (Tyler, 1990, McCluskey, 2003). Similarly, Mastrofski et al., (1996) have explored the tactics being used by the police to assess citizen's compliance in different face-to-face encounters with the police. What appear in their research are the following factors: respect, location of the police encounter, the citizen's social status, strength of evidence and civility, as well as prior experiences with the police. These factors were all suggested as influencing the citizen's view or compliance with the police (Mastrofski et al., 1996), while Engels (2003) similarly highlighted other factors such as race, the use of alcohol, drugs and the presence of a number of officers at the particular place as a significant factors that can be used to predict a citizen's resistance or disrespect towards the police. In a layman's sense the police are supposed to promote citizens' support and co-operation in their strategies to prove the legitimacy of their work in societies in proving equal protection to all without distinction.

Legitimacy should be understood in the context in which it is used in this paper as the institutional authority to lead and enforce the law, and make citizens obey the rules and regulations within societies. According to Sunshine and Tyler (2003), a legitimate institution is entitled to have rules and decisions obeyed which has its authority conferred on it by the general public and does not rest on the institutional power alone to impose its rules/decisions. This is in line with Weber's (1968) premise that compliance with rules cannot be guaranteed through authoritative power relations alone, that legitimacy is processed by authority, a law

or an institution, which leads citizens to comply with directives. Indeed, the citizens' views about legitimacy of the police can either influence their willingness to accept decisions from such authority or can shape their compliance behaviour (Tyler, 1990); for example, in a recent study on African immigrant encounters with the police in Finland, Egharevba and White (2007) found that some factors shaping immigrants' willingness to accept decisions emanating from their assault cases are the fairness with which such decisions were made and such individual's regard for the police institution.

This was not surprising as their conclusion because compliance motivated by personal values whenever it is in conflict with the law does bring about a heightened tension in police-immigrant relations. Most especially when the police work with polarised views as to who should be trusted or not in certain situations, when it involves immigrants. This is prone to different interpretations, which Schutz (1967) termed "typification". According to Schutz, the police act coherently within an infinite variation and complexity in stereotyping, and perpetuating prejudice and discrimination against those that are different within the society. Even when the issue of multiculturalism is rigorously being pursued in Finland, the Finnish police view of immigrants may even become an avenue for stereotyping due to cultural differences which may not promote unity between immigrants and the police, and, to some extent, among the majority citizens. All these factors may have contributed to the negative relations arising from misunderstandings between immigrants and the police in the country (Egharevba and White, 2007). Moreover, most police officers are from the majority population, which often leads to pre-determined prejudice by both the police and minorities perceiving each other with animosity. According to Vrij, et al. (1991) and Lumb (1995), the police often perceive minorities differently than the majority citizens. For example, the Kerner Commission in 1968 in the USA noted in its report that there exists hostility between the police and Jewish, Irish, Poles and Italians, as well as Germans citizens in the 1960s; the story is not the same at the present state of development in the US, but those that constantly are hostile to the police are the youth from the minorities communities. A good example will be the riot by African American and others following the acquittal of four police officers accused

of beating the motorist Rodney King in early 1990s. The predominantly minorities jurors that acquitted O. J. Simpson seem to have lessen this tension between the police and minorities in the USA. However, these kinds of riots are not peculiar to the US alone, we all remember the riot in the suburbs of Paris in late 2005 (news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/Europe/4405620.stm), Oldham in the UK 2001, and the Harmondsworth immigration detention centre in 2006 (Travis and Taylor, 2006).

Indeed, the experiences above may probably never come to Finland as a result of its parliamentary democracy, which is represented by both left and right coalition political parties. The Finnish politicians' ability to build a strong coalition among different ideological political parties has partially been due to the Finnish past history, which places emphasis on consensus and co-operation among political, economical and social actors as a means of balancing both its being a member of the EU and its relations with the neighbouring country (Russia) with a running market-based economy. In a nutshell, it will be necessary to use this coalition ability to build race relations in the country, for as in other Nordic countries what stands out among other central European countries is the governmental role in the lives of their citizens, which is quite extensive in maintaining the welfare system when compared to the limited roles those governments play in central European countries in welfare distribution (e.g. Italy, Germany and the UK).

The consequences of this method are that the Finnish society is characterized by a high degree of trust in public institutions. Trust is nothing more or less than the consideration a rational actor applies in deciding to place a bet Coleman, (1990); it can be assumed to be a sub-category of risk and can be calculated using probabilities. Similarly, Hardin came to the same conclusion that the choice between trust and distrust is fully explicable as a product of rational behaviour; Hardin gave an example with the game "I trust you because it is in your interest to do what I trust you to do", which is very important in illustrating social trust. This type of trust is usually defined in terms of mutual, moral and emotional obligation that stresses trust above all other things and values as well as equality. In other words, trust in public institutions is often based on the relative equality of citizens. Trust can also be ambivalence; this can be observed sometimes in weak, sometimes very strong trust towards the for-

malised organised structures in the society of which the citizens are part. This type of trust is very common in various type of informal relationship that develops in societies. What the foregoing touched on is some basic aspects of the construction of social order and the tensions and ambivalence which these constructions entail. For the reader of this paper to better understand trust and its significance in the context in which it is used in this work, it might be necessary to have some further definitions of the concept of trust. This definition is explicitly directed at dyadic social trust, which may not be relevant for institutional trust. The individual in question, as the example above points out, may not be considering whether he or she can trust his /her governmental institutions in carrying out their duties when they have a choice. Instead, the individual may only be considering the extent to which he/she can trust the institution to fulfil its function satisfactorily.

Another example is whether the police could be trusted to carry out their function of protecting citizens and their properties in a fair and honest manner. And can the mass-media be trusted to report an accurate account of what happens without any bias? In the individual consideration of these scenarios, the individual may not be concerned or interested with weighing up the gains or losses in such institution, even though he/she should expect certain behaviour to change depending on whether the individual trusts or does not trust the institution. This is what Mishler and Rose (2001) identified as the expected utility of institutions performing satisfactorily. Cultural theory posits that these kinds of conducts are easily learnt at an early age (Inglehart, 1997), while institutional theorists such as North (1990) argued that these kinds of trust are influenced by institutional performance.

Similarly, Sack (2002:142 -160) has argued that co-operation within civil society can be distinguished in relations within the society which he terms contractual and covenantal relations. In the contractual area, he suggests that there are economic and political relations, while in the covenantal relationships we help others and they help us without any calculation of relative advantage, which also leads to trust. While Lin, (2001:9) defines social capital as "an investment in social relations with expected returns", in this case immigrant presence can be regarded as investing through knowing the value and norms in the society.

Putnam (2000:137) says, "Trust in other people is logically different from trust in institutions and political authorities, for example one can trust one's neighbour and distrust local council members".

In Table 1 we can see that in Finland, the police are the most trusted institution with 88% confidence rating, while the Military is slightly higher at 89%. When compared to Belgium, for example, the trust in the police was merely 52% while in the military it was still the same 52% of trust, and in the UK the police were trusted by 55% of the population and the military by 67%. In a previous Euro barometer of 2003, it was demonstrated that there is a high degree of trust in the Finnish political system, media and other institutions – more than the European average; for example, the Finns trust in their legal system was 74% when compared to the other European countries' average of 51%, while in Belgium there was just a 36% trust in the legal system. In the area of government, 59% of Finns trust their government when compared to 37% on the European average.

In the UK, where the police has a 55% rating going by the European average (Eurobarometer, 2003), little research has demonstrated why minorities/immigrants are more hostile or fearful of the police than the majority citizens. In a study by Egharevba (2006), he posits that African immigrants were less likely than the majority citizens to agree to a positive statement on

the characteristics of the police officers in the country. Similarly, in a study conducted in the US by Jefferson and Walker (1993), it was suggested that two-thirds of the people they surveyed were of the opinion that the police discriminated against non-whites. This goes to support the notion that citizens' attitudes towards the police can solely be based on race. Even in those surveys, most results point to the fact that the majority of people generally supported and are satisfied with the ways the police carry out their duties (Thomas and Hyman, 1977, Radelet, 1980, Wilson, 1975). While in many countries this is true, in the case of minorities/immigrants it may be the opposite; this is because African and Hispanic Americans still do evaluate the police more negatively than the majority (Browning, et al., 1994). Moreover, these negative attitudes towards the police are not confined to African Americans alone – these kinds of sentiments were also found among Mexican Americans (Hadar and Snortum, 1975).

This low confidence among immigrants towards the police may be attributable to differential experiences with the police probably in their country of origin prior to migrating to Western world. According to Egharevba (2005a), African immigrant assessment of the police encounters in Finland were attributed to their prior experiences with the police in their country of origin, and their treatment at the hands of those police now becomes the determinant

Table 1: Confidence in Societal Institutions in EU 15 Countries 2004.									
	Police	Military	NGOs	Courts	Church	National parliament	National governm.	Political parties	Mass media
EU 15	65	63	61	48	41	35	30	16	46
Austria	76	62	57	68	43	41	39	19	49
Belgium	52	52	64	30	33	38	34	20	59
Denmark	86	67	63	76	74	63	44	32	51
Finland	88	89	56	69	71	58	59	21	56
France	55	58	68	42	33	35	29	13	60
Germany	75	61	51	56	37	29	23	11	44
Greece	72	84	64	73	61	63	55	28	46
Ireland	62	76	64	50	38	40	39	23	47
Italy	71	73	61	46	55	32	26	13	44
Luxembourg	65	62	62	57	37	56	61	31	56
Netherlands	58	53	57	49	37	43	39	27	58
Spain	59	55	65	47	35	42	42	27	61
Sweden	70	51	46	57	21	58	48	21	38
UK	55	67	65	37	37	25	19	10	20

of their attitude towards the police in Finland. Similarly, Campbell and Schuman (1975) did posit that the lower level of trust of the police among Blacks can be attributed to Blacks' experiencing more insulting language, unnecessary frisks and police brutality than the majority citizens. Also arguing in the same way were Friedman and Hott, 1995), in which they posited that youths who were stopped by the police were far more likely than those not stopped to fear the police. In their study, 61% of those stopped felt they had been verbally disrespected, threatened and shoved. Thus, minorities are most likely than the majority to have unpleasant involuntary contacts with the police and these contacts do affect and influence their perception of the police (Walker et al.,, Parks, 1976 and Egharevba, and White, 2007). Furthermore, we have been warned by Decker in his piece in 1981 that the researcher has to be able to make a distinction between voluntary and involuntary contact with the police as he put it. Voluntary contacts are initiated by citizens either when they go to make a report of a crime, disorder or fear of crime, or make a request for information from the police, while involuntary contacts are police-initiated, such as being stopped for questioning on the streets, or being issued with a fine after a traffic violation or other regulation infringement. According to Decker (1981), involuntary contacts generate more negative reactions by citizens than voluntary contacts.

Similarly, as has been suggested by Smith and Hawkins (1993), it does not matter whether the contact is voluntary or involuntary, both sorts of contact can result in a more negative attitude towards the police. For example, any immigrant who has been a victim of assault on the street without a proper police investigation could be expected to judge similar situations whether it is minor or severe and if the immigrant felt it was significant this can easily lead to a more negative attitude towards the police than those who have not experienced such assault previously. Therefore they have no point of reference. Having said this, most immigrants hold the police in lower regard because they are more sensitive to the mistreatment by the police than the majority citizens. This sort of conclusion led Friedman and Hott (1995) to conclude that Latinos were most likely to feel disrespected by the police even though there were less likely to be stopped by the police than blacks. According to Browning et al. (1994), these kinds of circumstances do lead blacks to interpret police behaviour towards them as "hassling" indicating suspicion.

Indeed, in the case of immigrants in Finland, there are special problems in policing these new groups in the country; for example, there are various ways in which the issues of police/immigrant interactions can be addressed, whether the pattern of police behaviour does influence the immigrants' conclusions about any interaction with the police, or whether the police do care much about protecting citizens on equal terms in view of their profession. However, the social situation in which immigrant and the police interact is one of new challenges facing the police because of the differences in policing styles in the country and the immigrants' own country. Furthermore, policing in the country occurs in the context of policing homogeneous people. Presently, there is some shift already in the policing tactics with the arrival of the immigrants – as policing work is beginning to look heterogeneous these heterogeneous elements can be found in the cultural sphere itself. For example, in the country there are many cultural and linguistic minorities; consequently all efforts are now being focused on recruiting immigrant citizens into the police, these efforts on the part of the police administrators are not being utilised by many immigrant in enlisting into the police school. Another area of new challenges is the police's efforts to build trust in the immigrant community, which is still frustrating as result of their lack of language proficiency, while in the police, too, there are still some officers who are not fluent in other languages including English language and this seems to compound the problems.

Methodology

35 Africans resident in Turku were selected for an in-depth interview on their interaction with the police in the previous twelve months in the city. The racial breakdowns of the participants were 12 North Africans (34%) composed of 7 males and 5 females, and 23 Sub-Saharan Africans (66%) composed of 16 males, and 9 females. Most of the participants spoke English, and, although some spoke fairly good Finnish, we opted for English as the medium of the interview. The author conducted the interviews; in total

(of 37) 14 (40%) were female, while 23 (66%) were males. The respondents' educational breakdown was as follows: lower than high school: 9 (26%), with a high school diploma 14 (40%), and those that were degree students numbered 12 (34%). Some of the participants had resided in Turku for merely two years only: 13 (37%); while the others have resided for more than five years in the same city: 22 (63%). Employment: those that were self-employed numbered 7 (20%), the employed 13 (37%), the unemployed 10 (29%), and full time students 5 (14%).

Measures adopted

The focus of the interview questions was on the participants' interaction with the police. The questions began with: Have you had contact with the police in the past 12 months? If the answers were positive, the immigrant was asked whether the contact was positive or negative. (2) Immigrants who have had contact with the police were asked the type of contact they have had. Was it voluntary, for instance reporting a disorder, traffic accident or being a victim of a crime or requesting information from the police station. If it was involuntary contact, they were asked whether in the specified period they had been stopped on the street by the police or being issued with a traffic violation ticket. (3) Immigrants were asked to rate their experiences with the police on the degree of satisfaction with the police conduct or behaviour. The attributes included: politeness, friendliness, professionalism, whether they had been at ease with the police and whether the police has been helpful. The participants were asked to use a five point Likert scale: 1 = Very Satisfactory to 5 = Very Unsatisfactory. The overall satisfaction was used as the basis of the analysis. (4) Those who had not had any contact with the police were also asked the same question regarding their interaction with the police, they were also asked to answer using a 5 point Likert scale to indicate 1 = Strongly Agree to 5 = Strongly Disagree. The questions were whether immigrants should co-operate with the police in order to prevent crime in their neighbourhood. Would they agree or disagree if the police were to participate in their cultural activities and whether it was necessary for the police to come over to their meetings to discuss the immigrants' concerns with them? Are they pre-pared to support any of their friends or acquaintance joining the police? Etc.

Findings

Prior to conducting this new study, a more detailed analysis had been conducted in testing for assumed conceptual differentiation between the non-demographic variables examined in the study. This included external factors: the exact problem areas, different cultural values and norms; and also internal factors: language proficiency, the low level of education, the lack of a social network, the role of police fighting prejudice and police leadership. Some of the major highlights of the research findings lead me to the conclusion that race relations, if not harnessed properly, can become a barrier to prosperity in the country. For example, a lack of discussion/debate about race and ethnicity in police-immigrant relations can impede the process of integration in a law-abiding country such as Finland.

External factors: This problem lies in police officers' seeing the legitimate source of their power or mandate as being from the majority as oppose to minorities. This kind of attitude is bad for ethnic relations in the country; moreover, this kind of ambiguity on the part of the police may cause their struggle against crime within the immigrant communities to continue to be unsuccessful. According to Stenning (1994), certain features of organisation make it more likely for non-white offenders to be the object of police attention in the city than white offenders, and less likely for non-whites to receive adequate service from the police than white victims. This kind of behaviour can be observed in police and immigrants' interaction in Turku (Egharevba, 2007).

Internal factors: Identifying reprehensible racist attitudes and behaviour and finding a solution through education and training has been emphasised in criminological research for decades, but when there is a racial conflict between police and minorities, the police in most cases justify or defend themselves by refusing to be self-critical and take strong measures to eradicate racism from their rank and file in the country (Egharevba, 2006b). In fighting prejudice, an honest and critical analysis of oneself should be the first point of analysis if prejudice is to be eliminated in polic-

Table 2: Model of police- immigrant relations		
	Race relations model	Policing diversity model
External factors …Problems located in immigrants that are…different cultural values, and norms etc	Problematic immigrants are difficult to deal with, or immigrants pose a new kind of challenge to the police	Social, political, economic structure as well as socio-ideological beliefs and stereotypes are still prevalent
Internal factors… Problems are located in…lack of language proficiency, low level of education, lack of network, etc	A few racist personnel, if proven they will be disciplined or expelled	Covert and overt prejudice and attitude need to be confronted in police training and monitoring. These need to be intensified, and there should new indicators to be identified for bringing about change in the police attitude towards immigrants
Role of the police in relation to racism…..	Police seem too passive, neutral, as arbiters of the law of the land	Pro-active, interventionist
Police leadership…	Ensure that the police do not behave in an unacceptable manner, by their trying to prevent or eliminate certain sub-cultural patterns from developing in the police institution in the country	Encouraging or requesting staff to develop attitudes that can confront racism and other unacceptable behaviour in the police, which are the main challenges

ing. Indeed, this is because any problem that has not been acknowledged cannot be remedied. It is certain that racism is part of the power relationship and part of a society's dominant institutions. The police, being an integral component of the political regime in the society, must be subjected to special scrutiny in their relations with citizens/ethnic minorities.

Some findings from the research posit that in contact with the police on a voluntary basis, 13 (37%) were found to be more willing to co-operate and do also have confidence in reporting crime to the police. This stems from the fact that crime-reporting among immigrants is related to their level of trust and their level of social contact within the society. These immigrants were to be found among those who had resided in the country for a longer time, over five years, 7 (20%). This group of immigrants was also the group that were willing to work together with any Finnish authorities, these were mostly highly educated, and also to be found in these groups were those who believed that the society was very safe and this confidence then translates into a high trust in the police. However, we need to remind ourselves that there is still an assumption among the majority population, including the police, that the cultural values and norms that are different from country to country can be misunderstood most of the time. As many of the involuntary contact situations that immigrants with a low level of education and those that still lack language proficiency had

with the police amplify these misunderstandings, it then becomes very difficult for this group of immigrants to trust the police, 11 (31%), this is especially strong among those who had been stopped and search by the police in the past twelve months prior to this research. This naturally adds to the frustration of immigrants in the city where this research was conducted. More importantly, this was one of the core reasons why there seems to be a negative attitude toward the police that is separate from their previous experiences prior to migration to Finland.

Furthermore, it is quite clear from the responses of 18 (49%) of the respondents in the present study that the society exerts influence on how immigrants/minorities perceive the police in a pre-determined ways, in addition to the imported influences from immigrant's country of origin and through their experiences in the communicated local culture in the new society. Another important point is the nature of the immigrants' perception of the police is also related to the number of years the immigrant in question has resided in the country and how well the immigrant feels he or she has integrated into the country. In the present research, 16 (46%) of the immigrants of African origin were found not to have integrated into the society especially successfully, with their lack of knowledge/awareness of issues concerning them and due merely to their lack of language proficiency and their lack of a social network within the country, which leads

many to feel excluded from the mainstream society. The above argument bring us to the question of how immigrants respond to the police may be conditioned by norms and beliefs among other immigrant groups as well as the general perception of collective efficacy of the police.

Therefore, it is logical that the experiences immigrants have had with the police do play a major role in shaping immigrants' responses to the issues of police interaction in Finland. However, these types of experiences do include police encounters with the immigrant in question's family members and acquaintances, as well as personal encounters. This information can only be forthcoming when questions are asked, such as 'How and what criteria do you use in judging whether the police are fair or unfair?' and 'Are your opinion(s) derived from personal experiences with the police or family and acquaintances' experiences?' The responses from 17 (49%) of the respondents in the present study do suggest a huge misunderstanding between the police and the new immigrants in the country. Some of these new immigrants are still very sceptical of the police, and, just as order older residents immigrants' who still believe that the police do not treat them fairly, they are mostly reluctant to trust the police or even call them up in any case of emergency (Egharevba, 2007). In sum, it is left for the Finnish police to find ways to reach this new immigrant group in the country in order to build the missing trust among both parties.

Discussion

In this section, we analyse the determinant of trust in the police and immigrants' perception of police legitimacy and how it does shape whether the immigrants co-operate or comply with the police action. Some factors could then be used to trace the attitudes and behaviour of certain immigrant groups towards the police in the country. In other words, to increase our understanding of those immigrants who may have had contact with the police, whether voluntarily or involuntarily. Thus, immigrants who believe that the police are legitimate and those who also believe that they are fair in their encounters with the police were more likely to co-operate and even assist the police by reporting crimes seen being committed to the po-

lice. Furthermore, immigrants who believed that the police are doing a good job are less likely to assist the police, because they would feel their help is not needed in preventing crime and disorder in the society – in addition to seeing the police as doing a fantastic job, may come to the conclusion that they do not need an immigrant's assistance in policing work. In sum, immigrants' views about police legitimacy dictate their co-operative attitude/behaviour more than their encounter-based view/opinion.

However, we have to be careful with this conclusion as adverse circumstances can also have a huge impact on trust of the police; for example, an immigrant who has been unemployed for some time tends to have a lower level of trust than others in specific public authorities. Trust among immigrants rises considerably with the level of education and employment. This was quite significant, especially with the addition of age variables: the better educated and the older an immigrant is, the better his/her perception of the police, However, we have to be mindful here that in the present study there were a few older people with a lower level of education that still do not trust the police at all. In addition, our line of questioning does not explain whether when immigrants get older they become more accurate in their trust of the police. However, we observed that trust is also ingrained into an immigrant's personality at an early age especially among those who were educated.

Lind and Tyler (1988) were correct when they suggested that the inter-personal treatment citizens receive from an authority is an important source of information about how such authorities are evaluated by the particular immigrant/individual. For example, fairness does encourage the idea of being respected, while any perceived unfair behaviour is then seen as marginality, disrespect and exclusion on the part of the immigrant. Similarly, the group model suggests that when members of the public perceive the police as treating them unfairly, this means those citizens see the police as treating them on an unequal basis in the country. For example, when an immigrant experiences frisking by the police on the street for no reason, one should expect such an individual not to want to help the police in fighting crime and disorder in the country. In other words, the idea of certain immigrants seeing themselves as being the target of unfair police treatment does often lead to anger and distrust, and

even to some extent to resistance towards authority, which subsequently lead to non-compliance with police orders (Tyler, 1990, Murphy, 2004),

In examining the hypotheses, we found that the lower level of contacts has limited some of the participants' view of the police, and often where there is a positive contact this tends to lead to a positive attitude toward the police. However, while the amount of contact cannot be used to predict attitudes, it can be concluded that a high level of contact between the participants and the police does have effects on immigrants' attitudes toward the police. This is not surprising, given the existing similar conclusion from researchers such as Cook (1985) and Hewstone and Brown (1986), who have indicated that the qualities of contact not the amount of contact is the most important factor in changing attitude. There was general support for the second hypotheses.

Conclusion

This study has explored and analysed the impact of immigrant interaction and willingness to co-operate with the police in the country as far as my data was concern. In addition, the author also focused on the causes of lack of co-operation between immigrant and the police. With respect to the former, the author presented evidence that trust and acceptance of the legitimacy of the police is what motivates certain immigrant groups to want to co-operate or not with the police rather than their situational-driven reactions to certain police behaviour and tactics, which are subject to various variations. Law enforcement is a reflection of a state agency with which citizens/immigrants sometimes come into contact in a critical manner after experiencing discrimination or battery on the streets.

The fact that these experiences impact on the relative and absolute trust of the police by certain immigrants suggests that they are a reflection of the level of trust such groups have in the law enforcement agency in the society. The available statistics suggest that the police are highly rated in the country; however, if the view of the immigrant population were to be explored, it may paint a different picture. This is because in the present study 25 (71%) of the respondents report that in their encounters with the police they sense the feeling that the police are biased against them at the street

level, with the constant stop-and-search practices resulting from prejudices. Additionally, the study findings suggest that immigrants' views about police legitimacy are still suspect and coupled with their prior experiences before travelling abroad, do play a significant part in their co-operative behaviour with the police. Indeed this is because it is only when citizens view the police as legitimate that they are likely to assist and support the police. This finding is similar to Tyler's (1990) regarding similar issues in the US. Finally, it can be concluded that trust can be linked with education and the number of years the immigrant in question has resided in the country. This is because educated immigrants were found to be more knowledgeable, which goes to suggest that mistrust of the police can be partially based on ignorance, in addition to offering a route by which trust can clearly be enhanced.

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