

1/2018 SSKH NOTAT – SSKH REPORTS AND DISCUSSION PAPERS

---

# THE STOPPED – ETHNIC PROFILING IN FINLAND



Suvi Keskinen, Aminkeng Atabong Alemanji, Markus Himanen, Antti Kivijärvi, Uyi Osazee, Nirosha Pöyhölä and Venla Rousku

Cover photo: Laura Böök

**SSKH Notat 1/2018**

The Stopped – Ethnic Profiling in Finland

Suvi Keskinen, Aminkeng Atabong Alemanji, Markus Himanen, Antti Kivijärvi, Uyi Osazee,  
Nirosha Pöyhölä and Venla Rousku

Swedish School of Social Science, University of Helsinki, 2018 Helsinki

ISBN 978-951-51-1713-7 (PDF)

ISSN-L 1457-1250

ISSN 1798-6966 (Online)

<https://www.helsinki.fi/sv/svenska-social-och-kommunalhogskolan/samarbete/publikationsserier/notat>

*SSKH Notat*

*Svenska social- och kommunalhögskolan  
vid Helsingfors universitet*

*1/2018*



## Summary

This research examined ethnic profiling in Finland with a focus on its prevalence, forms and interpretations of (1) people who experienced profiling and (2) the police. The study also analysed the practices and logics that can lead to ethnic profiling. The research sought to produce knowledge of the ethnicised, racialised, gendered and age-based distinctions and practices related to profiling. Moreover, it examined the effects of ethnic profiling of those targeted by it and the strategies they use in and after situations they experienced as ethnic profiling.

The study made use of several kinds of quantitative and qualitative methods and data: individual and focus group interviews, participatory observation, and survey questionnaires. Altogether 185 persons were interviewed. 145 belonged to ethnicised/racialised minorities and were interviewed about their experiences of ethnic profiling. Moreover, 26 police officers and 14 other experts were interviewed. The interviews were conducted in the Helsinki metropolitan area and Turku between 2015 and 2017. The survey data (N=362) included young adult respondents of 15–29 years from the Finnish majority population and four ethnic minority groups (Russian, Kurdish, Arabic and Somali speakers).

This research has shown that those belonging to racialised minorities are under surveillance by several actors in many kinds of urban spaces. Stops and experiences of ethnic profiling are part of their lives through both personal incidents and in the stories they hear about other minority persons' encounters with public and private security personnel. Sites where stops and situations of ethnic profiling took place were multiple, and among those mentioned were: streets and parks, railway and metro stations, cars, shops and shopping centres, restaurants and bars, airports and harbours. In addition to the police, the interviewees also mentioned security guards, border guards, customs officers, salespersons and bouncers as actors who stopped or followed them only or predominantly on the basis of their ethnic or racial backgrounds.

Experiences of being stopped predominantly on the basis of their ethnicity or race affect many everyday life environments: they can interrupt journeys to school or work, or make ordinary shopping situations uncomfortable. They make the persons stopped aware of the fact that they are perceived of as "others" – those not belonging to the country where they live and perhaps were also born – and in some cases, as those expected to commit criminal acts because of their ethnic or racial backgrounds.

This study has also shown that responses to and interpretations of stops differ. While some informants pointed out that they did not care about being stopped for identity control or that they were treated respectfully during the encounter, most of the interviewed persons told that the stops and searches were unpleasant, annoying or humiliating experiences. Their responses ranged from the normalisation of experiences, which occurred on a constant basis and were not expected to change in the near future, to resistance and claiming one's rights as individuals or racialised minorities. Negative encounters with the police, and experiences unjust treatment by the very same authorities that should guarantee the safety of the persons stopped, are likely to reduce the willingness of racialised

minority persons to turn to the police when help is needed and deter their interest to inform the police about crimes.

Intersections of ethnicity, race, gender, age and class proved to be central elements for understanding ethnic profiling in both qualitative and quantitative data sets. The study indicated that young men belonging to racialised minorities are predominantly targeted by ethnic profiling practices, especially in spaces such as streets, other outdoor locations, traffic hubs and public transports. They are the main targets of the police, and to some extent security guards', actions. Women and older persons are also stopped in these spaces, but for these groups, experiences of ethnic profiling occur more often in shops, shopping centres and border control points and involve security guards, shop assistants, customs officers and the police. Police stops while driving are also common, especially for the Roma minority and black men.

The study found that the police practices that bear the risk of ethnic profiling are related to (1) the control of foreign nationals, also known as internal immigration control, (2) suspicion and search related to crimes, (3) public order policing and (4) traffic stops. The risks of ethnic profiling in relation to the control of foreign nationals can be attributed to several reasons. The Finnish Alien's Act does not give a sufficient criterion for reasonable suspicion, and thus the police are not required to specify the grounds for their checks. The subsequent wide discretionary power leads police to use their intuition or "gut feeling", discussed as tacit knowledge in the research, to identify targets of control. Rather than information that would clearly be related to a possible immigration law offence of the person who is stopped, this approach creates a problematic possibility for selections that are made on the basis of generalised criteria and racialised expectations. While the police state that they use language skills to inquire into the "foreignness" of the persons they consider stopping, this does exclude the possibility that the original reason for deciding to stop somebody was based on racialised grounds. The interviews with the police support the information provided by the interviews with stopped persons which show that the initial reason for the approach is based on ethnic or racial criteria, after which the question of language is raised. The practices of police can often include a direct, or more commonly an indirect, reference to seek for "non-Finnish looking persons", i.e. non-white persons.

This study also reflected the inadequacy of registering the grounds for stops and ID-checks, especially in cases in which the stopped person was found to be a Finnish citizen or in possession of a valid residence permit. Practices that only or predominantly register stops in which the reason for an ID-check or other police action was grounded omit information about the whole phenomenon and hinder investigation on (the risks of) ethnic profiling.

The survey indicated that acts of control by various security authorities might be selective and partly based on ethnicity. The control acts of security guards in particular seem to include explicit ethnic profiling. Young respondents of Somalian backgrounds reported having been the target of security guards acts of control nearly ten times, and young persons with Middle Eastern backgrounds nearly six times, as often as the Finnish majority youth, without an apparent reason. The same does not fully apply to the police. It seems however, that police control is an influential topic amongst some racialised minorities, since relatively many of them report knowing people who have been stopped by the police. Moreover, personal

experiences of being stopped as well as the knowledge of other people being stopped are associated with different aspects of societal trust and feelings of belonging. Targeted and unjust control acts by various security authorities may thus hamper the level of trust towards Finnish society as well as the willingness to contribute to it.

Both the interviews and the survey analysis point toward a need for information regarding the rights of those stopped and the complaint mechanisms related to experiences of ethnic profiling. A majority of the respondents in the survey requested such information and were not sure of their options had they wished to submit a complaint. Despite the many experiences of ethnic profiling they described, none of the interviewed persons reported filing a complaint.

In addition to research, *The Stopped – Spaces, Meanings and Practices of Ethnic Profiling* -project has also produced media and artistic contents.

Keywords: ethnic profiling, racial profiling, police, private security sector, border control, customs, surveillance in shops, policing

# CONTENTS

<b>Acknowledgement</b>	1
<b>1. Introduction</b>	1
1.1. Background	1
1.2. Research Questions	3
1.3. Theoretical Framework	3
1.4. What is Ethnic Profiling?	5
1.5. Structure of the Report	7
<b>2. Previous Research on Ethnic Profiling</b>	8
2.1. International Research on Ethnic and Racial Profiling	8
2.2. Research on the Finnish Context	13
<b>3. Legislation and Regulations Concerning Ethnic Profiling</b>	15
3.1. International Legal Framework on Ethnic Profiling	15
3.2. The Legal Framework Concerning Ethnic Profiling in Finland	16
<b>4. Data and Methodology</b>	18
4.1. Individual and Group Interviews	18
4.2. Observations and Fieldwork	22
4.3. Survey: Data and Methods	23
Description of the Respondents	23
Analysis and Methodological Discussion	25
4.4. Ethical Questions: Producing Knowledge of a Sensitive Topic	25
4.5. Mixing Methods and Future Analysis	26
<b>5. Experiences of Being Profiled</b>	27
5.1. Being Stopped and Interpreting it as Ethnic Profiling	27
5.2. Spaces of Ethnic Profiling	28
Railway Stations and Traffic Hubs	28
Streets and Outdoor City Spaces	30
In the Car	32
Driving While Roma	34
Driving While Black	36
In the Shop and Shopping Centre	38
Airports	40
Harbours	41
Restaurants and Nightclubs	45
Ethnic Profiling and Spatial Practices	46
5.3. Events, Actions and Stories	47
Telling about Ethnic Profiling by Authorities and Security Personnel	47
Stories about Police Profiling	48



Stories about Profiling by the Border Control and Security Control	54
Stories of Profiling by the Security Guards	58
Shared Patterns and Specific Logics of Ethnic Profiling	67
5.4. Responses and Effects	68
In the Situation of Being Stopped	68
Avoiding Places and Situations	69
Avoiding Police Contact and Lack of Trust in Police	70
Does Police Behaviour Make a Difference?	72
Normalisation and Bypassing of Racism	73
Humiliation as an Oppressive Effect of Ethnic Profiling	74
Resistance and Criticism of Police Practices	76
Belonging	78
5.5. Different Groups and Experiences of Profiling	78
Intersectionality of Race/Ethnicity, Gender, Class and Age	78
The Romanian and Bulgarian Migrants	80
<b>6. The Police Perspective</b>	<b>81</b>
6.1. Police Practices in the Control of Foreign Nationals	81
6.2. Supervision, Accountability, and Efficiency in Immigration Controls by the Police	86
6.3. Other Forms of Police Stops	92
6.4. Racism and Stereotyping in the Police Force	94
6.5. Police Education and Minorities	96
<b>7. How Often Does Profiling Occur?</b>	<b>99</b>
7.1. Reported Stops	99
7.2. Correlates of Being Stopped and Controlled: Trust and Belonging	105
7.3. Concluding Remarks	107
<b>8. Conclusions and Recommendations</b>	<b>108</b>
8.1. Conclusions: Under Heightened Scrutiny	108
Spaces and Actors	108
Practices and Understandings of Ethnic Profiling	110
8.2. Recommendations for Improving Practices	113
<b>Endnotes</b>	<b>118</b>
<b>References</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>Appendixes</b>	<b>131</b>
Appendix 1: Interview Themes	131
Appendix 2: Survey Questionnaire	132
Appendix 3: Regression Models	137
Appendix 4: Variance Analyses	140

## Acknowledgement

We have been lucky to spend two and a half years working on this important research topic, during which several people have generously provided their time and help to finalise this report. First of all, our thanks goes to the informants who took the time to participate in the interviews and other data collection, sharing their stories, views and knowledge. Without you there would not have been research to report on. A big thanks also goes to the members in the project *The Stopped – Spaces, Meanings and Practices of Ethnic Profiling*. The project has been a collaborative learning experience and the work of Kati Pietarinen, Laura Böök, Maryan Abdulkarim, Kari Kuukka, and Aino Sutinen has been invaluable for the research. A special thanks goes to Kati and Laura, for conducting some of the interviews used in this report. A warm thanks also goes to the research assistants, Thaddeus Ndukwe and Jana Turk, whose work has been of great importance for the project.

We also wish to thank the institutional environments where the project has been located: first at the Department of Social Research, University of Turku, and since 1.9.2017 at the Swedish School of Social Sciences, University of Helsinki. It has been a pleasure to conduct the research in such supportive work environments and to receive institutional backing for our work. A special thanks to the superb colleagues at the Centre for Research on Ethnic Relations and Nationalism (CEREN).

We are grateful for the two reviewers, who carefully read the report manuscript and provided pertinent comments. We have done our best to include your comments in the text and those that have not found a place here will be incorporated into the coming publications of the research.

The research and artistic-media contents of the project have been funded by the Kone foundation. We are very thankful to have had the opportunity to focus on research and for the smooth cooperation with the Kone foundation.

The research report has been co-written by the researchers and two research assistants in the project. Most chapters have included several writers, but there are a few exceptions to this rule. Chapter seven has been written by Antti Kivijärvi, who also conducted the quantitative analysis of the study. Chapter six has been written by Markus Himanen, with minor contributions by Suvi Keskinen. Suvi Keskinen has written main parts of chapters one and eight.

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Background

In recent years, ethnic profiling has become the focus of media attention and public discussions in Finland on several occasions. In 2011, the Finnish national broadcasting company YLE reported several cases wherein ethnic profiling was suspected to have taken place and provided space for the Minority Ombudsman (since 2015 the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman) who was concerned about the practices of the police and border guards in relation to ethnic profiling<sup>1</sup>. Two years later, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) pointed out that there is a risk of profiling of visible minorities in Finland and urged the government to rapidly take action to prevent such cases and to enhance the resources of the Minority Ombudsman's office<sup>2</sup>. Media coverage was also directed towards the internal immigration controls that the police and border guards organised in Spring and Summer of 2016. For example, in April 2016 more than 1000 persons were reported to being stopped in order to have their identity cards checked (HPL 2016, 19). Only a few of these were, according to information provided by the police, residing illegally in the country (ibid.,19)<sup>3</sup>. Based on the media reports, the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman asked the police to give an account on the operations and their legality. In July 2016, two women made a criminal complaint concerning the way the police acted during ID-control and the representative of the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman's office stated that the practice of stopping people in public places without specific information as part of internal immigration control was old-fashioned and should be ended<sup>4</sup>. The police, on the other hand, have emphasised that they do not do the "wrong kind of ethnic profiling" and that they have "zero tolerance towards racism"<sup>5</sup>. In June 2017, media coverage and public discussion broke out after news about racism in a Facebook-group, comprised of thousands of police officers as members, and information about ethnic profiling by the police<sup>6</sup>. In February 2018, the police performed ID-checks and other control acts at the shopping centre Puhos in East-Helsinki, which raised critique of ethnic profiling<sup>7</sup>.

Despite the media coverage and the discussions the events have raised, no systematic knowledge has been gathered on the phenomenon of ethnic profiling. However, several studies that have analysed the relationship between the police and migrants in Finland have found out that there are tensions and mistrust towards the police, at least among some migrant and minority groups. Persons especially from African and Middle-Eastern countries and the Roma people report unjust treatment by the police and distrust towards the police (e.g. Hautaniemi 2004; Honkatukia and Suurpää 2008; Saari 2009; Egharevba 2011; At Home in Europe 2013). These studies report experiences of being stopped in the street or while driving a car and being asked to show ID-cards, as well as other activities that can be referred to as ethnic profiling. A large scale study that focused on the health and wellbeing of three migrant groups in Finland showed that over 25 percent of the Kurdish, 15 percent of the Somali and 7 percent of the Russian respondents had experienced being discriminated by the police (Castaneda et al. 2012, 234). On the other hand, according to the study by Castaneda et al. (2015, 18–19) on the average, foreign born respondents trust the police more than the general Finnish population, with the exception of respondents from the Sub-

Saharan Africa. The trust was, however, reduced the longer the respondents lived in Finland. The results from previous studies thus point towards both problems and trust in the relations between the police and racialised minorities.

This report is the result of the first Finnish research that focuses exclusively on the topic of ethnic profiling. It examines ethnic profiling from the perspective of those being stopped and provides information about the views and practices of the police. Moreover, the research covers experiences of ethnic profiling performed by the border guards, security guards, shop assistants and other actors, as described by the persons we interviewed. We have not been able to cover the perspectives of all these mentioned actors in depth; instead the study primarily focuses on the role of the police and their practices in relation to ethnic profiling.

In addition to research, *The Stopped – Spaces, Meanings and Practices of Ethnic Profiling* project has produced media and artistic contents. In accordance with the guidelines of the Kone foundation's *Is Finland Polarising?* programme that funded the project, the design included journalistic stories, discussion events and the development of a multimedia website. The journalist, photographer and writer-activist who were part of the project team also participated in locating informants and collecting some of the data used in the research. The interaction between the different project members has been intensive throughout the project period.

Many of the recent events of social unrest and riots in multi-ethnic residence areas in European countries, for example in the UK, France and Sweden, during the last decade have started as a reaction to police actions (Reading the Riots 2011; Fassin 2013; de los Reyes et al. 2014; Schierup, Ålund and Kings 2014). Although the background to these riots is more complex and relates to the racialised and socio-economic inequalities that characterise European societies, the triggering cause has often been actions by the police that have been violent or otherwise experienced as unjust by the inhabitants of the residence areas. Ethnic profiling is a central practice that has been mentioned in interviews conducted in the residence areas after the riots. Many international studies have indeed shown that those belonging to racialised minorities are stopped more frequently than majority persons in public places, often by the police but also by security guards, border control and other control actors (e.g. Weitzer and Tuch 2006; CDPDJ 2011; OSJI 2009a).

International studies have also indicated that ethnic profiling has both gendered and generational specificities: those stopped in the street or elsewhere are mainly young men belonging to racialised minorities. These acts need to be seen in a broader societal context characterised by a growing emphasis on security. In the public sphere, such as news media and politics, racialised young men are often linked to alleged criminality and social unrest, as well as to terrorism and violence. In this study, we critically examine these discourses and policies of "securitization" as a form of governmentality that has become especially visible in the 9/11 era and bears serious consequences for the lives of those racialised as others in European societies (Hancock 2012; Martikainen and Tiilikainen 2013; Keskinen 2013).

Studies conducted about the views of the police show that they seldom recognise the racialising effects of their practices and find it hard to understand how minorities perceive their actions (Saari 2009; Keskinen 2012). Through an analysis

of both the perspectives of racialised minority persons and the police, this research project seeks to provide a multifaceted picture of ethnic profiling and its effects.

In this research, we use the term *ethnic profiling as an umbrella term* that covers acts that are discussed as both ethnic and racial profiling in international research and anti-discriminatory work. *With ethnic profiling we refer to selective and targeted control acts that are based on assumptions of an individual's belonging to a racial, ethnic, religious or national minority group, and mainly performed by public or private security personnel.* This includes the police and other authorities, as well as the private security sector. The term racialisation is used to refer to social and cultural processes that (re)produce hierarchies on basis of appearance, skin colour or culture. An even better term for our purposes could be “racialised profiling”, but this is not a commonly used phrase and could provide misunderstandings especially in the public use of our research findings. For the sake of clarity and understanding we have thus chosen to use the term ethnic profiling in this research report.

## 1.2. Research Questions

The aim of the research project is to examine the forms and frequency of ethnic profiling in Finland and the interpretations that racialised minorities and the police have about it. The project also seeks to bring knowledge about the practices and logics that lead to ethnic profiling.

The research questions of the study are:

- What meanings and practices characterise ethnic profiling when looked at from the perspective of those who are being profiled and from the perspective of the police?
- In what kind of spaces does ethnic profiling take place? What kind of encounters take place in these spaces between the police and minorities subjected to profiling experiences?
- How do gender and generation shape the meanings and practices of ethnic profiling?
- What effects does profiling have on the everyday lives of those targeted by it? What kinds of strategies do those who are subjected to profiling practices use when trying to act in, respond to and question the legitimacy of these situations?
- How general are experiences of ethnic profiling among young people and are there any group-based differences in relation to ethnicity and race?

## 1.3. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of the research project is based on theories of intersectionality, which means that we pay attention to how distinctions and hierarchies are created in the interplay of the socio-cultural categories of ethnicity, race, gender, class, age and generation (de los Reyes, Molina and Mulinari 2003; Brah and Phoenix 2004). As persons we are classified by others to a certain ethnic, national or racial group but we also self-identify with groups – while these two

processes do not always overlap, the fact that such categorisations are a central part of our everyday lives remains. The same applies for gendered and classed categorisations: they are the result of processes in which we are given certain positions and assumed characteristics, but also of processes in which we self-identify (or dis-identify) with groups and positions reserved for us. Age and generation are also important categorisations, resulting in young persons being treated in different ways than older ones – but at the same time having different experiences of societal institutions, such as the police, and of ethnic/national/racial belonging.

Intersectionality refers to processes in which historically and situationally produced power relations are formed on several interconnected levels: societal structures, cultural discourses, institutional practices and individual agency (de los Reyes and Mulinari 2005). This means that ideas and practices of race, ethnicity and gender are produced on many societal arenas: for example, the labour market, schools, media and everyday interaction. Of specific interest for this research are how state authorities, such as the police and border guards, as well as private sector actors, such as the security guards, produce understandings and participate in activities through which certain groups are singled out and controlled on the basis of ethnic and racial categorisation (cf. Keskinen, Vuori and Hirsiaho 2012). The concept of intersectionality refers to an analysis of how distinctions and power relations are (re)produced but also how these are contested and changing. Groups that are treated as others in the society resist such categorisations and engage in everyday struggles for dignity and respect.

We approach ethnic profiling as processes in which borders are created both materially and culturally. Materially, this occurs when people are stopped in the streets, shopping malls or airports on the basis of their skin colour, other phenotypic attributes or religious/cultural dress (such as the Muslim women's *hijab* or the Roma women's dress). It is important to note that borders today are not only located at the national borders, but are dispersed throughout the society and the EU area (Balibar 2004; Rigo 2009). Bordering practices take place in city spaces and during contacts with authorities, when the ID-card and residence status are being checked, as well as in the controls that travelers are faced with when entering the Schengen-area or boarding the ship between Sweden and Finland. At the same time, these acts involve the production of cultural distinctions and hierarchies. Groups of people are distinguished from each other through these acts. Assumptions of non-belonging or of possible security threat are connected to those singled out by the acts. That the bordering practices have spread throughout the society means they can be encountered in multiple everyday situations – thus serving as a reminder of the status of the “other”.

The distinctions and bordering practices also have an impact on how citizenship is enacted. Social citizenship is connected to certain rights that, according to universalist thinking, should be available to all citizens irrespective of ethnic, racial, class or gender background. Institutional bordering practices and questioning of certain groups' belonging to the national community, however, result in what Paulina de los Reyes (2006) calls conditioned citizenship. The practices of, for example, the police targeting persons who “look like foreigners” (paraphrasing the utterances of the police) signals to all those stopped that even though they were citizens of or otherwise legally permitted to reside in the country, their social citizenship and rights can be questioned and conditioned any day –

and, as de los Reyes (*ibid.*, 25) points out, this questioning is performed by authorities whose responsibility it is to provide security to the very same persons. The conditioning of citizenship through differential treatment by authorities can take part in welfare practices likewise (Keskinen, Vuori and Hirsiaho 2012).

Racialisation is a scientific concept used here to name processes that differentiate between people and groups of people, stabilise these differences and legitimise power differences based on them (Molina 2005). The process of racialisation involves the acts of individuals and societal institutions, as well as cultural meanings that create understandings of certain minorities as “different” and deviant from the rest of the population. Racialisation can be built on notions related to skin colour and other phenotypic traits, but also refers to cultural habits or ways of thinking. Racialising accounts and practices often contain both of these two elements. Racialisation is therefore not only a question of certain ideas, representations and discourses, but also involves material processes and likewise, their material effects.

#### **1.4. What is Ethnic Profiling?**

There are several definitions of ethnic profiling. Many of them have been developed by NGOs that seek to prevent racism and discrimination, or by legislators and authorities that aim to tackle problems of ethnic profiling. Overall, the role of NGOs and civil society has been central in raising the topic of ethnic profiling to the political agenda and their definitions have also influenced researchers’ understandings of the phenomenon. One influential organisation, the Open Society Institute, defines ethnic profiling as situations in which ethnicity, race, national origin, or religion is a determining or sole criterion for law enforcement decisions such as checking person’s identity papers or conducting a search. Ethnic profiling can thus be understood as the use of generalisations grounded in ethnicity, race, national origin, or religion – rather than specified evidence or individual behaviour – as the basis for making law enforcement and/or investigative decisions about who has been or may be involved in criminal activity (such as staying in the country illegally or possessing illegal drugs etc.) (OSJI 2009a, 19.) The European Network Against Racism (ENAR) defines the concept in its most simplest form stating that “police and law enforcement officers are using ethnic profiling when they view people as suspicious because of who they are, what they look like, or where they pray, rather than because of what they have done” (ENAR 2009).

The concept of “ethnic profiling” is not defined in European law. According to a Council of Europe body, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, racial profiling involves “the use by the police, with no objective and reasonable justification, of grounds such as race, color, language, religion, nationality or national, or ethnic origin, in control, surveillance, or investigation activities” (ECRI 2007). The European Fundamental Rights Agency has noted that police ethnic profiling practices “can become problematic if there are no specific analytic intelligence to help identify individual suspects, and profiles are based on broad characteristics such as race, ethnicity, or religion rather than behavior” (FRA 2010, 12).

In the United States, racial profiling is the preferred term used to describe police and other law enforcement officer's discriminatory or improper use of force, or heavy-handedness in their encounters with racialised minorities. The American Civil Liberties Union defines racial profiling as "the discriminatory practice by law enforcement officials of targeting individuals for suspicion of crime based on the individual's race, ethnicity, religion, or national origin" (ACLU 2017).

In research, two somewhat different definitions of ethnic/racial profiling have been identified: a narrow and a broad understanding (Ramirez, Hoopes and Quinlan 2003; Mulinari 2017, 8–9). According to the narrow definition, race or ethnicity is the sole criterion of the questioning, stopping or searching of the suspect. While this definition has proved to be useful for many studies, especially those measuring ethnic profiling quantitatively, scholars have also identified problems with it. First, ethnicity or race is not always the only criterion for police actions, but categories such as gender and age often intersect with it; second, ethnic/racial profiling may also involve law enforcement actions of those committing crimes, such as disproportionate targeting of minority persons for minor traffic violations (Mulinari 2017, 8–9; see also Van der Leun et al 2013, 4–6). The broad definition of ethnic/racial profiling thus emphasises that ethnicity or race is central in determining police actions. It also acknowledges that ethnic/racial profiling (re)produces power relations and societal inequalities.

Schildkraut's (2009, 69) definition of ethnic profiling is typical for quantitative studies on the phenomenon:

Ethnic profiling is when law enforcement authorities use racial or ethnic characteristics to determine which people to subject to heightened scrutiny in order to prevent crimes from occurring. Heightened scrutiny can range from interrogation to searches of one's person or property to arrests or even removal from the community.

Hydén and Lundberg (2004, 169–171), who studied internal immigration control in Sweden, refer to definitions of racial profiling according to which the sole or primarily criterion for police stoppings is race, but also note that notions of residential area, clothing, time of the day, the kind of car one is driving and other factors can play into the police decisions. Weitzer and Tuch (2002, 435) define racial profiling as the "use of race as a key factor in police decisions to stop and interrogate" persons. Such formulations show that while race or ethnicity is a central factor, it is often difficult to determine whether it is the sole reason for such stops.

Our own definition of ethnic profiling, presented in 1.1., can be understood as one of the broad definitions. We acknowledge that ethnic profiling occurs in intersections of gender, age, and place amongst other factors – however, selection based on race or ethnicity is central for the profiling practices that the report analyses. We contextualise the profiling events in the broader societal and cultural (power) relations, as well as recognise the effects that ethnic profiling has on the position of racialised minorities. Situations in which ethnic or racial characteristics are used to catch suspects after a committed crime can include ethnic profiling, if the description is not detailed enough, i.e. race or ethnicity in practice can also become the criteria of stops. We also do not think that ethnic profiling requires an intention to discriminate; instead, it can be an effect of racialising practices.



This report examines ethnic profiling from different perspectives and with several data sets, which means that the understanding of ethnic profiling that our informants draw upon may also differ. Ethnic profiling, when spoken of as a personal experience by those targeted by the actions of the police or security guards, is likely to be understood in a different way than when the police informants discuss ethnic profiling as an illegal police action they should avoid. Our broad definition, however, covers all of these different understandings.

## 1.5. Structure of the Report

This report presents the main findings of the research project, when investigating the experiences of those targeted by ethnic profiling and the views of the police. We have chosen to present these views separately in different chapters, in order to thoroughly discuss the ways in which ethnic profiling is understood by different actors. This choice is especially motivated by the aim to provide space for the experiences and interpretations of racialised minorities, which have so far not been addressed in Finnish research and receive marginal attention in public discussions. The diversity of views and interpretations among the police are also best captured when presented in their own section.

The report is structured in the following way: In chapter two, we review the previous international research on ethnic profiling and the body of relevant Finnish studies for the topic. Chapter three discusses the international legal framework of ethnic profiling and presents case studies from European countries. It also investigates the Finnish legislation and regulation of policing in relation to ethnic profiling. The data and methods are described in chapter four. Chapters five, six and seven present results from the empirical analysis. In chapter five, the focus is on how racialised minority persons experience and interpret being stopped by the police and other security personnel. The analysis highlights the different spaces in which stops and ethnic profiling occur, as well as the ways people make sense of what has happened to them. We also trace the responses of the persons stopped and the ways they reflect on the effects of ethnic profiling on their lives. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the intersectionality of race, ethnicity, gender, class and age in experiences of ethnic profiling. In chapter six, the focus moves to the police perspective. The analysis identifies different kinds of police practices and their role in ethnic profiling. We investigate the different ways the police officers relate to questions of ethnicity and racism, as well as their perceptions of police education. In chapter seven, the focus turns to the prevalence of ethnic profiling, group based differences and interconnections between reported stops, trust and belonging. Unlike chapters five and six, this analysis presents comparisons between several ethnic minority groups and the majority population. Chapter eight summarises and discusses the findings of the report and provides some practical recommendations.

## 2. Previous Research on Ethnic Profiling

### 2.1. International Research on Ethnic and Racial Profiling

The public discussions and the frameworks of research concerning racial and ethnic profiling vary from country to country. The concept of racial profiling originates in the United States, where it was developed in the 1980s and early 1990s as part of the struggle by civil rights activists and NGOs to combat police racism, especially towards the African-American population. One form of racial discrimination by the police involves pedestrian and traffic stops that target the black population disproportionately – often discussed as the phenomenon of “driving while black”. While the history of police racism towards African-Americans is long, researchers have located the main reasons of why racial profiling turned into a major political question in the 1980s and 1990s in the use of traffic stops in “the war on drugs” and the stop and frisk tactics in different zero tolerance policies (Glover 2009, 11–21; Heumann and Cassak 2003).

The main body of racial profiling research has been conducted in the United States and is methodologically quantitatively oriented. The most important research question has been the scope of racial profiling: to what extent are stops exercised in a racially proportionate or disproportionate way? Although abundant in number, the body of US research is quite divergent. Some scholars have focused on traffic stops, others on profiling at airports, and yet another group of scholars on how profiling occurs in commercial spaces. According to the US-based research, racial profiling occurs in various everyday environments. Phrases such as “driving while black” (e.g. Lamberth 1998) and “shopping while Black” (e.g. Gabbidon and Higgins 2007) have been developed to reflect the results of the quantitative studies. Particularly those categorised as black, and to some extent those categorised as Latinos, suffer from heightened police scrutiny in various spaces (e.g. Verniero and Zoubek 1999; Spitzer 1999). Moreover, it has been indicated that, compared to white people, black and Latino populations consider the stop and search practices of the police more inappropriate and illegitimate (e.g. Harris 2002; Lundman and Kaufman 2003). Finally, some scholars have reminded that racial profiling is not only related to race or ethnicity, but it is also a question of gender and class as well (Weitzer and Tuch 2002; Reitzel and Piquero 2006). The risk of being stopped and searched is relatively high for men, particularly if they are black. Furthermore, men consider the police control that targets them more illegitimate than that which targets women (e.g. Lundman and Kaufman 2003, 207).

In contrast to the US, studies on ethnic/racial profiling in Europe are scater in number, especially as it applies to quantitative studies. Instead of upholding a research tradition, what can be found in Europe are singular studies from different countries. The United Kingdom is the only country in the region that has officially and systematically addressed the issues related to discriminatory ethnic profiling since the 1980s. This has resulted in a well-established body of research, several police reports, and numerous policies to prevent discriminatory ethnic profiling by the police. In effect, the bulk of the literature on police ethnic and racial profiling in Europe emanates from the UK. Empirical studies in the UK have clearly shown that the police practices of stop and search, arrest, charge and use of physical force target young black males disproportionately to their representation in the

population (Bowling and Phillips 2007; Delsol and Shiner 2015; Phillips and Bowling 2012; Reiner 2010, 124–134).

During the first years of the current decade, both the numbers of overall stops and searches by the police and the level of disproportionality of minority persons being stopped had decreased to some extent (MOJ 2015). However, the latest figures show that racial disparity in stop and search practices has again increased: the number of stops for white people dropped by 28 percent, while for minority ethnic persons the fall was just 11 percent (Home Office 2017, 27). According to the latest available data, black people are eight times more likely to be stopped than white persons, while people of mixed race and Asian background are two times more likely to be stopped than whites (ibid., 28). The stated aim of the British government is to reduce both the amount of stops and the level of disproportionality. The stop and search practice is widely seen as discriminatory, but also regarded as inefficient (Delsol 2015; Miller and al. 2000). Such practices in crime prevention only lead to the discovery of prohibited items or to arrest approximately once in ten stops. This is very inefficient as nine out of ten searches result in a waste of police resources. (Bowling and Phillips 2007, 956.)

Several studies point out that ethnic profiling is a European wide problem – concerning countries like the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden – and is connected to several types of policing including immigration law enforcement, public order policing and crime prevention, and the prevention of terrorism (FRA 2009; Leander 2014a, 2014b; OSJI 2009a; Sollund 2006; Van der Leun and Van der Woude 2011; Mulinari 2017). In France, relations between the youth of Arab background and the police have long been a pressing problem, although these issues were rarely discussed in terms of ethnic profiling or racial discrimination in the national press or academic research before the 2005 riots in the banlieues of Paris (Fassin 2013). The Open Society Justice Initiative examined, in collaboration with the National Center for Scientific Research (*Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*), whether and to what extent law enforcement officers in France stop individuals based on appearance in France (OSJI 2009b). From November 2007 to May 2008, the researchers undertook an ethnographically oriented observational study of five locations in and around two central railway stations in Paris. Data was gathered on stops and checks carried out by the police and customs officers. The study monitored more than 500 stops and reported that persons perceived to be black (of sub-Saharan African or Caribbean descent) and Arab (of North African descent) were stopped at proportionally much higher rates than persons perceived to be white (of Western European descent). In all five observation locations, black people were six times more likely than white people to be stopped by the police, whereas Arabs were generally 7.6 times more likely to be stopped by the police than whites (ibid., 9–10).

The study also highlighted the fact that the style of clothing worn by young people was an important indicator in determining who was to be stopped and checked. For example, the type of clothing and styles associated with French urban youth culture – hip-hop, punk and gothic styles – were important determining indicators for the police to stop and check individuals. Persons in such clothing were only 10 percent of the population at the stations, the study noted, but represented 47 percent of those stopped (OSJI 2009b, 10). A strong correlation was found in the relationship between the ethnicity of the person stopped, the style of clothing they were wearing, and their likelihood to be stopped by police. The study raised the

question of whether the police perceived belonging to an ethnic minority and wearing specific youth clothing were signs of a propensity to commit crimes or infractions.

In addition to the aforementioned studies, two European-wide surveys have been conducted on police profiling. In EU-MIDIS I and II (European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey) studies 23 500 people were interviewed during 2008 and 25 000 people during 2015 and 2016 in all 27 and 28, respectively, member states of the EU. In each country, certain ethnic minorities such as Roma and people from Russian, Asian, Sub-Saharan and Northern African backgrounds were recruited as respondents. According to the general results in the EU-MIDIS I study, people from ethnic minority backgrounds reported, to some extent, being stopped by the police more often than the majority population. Moreover, minority respondents relatively often considered police behavior as disrespectful. Obviously, the results varied between countries. (FRA 2009, 242–255.) In the EU-MIDIS II study comparisons between ethnic majority and minority populations were not made. The comparative focus was on the differences between various minority groups and countries. Respondents from North-African, Sub-Saharan and Roma backgrounds were stopped by the police more often than other minorities. On average, young men were most frequently stopped by the police. Respondents from Russian backgrounds differed rather strongly from other respondents, as they rarely believed that they were stopped because of their ethnic origins. (FRA 2017, 68–73.) The results regarding Finland are discussed in section 2.2.

In Spain, a national survey on police ethnic profiling was conducted in 2013. It indicated that members of ethnic minorities are twice as likely to be stopped and checked by police than members of the ethnic majority population. For certain minorities, such as the Roma and groups of North African origin, the numbers were even higher. The survey was carried out by the Human Rights Institute of the University of Valencia and Oxford University in the UK.<sup>8</sup> The survey concluded that the over representation of minority ethnic groups in Spain's prisons is a product of police racial profiling practices <sup>9</sup>.

Roma people in Europe suffer from discrimination in general and ethnic profiling in particular. As previously mentioned, according to EU-MIDIS studies (FRA 2009; 2017) Roma are among the groups most frequently reporting police stops and profiling. Moreover, the Roma differ from other investigated minority groups in the sense that age and gender do not seem to matter. Adult populations and women report police stops and profiling almost to the same extent as young Roma men (FRA 2017, 71, 73).

Research conducted in Hungary investigated the disproportionality of police stops by using questionnaire forms that police officers themselves filled immediately after the stops during a 6 month period in three locations (Kádár and Pap 2009). According to this study, those perceived as members of the Roma minority by the police, were more than three times as likely to be stopped than the proportion of Roma of the Hungarian population would suggest (ibid., 263–264). Moreover, a Hungarian national survey from 2005 showed that some 60 percent of respondents agreed that the Roma should be stopped and searched more often than non-Roma, while 57 percent of Hungarians agreed that Arabs should be stopped more often than the rest of the population. (Pap 2007, 135.) In 2008,

Miller and colleagues applied a qualitative research approach to examine experiences and attitudes towards ethnic and racial profiling in Bulgaria, Hungary and Spain. The researchers conducted focus group interviews with police officers as well as focus groups with Roma minority members in all three countries. The research also found that in all three national contexts the interviewed police officers often evoked words like “instinct or feeling”, “sixth sense”, “outsider”, “past-experience”, “strange”, or “looking like Roma” to justify their decisions about whom they stopped and searched – in Bulgaria and Hungary officers referred especially to Roma, in Spain to immigrants (Miller et al. 2008, 174–180).

Consequently, there is plenty of evidence that police stops and checks disproportionately target members of ethnic and racial minorities in the United States and in Europe. This disproportionality is likely to have multiple causes (Quinton 2015, 76; Reiner 2010, 124–134). Not all studies see discrimination as the main reason: some claim that for example minority youth are more “available” for stops and searches because they spend more time in public spaces or are more likely to commit certain kind of crimes (Waddington 1999, 50–55). As a contrast to these claims there is research evidence showing that, after taking into account factors such as self-reported illegal activity, residential area and degree of street presence, ethnicity/race still matters (Ariza 2014; Fitzgerald and Carrington 2011; Spitzer 1999). In any case, “availability” is not a neutral concept, but is connected to policing patterns and structural discrimination in a society. The availability of minority groups, such as young black men in urban settings, to be stopped is in itself affected by structural factors such as unemployment, level of education or homelessness, which are connected to ethnic origin and may, to some extent, result from discrimination (Bowling and Phillips 2007, 946). Thus, even if police were to select the targets proportionally from the so called available population, ethnic minorities could be stopped by the police more often. Additionally, the definition of availability is often circular: if police supervision is concentrated in neighbourhoods with large minority populations, these same populations are more likely to be defined as “available” (Bowling and Phillips 2007, 947). In general, it is difficult to find statistics of criminal involvement among different ethnic groups that could be used as a reliable standard against which to compare stop and search rate statistics. However, the UK crime statistics based on self-reported crime do not support the generalisation that black people would be more likely to be involved in crime (Bowling and Phillips 2007, 948–951.)

Many studies have linked racial and ethnic profiling to racist attitudes of the police officers, characteristics of the work culture of the police such as the widespread use of stereotyping, or to different patterns of interaction between police officers and persons being stopped (see for example Reiner 2010, 124–134; Waddington 1999, 50–55.) An analysis of the available research in the UK by Bowling and Phillips concludes that disproportionality of stop and search results, to large extent, from unlawful discrimination, as no other credible explanation to disproportionality exists (2007, 959). Additionally, these practices should be considered discriminatory as they negatively impact only a certain part of the population, and because the research evidence shows “that racial prejudice and stereotyping are widespread within the British police and that this has an effect on policing practice” (ibid., 960). However, it is difficult to separate police attitudes and stereotyping from other factors contributing to discriminatory policing (Reiner 2010, 171).

Criminologist P.A.J. Waddington has argued that “canteen racism” of the police witnessed by the ethnographers during breaks does not necessarily translate to discriminatory treatment of black people during actual police work (Waddington 1999, 107–109). Recent ethnographic research in Britain, based on observations of police decision making, confirms that racialised stereotyping still has a significant effect on how police form suspicions, and is likely to be one of the main causes of disproportionality (Quinton 2015, 76). In the British context, the combination of racialised discrimination based on police assumptions on the likelihood of offending, structural factors such as economic and social deprivation, and inequalities are the most likely explanations of ethnic disproportionality of stop and search practice (Quinton 2015, 76; Reiner 2010, 173–174).

Institutional discrimination is another important factor in policing that can be understood as the unequal treatment of a group resulting from formal or informal policies and practices that are connected within a wider structural bias of an unequal society (Reiner 2010, 170–171). A typical example would be the decision of a police department to introduce zero-tolerance policing in a suburb with a predominantly minority population. French ethnographer Fassin points out that the main problem is how institutional racism supports and feeds individual racism: if suburban youth or undocumented migrants are seen as a major security problem by the politicians and police command, this gives space and legitimacy for the racist attitudes and racialised stereotyping of individual police officers (Fassin 2013, 169–173). Recent research concerning immigration and border controls demonstrates how securitisation and criminalisation of immigration increases the risk of the proliferation of discriminating policing practices (Gundhus and Franko 2016; Pickering and Weber 2006; Van der Woude and Van der Leun 2017). Current practices of terrorism prevention, such as terrorist-profiling, may undermine the principle of non-discrimination and lead to stigmatisation of the targeted groups (Ojanen 2010). Public discussion about security and immigration also has a generational and gendered dimension, as it often targets young racialised men (Keskinen 2013).

National contexts and research methods influence how social phenomena of ethnic profiling is perceived: both US and UK perspectives rely heavily on the discussion of disproportionality because of the availability of statistics concerning policing; police ethnography often concentrates on the act of decision-making by the individual officers. Both statistical approaches and police ethnography can be criticised on the basis that they neglect the point of view of racialised minorities that experience profiling. Karen S. Glover (2009, 2) advocates critical race criminology that “specifically addresses traditional and contemporary examinations of race in criminology and contests the ways the discipline produces and represents race by focusing on and indeed validating experiential knowledge via the social narrative of marginalised communities”. Glover suggests that we should move away from the “white logic” that discusses racial profiling on an abstract statistical level and de-legitimizes the actual experiences of the racialised persons who have to deal with the police racism in their daily lives (Glover 2009, 39–54).

In addition to the debates above, some studies on ethnic profiling have been conducted in Nordic countries as well. In Sweden, Hydén and Lundberg (2004) studied internal immigration control and ethnic discrimination, Peterson and Åkeström (2013) analysed police practices and ethnicity, and Löfstrand (2015)

examined ethnic discrimination in private security policing. A more thorough discussion and focus on ethnic/racial profiling can be found in the study by Mulinari (2017), which investigated the experiences of those profiled as well as the police perspective.

## 2.2. Research on the Finnish Context

The only studies that include quantitative data on police stops in Finland are the already mentioned EU-MIDIS and EU-MIDIS II studies. During the first EU-MIDIS study, interviews in Finland were conducted with the Somali and Russian minorities. 26 percent of the members of the Somali minority reported having been stopped during the previous 12 months, which was approximately the same amount as in the Russian minority (25%). These frequencies are close to the average among other European minorities involved in the study. It should be noted that the Somalis were stopped more often during the last five years before the interview than the Russians. A greater part of the persons with Somali backgrounds as compared to those with a Russian background felt that they were stopped because of their ethnicity (11% compared to 1%). The biggest statistical difference was that 27 percent of Finnish Somalis considered police behaviour as disrespectful during the stop, compared to only 1 percent of Finnish Russians. (FRA 2009, 77–78.)

In the EU-MIDIS II study, discrimination experienced by persons with “Sub-Saharan African” backgrounds was scrutinised. Out of these respondents, 38 percent reported having been stopped by the police during the previous five years. Moreover, 10 percent considered that they were stopped because of their ethnic background. In relation to the other 11 countries in which the category of Sub-Saharan African persons was utilised, the Finnish results seem to have some specific features. In Finland, respondents report being stopped relatively frequently in general, but not so much because of their ethnicity. (FRA 2017, 70–72.) It might thus either be that the Finnish police profile Sub-Saharan African people relatively rarely or that the police are able to do this in more implicit ways. On a more general level, according to the EU-MIDIS II study, people from Sub-Saharan African backgrounds report more discrimination when compared to many other European countries. In Finland, discrimination is quite often experienced in both public and private services, which could refer to profiling practices by actors other than the police, such as border control, security guards and shopkeepers (FRA 2017, 37).

It should be noted that ethnic profiling can hardly be seen as a recent phenomenon in Finland, as the Finnish Roma have been targeted by the police for several decades. Studies show that the Finnish Roma view police treatment as unjust and embedded in strong stereotypes (Grönfors 1979; Tervonen 2012, 192). Many feel as though the police treat them distrustfully, perceive of them as criminals, and stop their cars and check their identity papers without grounds.

In an ethnographic study conducted in Helsinki in the 1990s, Hautaniemi reports several incidents wherein young Somali men were stopped and searched by the police without any proper explanation or apparent reason (Hautaniemi 2004, 162–165). Based on survey data, Jasinskaja-Lahti and colleagues (2002, 83–85) state that 14 percent of the Estonian and 10 percent of the Russian population living in

Finland had bad experiences with the service of the Finnish police, while 39 percent of persons who were Arabic speakers and 47 percent of those with Somali backgrounds reported similar experiences. According to a recent survey for migrant youth in Helsinki, almost 20 percent of the respondents thought that the police target ethnic minority youth more frequently than the majority population (Tuominen et al. 2014, 53). However, none of these Finnish studies have examined ethnic profiling as a separate topic, addressing it only as one amongst many other questions.

The relations between the police and immigrants have been the focus of several studies, and recommendations on how to improve them have been outlined (Tanner 2008; Saari 2009; Egharevba 2011). Studies on police culture (Korander 2004) and young people's experiences of encounters with the police and other authorities (Honkatukia and Suurpää 2008; Saarikkomäki 2017) have also highlighted themes relevant to our project.

In addition to studies on discrimination and ethnic profiling, it is possible to find some data about the "selective control" of the police in Finland. In *Youth Crime Surveys*, this type of data has been gathered from students in the 6th and 9th grade in secondary school. It must be remembered however, that selective control is not the same as ethnic profiling. In *Youth Crime Surveys*, selective control refers to the likelihood of self-reported crimes or the minor offences of young people coming into police awareness. Ethnic profiling could be one possible explanation for the likelihood of young people belonging to racialised minorities to be targeted more easily than the rest of the population.

The *Youth Crime Survey 2012* indicates that shoplifting by youth from immigrant backgrounds<sup>10</sup> came to the knowledge of police considerably more often than shoplifting carried out by other young people. It is thus possible that store clerks and security guards tend to report shoplifting cases to the police in disproportionate ways. Shoplifting was the only examined form of crime or offence that showed statistically significant differences between youth with immigrant backgrounds and others. (Salmi et al. 2014, 161.) Moreover, the same difference could not be identified from the 2008 study. However, in the sample of 2008, other statistically significant differences between these two groups of young people were observed. Minor drug offences of youth from immigrant backgrounds were more likely reported to the police. Furthermore, when analysing all self-reported crimes and offences together, it was indicated that the risk of police knowing about the crimes and offences of youth from immigrant backgrounds were higher (24 %) than for the others (18 %). (Salmi et al. 2014, 162.)

The *Youth Crime Survey 2008* also included questions of whether or not the police had frisked them, told them to leave the premises or arrested them. When analysing these types of police contacts within the last year, no statistically significant differences between youth from immigrant backgrounds and other young people were found. On the other hand, when examining the same questions throughout the lifetimes of the respondents, the study showed that youth from immigrant backgrounds had been told to leave the premises and arrested more often than the reference group. (Saarikkomäki and Kivivuori 2013; see also Saarikkomäki 2010, 35, 38.)



## 3. Legislation and Regulations Concerning Ethnic Profiling

### 3.1. International Legal Framework on Ethnic Profiling

According to international, regional and national law, differential treatment of persons is not allowed, in similar circumstances, without objective and reasonable justification. The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union declares that “any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation” is prohibited (2007, Article 21). The Racial Equality Directive lays down the legal framework for prevention of ethnic and racial discrimination in the EU and gives definitions of direct and indirect discrimination (2000; see also FRA 2010, 14–25). The European Convention on Human Rights guarantees equal treatment in respect of the administration of justice. Protocol No. 12 of the European Convention specifically forbids discrimination on any ground, in respect of any right set in a national law, by any public authority (Article 1; see also OSJI 2009a, 22).

International human rights bodies and courts have considered ethnic profiling as a form of discrimination. The UN human rights committee deemed that police controls based on a person’s physical traits or ethnic background violate the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights when it considered the case of *Rosalind Williams Lecraft v. Spain* (UNHRC 2009). The Committee stated that when the authorities carry out identity checks “the physical or ethnic characteristics of the persons subjected thereto should not by themselves be considered as indicative of their possible illegal presence in the country” (ibid., 9.) The European Court of Human Rights decided in 2005 on an application (*Timishev v. Russia*) regarding ethnic profiling and has found the practice to constitute unlawful discrimination (OSJI 2013, 20–21). The Court states in the decision “that law enforcement decisions such as stops which are based solely, or to a decisive degree, on race are prohibited” (ibid., 21).

The European Parliament has produced a recommendation to urge European authorities to tackle ethnic profiling (e.g. EP 2009). Different international organisations have also adopted positions on ethnic profiling. The EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) has been an important actor in creating the necessary conceptual tools and guidelines for national authorities to prevent ethnic profiling. The FRA released a handbook on ethnic profiling in 2010. The Council of Europe European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI 2007) adopted a General Policy recommendation on combating racism and racial discrimination in policing.

In individual European countries, court cases have been raised and successfully held to rule against the unlawful practice of ethnic profiling. In November 2016, one of France’s courts of last resort (*Cour de Cassation*) ruled that non-discrimination law applies to policing activities just as it does to other societal sectors and that police stops that disproportionately target young people of African and Arab origin are illegal (OSJI 2016). According to the court, “those singled out for stops need only to present enough evidence to create a presumption of

discrimination”, and that the police authorities must be able to “prove that the check was based on objective and individualised grounds”(ibid.)<sup>11</sup>. In Germany, the Higher Administrative Court for the state of Rhineland-Palatinate ruled in 2012 that an identity check by the German police was illegal because skin colour was the deciding factor. The defendant was a black German student who had been picked for immigration control in a train. The officers had admitted, during the court process, that the police use skin colour as a criteria for finding persons who might be in the country illegally.<sup>12</sup>

In UK legal decisions, ethnic and racial profiling has also been found to be unlawful, especially where it concerns the discriminatory treatment of members of minoritised groups. One example is the decision of the United Kingdom House of Lords in the *Prague Airport Case*, which ruled that UK immigration officials were unlawfully singling out Czech Roma travelers to the UK (ENAR 2009, 6). Racial profiling and stop and search tactics have also had a prominent role in two major public inquiries on policing in UK. The Scarman report after the 1981 Brixton riots was very critical towards consequences of the stop and search tactics. The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry of 1999, named after the victim of an unsolved racist murder, led by Sir William Macpherson went further, as it accused London police of “institutional racism” (See Shiner 2015, 149–153.).

In Spain, a legal challenge to ethnic profiling occurred in 1992 with the aforementioned case of Rosalind Williams. Williams, an African-American woman with Spanish citizenship, was stopped by a police officer on the platform of the station in Valladolid, Spain, and told to produce her identity documents. When asked why she was the only person stopped, the police officer replied that he was obligated to check the identity of persons who “looked like her,” adding that “many of them are illegal immigrants”<sup>13</sup>. Williams mounted a legal challenge that was dismissed both by the lower and the appeals court, until the UN Human Rights Committee ruled in her favour in 2009. A similar case concerning the immigration check of Zeshan Muhammad was also dismissed by all stages of the Spanish court system. According to the Open Society Justice Initiative, the officer had referred to the colour of Muhammad’s skin to explain the reason behind the ID check<sup>14</sup>. The European Court of Human Rights has accepted the application of the case and will give a ruling in the future<sup>15</sup>.

### **3.2. The Legal Framework Concerning Ethnic Profiling in Finland**

In comparison with Europe, the Finnish anti-discrimination legislation has developed relatively slowly, as have the rights of foreigners. Since the 1980s, the juridical guarantees for equality and basic rights of migrants and racialised minorities have mostly been enacted as a result of implementing European and international agreements. According to the Finnish Constitution: “No one shall, without an acceptable reason, be treated differently from other persons on the ground of sex, age, origin, language, religion, conviction, opinion, health, disability or other reason that concerns his or her person” (PeL 1999, Chapter 2, Section 6). Through the new Non-Discrimination Act (in force as of 1 January 2015) the EU directives on equal treatment (the Racial Equality Directive and the Employment Equality Directive) were transposed into national law. The current act repealed the prior Non-Discrimination Act, which was in force from 2004 to 2014. The act includes the prohibition of discrimination, as well as definitions of direct and

indirect discrimination. According to the Non-Discrimination Act, all Finnish authorities have a duty to promote equality (YhdenvertL 2014, Chapter 2, Section 5). The supervision duties are given to the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman and the Non-Discrimination and Equality Tribunal.

According to the Police Act (PoL 2011, Chapter 2, Section 1), “to carry out an individual duty, police officers have the right to obtain from anyone their name, personal identity code or, if this does not exist, date of birth and nationality, and information concerning a place where they can be reached.” According to the Finnish Aliens Act (UL 2004, Section 130), “At the request of the police or other authorities processing a matter concerning an alien, the alien shall present his or her travel document or prove his or her identity in some other reliable manner.” Control of foreign nationals is not a police investigation and it can be done without suspicion of a crime; it is only a supervisory act. The target of the inspection has a right to know the reason of the check. According to the Aliens Act, internal immigration controls “should not be motivated solely or mainly by virtue of a person’s real or assumed ethnic origin” (UL 2004, Section 129).

The Finnish legislation provides two separate and independent proceedings for incorrect or illegal acts of the police. Firstly, police actions may be investigated in criminal proceedings if there are reasons to suspect that the police officer has committed an offence while on duty. In these cases, the criminal investigation of the case is led by the Office of the Prosecutor General. Secondly, it is possible to make an administrative complaint to the police (a local police department or the National Police Board), to the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman, the Parliamentary Ombudsman, Chancellor of Justice or to the Non-Discrimination and Equality Tribunal. The tribunal is the only complaint mechanism that can actually prohibit continued or repeated discrimination, and which can also impose a conditional fine to enforce compliance with its injunctions. The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), a Council of Europe body, has recommended that the Finnish authorities establish an independent body to investigate all allegations of misconduct by law enforcement officials, particularly the allegations of racism and racial discrimination. (ECRI 2013.)

The Minority Ombudsman Johanna Suurpää notified in 2008, in response to public debate concerning internal immigration controls by the police in Helsinki and Vantaa city spaces, that “this kind of action is close to the concept of ethnic profiling” (HS 2008). She also noted that these kinds of control operations are unnecessary and possibly illegal, and said that it would be enough if police would check papers only in connection with other police work. ECRI expressed concern with Finland’s immigration control procedures in its report in 2013. According to ECRI “the Aliens’ Act contains discriminatory provisions, in particular Section 130 which provides that, at the request of the police or any other authority processing a matter concerning a foreigner, he or she must present his or her document or prove his or her identity in some other reliable manner. This provision considerably increases the risk of racial profiling of visible minorities” (ECRI 2013).

The Parliamentary Ombudsman has considered ethnic profiling by the police and customs in several cases but has not found that the Finnish police or customs would have been guilty of ethnic profiling; instead, the Ombudsman has highlighted that police have to communicate properly the reasons for checks to the

controlled person in order to avoid misunderstandings (Lindstedt 2010). In 2012, the National Discrimination Tribunal considered a case as ethnic profiling and as discriminatory act when the security of Tallink Silja had confiscated the passports of an Iranian couple (Syrjintälautakunta 2014, 87–93). However, the Tribunal did not consider the checking of the passports *per se* to be ethnic profiling because all the passengers coming on board were checked.

In 2011, the Parliamentary Ombudsman gave a decision stating that police and border guards do not have the authority to enter private spaces, such as workplaces (AOA 2011). The decision was not made in regards to ethnic profiling. However, it started a process in the Ministry of the Interior to reform the Alien's Act so that the police would get this jurisdiction (SM 2012). In this situation, due to the criticism concerning the practice of control of foreign nationals, the prohibition of ethnic profiling was also introduced into the law (HE 2014). The change in law prohibits ethnic profiling by the police or other security officials: a measure of control of foreign nationals “should not be motivated solely or mainly by virtue of a person's real or assumed ethnic origin” (129 a §). The police do not need to have concrete suspicion of the controlled person residing illegally in the country: it is enough that the police have A) general knowledge and experience about illegal immigration, and B) some intelligence, such as observation. Although Swedish legislation was consulted during the law process (HE 2014, 12), the Finnish law remained much more ambiguous in comparison: according to Section 9 of the Swedish Aliens Act (2005), immigration control “may only be undertaken if there is good reason to assume that the alien lacks the right to remain in this country”.

The government proposal concerning the prohibition of ethnic profiling does not address what kind of hints or observations can form the basis of the identity checks. It also neither includes any proper discussion regarding direct and indirect discrimination nor does it mention the recommendations of human rights organisations<sup>16</sup>. The Minority Ombudsman found no problems in the proposal, but recommended that police registers should always include the reasons for the identity checks conducted. At the time when this research report was written, the police only recorded if the person has the right to stay legally in the country when they were stopped. If the person had all the relevant documents with him/her, even this information was not always necessarily recorded. The police are not required to record the reasons as to why particular persons were stopped, and it is not possible to detect from police statistics to which ethnic or racial group the stopped persons belong. (HE 2014.) It should also be noted that the law reform only concerned control of foreign nationals and not any other kind of supervisory policing, such as public order policing. Finnish police have traditionally had relatively wide discretionary powers to stop, question, search and detain people for public order and safety reasons (Korander 2014, 168–172).

## **4. Data and Methodology**

### **4.1. Individual and Group Interviews**

The qualitative data of the study consists of semi-structured interviews and observational field notes. The main body of the data is based on individual and

group interviews, the total number of which is 128. The interviews were conducted in the Helsinki metropolitan area and Turku between 2015 and 2017. *Of the 185 persons interviewed in the study 145 belonged to ethnicised/racialised minorities and were interviewed about their experiences of ethnic profiling.* Moreover, *26 police officers and 14 other experts were interviewed.* The latter group included security guards, former and current officials, lawyers, social work professionals and shopping centre employer and employee.

The majority of the interviews were conducted as individual interviews: out of a total of 128 interviews 101 were individual interviews and 27 were group interviews (with 2–7 informants). The interviews were usually conducted face-to-face, only six interviews were conducted via phone, Skype or Facebook. The interviews were conducted in Finnish and English, except for two interviews that were conducted in Spanish and later translated. Nine interviews with Romanian and Bulgarian informants were conducted with the help of an interpreter. Most interviews were conducted by the project researchers and the research assistants. In some of the interviews, the journalists in the project were either co-interviewers or sole interviewers.

The interviewees were recruited through different means. The most efficient way to recruit interviewees proved to be contact through friends, friends of friends and acquaintances, and meeting people at different events and forums. Some informants were located through a public workshop and panel discussion that the project members organised on ethnic profiling in East Helsinki in Spring 2016. The Romanian and Bulgarian interviewees were contacted through the interpreters, who had previous contacts with these groups. Moreover, several multicultural organisations in Turku and the Helsinki metropolitan area were contacted via e-mail and asked about the possibility to find interviewees through them. The project researchers and research assistants visited various youth centers, multicultural projects and NGOs to introduce the topic and the purpose of the study, which also resulted in several interviews. Interviewees were also sought by posting project information and interview calls in closed Facebook-groups and on the international student website of the University of Turku, but this did not result in many interviews. A few interviewees were contacted after they had shared open posts on Facebook about their personal story of ethnic profiling, or when they had written on the subject in media.

Police interviewees were contacted through their occupational institutions. The Police University College in Tampere, National Police Board and the local police stations in Turku, Helsinki, Vantaa and Espoo were contacted directly via email. Research permits were applied for according to the rules of the police departments before information or possible interviewee contacts were given. The contact persons acquired through this process played an important role as they suggested new interviewees and introduced the project researchers to their colleagues. In addition, some informants were reached through personal contacts of the interviewers.

Thus, the so-called snowball method proved to be a particularly important and effective tool. Since the topic of ethnic profiling is new in the public sphere in Finland, the researchers often needed to explain what the term referred to and what the project aimed to investigate. Especially in regards to persons who had experienced ethnic profiling, personal contact was important as it established trust

within these often silenced and sensitive issues. In regards to the police and other experts interviewed for the research, another kind of trust needed to be established: the informants knew that the topic the project was studying (ethnic profiling) is prohibited by law. Explaining the police perspective was a task assigned to several of the interviewees, while others were interested in sharing their (sometimes critical) views and experiences on the matter.

Two thematic lists were used in the interviews (see Appendix 1). The first of these was designed for the individual interviews to discuss (potential) experiences of ethnic profiling, and was slightly modified when used in the group interviews for the same purpose. The second list was created for the interviews with the police, and slightly modified to suit interviews with security employees and experts. While the main task of the research was to investigate ethnic profiling by the police, we also wanted to inquire into the multiple experiences that racialised minorities may have of ethnic profiling – especially since the study was the first of its kind and the phenomenon is largely unmapped in research. We thus asked about the informants' possible experiences of being ethnically profiled by the police, security guards and border control. These themes were chosen on the basis of previous research literature (from other countries) and the knowledge of the research team, which included several members with their own experiences of ethnic profiling. The focus group interviews addressed ethnic profiling and trust towards authorities on a more general level, but still provided the space to discuss personal accounts and experiences as well. The interviews with the police, security personnel and experts addressed ethnic profiling as a phenomenon and its possible explanations, practices of the institution and profession, ethical and racial discrimination guidelines/programmes, and education on ethnic relations and racism.

The interviewed persons are of many different ethnic, racial and national backgrounds. Those interviewed about their possible experiences of profiling were born in countries which include, but are not limited to Iran, Iraq, Somalia, Nigeria, Gambia, Ghana, Cameroon, Kenya, Tanzania, Congo, Zimbabwe, Sudan, Estonia, Kosovo, Mexico, Colombia, Argentina, Indonesia, Philippines, Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Romania and Finland. A clear majority of the interviewees were either born in Finland or had otherwise lived in the country for several years, but were racialised as non-white or belonging to the Roma minority. Some informants had arrived to Finland rather recently, among them were a few persons seeking asylum, as well as a group of mainly Roma minority persons from Bulgaria and Romania. We also tried to contact organisations of the Russian-speaking minority – the largest ethnic minority in Finland – to find interviewees, but they did not respond to our inquiries. Our snowball method did not result in contact with Russian-speaking persons who would have been willing to speak about their possible experiences of ethnic profiling.

The age of the informants ranged from 15 to 52, with the majority being in their 20s and 30s. In relation to gender,  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the interviewees were men while  $\frac{1}{3}$  were women. The heavy gender imbalance is a result of men volunteering to speak about their experiences of profiling more frequently than women. Previous studies and our survey however, indicate that men are especially prone to be stopped by the police, and rather than a problem, the gender imbalance allows us to analyse the experiences of those who are most often targeted by ethnic profiling.

In the report we use the concepts ethnic and racial minorities. In addition, the concept of racialised minorities is used on a general level to refer to both ethnic and racial minorities. While an ethnic minority position need not always be racialised, this is the case in regards to the Roma and the other ethnic(ised) minorities that our study is concerned with. The self-identification of the interviewees was not always clear from the interviews, and thus we have in regards to individual interviewees, provided information about their ethnic or national belonging, including Finland when the informants had lived in Finland for more than five years. In some cases, the information has been changed or omitted in order to preserve anonymity.

The interviewed authorities, security personnel and experts were mainly white majority Finns, but some were also members of racialised minorities. For purposes of anonymity, we have not disclosed the ethnic or racial background of these interviewees. The gender imbalance is even stronger in this material:  $\frac{3}{4}$  of these informants were men, while  $\frac{1}{4}$  were women. This is due to the fact that the profession of policing is a male dominated profession. The interviewees include police officers of different ranks, from those who patrol in the streets to those in commanding positions. Persons responsible for police education were also interviewed in order to obtain information regarding the educational content related to ethnic profiling, racism and minorities.

The material was analysed by means of a qualitative content analysis. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and then thematically coded using the computer assisted programme Nvivo, which ensured that the huge dataset was manageable and analysed in a systematic way. The coding followed the project's research questions and interview themes. The coded themes for interviews with persons who experienced profiling included for example, spaces of profiling, description of events, effects of profiling, feelings in the situation, strategies to deal with experiences, other encounters with the police, racism and belonging. The interviews with the police and other professionals were coded using themes such as explanations for stops, internal immigration control, police education, registering the use of powers, and recommendations. The main patterns and contents of the themes were then identified. The researchers have also read and re-read the full interviews in the analysis phase so as to keep in mind the ways single themes were connected to one another.

The analysis has been inductive (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2004, 110–115). While our approach has been influenced by earlier studies on ethnic profiling and the theoretical framework outlined in 1.3. we have decided to provide as much space as possible for the data and the stories of the interviewees in the empirical chapters. This decision was motivated A) by the fact that this is the first time such stories have been collected and reported about in Finland, and B) that we have aimed to reach a broad audience, including non-academic readers who might be deterred by more theoretically engaged writing. We have thus gathered the discussion about the relation of our results to earlier literature on the topic in certain concluding sections as well as the concluding chapter.

Methodologically, we treat the interviews as situated accounts that are influenced by the available cultural resources (discourses) that enable people to make sense of what has happened to them. We do not question the events that people have talked about, and come from an understanding that the interviewees are telling the

truth, as it appears to them. Participating voluntarily in an interview caused extra work and required time-management for our interviewees, and speaking about often (but not always) painful memories was not the top priority of the informants. As such, we see no particular reason why the interviewees would have invented stories of what had happened to them. Memories of incidents that happened some time ago are not always exact in details, but nevertheless provide information regarding events and people's interpretations of them. The fact that the large – for a qualitative inquiry, extraordinary large – number of interviewees with different ethnic and racial backgrounds were reporting largely similar experiences, points towards common patterns of ethnic profiling and the problems it poses for minorities. The snowball method has resulted in interviews with persons, who usually had experiences of being stopped, and defined them as ethnic profiling. The survey data, on the other hand, also provides information about persons who do not experience ethnic profiling or do not define stops as such.

## 4.2. Observations and Fieldwork

The qualitative data also includes field notes of 17 events, in which observations were made by the researchers and research assistants in 2015–2016. The fieldwork was designed after gaining knowledge of the experiences of ethnic profiling by the interviewees. Our focus of interest was thus steered toward certain places and spaces that were often mentioned in the interviews. Harbours and passenger terminals in Helsinki and Turku were visited, as well as several shopping centres, metro stations, other busy traffic hubs and parks in Helsinki. Observations were conducted in pairs and individually. In one case, the fieldwork consisted of a walk with an informant who took the researcher to places where the informant had experienced ethnic profiling. The interview was conducted simultaneously, following walking method principles (O'Neill and Hubbard 2010). The interviewee told about and reflected on the events while showing the places where they occurred. Visiting the places brought vivid memories of the incidents and the feelings that arose from them, which is the methodological specificity of the walking method.

In most cases, the observation was carried out in such a way that the naturally occurring events were not disturbed, i.e. the presence of the observers was not necessarily obvious for the officials and the bypassers that crossed the spaces. This was specifically true when applied to the fieldwork conducted in harbours, traffic hubs and shopping centres. Some of the fieldwork consisted of more active involvement with persons residing in the place, such as people spending time in the parks. The notes were often written imperceptibly or directly after the active observation period. The field notes began with a short description of the places and spaces under observation, then continued to describe general functions, actors and sights. The research team that conducted the observations and fieldwork included persons with different ethnic and racial backgrounds. For example, walks in places where ethnic profiling had occurred were conducted by a researcher and an informant who were both of African origin. This enabled a sharing of experiences that were recognised by both participants and provided in-depth information.

The purpose of the fieldwork was to map and assess the places where ethnic profiling was often occurring, according to the interviews, but also to detect how different actors behave and use space in the discussed places. In this report, the



observation data is used along the interview data, although the difference in scale means that we draw heavily on the interview data. The fieldwork data has also provided useful background information when the researchers have interpreted the interview and survey data. While the fieldwork added to the research a sense of both place and time, it mainly confirmed the findings from the interviews.

### 4.3. Survey: Data and Methods

The project data also includes quantitative data: two surveys were conducted among different target groups. The first piece of data was collected in Spring 2016 as a part of the national *Youth Barometer*. Through a telephone survey, we were able to receive a random sample of Finnish and Swedish speaking majority young people from 15–29 years (n=164).<sup>17</sup> Afterwards, in Spring 2017, we conducted a telephone survey of our own, aiming to reach respondents from four racialised minorities. As a result, we received a random sample of respondents from 15–29 years who reported Russian, Somali, Arabic or Kurdish as their first language (n=200). In both surveys, the same questions related to ethnic profiling were presented to the respondents.

In our questionnaire, issues concerning the anticipated future of Finland, security, trust and feelings of belonging were surveyed. These types of questions were included for two reasons. Firstly, and very practically, it was possible to include them for the purposes of comparison, as they were also asked in the Youth Barometer. Secondly, the hypothesis was that experiences of ethnic profiling might be associated with how Finland is perceived, the level of trust in authorities and security related issues. As for ethnic profiling, the respondents were asked about their experiences of being stopped, their knowledge of other young people being stopped and their attitudes toward police targeting ethnic minorities (see Appendix 2).

#### Description of the Respondents

Altogether, we reached 362 respondents with our two surveys. The most essential independent variable of the survey is the ethnic or national background of the respondents. This is determined on the basis of their countries of origin. The *Finnish majority* (40,9 %) includes those respondents whose both parents have been born in Finland. All other respondents are categorised as belonging to *ethnic minorities* (59,1 %).

**Table 1: National backgrounds of the respondents**

	N	%
Finnish majority	148	40,9
Ethnic minorities	214	59,1

In a more detailed fashion, the respondents were categorised in six groups according to their ethnic backgrounds. It is evident that these types of divisions are rather rough and do not often match with the self-identifications of people. However, to investigate ethnic profiling and possible differences between various

populations, some categorisations are needed. The first two groups of respondents consist of Finnish majority representatives: Finnish (29,4 %) and Swedish (11,3 %) speakers. In many cases, they are combined as one unit in analyses. The third group consists of those respondents who were born in regions of the former Soviet Union or whose parents were both born there (19,6 %). The representatives of the fourth group are people whose parents were both born in Somalia or nearby regions (Ethiopia or Kenya), or who were born in the area themselves (10,8 %). The respondents in the fifth group have quite heterogeneous national backgrounds. They have Arab or Kurdish backgrounds in the sense that they themselves or both of their parents were born in the regions of Middle-East, Turkey or Northern Africa (24,5 %). The sixth group is even more heterogeneous, including two types of respondents: those who have themselves or whose parents have both been born in some previously unmentioned country and those Finnish born respondents with one parent born outside of Finland. This other/multicultural category is quite small in number (4,1 %).

**Table 2: Ethnicity of the respondents**

	All	%	Men	%	Women	%
Finnish Speaking majority	107	29,9	55	51,4*	51	47,7*
Swedish speakers	41	11,4	20	48,8	21	51,2
Former Soviet Union	71	19,7	32	45,1	39	54,9
Somalian backgrounds	39	10,8	21	53,8	18	46,2
Middle-East, Turkey and North African	88	24,4	59	67,0*	28	31,8*
others/multicultural	15	4,2	11	73,3	4	26,7
All	361	100	198	54,8	161	44,6

\* *Two respondents did not identify with the dichotomous gender category and chose the option “not able to tell/do not want to tell”*

Obviously, in addition to ethnic or racial positioning, there are several other social categories dividing our respondents such as age, gender, social class and residential area. As was already mentioned, the respondents of both surveys were 15–29 years old. The youngest cohort (15–19) is underrepresented among non-majority respondents. This means that there are relatively many students (in contrast to workers, entrepreneurs, unemployed etc.) among the majority respondents. Similar variance can be found when looking at gender. In the whole dataset, men are slightly overrepresented (54,8 %), and this is particularly true with respondents from Arabic and Kurdish backgrounds (67,0 %). As expected, there are clear differences in the reported residential areas as well. Due to a heavy concentration of people from foreign backgrounds in the metropolitan capital area of Finland, it is not surprising that relatively many minority respondents live in urban municipalities instead of more rural ones. Finally, parental education level is relatively low, particularly among respondents of African, Arab and Kurdish descent. Thus, it is important to use multivariate methods in order to control the above variation within the data.

## Analysis and Methodological Discussion

In the quantitative analysis, different sets of data are analysed as one, even though they do not form a totally coherent whole. The questions were the same for all respondents, but the two surveys were executed at different moments in time. Moreover, from the perspective of national representativeness it must be noted that the sample size of particularly the Finnish speaking majority population, is quite modest. Due to methodological limitations, the quantitative data of The Stopped -project gives only preliminary and rough results.<sup>18</sup>

Survey data provides information about the respondents' subjective assessments and attitudes; thus, it does not provide objective information about what has really happened. It might thus be that, for instance, a police officer and his/her target of control have experienced the event very differently. This does not mean, however, that the validity of the analysis is poor. The experiences of individuals and their repercussions are relevant objects of study in social sciences (see also Weitzer and Tuch 2002, 436). For instance, stops by the police and security guards that are experienced as unjustified and illegitimate are very likely to reduce trust in authorities and societal institutions.

In the analysis, various descriptive methods, such as examination of frequencies, cross-tabulations, sum variables, variance analyses, and statistical tests were utilised. To study the interconnection of several variables simultaneously, logistic regression analysis was used.

### 4.4. Ethical Questions: Producing Knowledge of a Sensitive Topic

The matters of voluntary participation, informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity of the informants were taken into thorough consideration and discussed throughout the entire research process. After being informed about the research project and its purpose, the interviewees were asked to fill in a written consent form. The consent form was drafted so that an interviewee was able to separately give consent for research purposes and media collaboration. In some instances, especially if the interview had been conducted via Skype or phone, consent was agreed on verbally. The informants were asked to choose a code name (different from their real name) before the interview. As such, throughout the data collection process, the chosen names were the only names used to identify the research participants.

The interviewees reflected in various ways on the matter of confidentiality and anonymity. A majority of the informants emphasised that due to the sensitive nature of the topic they wished that their identity would be carefully protected, while others were less concerned about the matter. The requests concerning confidentiality and anonymity varied, but oftentimes they were minor and already within the normal standards of anonymisation such as replacing or renaming people, places, and so forth. Some interviewees were more concerned about being disclosed or worried about the identifiability of their stories. By request of the informants, small parts of some interviews were left untranscribed or deleted and in other cases no direct citations have been included in the report. During the analysis and writing process, all requests concerning individual restrictions and confidentiality were carefully listed and followed respectively.

Interviewees respond differently to different interviewers because everyone builds their identity depending on their interlocutor. In this research, data was collected by people with different ethnicised, racialised and gendered backgrounds. Informants can express themselves differently when talking to people with whom they share a common ethnic or racial background compared to others. For example, during the data collection process one research participant said he was tired of talking to white Finnish researchers who did not understand him, but would always come and use minorities as “research guinea pigs”. He said he would only grant an interview to “a brother”, another black person, because a “brother” would better understand him and he could trust this “brother” in a way that he does not trust non-black researchers. Thus, it is important to acknowledge that having researchers with different racial backgrounds to interview the informants had an effect on what kind of information we received, as well as providing different analytical insights to the data.

Furthermore, forgetting a stressful situation is one strategy employed by people who have experienced emotional stress. The researchers in this project were aware of the dilemma of making the interviewees relive their experiences by telling about ethnic profiling, while not being able to provide them with any means to deal with the stress and pain caused by the interviews. During this study, the meetings and seminars organised by the project enabled people to share their views on this topic. Such events created a good avenue for the participants to get some help through listening to the stories of others with similar experiences and learning strategies to cope with ethnic profiling. During such meetings, research participants also received information regarding what to do and where to report incidences of ethnic profiling.

In relation to the interviewed police officers and other authorities, the researchers have also been careful to safeguard their anonymity. For some informants this was very important and we have thus not disclosed information about their workplaces or details of their rank. We have tried to bring out the views of the police in a way that does justice to them and explains their logic. At the same time, we have tried to detect the possible practices and ways of thinking that can lead to ethnic profiling. Our approach has been critical, and we have luckily been able to find interviewees who have been willing to reflect on the police practices and who sought to develop them.

#### **4.5. Mixing Methods and Future Analysis**

Through a mixture of several kinds of data and methods we provide a multifaceted picture of ethnic profiling. Each method and the data it produces opens up a certain perspective to the studied phenomenon, while no single method can fully capture all of its relevant features (Ronkainen 2015, 16). Combining methods thus enables a better understanding of empirical reality but it also requires thinking how that combining is done and what the multiple methods are used for.

In this research, we use different methods and data to answer different research questions. The qualitative data is used to answer the questions of meanings and practices of ethnic profiling, examining both the perspectives of those being profiled as well as the police. It also forms the basis of answering the questions of where stops and ethnic profiling occur and the strategies adopted by racialised

minority persons. The effects of ethnic profiling and the role of intersectionality are discussed on basis of both qualitative and quantitative data. The survey data is used to detect the prevalence of stops and ethnic profiling among young people, as well as group-based differences. Since this is the first research on ethnic profiling in Finland, we have sought to detect the common patterns of ethnic profiling and its interpretations on basis of qualitative data. The survey has been designed to investigate how general experiences of ethnic profiling are.

In this research report, the perspectives of those experiencing ethnic profiling and the police are analysed separately. The analysis and the triangulation of the data will continue in the future publications of the project. We will continue the analysis by cross-reading the different data sets thematically. In the coming publications, we will also examine themes arising from the interviews with other authorities and experts, which have not been included here due to the focus on the police.

## **5. Experiences of Being Profiled**

### **5.1. Being Stopped and Interpreting it as Ethnic Profiling**

In current European societies, borders do not only exist at the national frontiers but have proliferated into city spaces and other everyday environments (Balibar 2004; Rigo 2009). Our informants faced stops and control measures when they were crossing the border to another country, but they were also expected to verify their right to reside in the country despite being citizens or having been born in Finland. The informants could be stopped for an ID-check or searched when connected to a crime somebody else had committed – somebody with the same ethnic or racial markers as they themselves have. Sometimes they were considered as potential criminals due to their ethnic or racial backgrounds. The informants were also confronted with borders in the form of cultural perceptions of not belonging to Finland due to their skin colour or other bodily markers and subjected to control actions on the basis of such anticipations.

The acts of being stopped and asked to document one's identity or having one's belongings searched are clearly identifiable events. Some of these events passed by without the informants paying much notice to them or were interpreted as ordinary situations, in which they were treated like other people. However, most of the incidents discussed and described in more detail in the interviews were characterised by differential treatment compared to others who were present in the same space or categorised to another ethnic/racial group. The informants remembered these events, sometimes several years later, because they felt they were targeted on basis of their ethnic or racial background. There was something special in these incidents – sometimes it was easy for the informants to pinpoint why they were treated differently than the rest of the group, at other times the references to ethnicity or race were subtler. Although defining an event as ethnic profiling required interpretation of the situation, the informants were careful not to treat all kinds of stops, ID-checks and searches as ethnic profiling – as we will show in the following sub-chapters. The informants often identified ethnic profiling from the details of the described events and actions; however, not all

practices of the police and other security personnel are transparent and visible for those targeted by the actions. In chapter six, we investigate ethnic profiling through the information provided by the police.

## 5.2. Spaces of Ethnic Profiling

In the following chapter, we discuss the experiences of moving in city spaces and other everyday environments of persons who face ethnic profiling. Their normal movement and plans were interrupted at times for a short moment, at other times for several hours or even days. Some of our informants had been stopped a number of times, others only once or twice a long time ago. These differences in experiences obviously bear effect on their relationship to the spaces they were stopped in.

The experiences of being stopped took place in different public and semi-public spaces. Many of the incidents the informants told about occurred in different parts of the Helsinki metropolitan area and Turku, where the interviews were conducted, but other Finnish cities were also mentioned.

### Railway Stations and Traffic Hubs

A large number of stops and ethnic profiling experiences described by the interviewees took place in the vicinity of public transport locations, such as railway stations, metro platforms and bus terminals. Out of all stations in the Helsinki Metropolitan area, in particular Helsinki Central Railway station, Pasila station, Leppävaara station and Tikkurila station were identified as places where people were most often stopped. A vast majority of the stops at the railway station had occurred at or near the Helsinki Central Railway Station. All the mentioned stations are sites for extensive traffic where a huge number of travelers enter and change transport vehicles every day, but less busy stations were also mentioned.

For many interviewees the stops took place in a very familiar environment, such as the metro station next to their workplace or home. The sudden stops and ID checks could turn these casual spaces into sites of awkward encounters, the tension of which was eased off by laughter when telling about the event.

*I was stopped right for example in Tikkurila railway station. I was stopped just randomly because I was somehow out of the normal picture maybe. [...] I was with a friend and we were coming from Helsinki. (.) [Laughs] I was coming from Helsinki and going (,) shopping or something and because I live in Vantaa. We were in the tunnel under the train tracks and there were three civilian cops they were like dressed civil. They stopped us, they asked for actually not for the ID's they asked straight about the social security numbers. (Female, in her 30s, Romania)*

Some of the interviewees were surprised by these stops because they occurred so suddenly and intervened in their everyday normal life. Others, on the other hand, were able to read the signs beforehand and were expecting the police to approach them after noticing how the police looked at them in a special way.

*Once I was with my friend, well yeah, in Kerava. It was maybe a few years ago [coughs]. So we were walking around the Kerava train station, just walking and doing nothing, and then a cop in plain clothes comes by. He asked for our papers, and at first we were like is he talking to us, like really to... us? Then he was like yeah yeah, papers, and I said why. Then he was like well we are checking to see if you have permission to live in Finland. [laughs] (Male, in his late 20s, Iraq-Finland)*

*I was waiting for [a bus] after finishing work that Sunday morning, I was at the Helsinki train station with some of my black friends, we were sitting together. So, ah.. we noticed like...two policemen, they were looking at us in our direction. [...] So, they [the policemen] just came to us. They said that ....ah ...ah... they would like to see our ID's. (Male, in his early 40s, African country)*

The stops also occurred outside the central station: in front of the main doors of the station, at the Helsinki Railway Square and the nearby bus stops. The interviewees often reported being at “steissi” (a common name for the whole station area) either hanging out or just passing through the Helsinki Railway Square when they were stopped. The area was described by many as very unpleasant and it was often thought of as the place where the risk of ethnic profiling was highest. These anticipations were based on their own or other people’s experiences and observation.

Some interviewees reported having been stopped at the metro stations in Helsinki. The interviewees mentioned both stations in the city centre and stations in Eastern Helsinki, a part of the city where many racialised minority persons live. A few interviewees said they had been stopped while getting off the metro, while others reported having been stopped when waiting for the metro to arrive. In many stories, the events took place during the peak times.

*I've been stopped many times in metro stations, which is kind of weird because metro stations are full of busy people. No one really stays there except teenagers. People move around. So I've been stopped in metro stations, on the platform, oh actually once I was stopped inside the metro by a police in mufti, not in uniform, then they asked to buy weed from me. But then I told them sorry, I don't even smoke, I don't even sell it. (Male, early 30s, African country-Finland)*

*I was having my hoodie on top of me because it was a little bit chilly weather. I go to the metro station at Sörnäinen and when I came out of the metro I saw two police and they just stopped me and what they asked me “Sorry? Moikka! [Hi in Finnish]” I say then “Hi”. Then they asked me “Can we see your ID?” (Male, in his late 20s, Ghana)*

The interviewees had also been stopped at tram and bus stops. Although most of these situations took place in the heart of the city, the incidents were not limited to these areas.

*I've been stopped many times. I have a brother who came to visit me in Finland from the U.S., and I was showing him around, and we went to the Helsinki city centre. Suddenly these guys in plain clothes just came by and*

*showed us some badge, but the other one didn't show it at all. He showed some badge and started to inspect everyone right away, which I thought was really humiliating. We were waiting for the tram, talking to each other, and there was no problem. (Male, in his early 30s, African country-Finland)*

## Streets and Outdoor City Spaces

A public space is often understood as a place in which people can move and reside in freely as long as they take into account the generally accepted social norms. For example, on the website of the City of Helsinki, the city parks are characterised as common living rooms that offer experiences all year round and where citizens can spend leisure time in peace (City of Helsinki 2017). However, these public spaces are not always peaceful and relaxing places to spend time in for everyone. Many interviewees reported having been stopped by the police or security guards in various public spaces, both in the city centre and in the suburbs. Like at the traffic hubs, the stoppings on the streets and other outdoor public spaces disrupted the everyday activities. The Kaisaniemi park, mentioned in the citation below, is a place where many people gather in summer time – including many racialised minority persons. It was also mentioned in the police interviews as a place of specific interest for police actions due to this fact.

*Thomas was eager to show me the place he had his first experience with police profiling even though he never fully understood what it was until much later. As we walked along the platform 2 we took a left turn that leads towards Kaisaniemi Park. "This place is so peaceful now. It is usually busy with activities", he commented as we walked down the path to the open park. He was right, Kaisaniemi park is a great recreational and multipurpose park located just by the main train station in Helsinki. It hosts concerts and the world village festival in the summers. We came to the wide open largely decorative pool in the middle of the park. This pool is surrounded by benches and several pathways leading to various parts of the park. Thomas pointed to a bench at the top end of the pool, close to a kids' playground area. "So this is where I was with a couple of other guys. We were all like from West-Africa. There was four of us just chilling and drinking beer like anyone else here that evening. There were some people, sat on the grass drinking and having picnics. So this place was very busy and it was a nice evening. [...] Then these two police vans came and they circled around the pool for some time in the vans, then they parked on that corner close to the train station there and two men walked out of one of the vans and they were walking about. To my greatest surprise at the time, of all the people in the park, like so many people so loud and doing fun things, these two uniformed policemen came to where we were sitting and asked what we were doing there. Then they started asking us for our papers. I swear to God I was in shock!" (Fieldnotes, July 2016)*

The interviewees also mentioned other places in the city centre, such as certain streets, squares, beaches and well-known landmarks and sights. These locations included for example, the square around the Concert Hall (Musiikkitalo), the Esplanadi Park, Hietaniemi Beach and the cliffs next to Linnanmäki Amusement Park. According to interviewees, most of the stops had taken place during a time when there was a lot of traffic and many other people around.



*Now this happened this summer. My friend lives in Russia, and he came to visit me here, and there were four of us, we'd been drinking a bit. I don't know where we were going, perhaps to the Espa park to hang out or something like that. So we were just happy that we'd come to the park, and like we were probably visible, because we're quite loud, and we were laughing and like hahaha and haha. Then two policemen arrived... Actually, we walked past them and didn't really notice them, it's like we had our own path and our own night. We were having fun, and hahaha and laughing maybe quite loudly probably. But then they still drove after us, after we were maybe a hundred metres past them. They drove after us, stopped us and asked us all for our papers. (P) Just because we were really having a good time. We didn't do anything, I don't think that we disturbed anyone. After all, it was in the evening, and other people were there as well having fun. (Male, in his late 20s, Kosovo-Finland)*

Many interviewees mentioned the square Narinkkatori and the Kamppi area, a complex of shops, restaurants and a bus station in the centre of Helsinki, as places where the police or security guards had stopped them or ordered them to move away. For example, the Romanian and Bulgarian informants, many of whom were Roma, often experienced such incidents. Even persons who had lived for a long time in Finland and spoke fluent Finnish encountered such situations when spending time with their Roma friends in the Kamppi area.

*We were in front of Kamppi [laughs], and there were maybe 5 or 6 of us close to each other, and the guard came and said that you can't... you're not allowed to gather here. I don't remember what word he used, and I've lived in Finnish society for more than 20 years. Of course as a foreigner, but as I live in Finland, I don't really feel like a foreigner any more. So I said that why not, certainly I can talk to my friends here, what is the problem here. He was really like no, you have to leave now. (Female, in her 40s, South-East Europe-Finland)*

Many of the interviewed young men had experiences of stops by the police in the streets during the evening. Stops happened both on weekends and weekdays in the city centre and the suburbs.

*So sometime at night we were playing football on the field there, it was a bit lighter out. And afterwards I had to go get my cap from the mosque over there, but then the police came and stopped me. (Male, in his early 20s, Iraq-Finland)*

*Yeah that kind of things happen quite a lot like especially when I was working (,) I was studying and working at the same time so I had to do like cleaning jobs or whatever I can find. Sometimes the hours I leave from work might be like middle of the night or something like that and police would stop you and like they can do some searching like they can search you [...] because of his color that he is maybe selling drugs or something like if it happens to be in the middle of the night or in a certain place [they suspect] (Male, 33, East African country-Finland)*

Several experiences of the interviewees took place in the suburbs where they lived – often residential areas where many racialised minority persons live, such as

Eastern Helsinki, Malmi and Central Espoo. However, this kind of profiling of certain residential areas does not seem to be as dominant a pattern as in other countries such as Sweden (Mulinari 2017) or France (Fassin 2013). While residential areas were often mentioned in the informants' stories, the city centre and the central travel hubs were more often identified as sites of ethnic profiling by police. This may be due to the fact that Finnish residential areas are less segregated along ethnicity and race than in many other European countries (e.g. Rasinkangas 2013, 111). Thus, police interventions may not focus as much on specific racialised residence areas but can be more geographically dispersed. It is also possible that the interviewed persons did not emphasise the role of suburbs because they did not always pay attention to the location when telling about being stopped and ID-checked while driving. However, the following respondent, a young black man, clearly located the events in areas where a large number of racialised minorities live.

*Q: Do you think there are certain areas that police comes to patrol and...*

*A: Yes definitely.*

*Q: So in Helsinki for example what would those places be?*

*A: Well it would be in East-Helsinki most definitely and you know places like Kontula, Myllypuro, Kivikko you know Mellunmäki these places and you see more police in there. (Male, 25, Somalia-Finland)*

## **In the Car**

In addition to streets and public transport, many interviewees were also stopped by the police while moving by car. This is very much in line with the results of the EU-MIDIS surveys (FRA 2009; 2017), which included information about ethnic profiling in 27 (2009 study) and 28 (2017 study) European countries. According to our informants, the stops while driving had taken place in central city areas, suburbs and major highways. The interviewees told about situations in which their car was stopped by the police, usually after the police car had been following them for a while, and no obvious reason existed for the stop. The police did not provide proper answers as to why their car was stopped.

*Q: But you were telling those stories about being stopped or cars being stopped. You'd said that the car had turned around once and came towards you from another direction.*

*A: The car came towards me, and I don't know the reason and motive. They never really said why in that situation. I've just been stopped many times unnecessarily when I've been innocent. As I was just saying, we were driving in a completely different direction, when it just so happened that the police turned around and drove after us. (.) They never told us the reason, but there was no real reason. Everything was always in order, but they wanted to see who was there and inspect us. (Male, in his early 30s, African country-Finland)*

All the statements about stops in traffic had one thing in common: the interviewees felt that these stops were not traditional traffic stops. Instead, they were convinced that the police chose to stop them on the basis of their ethnic or racial backgrounds. The interviewees had come to this conclusion on basis of the following factors: first, the police did not impose similar traffic control measures on other cars or drivers

in traffic; second, many interviewees reported that the police had been driving in an opposite direction to them, but then made a U-turn and stopped their car.

*I don't know if it's rare, because it had happened with me once, by that that time. I don't know if I've heard any other people, but what I know, they don't stop you they don't normally stop you unless you are doing something really wrong. That's what I know. But. Like, if I compare with the guy that I was stopped during the night, that took a long time to process, the attitude was completely different. So. It could also mean that...that guy [police officer who stopped the interviewee] was to me – that's what I read – he just wanted to, make me wait for nothing. And even the way he... 'cause I was just driving like this [demonstrates] and he was coming on the other side. Once he noticed me in that car he just turned around and [demonstrates the police lights turning on and going around] (Male, in his 40s, African country-Finland)*

It should be noted that the respondents were carefully pondering the possible reasons for the stop – partly because they were not given proper reasons, but even more so because they wished to be certain and not jump to quick conclusions that every stop was based on ethnic or racial profiling.

*A: Yeah so I can't really say clearly about them, was it because... that riding in a car was considered suspicious or what it was, but I have been stopped with a car. And asked just like randomly when nothing has happened, we've just been driving (around four people), and they have stopped us and asked for the driver's license and other things. But they can be basic stops, I'm not really sure.*

*Q: Well did you notice if other cars were stopped as well.*

*A: Well... no, I don't mean it was like a [knocks on the table] police speed trap situation. It wasn't like when you're generally on the road with a lot of cars or stuff, and then... We were told to drive to the side of the road, and they asked us... what's going on and other stuff. (Male, 28, Somalia-Finland)*

The interviewees repeatedly mentioned that there was no reason to stop them in the situations. Sometimes they questioned the reasons the police had given, since they did not consider the explanations valid. For example, the police could refer to a part of the car that was broken as the reason for the stop, but the informant was sure that this was not the case. The informants were thus not speaking about any kinds of stops by the police, but only interpreted an incident as ethnic profiling when there were no other obvious factors to explain the events.

While the interviewees with an Estonian background did not remember being ethnically profiled as pedestrians in the streets or at public transport traffic hubs, one of them mentioned an incident when their car was stopped without a clear reason and the police seemed to check the car on basis of foreign number plates.

*A: Well, there was this time once. The police stopped our car, and one of them... had remarked that we weren't wearing seat belts, but that was not true at all, because we never start moving before the seat belts are fastened.*

*Q: Okay. So where did this happen*

*A: It happened somewhere on [name of street in the city centre] [sneers] (Female, in her late 40s, Estonia-Finland)*

There were also situations in which the police had commented on the stopping in a racist manner, as in the following citation. The group membership had been evoked by the police to present a generalising claim about the carelessness or illegal behaviour of the ethnic/racial group to which the interviewee belonged. The informant thus interpreted the stop as ethnic profiling.

*Well, I can tell you that I was right in the Helsinki city centre, driving around. Then a cop stopped me, and I was like oh really, why are you stopping me. Well, I'm asking for your driver's license, because you people usually don't have it and still you're driving around. Like the "you people" stayed in my mind, like ok it's just we guys that stop you to ask you questions (Male, in his late 20s, Iraq-Finland)*

The petrol stations and parking lots could be places where racialised minorities became visible to the police, who then started following the car. These kinds of characteristics in the stopping situation convinced the informants that the stopping was based on ethnic profiling. The following informants had themselves followed police behaviour to investigate their ways of working.

*Q: Are they stopping people or just trying find any familiar faces*

*A: They're just observing that some foreigner is driving into Shell. If he's filling up the tank or something and then leaves, they go right after him and stop him. Then they return to the same place. We've like sat and watched them. And recognised them as like policemen (Male, in his late 20s, Iraq-Finland)*

### **Driving While Roma**

The US research has identified the commonality of black persons being stopped in the car by the police, referring to it as "driving while black" (e.g. Lamberth 1998; Harris 1999). A similar commonality in the Finnish context can certainly be discussed as "driving while Roma", as being stopped by the police is a widespread experience for the Finnish Roma. Many informants told that they themselves or at least someone they knew well had been stopped by the police on the road. Their view was that the stops by the police on the road were ordinary, everyday events for them.

*A: So the police stopped me there near the school. It was late at night, and we were coming from the evening performance. When the police came to the car [...] wife, she said "What are they doing?" Because of that, they came from Hill Street Blues. One came from one side and the other from the other side, and their flashlight blinded us as they said "What are you doing?" Where are you going? Where are you coming from? Why do you have this here? We just thought that oh good grief, they are totally crazy. We just came from the movies, driving as normal without speeding down that road. [laughs]*

*Q: Did they give you any reasons for stopping you?*

*A: No. They ask you for the driver's licenses and car papers, and then they wish you a good evening. (Male, in his 40s, Finnish Roma)*

*...Four years ago I was driving late at night, and I had this ordinary passenger car, and one of front lights was out. He stopped me because the light was out. I was dealing with a customer situation and had left home really quickly. So I didn't have my wallet or my driver's license with me. But I told him my social security number, and then he came over and looked at me and said "Hey, you look familiar." I said "Really?" "Yeah, so let's go to the station." And he took me to the Pasila police station, and I said good heavens, we don't need to do this. I can come by the station tomorrow and show my license, if you can't find it in your information. "No, you look familiar, you're coming there." (Female, in her 40s, Finnish Roma)*

The Roma emphasised that they could be stopped any time, during day or evening, and on a constant basis by the police while driving. The likelihood of being stopped increased if the car held other Roma in addition to them. Sometimes the whole car was investigated, without a reasonable cause.

*And well... then there is this one time. The car is stopped and well... Like they look through the whole glove compartment and... They open the trunk and... look through it. I have an experience from a few years ago when they searched in between the seats looking for stuff. The car was specifically raided. And all the hands had to be visible and... like right away, if they noticed there were more Roma people in the car, three or four, for example. Two in the back and... or... two in the front and maybe one in the back, and that was it. And I do think about these things like... the police car drives towards us and sees a Roma group... and right away they turn around and turn on the siren and stop us. (Male, in his 30s, Finnish Roma)*

Many interviewees told that they had been subjected to police stops and identity checks, even though they were only passengers in the car. Even children had been asked for identity papers, which left very unpleasant memories.

*But then I also have some questionable... not really bad experiences, as I've never dealt with the police like that. Like that I would've done something or someone had called the police on me or something. But when I've been stopped, generally if I've been in a car, I've been very underage and with my family in the car. They asked for papers from the underage as well, even though it was completely clear that I'm part of the family, that we're children. So they've asked like the underage for their papers as well, and it didn't matter at all if they were ten, thirteen or fourteen years of age, they asked for papers from everyone. (Female, 22, Finnish Roma)*

*Hmmm, well I've been in these kinds of situations many times when driving. Suddenly I've been stopped without any reason. Then if I've had passengers in the car, they've all been asked for their papers. If we've wondered why we've been stopped, they've never really given us a clear answer. So it's like a basic... what do they call it... a basic situation. (Female, 28, Finnish Roma)*

When "driving while Roma", the gender of the informants did not seem to matter very much. Both women and men reported being stopped by the police. Neither did the age of the informant play a role: young and older Roma were stopped alike. One interviewee responded that she had never been stopped in traffic if she drove alone or with her husband, but several stops had been made when being in a larger

group of Roma people. The interviewee's spouse was not Roma, and she herself did not use the traditional Roma national dress, which seems to be one of the markers identifying the person as Roma in the eyes of the police.

*Well, personal experiences. Of course, when I'm riding with my friends... or well, when I'm driving alone or with my foreign husband, who doesn't look different in any way. Then they never stop us. I've only run into a speed trap in my life. And only once did the police drive after me and check registration, and I hadn't paid one of the fees, some diesel tax. So they stopped me and were nice and let me drive home. I didn't have to remove the plates or anything. But then always when I'm in a Roma group, they just stop us, and it's really unbelievable. [...] So that triggers him, the clothing triggers him.* (Female, in her 40s, Finnish Roma)

Many interviewees noted that the city or municipality did not bear a significance to whether they were stopped or not. According to the interviewees, police stops took place near their home and workplace, as well as outside their hometown.

*Like at the same time I'm thinking of all the places where I've lived. I've lived in many places. If I'm not walking around with the Roma people, they don't stop me.* (Female, in her 40s, Finnish Roma)

The Roma also reported that stops had taken place in parking lots, shopping center parking complexes and petrol stations. In some statements, the interviewees reported that they had been exiting or entering their vehicle when police came and stopped them. In other stories, the interviewees had just walked across the parking lot when police stopped them. One interpretation can be that the informants are more visible in the outdoor environment and the police may pay attention to their ethnic/racial markers in such situations.

*Last summer I parked my car at the gas station and met a friend there. We exchanged... well, I bought a piece of children's clothing from him. And we met and agreed on a date, and my mom was in the car with my child, and a friend was in the other car. When we were leaving, the police called out that come show us your papers. But this was not when we were driving, so we were just like what's going on. Then I said "I see. Well, for what reason?" [The police said] "Well, just for fun."* (Female, 28, Finnish Roma)

### **Driving While Black**

In addition to the Finnish Roma, another group of people had similar stories related to traffic stops. Many people with African backgrounds reported having been stopped by the police in traffic. A few of these stops had taken place during the day, but a clear majority of the reported stops occurred at night or in the evening. The interviewees told that the traffic had been very quiet and there were not many people around at the time of the stop. Some interviewees reported that they were the only ones driving in the area at the time.

*No daytime I have never been stopped, by the police. Which is weird that's why I am like, why they don't stop me daytime, but they stop me night time. [...] Especially during the weekends. So I said okay, 2 o'clock, I keep my car*

*at home, I continue my fiesta. [sneers] But then. It's embarrassing because I don't want to be spending more than, thirty minutes waiting the police to process my information. And with those light highlights in your... [...]* (Male, in his 40s, African country-Finland)

*They just come they didn't even tell me if I was over speeding or...they just give it back to me and I said okay good night. That's all. [laughs] I didn't understand their reason for stopping me then. [laughs]* (Male, in his late 30s, Cameroon-Finland)

The statements of the interviewees were very similar features to those of the interviewed Roma people. However, it seems that “driving while Black” targets mostly men of different age groups, as our female informants did not report similar issues. This also distinguishes the phenomenon from the “driving while Roma” experience.

Many of the interviewees with African backgrounds reported that the police had almost without exception stopped them whenever they were accompanied by other individuals of African backgrounds in the same vehicle. If they were with their white Finnish friends, the police had never stopped them. This only further strengthened the interviewees' feelings of being subjected to ethnic profiling by the police.

*Q: Are you usually alone in the car or are there other passengers perhaps?*

*A: I was with...All those times I use to have people in the car. (P) yeah... I think all those times I used to have people in the car.*

*Q: How about how did they react to this are they also like are they...people with the African background or are they Finns or..*

*A: Yeaah [...] Never been arrested when I'm with the Finns that's [laughs]*

*Q: You haven't, really*

*A: No I have never been stopped when I'm with Finns in the car. Only when I am with Africans [laughs] It's always worked that way. [laughs] and that's true, I've never been, I went to town many times like, 2 o'clock or 3 o'clock, in my car it's me driving with Finnish friends, never been stopped. But with those Africans that we used to go out that time. (Male, in his 40s, African country-Finland)*

Some informants had multiple experiences of police stops at certain periods. Although the age of the informants who talked about police stops while driving varied, it seems that younger black men were especially prone to such experiences.

*I had personally I had a lot of problem when I was eighteen when I was driving. They used to stop me with a car a lot. Every single day they just stopped you, they ask your IDs and they check something. I had everything in order so didn't [coughs] they never used to define me they never used to tell anything they just stopped me. Then they used to give us excuse like “We are searching today for every car that moves.” [or] “You are braking somebody complain about your brakes.” Or stuff like that some excuses but they all know we all knew that what is happening. If there is a four of us in the car [it] is definitely [that] they will definitely stop us. (.) But then not even once, they never found [anything to complain about]. (Male, 32, Somalia-Finland)*

## In the Shop and Shopping Centre

Many interviewees stated that they had experienced ethnic profiling in shops, supermarkets and shopping centers. The guards and salespersons were said to have paid extra attention to the interviewees compared to other customers, and many told that they were under special surveillance in the supermarkets and shops.

Ethnic profiling was often identified by the way the salespersons would stare at the interviewees. The salespersons had also followed the informants around in the shop, as in the following citation. In this case, the ethnic profiling experience was made worse due to the way it was directed at small children. While the mother tried to introduce the possibility that the salesperson had only volunteered to help them, the children had noticed the scornful attitude of the salesperson. This made the space so unpleasant for the children that they wanted to leave.

*I went into the fitting room, and the children were running around the store [laughs] looking for clothes for me. [laughs] I went to try on some jackets, and then suddenly the salesperson was there. Actually, she was there for a long time, and I wondered why she was still standing there. And when I was trying on the jackets, I even left the... What do you call it? I left the curtain open, so they could see that I had nothing to hide. So yeah. (.) Then the children came to tell me they want to leave. (.) [...] Then actually afterwards they told me that the other salesperson had followed them all the time. They said she had stopped them and mockingly asked "Are you judging your mom's taste, how do you know what your mom likes. Oh, I see. You are buying something, right? Are you really buying something?" Stuff like this, and they felt hurt by it. When I asked them if the salesperson meant well, they said definitely not, she meant harm. (Female, 37, Finnish Roma)*

Some interviewees said that the way the cashiers and salespersons acted towards them varied according to location. At their local supermarket, the service was friendly and many felt they could shop there in peace. However, shopping at a new location often felt unpleasant and the behavior of the salespersons was disrespectful.

*Well actually I don't have any... I like going to local shops, which are familiar. Just recently, I was lamenting that after I moved away from my local shop, I had to go another shop where they don't know me that well. So I can certainly see the difference in people's behaviour, and of course it's never nice. But as this happens pretty constantly, it really doesn't matter which shop I go to. So I won't change that one either. (Female, 28, Finnish Roma)*

Many interviewees also reported being stopped and suspected of criminal activities by the security guards in the supermarkets and department stores. It was especially common to have been stopped near the cashier after the informants had paid for their items and were leaving the supermarket. The guards would ask them to stop, open their backpacks and display the contents of them. In some cases, the security guards or shop detectives were told to have surveilled the informants for longer periods using surveillance cameras and accused them of shoplifting. They also claimed to be confused with other persons who were under surveillance.



*There was no tester there, and I didn't know that the testers were placed separately. So there was like a deodorant stick there, and I removed the plastic lid and sniffed it like this and put it back on the shelf. And well... then... some private detective at Stockmann well... at the door... stopped me and said let me see your pockets and blah blah. Then I asked him why and like I haven't done anything, and he said he saw with like the video camera that I was stealing. (Male, 26, Finland-South Asian country)*

Incidents of being driven away from the front area of a shopping centre or told not to enter the shops were also mentioned by several informants. Consequently, these public and semi-public spaces were not always open for them to move in as they wished to and they risked encountering violations by the personnel. Significant in these stories was the fact that similar measures were not directed at other customers or majority Finns also loitering in the area.

The shopping centre where most stories of ethnic profiling were located was the Kamppi shopping Centre, in the heart of Helsinki. This is also remarkable since the Kamppi shopping centre consists of multiple public and semi-public areas, where people should be able to move rather freely. The public spaces are at the street level, including the bus station and the first floor of the shopping centre. These spaces are clearly distinguished by metal dashed lines in the floor designed to facilitate the movement of the visually impaired. The other corridors of the shopping centre are semi-public spaces, but many shopping centre representatives present these corridors and seating areas as public spaces as well since their use does not require the individual to shop for anything (Tani 2011). However, many interviewees reported that the guards had removed them from these places and forbade them from entering them. This was especially the case for the Romanian and Bulgarian informants, many of whom identified as Roma people.

*So it was in Kamppi, which has those doors through which you can go to the bus... And they [guards] are indicating that you can't go inside through the sliding doors and have to stay outside. They are yelling in a loud voice, really using their loud voices. They told us to go away. (Male, 24, Bulgarian Roma)*

Several of the Bulgarian interviewees said that the guards constantly subjected them to various security measures. Encounters with security guards at shopping centres were mostly negative and the guards were often said to have behaved very inappropriately. The informants told that the guards had denied them entrance and had thrown them out of the shopping centre even when it was pouring rain or snowing outside. In addition to this, the guards were said to have verbally abused them, removed them from the paid toilet facilities, and denied them the right to charge their phones at a free phone charging point, claiming that it was not a place for Bulgarians or Romanians.

*He goes to the second floor in the Kamppi shopping centre to charge his phone. That's when they often kick him out. So the guard kicks him out and says that this is not... "That this place is for Finns. It's not for Bulgarians or Romanians." (Male, 24, Bulgarian Roma)*

Overall, however, many different kinds of interviewees told about being profiled on the basis of ethnicity or race in shops and shopping centres: both young and middle-aged, and women as well as men had such experiences.

## Airports

Stops at airports were common and many interviewees stated that when travelling by air they were already prepared to be stopped either on arrival or before departure from Finland. Stops had occurred both inside and outside the airport. Inside the airport stops can roughly be divided into four different areas: before entering security control, at security check, before boarding an aircraft and after landing at the terminal. Before security control, stops had taken place when entering the airport and at the departure hall, targeting both passengers and those who were dropping them off.

*So, for example, I was taking my father to the airport. I think it was the border patrol that came to ask us for our [ID's], and I didn't show it to them right away. They stayed and argued with us. Show us, show us, show us! My father showed his ID, I didn't. Then my father started to leave and just said that this is enough, show them your ID. (Male, in his late 20s, Iraq-Finland)*

Most stops at the airport took place during security control, and many reported that they were frequently stopped during security control. The more often people were selected for checks at the airport, the more often they felt that they had been ethnically profiled. These stops also illustrate the problem that airport security control is a compulsory part of travelling, as it is done for all passengers and their hand luggage. Being ethnically profiled in such situations creates a specific relation to the place, where one expects or fears being targeted again. There is no option to change places as there is when encountering profiling in shops.

*A few times I've felt that at the airport security check, they've selected me like clearly on the basis of my skin colour. Like for a secondary screening. And I bet that... even the airport workers were unaware of what they did. But many white people, perhaps Finns, were there. And I was like following the situation, and none of them were stopped. And when I came to the spot, they did a random check. And they checked everything that they possibly could. (Male, 26, Finland-South Asian country)*

The interviewees reported also stops in the airport area, such as at the departure gate where the informants had waited for boarding. They were suddenly requested to show their passport, although no one else was checked. Sometimes this had occurred several times during the same waiting period at the gate. In the following extract, the interviewee was asked for a residence permit, signifying that he was not thought of as a Finnish citizen.

*Yeah. At least I remember once that I was (,) I was hanging just before going through that gate. I thought that they will stop me. I don't know if it was because of my thoughts that I was expecting that already. [...] And exactly it happened so that as I was getting near and near. They were staring at me*

*and suddenly [blows loudly] “Residence permit?” (Male, 28, Somalia-Finland)*

In addition, a few interviewees said they had been stopped upon arrival to Finland. These events were connected to the practices of the customs. For example, the following informant told that the customs officer had inquired about his reasons to stay in the country, where he actually lived. Both being selected from a large group of people, who were able to pass ahead without disturbance, and the assumption that the interviewee was a tourist reminded the informant of who was perceived (not) to belong to Finland.

*I think the last time I was traveling from my country to Finland. I was at the airport and one of the customs (P) side pass me with a (P) “What is your reason for your visit to Finland?” (,) And I said “Pardon?” She was a lady and she said “So what is the reason for your visit here?” I said “No I am not visiting, I live here” She said “Okay”. I was on the line but I was the only one who was asked that question. (Male, 45, African country-Finland)*

Other checks at customs involved being picked out from the crowd as the only person of colour and having their luggage searched. The informants usually complied with the requests from the customs officers, but were not happy about being treated differently than others. It should also be noticed that people who experience ethnic profiling do not necessarily pay attention to the profession of the persons who stopped them. While this may be relevant for the detection of the rights of the officers in question, for the interviewees it was mainly a question of place and of another experience of injustice.

*So we were selected to be screened, or like the customs or the border patrol came (,) to tell us separately that girls, could you come over with us. And my friend asked (,) why, do you have a valid reason for this (,) They were like well, they want to check our bags for anything illegal. [...] but I must say that a lot of people were still coming from the flight, and we were the only ones to be pulled over (,) And once again I got the feeling that why us (,) that we are the only two dark women. (Female, in her 20s, Finland-African country)*

The stoppings also occurred outside the airport buildings. For example, the informants told that they were stopped in the airport’s parking lot and the smoking area outside of the building. Sometimes friendly situations could abruptly turn into identity controls.

*I went out from, like my brother went and I went outside and I wanted to smoke and I ask this guy for a lighter and he happens to be this border police and he asked for an ID. (Male, 33, East African country-Finland)*

## Harbours

The harbours in Turku and Helsinki are gates to the neighbouring countries. Consequently, the interviewees reported stopping experiences in Finland, but also in Estonia and Sweden. The cruise ships are generally considered to be an easy and rather cheap way to commute across the sea and, as the following interviewees

suggests, they are also suitable for recreational purposes. The joy and relaxation can, however, be shadowed by constant experiences of being stopped during the trips.

*When I come to Finland I like the ferry 'cause it's not something you find in the UK, not something you find in Belgium, not something you find that easily in...in. my home country, or even in the US. I mean they are there but, this is so easy, it's just a bus away from where I live, it's not that expensive and for me it was really relaxing, I can just watch the sea. So coming back to Finland there was all of these things to enjoy. But then this happens each time I go on a ferry. (Male, in his 30s, African country).*

*There have been several occasions. There is cruise trip that goes from Helsinki to Tallinn, or from Turku to Stockholm, or from Helsinki to Stockholm. It's a very popular cruise that people use to pass on their weekends when they don't have much to do. This trip, usually involves a lot of people, they're drinking and going back and forth buying alcohol, so it could be described as a social event. The whole cruise experience is a social event and out of all these social events I have been stopped countless number of times [...]* (Male, in his early 30s, African country-Finland)

The interviewees informed that they were usually stopped as they exited the ferry and arrived in Finland. Some interviewees gave detailed descriptions of how they walked down the tunnel from the ferry, saw the authorities waiting down the line before the exit and became very aware of the situation. They mentioned sensing that they will be stopped when noticing the eye contact the authorities made with them, in a situation where nobody else was stopped.

*I got annoyed because first of all, we were, many people in one direction. And I noticed them, since we were just coming from the boat and I walked like...Fifty meters to get to them. They didn't stop anyone. They were just standing there looking at everyone and the first time we we like...having an eye contact. They say please, would you come here. Then I went, but I understood, it's who they wanted to check, me. (Male, in his 40s, African country-Finland)*

In some interviews, the informants told that the authorities had approached them and asked them to step aside to check if they had something to declare, but then continued to check their ID cards and other documents.

The manner in which the screening was conducted caused a lot of frustration and feelings of injustice. This was especially the case when the general investigation turned into a detailed search and all the informants' belongings were pulled out, delaying their travel considerably.

*And out of all these thousands of people all of a sudden you come [...] I told they are waiting for me and people are passing. (.) And man it was such, it was... They even took out, we had one bag and sharing clothes and stuff. [...] And apparently with them you follow what they tell you, Finnish people don't argue...(.) And I asked them nicely after they had searched and forty minutes waiting... I don't know if my bag was taken to screening. (Male, in his early 30s, African country)*

A few interviewees also reported incidents which had interrupted their plans for a longer time. They had been detained for hours with a full ID check and thorough luggage investigation. One informant had even been taken to the city's police station for further clarification. Despite the lengthy searches, nothing suspicious was found.

*A: OK the guy took my card, and said...OK my colleague will go check, then after a while, OK we need to go to the office go to check it, can you just come with us. OK so it's...I mean how do you argue against that, if the cops are just trying to verify your identity right, so he gets to do that to office to do that*

*Q: Was it a Finnish identification card?*

*A: Yeah it was Finnish [laughs] they said when we drove there my bag was open down piece by piece, every paper was read, everything was checked out (-) I was there for hours. (Male, in his 30s, African country)*

The informants reported also being stopped in the harbour when travelling in bigger groups. In the following extract, a group of young men belonging to racialised minorities were asked to provide their ID cards but when it became clear that they were not irregular migrants, they were allowed to continue their voyage. The event took place at the time when a large number of asylum seekers arrived to Finland and rest of Europe, followed by intensified border control practices.

*Customs has sometimes asked me questions at the ship terminal. Even then, they suspected that some of the people arriving were illegal immigrants. They suspected that we were one of those groups. We were a group of young people going to Sweden. (.) But yeah (.) they looked at our ID's and went on their way. Nothing really happened. (Male, 29, Somalia-Finland)*

The profiling experiences at the harbours were not restricted only to the proximity of the passport or customs control areas. Some interviewees reported that their experiences of being stopped had taken place outside the terminals and at the bus or tram stops nearby. The observations we made during the research also support the given accounts that the stoppings take place even outside the terminal.

*After a while, I walked around the huge parking lot up and down the expanse of the complex. I did this a few times and on the last one, I noticed a man speaking furiously on his phone. In front of him were two other men, talking to him. The visibly upset man kept motioning with his hands to a car parked about 20 yards to the right from where they stood, as if gesturing for the two men in front of him to follow if they wanted. I walked closer and as I did, I thought I heard the upset and gesturing man on the phone speak what I thought was Farsi. I move closer, stopped and observed. The upset man walked briskly towards the car, carefully followed by the two men I had now decided were plain clothes law enforcers. As the group got closer to the car, a lady stepped out of the driver's seat still holding a cell phone to her ear with one hand and in the other brandishing what looked like a Schengen passport, seemingly upset as well. The lady spoke Finnish to the two men following the upset man and shoved the passport to them. I could not make out what was being said. One of the two men took the passport and seemed to be inspecting it. The other was on the phone. Just as soon as it had started, the confrontation died down and the plain clothes men*

*walked away leaving the male and female pair still visibly upset and still reeling from what just happened. (Fieldnotes: Olympia Terminal, Helsinki, July 2016)*

The interviewees mentioned all of the terminals in the cities of Helsinki and Turku as places in which the stoppings had taken place. It does not seem that one or the other was more often a site for such experiences, but rather that similar events could happen in any of them. In Helsinki, stoppings had occurred at Katajanokka Harbour, Olympia terminal and West terminal. In Turku, the terminals of Silja Line and Viking Line in close proximity to each other were also mentioned. The interviewees in both cities often used the term “harbour” in a general way to indicate the place where the stopping had taken place.

Apart from the customs officers, whose work is generally considered to be bound to a strict area at the harbour, people were not always sure which authorities had made the intervention. This was particularly the case when they were being stopped after leaving the customs area or outside the terminal. The authorities did not seem to make an effort to explain who they were and why they were conducting the stop. They can also work together, which may confuse people. Even more so, for the persons being stopped, it was not necessarily important to distinguish between the different officials. Whether it was the customs, police or border guards did not matter, instead, the experience of being unjustly treated by authorities was what they remembered.

*Q: Have you ever been stopped outside of the terminal?*

*A: No. It usually happens back inside.*

*Q: Yeah and they are customs or police or border guards?*

*A: They must be border guards I think. Is a border guards or the police? I think...*

*Q: But they always have the uniforms?*

*A: They always have the uniforms yeah. I think they were the border guards who stopped sometimes and then there was also police who have these dogs and checking like if you are bringing illegal things or something. (Male, 33, East African country-Finland)*

Almost all interviewees had some sort of understanding of or at least provided a guess on who had conducted the stopping. Some informants were, however, more certain than others. There are indications in the data that this division between knowing and guessing can be related to the prevalence of the people’s stopping experiences at the harbours. In cases where persons were often stopped, they developed more detailed views of who was engaged in the activities and what their roles were.

*Well the customs they do have official clothes. Then there are the others that have plain clothes but because they’ve stopped me so many times I actually know them. (Male, in his 30s, African country)*

Many who reported being stopped at the harbor encountered such situations more than once either at the harbours of Helsinki or Turku, or in some cases both. Consequently, they already suspected or, as the following interviewee noted, were “open to” the possibility of being stopped on their voyage.

*I won't be surprised if it happens again so...I am open to that in...in like which one is it how many more minutes it's gonna take till [...] (Male, in his 30s, African country)*

*You come to expect that it will happen, each time, you prepare for it. (Male, in his early 30s, African country-Finland)*

In terms of spaces and the social relations that construct them (Massey 2008), it is evident that harbours are not neutral transit areas for everyone moving in them. Experiences of ethnic profiling bear relevance for how people think about and sense these places. Those who are stopped several times when traveling with the ferry anticipate possible new incidents to take place. This means that both airports and harbours are racialised spaces in which bordering practices take place, resulting in restrictions for some citizens and persons with the legal right to reside in the country.

### **Restaurants and Nightclubs**

In addition to the aforementioned places, the interviewees reported stops that had taken place in restaurants, bars and nightclubs. Many interviewees reported that they or a group they belonged to had been denied access to a restaurant or bar. Usually the access had been denied by a bouncer or security guard who had decided that the interviewees and their entourage were not welcome. These stops were, according to the interviewees, related to their ethnicity or race although often disguised by other explanations. Sometimes the ethnic profiling was made explicit, for example when speaking with the bouncer afterwards or when the owner of the place intervened providing apologies. These kinds of experiences were common for the Finnish Roma.

*Then there was this pretty sad case, because it was at a dining restaurant. It had both food and drink, and it was during the day, and I was there with my children. [...] we were going there in the daytime, and the guard who was Finnish did not let us in. He said that you cannot come here today. But then actually the (,) restaurant owner came by and apologised and let us in to eat. [...] He [restaurant owner] was really very sorry, but he just said that everyone does this, that Finns do it as well. And he's been told that one has to be very careful and shootings may occur. And that would be the end of his restaurant business, and no one would come there any more. (Female, 37, Finnish Roma)*

Other groups, such as black men, also reported having been denied access to bars due to their race. The informants referred to specific bars and restaurants that were known to be reluctant to let in (too many) black or brown customers. The practice of ethnic profiling often emerged suddenly and interrupted a nice evening with friends.

*A: We felt safe but apparently, I remember when I first ran into discrimination you know being with a Finnish girl and stuff and then a couple of friends and we decided after dinner to go drink somewhere the place was called [...] and they let everyone go and reaching my point they said I can't go.*

*Q: Who is they?*

*A: The bouncer.*

(Male, 34, African country)

In addition, some interviewees told about identity checks carried out by the police inside bars or nightclubs. Checks were described to have occurred for example in the areas of Kallio and Kontula in Helsinki. The interviewees also reflected on the impact of the bar's location and style on the identity checks conducted by the police. Some of the informants talked about, for example, a bar playing African or reggae music, which attracted clients of African descent. In these bars, the identity checks by the police were reported to have targeted only black customers, although there were many white persons in the bars as well.

*This is random case where people are moved (,) police standing and stopped the music in a bar and asked everybody to [show] ID. (,) And they took one or three people in. (,) You know I was shocked like (,) and really police can now stomp any bar in here like now where we are sitting and ask everything (,) ID [...] They only ask from foreigners, black foreigners because they know that place. Is only hosting Africans and reggaeton. (Male, 34, African country)*

The areas mentioned were quite far from each other, but the similarities were related to places where younger men of African backgrounds would often gather – or the police expected them to gather.

*I used to hang out quite a lot in this part of the city and there were some places where used to be some African music and there is always some police coming and asking for ID's and they can close the door. You cannot go out for smoke or they can close the door for one hour and trying to look for the ID's. [...] because there is also the reception center very close and there is always black [people], police stopping there like standing and everything. [...] Yeah they [police] were behaving in that way that they collected all the IDs and the Finnish people or like whiter people would want to go and they [police] just let them go and go home. For the others like everything has to be process or you have to stay there. (Male, 33, East African country-Finland)*

## **Ethnic Profiling and Spatial Practices**

An analysis of the spaces of ethnic profiling indicates that police stops focus on places where a lot of people are traveling – railway and metro stations, busy streets, harbours, and airports. The connections between ethnic profiling and the racialisation of certain suburbs does not seem to be as strong in Finland as in Sweden (Mulinari 2017, 31–32) or France (Fassin 2013), although residence areas where many racialised minority persons live were also pointed out as sites of stops. Furthermore, there are certain racialised “niches”, such as parks and bars where young minority persons gather, and where police activities seem to be focused. The spatial practices of police stops thus range from generally busy areas, where migrants and minorities are targeted among a large group of people, to more narrowly defined spaces, where racialised minority persons are expected to gather.



Moreover, the sites of experiences of ethnic profiling of racialised minorities were also in shops and shopping centres, as well as driving in the car. Those stopping them and asking for identity documents or suspecting them of criminal behaviour on basis of their ethnicity or race – not their actions – were both public and private security personnel. Different kinds of bordering practices cut across the everyday lives of racialised minorities, not only when crossing national borders. All minority groups and persons are not affected in the same way, but some are targeted more often than others.

Bordering practices can be understood as measures by state actors that “demarcate categories of people so as to incorporate some and exclude others, in a specific order” (Guentner et al. 2016, 392). This order is national but it is also racialised: evaluations of who belongs to the nation are not only conducted on basis of citizenship but also in relation to racialised categorisations. Thus, a young black person who is a Finnish citizen and was born in the country can still be stopped by the police conducting internal immigration control because the young person is perceived to be a “foreigner”. In the neoliberal context, many security tasks and control functions have been shifted to the private sector, resulting in the increasing role of private security companies in city spaces and commercial areas (e.g. Saarikkomäki 2017, 7–8). These actors can also engage in bordering practices when marking out groups of people on basis of ethnicity, race and nationality.

### 5.3. Events, Actions and Stories

#### Telling about Ethnic Profiling by Authorities and Security Personnel

*“Each time it begins in the same way, it doesn’t begin the same way, each time it begins it’s the same”* (Rankine 2014, 107)

Stories are, and have always been, important means through which experiences and understandings of the world are shared from person to person or from generation to generation. Stories are also a major genre of discourse for the reproduction of culture and society (van Dijk 1993, 125). Stories on experiences of racism or ethnic profiling are often considered to be sensitive and can result in members of the majority population discarding evidence of such societal processes and structures. An understanding of issues of ethnic profiling and racism is thus limited to an individual level. As such, experiences of racism are denied even before people get a chance to tell their stories of such experiences (Goldberg 2015; Alemanji 2016). The denial of racism makes it both difficult to detect ethnic profiling and to listen to stories of ethnic profiling. This is especially the case when dealing with discriminatory acts by the police and other authorities that the population strongly trusts.

It is worth noting that if these stories are emotionally stressful for the readers, they are also emotionally stressful for many of the persons who shared their experiences of ethnic profiling. It is important to listen to the stories of ethnic profiling with an open mind and with respect to those who have shared their memories. That the white majority population does not often recognise incidents of ethnic profiling does not mean such practices do not exist. Dyson (2017) cautions against a popular view that persons of colour lie about their experiences with the police or that they

have done something wrong to provoke the wrath of the police. Learning from the stories presented in this research is vital in order to understand the society in which we live and to change the practices that create inequalities.

We have classified the stories of ethnic profiling under three categories in this report: stories about ethnic profiling by the police, the security guards and the border control. Our analysis has focused on security personnel working within the public and private sector. These actors were most often and broadly discussed by the interviewees.

### Stories about Police Profiling

One informant told us about an event of ethnic profiling by the police that occurred when he entered Finland with the ferry:

*About six months ago when I came to Finland. I get out from the boat that crossed the sea from the Estonia to Finland. And when I went to take the tram the police stopped me and they took me inside and they took all my clothes. I was like completely naked, sorry to say. They checked me, they saw that I don't have nothing and then they told me to go away. I was just twenty-five-years old. I never was in prison in any country and I didn't like do anything bad. I don't understand why they stopped me and did that to me. I didn't receive any explanations for the fact that they stopped me, they took all my clothes and they checked me. Not any explanation. (Male, 25, Romanian Roma)*

There are three key issues of interest here. First, the informant was stopped in a public space close to a port of entry. Second, he was stopped by the police who went further to strip search him. Third, he was asked to leave without being given any explanation. In the described event, the space became a site for public humiliation when the person was stopped by the police and taken to their car. Furthermore, the police acts humiliated the interviewee when he was commanded to take his clothes off – an act that questioned his personal integrity. In the end, when the interviewee was released he was not provided a proper reason for this treatment. The police actions also left the stopped person with an emotional scar and mistrust in the police.

While some informants had experienced being stopped by the police only once, others told about a chain of events that had made them wary of the possibility of being stopped anywhere when stepping out of their homes. One interviewee described the first time she was stopped by the police for an ID check as a rather casual situation. She showed the police the ID card and the residence permit they had requested. The fact that she was chosen among a group of white people standing beside her, and that the police were investigating her right to be in the country was a signal, for her, that the event was about ethnic profiling.

*I was actually standing at the bus stop with some white people, waiting for bus. Then suddenly a policeman came and called me out and asked me about my passport and residence permit. [...] They then asked about my ID card which I gave them. They looked at it, checked it in their car, and then gave it back to me and left. (Female, in her 30s, African country)*

The next time the police stopped the interviewee, she connected the event to what had happened to her earlier. She was again asked the same questions, her right to reside in the country was questioned and she got angry for being targeted without reason.

*Then somewhat later, another police stopped me again at Kaisaniemi while I was walking along the street with two white friends: one Finnish and the other Dutch. And did exactly the same thing ... asking about the same question. I was pissed off because I did not know why I was being singled out. I asked them and they just claimed they are doing their job. (Female, in her 30s, African country)*

This story resembles many others in the data in the manner it describes the *practice of being “singled out”* by the police. In essence, ethnic profiling is about being selected from a group of people on the basis of one’s ethnic or racial characteristics, and subjected to specific (control) actions. In the interviews, this is described as being picked up for a stop and check while other people, with different ethnic or racial markers, are allowed to continue their movements undisturbed. The response of the police, which denies any specific reason for the stop, is in stark contrast to the personal experience and judgement of the situation. The vague answer that the police are “doing their job” does not explain why others were not treated the same way.

Another interviewee told about being “singled out” while sitting outside of his workplace with a group of colleagues, all of them non-white men. The police officers who approached them told them to show their ID cards since there were suspicions of illegal activities.

*They said they had been told that there are some people here that have been selling this eh... Indian hemp, and also there are people that are illegal immigrants. So, at that particular point we were all annoyed. Because I said look, you see three or four of us in [name of the cleaning company] work clothes. Definitely, it is certain that for all of us to be sitting here together, we are working here. And after that one of them told us... that it is just due process since they received that complaint. There were two of them [policemen], we argued with them... one, I think the younger one asked the other one that they should leave. So, the older one insisted that if we don’t show our ID, that he is going to arrest all of us. We were like what? Arrest somebody for a crime you suspect that they commit which you can’t verify? At that point, one of us brought out his ID and showed it. But the rest of us that did not have our ID’s did not show them. So, they said OK that we should [short pause] they still forced us to give them our social security number. That if we don’t have our ID, we should give them our social security number, that they have the system they can use to verify it in the car. We all wrote our social security number and some part of our names for them to verify before they would allow us to leave. (Male, in his early 40s, African country)*

The story makes evident that the practice of “singling out” connects suspicion of criminality and illegal residence to racial characteristics. While the police may have had some information to begin their search with, it was clearly not very detailed, and the experience of being exposed to control acts without a good reason annoyed

the informant. The situation was made worse by the threat of the police to detain the interviewee and his colleagues if they did not comply to the orders. The situation appeared absurd to the interviewee, since he risked being apprehended without cause and for an ID check he originally did not consider justified. Being stopped by the police is not only emotionally demanding for those who are controlled, but it can also result in material effects, such as arrests and time spent at the police station – due to matching the racialised profile of a “drug dealer” on very unspecified grounds.

Ethnic profiling starts when the person is targeted on the basis of her/his race or ethnicity. In the stories we were told, sometimes the police had noticed that the person they had stopped spoke Finnish well, and upon realising this, interrupted the control act. This does, however, not change the fact that their initial approach was based on the looks of the person, i.e. on racialised grounds. In the following extract, the informant describes the actions of the police when her brother and mother were stopped in order to check their passports as ethnic profiling. In the absence of his passport, the brother’s Finnish language fluency cleared him in the eyes of the police. The categorisation of the person thus changed from a “potential foreigner” to somebody with a right to reside in Finland. Fluency in the Finnish language elevates the stopped person to a status that demands no further police action, although he is still not considered Finnish enough (cf. Alemanji 2016). Had he been considered as such, it is likely that he would not have been stopped in the first place. The interviewee recognised the exclusionary categorisation of “non-Finnish looking” and became angry because of the way her family members had been treated.

*Once my mum and my brother were outside walking in town and then the policemen stopped them and they said “Show us your passports.” And I consider that ethnic profiling. And then my brother was like in Finnish like started talking that “We don’t have our passports we don’t carry them all the time.” And then once they saw that he speaks fluent Finnish they were like “Oh never mind.” I was angry because I know ethnic profiling is illegal and my mom and my brother [they] didn’t know. So I felt like, you know, they were mistreated. So I was very angry. Once I told them that it’s illegal what happened to them like obviously they knew that they got stopped because they look...They were not Finnish looking, they were foreign looking. They knew that, you know, something was a bit off. Nobody else got stopped but like yeah they did get angry but once they realised that what happened to them was illegal (,) they got more hurt. (Female, in her 20s, Somalia-Finland)*

Fully realising the nature of the event – that it was an incident of ethnic profiling – made the persons involved more vulnerable. The act showed that authorities were untrustworthy, treated inhabitants differently on the basis of ethnicity and race, and violated the rights of racialised minorities. Similar feelings and thoughts were presented by many other interviewees as well.

Nevertheless, speaking fluent Finnish did not always prevent persons racialised as non-white from being stopped and identity checked. In the following quote, the interviewee and his friends were asked to provide their personal information to the police, although they tried to convince the police by all means that they were legal residents, spoke the language and lived nearby. This informant, however, did not

remember the situation as very painful or consider the injustice of the identity check, which shows that people give different meanings to similar events.

*Q: Have the police ever stopped you on the street or elsewhere?*

*A: Once in my own suburb. Then (,) [the police] asked us for our ID's, and we were young at the time. I was 18 [or] 16 [years old], I don't quite remember, around 16 [or] 18. [The police] asked us for our ID's. We resisted a little and spoke Finnish and said that hey, we speak Finnish, you don't really have to ask us for the ID's. We're not coming from anywhere anyway, and we do have the ID's. But finally he forced us to show him our ID's. It was a plain clothes cop, who checked our ID's. What were they? What term do they use for them? (,) For illegal immigrants. [...] But it was a fairly neutral experience. It did feel a bit strange that they asked us for our ID's, even though we spoke good Finnish and had grown up in the neighbourhood. It was a little bit... (,) Well yeah, it wasn't too bad. They did behave appropriately (,) though they forced us to give them our names. Then we just went on our way. It wasn't a big deal. (Male, 29, Somalia-Finland)*

Despite the casual tone of the story, the element of force is still visible, in a similar way as it was in two quotations discussed earlier. Even though the informant evaluated the event as “neutral” and regarded the conduct of the police as decent, he still talked about the actions as having occurred “by force”. He and his friends had resisted and tried to convince the police of their viewpoint, but eventually had to comply in front of the power of the authority. The power of state-controlled violence, which is structurally located in the police (Fassin 2013, 125–126), was not made as explicit in this event as in the one wherein the police threatened to detain the black workers, which was described earlier. However, both the police and the stopped persons were aware of the fact that the police are allowed to use force when they deem it necessary, and this knowledge shapes the interaction. Even as young persons, the interviewee and his friends were aware of this, which made the event, in their eyes, one of force. Perhaps the judgement of the easy ending of the stop situation as “not so bad” resulted from a comparison to other possible endings.

Police stoppings could also interrupt situations, where the informant had been helping other people and, in his own interpretation, acting with high morality. In the following story, being subjected to control measures and treated as a criminal made the situation feel highly unjust for the interviewee.

*I was smoking a cigarette in front of S-market, and an old lady was there. She was standing on the street with many bags, so she asked me if I could carry her bags and walk her to the taxi stand. I helped the lady, and we went to the taxi stand. Then the taxi driver came by and took some of the bags, and they drove off... I knew that they would come back. A police patrol and a police car were there, and a policeman motioned to me with his finger to come over. I said that everything is fine. A policeman said “Give me your ID and passport.” I said “What have I done? Why are you asking me for my ID?” [Policeman] “Well, I wanted to know who you are.” (Male, 32, Afghanistan-Finland)*

Even in this case, being singled out from the ordinary was the central act that made the informant describe the event as ethnic profiling. As the following quote shows, he was trying to reason why the police picked him and treated him with suspicion

– after all, he was normally dressed, was not intoxicated, and while he recognised that he looked like a Muslim man, he was not wearing a beard so as to be taken for a radical extremist. This shows that people are very aware of the signs that can be used to categorise them in the era of global politics and a “war on terror” and its local adaptations (Kundnani 2014). Being suspected of stealing, when he was merely helping an elderly woman, and not receiving a proper explanation from the police, left the interviewee with a memory of being treated disrespectfully and racially marked.

*I was coming from work at the time, and I was also really tired. It was like a bad experience. I also didn't have a beard, I was dressed normally, and I hadn't been drinking or taking any drugs. I was quite normal, [laughs] so I wondered what is this? I didn't have much stuff... the police... Asked me for my ID, and (,) then I said “Okay, you want to get my ID. Although I don't have an ID card, but I have a passport, and I'm a Finnish citizen. Here you are.” I took the passport and then waited for ten minutes, as they made a call and like checked who I am and my background. Then after that they said “Okay. Bye bye.” Nothing else, and then they left. [...] without any reasons and any talk, just show us (-) then they talk about the passport and ID card. I thought it was a nasty and uncomfortable experience with the police. (Male, 32, Afghanistan-Finland)*

Young men especially reported that they were often stopped by the police on the street or in the city. It was very common that either justification was not given for the checking of identification or that the police stated that they were suspected of a crime. Especially in the latter cases, it was typical that the police stopped a certain individual and stated that they were looking for someone of their exact description. Stops based on the suspicion of a crime can be roughly divided into two different chains of events. In the first, the police checked identification and criminal backgrounds on the spot, followed by a few questions, and when nothing significant could be found, they allowed the persons to go.

*You know... because they thought I was another guy from Nigeria or something that police were looking for, you know they stopped and said who are you, can you show us your ID(-)[...] [I said] I am from [country's name] and then after that they let me (-) they asked me although how did I come to Finland and what brought me Finland how long have I've been in Finland, and I explained them how did I come and how long I've been in Finland and after that you know they said okay thank you and they left and go. (Male, 38, African country)*

In the second pattern of events, the police took the suspect into their police car and drove them to the police station to check their identification or for questioning. In one case, the checking of identification had taken place in a police car.

*The first time it happened we were in the city centre. (P) Yes. [sighs] it was... it was a very long time ago, and we were young, and a police patrol... came by. There were four of us there, and then they... were looking at us... more friends came by... then after a while they came to us and said... We fit the description, and we are suspected of assault or something like it. Then they took us in the police car, and we left the train station in the city centre and headed to... [place], where some guy had been beaten up. They opened one*

*door, and I sat down. On the other side was the door behind which... then they took in those... witnesses one at a time, and that guy... no, actually the guy left for hospital. The guy that was beaten up saw the witnesses one at a time. To identify us. There were maybe four witnesses. The first one came in... he said yes, they are the ones. Then the second one came in and said yes, these guys. Until the last one, who was... at least a little... because all of them were drunk, except the last one was not that drunk. Then I said to a policeman that at least open this door, so he can see who I am [smirks]. And then they opened the door and thankfully... the last one said that these were not the guys. And then they let us go. (Male, 27, Somalia-Finland)*

This story makes visible the problematics of witnessing: the eyewitnesses are not always reliable and those mistaken for “another black guy” may not be able to rely on them to correct the mistake. If the distinguishing marks are very vague, as they often are in crimes committed by strangers, they can fit many persons, and the risk of ethnic profiling increases.

Some informants had many experiences of being stopped by the police for ID checks, but the ones they remembered well often involved specific characteristics. The following informant very vividly recalled an event that had occurred when he was a teenager. After a crime was committed, what appears to be a raid took place. All men identified on the basis of their race were stopped and identity checked, but the informant who was very young did not have identification and was questioned for a long time by the police.

*Actually I have been stopped quite regularly. I live in East Helsinki and lots of things happen here (.) There was actually one incident way along time ago I was maybe fifteen fourteen years old and there happened a rape in the area where I live. There were lots of policemen looking for the person who did it and it seemed that he was African descent, the rapist was of African descent, and the woman who got raped said that he was a black man who worked close by. (.) What was really weird is that they stopped every single black person who entered the metro station, every single one not just me. They [police] were looking and they asked “Do you have a passport or any ID so we can call you up later for an interview.” I was fifteen I didn’t have any identification I just wanted to buy candy. [laughs] (.) They saw it as a problem because they didn’t believe that I was fifteen so I was stuck maybe one hour and a half and I was telling them that you can call my parents my father and my mother I don’t have my telephone. (Male, 23, Somalia-Finland)*

The police did not believe the informant’s answers regarding his age and whereabouts at the time of the crime. Two adult persons finally convinced the police that the interviewee had nothing to do with the crime and that he should be removed from the category of (potential) suspect. When retelling the story many years later, the interviewee remarked on the fact that the stops were conducted solely on the basis of skin colour. No other traits were identified, but the informant saw only black men being stopped.

*We stayed there and they interviewed “Where was I that time?” [I answered] “I was at home. That time is quite late so I am actually home sleeping because I have to go school tomorrow.” They didn’t understand it*

*and so and so on but there was another African man who I knew and who knew me and my family [and said] “That this guy is fourteen years old and he cannot be the accused one and I don’t believe he understands even what rape is.” Yet my mother came in and even still they didn’t understand and believe it and even though they thought I... Maybe they thought that they got a good suspect but they were still stopping every single African descent man and every single black person. (Male, 23, Somalia-Finland)*

Although the police practices in relation to ethnic profiling can be analytically divided between those based on immigration control and those related to suspicion of a committed crime, the examples in this section indicate that the division is not always so clear-cut. In many of the stories, both set of logic are mentioned, and they may intertwine in several ways.

The third type of events that the interviewees mentioned when describing situations of ethnic profiling they had been subjected to was related to attending various crime and accident situations. The interviewees reported that, when the police arrived at a crime or accident site, they were not interested in what had happened at the scene. Instead, the police had first inquired about the backgrounds of the racialised minority persons who were present, irrespective of their role in the events. This had happened to people even though they had only acted as eyewitnesses to the crime or accident. For example, a Mexican man and his white Finnish girlfriend had witnessed a man strike a Romanian woman outside a shopping centre. The offender fled the area but the abused woman had insisted that the police should be called to the scene. When the police arrived, they first wanted to see the identification of the Mexican man who witnessed the situation.

*You exit the shopping centre, and there’s a tunnel to the metro... I didn’t see it myself, but my partner at the time saw that a 30-something man showed up and started hitting a Romanian guy there on the street. Hits and spits on him and leaves. My partner yells to me that did you see that, this person did this, go after him. And I said what? And she said take a photo of the guy. Three slightly older teenage girls also came with me and started talking to the man, of course in Finnish, but the person left. The Romanian guy wanted to call the police. We all said that why, the situation is over. But the Romanian guy wanted to make the call, so we said let’s call. The police came on the scene, and the first thing that they do is they stop me, ask me for my papers and ask me what I’m doing. Everything was interpreted for me. (Male, 34, Mexico)*

### **Stories about Profiling by the Border Control and Security Control**

Border control stations were frequently mentioned as sites where ethnic profiling took place. The stories often described incidents that happened on a continuous basis and which made one come to expect such stops. Many of the interviewees mentioned that they understood that authorities had to check identity documents of the passengers at the border control points, in order to maintain national security and prevent irregular migration, and thus usually did not question the legitimacy of such actions. However, they did question the ways in which the ID and security controls were performed. They emphasised that the practice of singling out non-white persons from the crowd reduced the credibility of such



actions and they criticised the authorities for not properly explaining the reasons for stops and security checks.

One of the most discussed matters in relation to security checks and ID controls at the border was the “random check” – both the idea of it and the way it was practiced. While “random checks” are a legal and broadly accepted way of choosing persons from a crowd for a more thorough check when it is not possible or reasonable to check everybody at the border control points, many informants were determined that they were executed in a discriminatory manner. This meant that it was used to cover up ethnic profiling and used to target only or predominantly racialised minorities. When being stopped for ID control, many interviewees had inquired about the reasons for the stop and received the answer “random check”. This answer was, however, in stark contrast to what they saw happening around them. Random checks only seemed to apply to people racialised as non-white.

*Yeah in the harbor it's like if you go to Sweden for example or Estonia or some place, there is always that you have to declare where you are coming from or that random checking and then they are calling you and then you have to show the ID. It's not a big process but still the reason why they ask you all the time it bothers you quite a lot. Of course they are right in asking because it's that random in covering everything but it's not random because it happens all the time and then if they are stopping like I don't know what they would do if four black guys would pass at the same time would they randomly choose [gives a laugh] four of them or... that's research, I would like to test. [Laughs] (Male, 33, East African country-Finland)*

In the story above, the informant agreed to the right to conduct random checks at the border point, but then argued that this practice was not about randomness at all. In fact, it was the opposite of randomness, it was a systematic pattern of choosing certain kinds of people for checks. The following interviewee, on the other hand, did not even consider the possibility that the event could have been about a random check, as the officer claimed. For him, everything in the situation and the way the officials reacted made it clear that they were targeting him specifically and that this was based on his racial markers.

*I just pass by and then they stopped me. There were no rules but there were, just I realised that it was really because of the way I look. But the first question was “Excuse me sir. We are doing random checks.” And I was like oh really [laughs] because it didn't look like that. They just look where I'm standing. “And did you have something to declare?” So then I asked like “For me to tell you what to declare? You have to tell me what you are looking for [...]. I am a little bit confused about your question.” And he [said] “All okay so show me your passport. So you are living in Finland?” Then he went to check my nationality and “What is your visa? And okay everything seems fine so go.” But I immediately noticed in the body language and in the face that they opened their eyes and that was definitely not because of anything to declare. (Male, in his 30s, Colombia-Finland)*

In the story of one informant, the “random check” at the airport security control actually becomes a “test” situation. The interviewee told about being stopped for an ID check, and while doing this, joked about a “random check” that would target the other non-white person coming towards the area. This is also what happened,

and the visibility of the ethnic profiling caused both embarrassment and laughter. This time however, it was the officials whose practices appeared questionable who were embarrassed. The laughter, again, was a recognition of something hidden being exposed, and in this story seemed to support the informant.

*There were two women [officials], the first one took my passport and while she was looking at my passport, I looked at the other one, which had the Finnish uniform and and asked in Finnish (,) ok, so why me. And she immediately said very defensively that it's a random check sir. And I'm like OK, random check, and at that moment, it just happened that I spotted a... you know between the crowd that kept passing, through us, there was a guy with a ah, quite brown skin, red shirt, with a backpack, a young guy, coming in, and I said, provokingly a little bit I said let's see if your colleague stops randomly stops that dude too. And she's like what? And at that moment, she [the other official] gives me my passport back and she stops the other... and she starts to stop the other guy, and the colleague, the one I said this to, taps her on the shoulder and says no no, let him go through, embarrassed, of the, randomly, checking, you know. And there's some people around noticed, they were walking by, they were laughing, and and they were not very happy with my, provocation, but, you know... (Male, 40, Portugal)*

The same informant continued later on in the interview with a discussion on what a “random check” would actually be. A true “random check” would consist of a method that was based on chance, which was not the case when the officials had picked him. His demand was for clear rules on how to secure that people are randomly checked, instead of being profiled on the basis of their race and ethnicity.

*A random test is if you throw a dice whenever somebody passes, and then you decide upon that. [...] you know when it's random you need to be able to explain what the method is, they can't explain it. And this is I think for me, personally a very important point (,) that I think could be stressed, it's that you know, okay, if it's random you need to have a method, to demonstrate its randomness. They don't have. (Male, 40, Portugal)*

Given that a multiplicity of such experiences had occurred for many of the informants, the only reason they could see for the stops was that the officials were using racialised indicators when conducting their duties.

*They always have a similar description all the time. It makes me wonder, so for 11 years they've been looking for the same person who managed to elude you guys, you're not doing a good job then, because the description they [border control] have is always similar, and I always match that description [laughter]. (Male, in his early 30s, African country-Finland)*

Other reasons for searches and extra security controls that the informants mentioned were related to religion, i.e. traveling as a Muslim. The securitisation discourses and the heightened surveillance methods that have been developed under the “war on terror” policies since 9/11 2001 (e.g. Kundnani 2014) also affect Muslims living in Finland – both at Finnish airports and abroad, as the following informant's story shows. Even babies can be subjected to intense scrutiny and bodily investigation.

*At the security check my wife was really [smirks] really angry. I was like I guess this is normal practice [...] I wanted to make my flight and said do whatever you have to do, because we want to make the flight. We were really late anyway, and then my wife was perhaps really angry [smirks] because they checked her... later they still had to check if we have any explosives... if she had them. Then I was like, well just check us now and later... okay, nothing was found, and they even checked the baby. They even touched the baby's body all over to see if anything was there... so it was interesting... What... what could be on the baby, explosives maybe. Maybe I could connect it with being... Is... Islamic or the Islam faith, because my wife is completely hijabi and wearing the clothes. But then... The same thing happened when we returned. (Male, in his late 20s, Somalia-Finland )*

The interviewees did not consider ID checks or extra security controls at the border point specific things as such, but what was special was that they were constantly targeted by these acts. Their lived experience showed that there was no randomness in the practice.

*Q: Would you say that it happens every time when you go Sweden or Estonia?*

*A: Well I would say like it happens 8 out of 10 times. (Male, 33, East African country-Finland)*

In contrast to the previously mentioned interviewees, who had been stopped continuously when crossing the border, other informants did not have similar experiences or were seldom stopped. The informants engaged in discussions over these differences trying to make sense of why some persons racialised as non-white were frequently stopped while others were not. One informant wondered whether it could be related to somebody being of a darker shade of black than others. It is clearly not a pleasant thought for him that there would be hierarchies even within blackness, or to be more precise, in the way that blackness is perceived by authorities. His fluent Finnish, again, provided some relief in that it enabled him to be recognised as a Finnish resident, although he was not perceived be Finnish initially.

*A: Well, I don't travel much myself, but I've often gone on cruises [sighs]... They have never stopped me, but always if I've boarded the ship with this friend... he has always been stopped.*

*Q: Well, what do you think is the reason for that?*

*A: Well, I could speculate, but it's thankfully not true. He is much darker... I mean we're all dark-skinned but... he is somewhat darker, so perhaps they think that that he has arrived only recently... From Africa or something... is it the colour shade that triggers them or something else, I don't know, but... he has always been*

*Q: And you are there thinking...*

*A: So, a large group of us is there, and it's often specifically him that they select [smirks] So there is something interesting about it... I can't think of anything else right now [smirks]. But then they go away pretty quickly when we speak Finnish... we're sort of making sure. Yeah. Once they stopped me on the ship and asked me to show them my papers. Otherwise, it's been fine. (Male, in his late 20s, Somalia-Finland)*

Finnish national identity is strongly entwined with notions of whiteness (e.g. Rastas 2007; Keskinen 2014), which appear as self-evident and as often taken-for-granted starting points for the practices of the authorities. They identify Finnishness with a white body, thus suspecting other kinds of bodies to belong elsewhere, that is, as being “foreigners”. However, categorisations of who is white and who is not white are not always clear-cut. There are examples in the data that show how some South-European persons with dark skin and features are also singled out due to their appearance. Persons whose physical appearance does not fit into the stereotypical white Finnish identity can also be exposed to ethnic profiling. The following informant told that he is often taken to be an Arab or person from South Asia due to his looks and has had many experiences of extra ID and security checks at airports, harbours and other border points.

*A couple of months after that [event] I flew to [country in South-Europe] for a short vacation. Flight in the middle of the night, you know the airport was empty and there's a few people in the, in the in the X-ray in the security scanners. And one flight leaving at 4 in the morning, people going through the scanners and when it comes to my turn you know take the laptop, put it separately and everything goes through. Then the officer asks sir do you mind, do you accept that I do randomly, ah drug test swipe on your equipment which is fine this has happened it happens. But again and because this episode and you're alert, I look around and there's a lot of Finns going to travel to the same place and I'm the only brown person around. (Male, 40, Portugal)*

### Stories of Profiling by the Security Guards

Most of our interviewees told about themselves or somebody that they knew as having negative experiences with security guards. They had encountered security guards in supermarkets, shopping centres, streets or at public transportation hubs. The role of the private security sector has increased during the recent decades, especially in urban areas, where our interviews were conducted (Kerttula 2010, 1–6). The survey data, analysed in chapter seven, also shows that young people belonging to (some) ethnic minorities have a much higher risk of being stopped by security guards than do white majority youth.

The stories on ethnic profiling by security guards can be divided into three groups. The first and most common type of story was that of the security guards following racialised minority persons when shopping. The following interviewee told about situations when she entered a shop by herself or with her and had directly been followed by the security guards. If she went to shops in the company of white majority persons, similar situations did not occur.

*But what I saw if you are getting into a shop with my... my two boys... quickly you are followed everywhere [laughs a little]... they keep following you and you can see that they are following you because they are afraid that you [will] steal or something. It's not about service so I've seen. When you are with other Finnish white people coming in the shop, no one follows them. But you [alone non-white person], someone following you every time. It makes me very uncomfortable all the time so. I find shopping a little bit difficult. In shops like grocery no one follows you but in clothing shops (-)*

*shops even if you say no I just want to see, they will follow you. (Female, in her 40s, African country)*

While security guards were often the ones to follow around persons who are racialised as non-white, the guards were often seen as cooperating with the salespersons. The interviewees pointed out that the salespersons and the cashiers were usually the ones to call the security guards to the spot.

*A1: Not the salespeople but the guards*

*A2: It's the salespeople who tell the guards to come to the scene*

*A1: So they... unexpectedly might show up just as I have entered the shop [laughs][...]*

*A2: So not like (that the guards come to say something)*

*A1:... just like... well I came to look around a bit myself as well... yeah*

*(Two males, in their late 20s, Somalia-Finland)*

*Yeah (,) they started to follow us [he says somewhat incredulously], me and my friend. We were in [name of the shop] [...] four years ago, 3–4 years ago (,) We were looking at some cosmetics or facial products and (,) trying out the testers. And then [laughs] (,) I remember my friend like saying that (,) do you know this guy (,) do you also have the feeling that this guard is like following us (,) and what we are doing. And then we realised that the women at the cash register were like lurking... of course they told the guard to come over (,) and we certainly felt that we were being watched. (Female, in her 20s, Finland-African country)*

These kinds of experiences were connected to a feeling of being constantly under someone's radar, which is, at the very least, uncomfortable, and the limitations to personal space also made the situation feel invasive. The informants' ways of dealing with these situations varied, and some tried to be very clear about their actions and show the guards who were following them that they were not trying to steal anything.

*When I was younger and I went to Alepa or something and sometimes the guard used to follow us. It was really weird when you were especially with your mother or someone like your sister or something so you feel (,) you know a bit terrified or you know like (,) you feel like okay I'm taking this [laughs] and I'm putting it into the basket. You see the basket? It was here, you know it's there. You feel like oh I have to walk in a certain way or you know take things very clearly [laughs] and put it in the [basket] so yeah. (Male, 25, Somalia-Finland)*

Others tried to deal with what felt like harassment by acting in a firm manner, or by leaving the shop without buying anything. While this can be understood as resistance to the harassment, it also meant they were not able to do what they had come to shop for, such as to buy necessary products.

*I always try to keep insisting that no, if I need help I will call or come but they don't just go away. Sometimes they just slow down but you can see that they are just looking at you, so then it just feels uncomfortable if you leave and sometimes you want really to buy...[...] but you feel uncomfortable because no freedom like...[go to] shop to look for something you want*

*without, without...it becomes like harassing eye, harassing gaze and all that so it makes me uncomfortable, so in that way I think it is because I am black, whites are not followed like this. [...] So now I prefer going with my husband because if I am with him I am not harassed. (Female, in her 40s, African country)*

As the previous citation indicates, being accompanied by a Finnish spouse can increase the amount of personal space while shopping, but this did not apply to all stories. Male interviewees of African descent mentioned that no matter their company, they seemed to raise suspicions among the security guards. Some women interviewees also revealed that they felt extremely cautious, or even afraid while shopping as they were worried that they could be wrongly accused of something they had not done. This seems to be more related to the stigmatised minority position than individual characteristics.

*A1: I'm one of those people who is really afraid that something on me sets off an alarm, and very often an alarm is indeed set off.*

*A2: Yes, me too.*

*A3: Always when you are buying some piece of clothing?*

*A1: Yes, for example, a few weeks ago they forgot to remove the tag, even though they took the bag and removed some stuff. Then you really feel like you're an immigrant, and these people are looking at me. But then it's so wonderful, when they find the tag that set off the alarm. And they apologise and say sorry, I forgot to remove the tag. Then my brother, who (,) is not here now... this happened many years ago. He said that when he went in the fitting room, he saw many price tags that someone had ripped off and thrown on the floor. He said that he was so scared of what was going to happen when he came out of there.*

*Q2: Was there a guard on the scene?*

*A1: Yes, there was a guard there. If I remember correctly, they checked us at the cash register to see if we had anything. The alarm would not have gone off, as all the tags had been removed. He just said it was a really nasty situation, and he was wondering what to do.*

*(Three females, A1 and A3 Kurdish-Finland, A2 Somalia-Finland)*

The second type of story is that of the security guards behaving rudely, aggressively or in an unfair manner towards racialised minorities. The stories are usually constituted of personal accounts but they did not necessarily stay only on a personal level. Many interviewees placed their stories and experiences in a wider societal context or mentioned hearing similar stories from other minority persons. The following informant told about an encounter with a security guard where she was interrupted by a rude questioning of her right to use the public space while waiting casually for her friends.

*No just stopped like "what you are doing here?" You know then they start asking for you ID. Especially if you are going out eight, nine or ten and you are standing somewhere. That actually reminds me of one time I was standing in [name of the suburb]. I was actually waiting for the friends to come pick me up and then the security guards just came to me asking why I am standing here and I was like "Wow. You know it's public space I can stand anywhere I like." But yeah but you know. Cause I have heard so much*

*about it I was pissed but then I wasn't really like, you know, I were just whatever.* (Female, Nigeria-Finland)

The interviewees often questioned the dynamics and structures related to the security guards' behavior. They acknowledged that the work of the guards was based on practices, many of which were determined by the company management or property owners. This trail of thought raised contradictory feelings as, on the one hand, the informants were annoyed and humiliated by the behavior of the security personnel but, on the other hand, they understood that in many cases, the guards were following rules given by their superiors. As the informants saw it, the problem was thus not only the discriminatory acts by individual guards, but the more or less official guidelines of the job which were characterised by ethnic/racial stereotyping, or more bluntly, ethnic profiling.

Nonetheless, the informants argued that understanding these aspects of the security guards' work did not reduce the accountability of an individual guard, as each security guard has different options regarding how to act in a specific situation, and thus bears individual responsibility.

*It probably always depends on the guard as well. Like if they say in a friendly manner in that kind of a situation that well I was told to do this. Then in a way I feel sorry for the poor guard as well, even though I'm annoyed at the same time. But if the guard is really arrogant, I get quite angry myself...* (Female, 28, Finnish Roma)

*Regardless, they thrash the work, the working community and others with their own actions. I'm sure there are some good and decent people among them. But when they are unprofessional towards you, and you comment on their behaviour, they say that the employers make them act like this.* (Female, in her 40s, Finnish Roma)

Some security guards were notified to encounter racialised minorities in a respectful way. The informants told that some guards even criticised the actions of their colleagues, and advised on the possibility to make a complaint.

*A2 and A3: Vartija from [name of Helsinki shopping centre] knows us. They are the only vartija who says hello to us and they don't create issues with us. They know that in a way we are nice. We are all the time greeting each other like saying "moi moi"*

*A2: We respect them because they respect us. Not all are the same. But this makes us happy.*

(A2 female, in her 30s, Romanian Roma and A3 male, in his 40s, Romanian Roma)

Bulgarian and Romanian informants especially had very negative experiences with security guards, but many other informants likewise reported about the disrespectful treatment by the security personnel. The interviewees were especially critical of the rude and aggressive way the guards approached them and emphasised their responsibility in their profession to treat people decently. Some informants however, felt that the guards were looking for a confrontation.

*I don't understand why they don't start by telling to us in a nice way that we are not allowed to do something or another thing or it doesn't matter. But they are starting in a very aggressive way. They are intimidating you in such a way that you could say something that of course you don't feel nice. So have to like respond. So they wait something so immediately they have issue with you to. To start in a such a way. Them to create basically the problem. I mean I don't understand how's that they have all the time different behavior and they are so graceless. (Female, 41, Romanian Roma)*

The informants emphasised that polite interaction was the key to mutually effective and satisfying encounters. The importance of this matter is also reflected in the way some informants spoke about exceptionally nice or notoriously rude, aggressive and even violent security guards.

Throughout this study, a number of research informants emphasised that in respect to ethnic profiling, security guards and private control agents were the worst of all authorities. The security guards were criticised for abusing their power and living up to their bad reputations. One reason for problems with the guards was seen as being the low level of their occupational training, which did not produce adequate skills to encounter minorities.

*But I mean you know... In in general, I think police officers are very... Very... How do you call it well trained in Finland [...] I mean I see the difference between vartija, sorry vartija(t), I see the difference between vartija and police I mean the gap between you know psychologically how to deal and everything like (Male, in his early 30s, South East Asian country-Finland)*

The question was also raised whether the selection of security guards was properly conducted. Since this is an occupation that deals with people on a constant basis, and equips one with the right to use force, it would be important to find right kinds of persons for the job, such as those who are not aggressive, or those minimally resort to violence.

*I feel like many people who are guards should not be guards... like they should have... more demanding social and psychological examinations for you to become a guard. (Male, 26, Finland-South Asian country)*

The informants often reflected on their experiences of being profiled, or general perceptions about the security guards and the police. In this comparison, the security guards were more often stated as acting in an erratic, arrogant and unprofessional manner.

*A2: Yes, but the guards like use unnecessary force. With small matters, they could clarify them by talking, but no, right away they are strangling people and...*

*A1: Yes, or maybe the guard...*

*A2:... Is not a good one*

*A1:... It's just that the guards' questionable... Like their use of force is questionable in some situations. Because they are not seen as professionals like the police. The guards are considered amateurs, even though they are professionals as well, of course. But they don't have in-depth training for*



*that job. So because of that, I think they could leave the use of force to the police.* (Two males, in their late 20s, Iraq-Finland)

The rude behaviour and the blunt ethnic profiling by security guards made some informants view them as unprofessional. When they targeted only racialised minorities and bypassed other (possible) shoplifters, the guards were not thought of as conducting their work properly.

*The guards seem to act unprofessionally at times. That they must... guard the shop in that way... would be more sensible to not just select certain [people].* (Male, in his late 20s, Somalia-Finland)

That security guards are experienced as engaging more bluntly in their ethnic profiling acts does not necessarily mean that the police are less prone to stop minorities on the basis of their appearance and other racialised markers. It may only be that the police are more skillful in hiding their profiling logic and avoiding unnecessary aggression in encounters. The security guards are viewed by the informants as openly performing their positions of power. This view is also supported by the survey data, analysed in chapter seven. As the following interviewees stated, however, the positioning of racialised minorities as second class citizens actually unites the public and private security system.

*A3: I would say it's the same system, that we are not as smart or valuable as the others. And also the exercise of power, believe it or not, is a wonderful thing. Really, the way you can see from their faces and eyes and behaviour that when they are here...*

*A1: When they are walking in that way...*

*A3: ... I'm the one who makes the decisions here...*

*A1: ... So, you just be careful. [laughs]*

(Three females, A1 and A3 Kurdish-Finland, A2 Somalia-Finland)

The experience of ethnic profiling left the profiled people with the thought that their being a migrant or belonging to a racialised minority group was a problem for the guards, and perhaps this was even more so the case in Finland. They were referring to the act of categorisation, meaning the expectations that all persons of this group were (potential) criminals and the resulting measures of control from this presumption. The informants sometimes pointed this out for the guards, and questioned their behaviour and the logic behind it.

*They follow you, even though there is no way that you look like a thief, only that you happen to look like an immigrant and... well sometimes (-) I'm such an emotional guy that if something annoys me I usually say that... What is going on now [sneers] why are you following me so much [...] so if something really an(-) annoys me if I'm with... especially if I'm with my mom in the shop and the guards decide to follow us, I'm like good grief... Don't you [sneers] have any real work to do... except for bothering customers in this way. So maybe... the guards are generally alert when an immigrant comes inside the shop.* (Male, in his late 20s, Somalia-Finland)

The rough actions of the security guards were intimidating to those being searched, and the categorisation as a potential criminal based on racialised categorization was equally as intimidating. In the following extract, the security guard had

proceeded to search the informant in the shop without any proper explanation provided before or after the actions.

*For instance, there was a day I was about to pay for my stuff in a supermarket when the security guard just came forward and whispered something to the ear of the cashier, and then he came to search me. I was shocked. What do you want to do? I asked him, and he said “don’t worry, we are looking for something”. And I asked, who said I am the one with it? He didn’t say anything and proceeded to search me. I refused. Eventually after much argument, and with the prompting of a good Finnish friend who was with me and with whom I did the whole shopping, I decided to allow him. Eventually, he didn’t find anything, and simply said “I am sorry, we didn’t find anything.” And I asked him, “did you expect to find anything?” (Female, in her 30s, Uganda)*

The third type of story is about the security guards using force, in some cases even considerable levels of violence, towards minority persons. The informants told that many of these incidents had occurred out of the blue and without an apparent reason. The measures that the security guards are reported as having employed in these situations are questionable and extreme, given that they usually operated without certainty whether the person in question was or was not guilty of a crime or disturbance. In many ways, the stories indicate that racialised minorities are at risk (of harassment, rough treatment and violence) in public spaces. Ethnic profiling increases the risk of being mistaken as a suspect or a security problem, which causes unwarranted actions towards the profiled individuals. The following informant told about being automatically categorised as one of a group of “mixed” young men, who had been ordered to leave the metro station. When the interviewee tried to explain that he had nothing to do with the group and refused to leave, the security guards paid no notice to what he was saying and carried him out of the station.

*A1: Yes, it was there, I think it’s called Kompassi*

*Q: Yes, from where you take the metro*

*A1: Yes, exactly. So I was there waiting for my friend, it’s like a common meeting place. So the guards came by and said hey man get out of here, we already threw you out once. And I was like, I just came here, what do you mean once. No but really, I’d probably been there for 10 seconds. They said don’t talk shit to us, go up and get out, and I said... well I just got here. Then there was like a... group of foreign guys... maybe 10 metres away. I don’t know who they were, but then the guards like automatically connected me to them. And when I refused to leave, they carried me out [laughs]. And I was pulling away and struggling, but my legs were up in the air, so they were carrying me...*

*Q: Did the people near you also look like they had an Iraqi background or...?*

*A1: Well, it was a group of guys with probably...*

*A2: All kinds of people in it*

*A1: It was like a mixed group with all kinds of people, Finns and foreigners, a group of young guys. (Two males, in their late 20s, Iraq-Finland)*

Another interviewee mentioned the Kamppi shopping centre/bus station complex, a site of several ethnic profiling incidents as we discussed in 5.2., where the security guards had caught hold of her brother. He was accused of stealing from one of the

shops, and although it was later confirmed that he was not the suspect, the guards had insisted on interrogating him. The social stigma of passersby watching the event, expecting him to be a criminal, added to the violence of the situation.

*Once my brother was walking in Kamppi when suddenly two guards attacked him. He was a little bit frightened and wondered what they were doing. The guards told him that he had stolen stuff or something like that. He started to tell the guards that he had not done anything. The guards still argued that he had stolen stuff, even though he had not, and after a while, the guards were told... What is that thing called? A walkie-talkie? [...] They got a call there saying that the suspect had been found. Uh [brother's name] (P) [...] They still stayed there. [Brother's name] had to stay there, and they told him he had done something. That had he done nothing, he would not have behaved like that. And all the people standing around were just looking and shaking their heads... (Female, in her 20s, Somalia-Finland)*

Such stories reflect on what is felt as direct attacks on one's personal integrity that may have long term consequences on the profiled person's feelings of (in)security and (in)justice. It is not just about being an obvious target of the security guards, but also pertains to how one is automatically perceived and treated as belonging to the guilty party.

One interviewee told a story of how she tried to pick up a product she had forgotten at the cashier in a shop, but the security guard had prevented her from entering the shopping centre. The interviewee had tried to explain why she needed to go back to the shop, although it was near closing time, but he had roughly pushed her away. At the same time, many white people had been walking undisturbed through the same entrance, in and out.

*I went shopping in a big shopping mall at the city center. It was evening and near closing time. So, I rushed over my shopping and quickly made my way out. I had walked a few kilometers when I noticed I had forgotten one of the items I bought at one shop. In addition, I had also forgotten one very important item. So, I rushed back. But the security man at the entrance refused me entrance, arguing it was closing time. As I was begging him to allow me enter, many white people were trooping in and out. I then asked him why he was allowing others to enter while refusing me. He refused to answer and insisted that I wouldn't. I then attempted to push my way through but he blocked the way and pushed me back roughly. [heaving sighs]. It was my first time of experiencing this kind of discrimination in this city. Eventually, when it was clear to me that he would never allow me enter, I decided to go home, abandoning that very important item that I had forgotten. Because of this, I could not cook that night because it was an indispensable item for my soup. (Female, in her late 20s, Ghana)*

Regardless of interviewees' backgrounds, the unpredictability of the security guards, their provocative behaviour and the threat of violence, frames part of the stories told during the interviews. Finnish Roma, Bulgarian and Romanian informants especially reported such experiences. In addition to racial slurs and name calling, the security guards were told to have taken advantage of their positions, and acted in a provocative manner, creating and playing with an atmosphere of fear when encountering these groups.

*A2: The same thing happened to me when I was stopped in the shop without any reason. Then they put me in a room and called the police. They took out the baton and started waving it around, because we are the police.*

*A1: To provoke.*

*A2: Mmm.*

*Q1: Was it the police or the guards?*

*A2: Well the guards and the police were there. They apprehended me without any reason. (Two males, Finnish Roma)*

Several stories also described physical clashes with the security guards.

*In his case, he wanted to... I don't exactly remember the context, but the guard grabbed him like that and threw him out of Kamppi. Yeah, he also fell on the floor, and the guard held onto him. Then finally they threw him out violently. Of course they are very violent when throwing people out, they tie your hands in a way. This is common. (Female, in her 30s, Romania)*

*So February this year another Romanian woman was beaten by this security guard that stopped us tonight. That actually if I see him I recognise. So he beat few times. This guard beat this lady in railway station. After she went out she was complaining us and started to cry because she had hate because the way she was beaten by this man. And also their boy. This year the same guard took my boy. I don't know the reason and he just pushed him to a wall. I saw the whole scene and I was so afraid that (-) are broken or something like that from the force that he was like. And when I saw I went immediately between them and I said "no problem, no problem" and I took my boy. I grabbed him immediately not to beat him. (Female, 39, Romanian Roma)*

The interviewees of the Roma minority were not the only one who talked about even children being beaten by the guards. The following informant told about being hit by a security guard as he was walking by a scene where some young persons were lined up as potential suspects. According to the informant, the police were just standing and witnessing the situation. Speaking about the event years later, the interviewee recalled saying "shit happens", perhaps performing his masculinity or otherwise dealing with the violent event by turning it into a joke.

*A: I was coming from practice. And. We were in [name of the suburb], and there were... someone had done something, and they had lined up all the young people... the police and guards were there. And then... they were taking photos. [clicks his tongue] Then I come out through the doors and... the guard yells at me to get in line. And then he hits my ribs with a baton. The policeman saw the incident, but he just told the guard that they will talk about this later, and then they put me in that line [sneers]*

*Q2: (Anyway)*

*A: [laughs] yeah.*

*Q1: Okay. Pu(-) well. (P) do you remember how the situation ended*

*A: The photos were taken and bye bye*

*Q1: Okay (P) Did you talk about this in any way at home with your parents or*

*A: Nope [in a dismissive tone]*

*[Q2 Laughs]*

### Shared Patterns and Specific Logics of Ethnic Profiling

The events discussed in this chapter may be individual stories told by specific racialised minority persons about specific authorities and security guards, but in a wider sense, they reflect the experiences of these groups. As van Dijk (1993, 140) writes: “Stories about minorities, thus, are not so much expressions of personal experiences. Rather, they are expressions of group experience”. It is evident that, despite the variations in the informants’ backgrounds and the details of the stories, the common patterns of ethnic profiling emerge. These involve being targeted selectively on the basis of their race or ethnicity and subsequently being subjected to control mechanisms. This results in a high risk of being treated as (potential) criminals, having their right to reside in the country and specific city spaces questioned, having their belongings searched without clear reason, being followed in shops and having their personal integrity violated. While not all of our informants had experienced these situations, the stories as a whole reveal the position of those living as a migrant or racialised minority person in Finland.

The stoppings discussed as ethnic profiling were usually connected to immigration control, suspicion of crime or traffic control. In this sub-chapter, we have identified central practices of ethnic profiling, based on the interviewees’ descriptions. The most important ones are: (1) being “singled out” from the crowd due to race or ethnicity, (2) the definition of “non-Finnish looking person” and (3) a “random check” that is not a random check. While the first and second practices are common to all actors described in the sub-chapter, the third practice is related to the border and security control at airports and harbours.

Being “singled out” means one is categorised on the basis of race or ethnicity and targeted differently than the rest of persons in the space due to this. One is stopped, identity checked, searched or sometimes detained, without a clear, or at least one that would be in proportion to the actions taken by the authorities or security guards, reason.

This singling out is often, but not always, connected to ideas of what a “non-Finnish looking” person looks like. This applies especially to immigration control, which often seems to make visible, and build upon, a racialised understanding of Finnishness. Finnishness is equated with whiteness, in this case namely a white body. Those perceived as having a non-white body are treated as potential illegal immigrants or at least persons who need to demonstrate their right to reside in the country (by showing their ID card, speaking fluent Finnish etc.). Such assumptions fail to see that a large number of citizens today are non-white, and thus these practices place them in the position of conditioned citizenship. Moreover, these practices fail to identify the persons who may not have a legal right to reside in the country, although they may have a white body. This could include for example persons who arrived with a tourist or study visa and stayed after the period had ended.

The practice of a “random check” at border control points was identified by many as a method of ethnic profiling, since it was not only about being singled out from the crowd, but also made the ethnic profiling evident. That the “random” selection

of those to be checked seemed to constantly be conducted on racialised minority persons was seen by the informants as an unjust way of systematically targeting minorities. While a random logic would result in minority persons being controlled sometimes, the interviewees talked about constant checks and situations where no white persons passing the same space were selected.

The differences in the stories were related to whether the control agents were authorities or private security personnel, the different work tasks and rights of the control agents, and to some extent, the ethnic/racial backgrounds of the informants. The Roma and young men of African descent reported the most cases of ethnic profiling, as well as the gravest of incidents of ethnic profiling.

#### 5.4. Responses and Effects

Experiences of being stopped by authorities or security guards for reasons that one perceives to be related to ethnicity or race have several kinds of effects on those targeted by such acts. The variations in reactions to and interpretations of these situations are not only related to personal characteristics but provide information about social processes, power relations and the kinds of cultural resources available for interpretation at a given time in a particular society. The ways people relate to profiling experiences can be divided into (1) situational responses and short-term effects, involving for example anger or dismissal of events as “routine thing”; and (2) long-term effects, such as those that bear relevance for one’s sense of belonging (to Finland, to ethnic/racial group), interpretations of injustice and lack of trust (towards police, authorities or other actors).

##### In the Situation of Being Stopped

Many interviewees recalled the events when they were stopped due to ethnic profiling as uncomfortable and/or annoying. In such situations, their movements were restricted, they were entered into the category of a “suspect” person, and were not always provided proper answers as to why they were chosen from among a crowd of (white) people. The authorities and security guards exercised their right to control and commanded certain kinds of behaviour, and if needed, did so by force. The situations of being stopped and checked therefore raise important questions regarding personal integrity, formal power and possibilities for agency. Several situations were told about as if the informant was robbed of their agency and left with only a few choices to influence the course of events.

An often occurring pattern in the encounters that the informants interpreted as ethnic profiling was that proper answers were not given regarding why they were targeted. Getting the response from the police or other authority that the stop was “routine practice” was experienced as unsatisfactory. For people who were constantly stopped without proper reasons, or evidence of having committed a crime, the actions were experienced as questionable and/or suspicious intrusions into their lives.

*A1: Hmm! Yeah yeah there was nothing... although I was left with this vague feeling... because I still don't know why, they wouldn't tell me...*

*A2: So you even asked them what was going on, and they just answered*

A1: *Yeah! That it was routine* (Two males, in their late 20s, Iraq-Finland)

Being singled out from a crowd can be a process that makes the stopped person realise that something is going to happen, yet at the same time, they are unaware of what is wrong and what kinds of actions are expected. The following interviewee, who was the only one taken aside and controlled from a group of (white) persons entering a ferry, was annoyed because he did not receive proper reasons for the stop, and thus felt he was not able to file a complaint. He was just left “in the dark”, without the possibility to act or voice his dissatisfaction of being treated in an unjust manner.

*I understood, they wanted to check me. But I didn't know it identification, maybe. Bags, maybe. I didn't know exactly what was going on. But straight away in my mind I said okay.. He is stopping me because I am black, in a group of, other people, and in my mind it was like, this is like...a racism case. And I start asking questions from that time to try to understand at least, I was expecting the person to give me any, answer that can make me feel, comfortable with the situation, in that time. But when a person is not responding to you, then you really get annoyed and annoyed and you know, they knew that it's my right to ask questions also [...] And when I left, I was still really annoyed because you are kind of, you don't have answers, you know you are not going anywhere to complain. I was left like.. in a dark you know...room* (Male, in his 40s, African country-Finland)

There were those, like the interviewee above, who did not accept being singled out, but openly questioned the legitimacy of the stops. Others likewise experienced the treatment as unjust, but preferred to keep quiet and prevent disturbance in the situation. They assumed that direct questioning would lead to more trouble, so in order to safeguard the continuation of their trip or other plans, they chose to comply with the check and ID-control.

Furthermore, some interviewees pointed out that they did not pay much attention to the events when they were stopped and asked to prove their identity, as for them it was a passing moment and would be forgotten soon after it had occurred.

*I was with my friend and dropping him from airport. So what happened is the police came. They did the normal thing, we were sitting in the parking lot and my car was on. It was very odd hour though like two o'clock in the morning so the [coughs] police like checks my license and everything else like okay if I can go and.* (Male, 25, Somalia-Finland)

Others explained that such acts of control were a necessary part of police work: the police officers were doing their job. They were not bothered by being targeted by such acts, and could even explain it as a requirement for efficient immigration control that they themselves benefited from.

### **Avoiding Places and Situations**

Several interviewees told how their behaviour had changed after experiences of being unreasonably stopped and controlled by the police or security guards. This was usually due to having several such experiences within a short time period, but

some isolated, or especially awkward situations could cause the person to start avoiding places where the risk of being stopped was high. For example, one interviewee told that he stopped going to the Kamppi shopping centre/bus station complex because he was harassed so many times by the security guards there. This is then not only a question of being unable to visit some shops or restaurants, which already seems to make people's use of public space conditional and dependent on their ethnic/racial background. Since the Kamppi area also functions as a traffic hub, where a central bus station is located, avoiding it meant that the informant had to develop alternative plans for public transport.

Petri Hautaniemi's (2004) ethnographic study of young Somali men also showed that they started to avoid places like the Central Railway Station and other areas in the centre of Helsinki, after several experiences of being stopped by the police and guards. Some incidents had also resulted in the young men being taken into the police station and detained there, without a reasonable cause presented to them. In order to prevent such negative encounters with the police and the security guards, the Somali youth had started to avoid the railway station and its nearby areas. Similarly, some of our informants regarded the area around the railway station as unpleasant and did not wish to spend time there.

Other interviewees mentioned avoiding bars or shops where they expected to encounter ethnic profiling or having started to move less around the city late at night. The latter could also be a result of getting older and perhaps losing interest in clubbing and visiting bars as often.

### **Avoiding Police Contact and Lack of Trust in Police**

Negative experiences of being stopped and profiled by the police led to suspicion and lack of trust towards authorities. The interviewees explained that as a result of such experiences, they no longer wanted to ask for help from the police, even in cases where they would be in need. The data of our study points towards the conclusion that being exposed to ethnic profiling leads to decreased trust in police behaviour and the police as authority, and is also found in international studies based on large survey datasets (e.g. FRA 2009, 2017). Ethnic profiling is thus detrimental to the connection between police and racialised minorities, and poses considerable challenges for equality and social cohesion in society.

*Q: How important do you consider these experiences? [...] Like how do you feel that do they have influence?*

*A: Well of course (,) not relying on police. It's not a nice thing like (,) I would hesitate all right. There are several times that something I would normally would want to call police or ask help that I consider it like later on maybe. (,) Maybe they wouldn't understand it or that I would cause more problems to myself or (,) more problematic situations or something. [...] But it kind of stops you from or you have to really fight with your internal kind of senses to get over that and do it. (,) Most of the time they were really friendly when you give that kind of help or something like that but (,) yes I think it generally affects your trust and in that system completely. (Male, 33, East African country-Finland)*



As the previous informant stated, his negative experience of the police encounter had made him wary of the fact that contacting the police could result in more difficulties than the reason for the need to call the police caused. He referred to an embodied feeling, a reluctance to phone the police, which he needed to intellectually struggle against. While he acknowledged that there were situations in which police help would be important, and he also had positive experiences of the police, the bad memories stayed with him. Regaining trust for the police after such experiences is thus not only an intellectual struggle, but a slow and fragile process. If the police want the trustful relations that many studies on Finland show (e.g. Castaneda et al. 2012; FRA 2017) to continue in the future, then the prevention of ethnic profiling is of utmost importance.

Another informant also told about being stopped by the police and being suspected of a crime. What he found most disturbing in the police behaviour was that they did not listen to what he and his friends had to say. The acts resulted in him trying to avoid the police as much as possible.

*We were (,) out late in the evening. In one case, the police stopped us and another group. There was a little scuffle going on (,) and then they questioned us. No, they didn't even question us at first. They put us in the back of the police van and questioned the other group, a group of Finnish people, first. They questioned them and didn't give us a chance to tell them our story. Luckily, one of our friends was there and helped us. He was Finnish. He spoke on behalf of us, and finally the police decided to let us go after all. (,) In the end, the situation was resolved right then and there. But we were really annoyed that they didn't listen to our story and just threw us directly in the back of the van and locked the doors. We first listened to their version, and they were let go. And then we almost had to beg for them to let us out of there. It was annoying. That was one incident that left a bad memory in my mind. (P) Those kinds of incidents make you want to avoid the police as much as possible, so that that kind of (,) misconduct doesn't happen anymore... (Male, 29, Somalia-Finland)*

The question of trust also affects how the police are able to conduct their work and receive information from (racialised minority) citizens. The following interviewee, who was stopped and treated unfairly by the police, said he would have information that could help the police, but through their practice of stop and ID control, the officials had treated him as the “other”, and signaled that he is an immigrant who does not belong to Finland, and thus, he did not want to help them. For him, the acts of the police were a sign of injustice and of time wasted on ordinary lawful citizens. At the same time, he recognised the need for police actions, such as preventing the dealing of drugs that took place in his area of residence.

*I see all kinds of drugs around here. The police know, the guards know. Why don't the police arrest them? Because that is for the police to do. The job of the police is not to show that they have power and then abuse that power by stopping dark-skinned people. [...] The job of the police is to maintain order and safety and arrest criminals. Here they don't... Things just happen in that way here. Here they just [laughs] check the ID cards and passports and waste 15 minutes. During those 15 minutes they could arrest two drug dealers at the same corner of the shopping centre. It's possible I could help them if they needed me, but (,) I don't want to. Because of my immigrant*

*background, every time that I go out some policeman stops me and always asks me for my ID and passport. It does not feel good. (Male, 32, Afghanistan-Finland)*

This is a serious conditioning of the citizenship of racialised minority persons. At the same time, it is problematic for the police work if and when the officers cannot rely on the inhabitants for information about committed crimes. A recently published study on ethnic/racial profiling in Sweden showed similar results of reduced trust towards the police and the hindrances this creates to police activities when residents in racialised suburbs withdraw from helping the police in the form of witnessing and reporting crimes (Mulinari 2017, 34).

### **Does Police Behaviour Make a Difference?**

As many examples in the previous sub-chapters have shown, the interviewees' critique is often directed at the disrespectful manner in which the police conducted the stops and ID checks. It is not always the stopping as such, but the rude encounters with the police that have been difficult for the informants. Many of our informants also expected proper answers and explanations from the police to why they were stopped. Treating people respectfully is certainly an important criteria for police in relation to racialised minorities, and the same expectation applies to border guards, customs personnel and security guards.

However, the problem of ethnic profiling, i.e. stops that are based on the person's ethnic or racial characteristics rather than his/her actual behaviour, cannot be solved by better information and friendly behaviour by the police. When the problem lies in the targeting of people on basis of race and ethnicity, it is this problem that needs to be addressed in order to change the discriminating and unlawful practice.

The following informant points out the dilemma that constant experiences of suspicion and structural hierarchies cannot be explained away by "nice" police behaviour. Apologies made by the police after they realise that they have picked up the wrong person are not enough, if the same (in this case Roma) persons are systematically subjected to profiling and mistreatment by the same authorities. The interviewee recalled an incident, in which his family was stopped while driving a car, and was held for hours and questioned by the police. The Roma family was finally released since the suspicions were shown to be without grounds. The interviewee commented on the different reactions of the police which ranged from apology to name-calling and dismissing the critique of mistreatment. Name-calling can certainly be evaluated as misbehaviour by a police officer, and thus there would be grounds for an apology. The interviewee did not value the presented apologies since they seemed to be motivated by a legitimation of police actions rather than actual regret or promise of changing practices.

*An older policeman apologised, but the younger policemen messed with me and made all kinds of comments. One comment was like, hey don't get upset now you darkies and this is just basic stuff. [...] Then the older policeman tried to explain during all that time that this is the best way to act with regard to my safety and theirs too. I was really left with a bad taste regarding the police. (Male, 20, Finnish Roma)*

## Normalisation and Bypassing of Racism

Although the situations of ethnic profiling were often reported to be awkward and disturbing by those profiled, these incidents could also be common and natural parts of people's daily lives. Some interviewees had become accustomed to suppressing or brushing things off. This does not mean that they were happy with or unaffected by the situation but rather reflects the position of racialised minorities in the hierarchies of the Finnish society.

*Like at H&M (,) for example (,) they keep an eye on what we are doing and watch what clothes we like (,) choose and take with us... that kind of monitoring (,) and you feel really excluded like you've been singled out [...] so because stuff like this keeps happening (,) and I've felt like well this has been terrible (,) but then you sort of sweep these things away. Somehow like that [...] they allow that situation to happen even though it should not happen, but it's like been allowed to happen in that moment (,) then you don't even realise that (,) this is not the way it should be. (Female, in her 20s, Finland-African country)*

The result of long-term experiences of being profiled on the basis of ethnicity or race may lead to a normalisation of the state of being targeted and treated as "other" by the society. Three different paths to such normalisation can be distinguished. First, normalisation can be a result of individual experiences of being continuously subjected to criminalisation and negative treatment on the basis of ethnic or racial categorisation, as the previous citation shows. Second, such individual experiences can be connected to a history of experiences by family members. Third, the normalisation can be related to shared experiences of members of the wider ethnic or racial community. These collective memories can include struggles by minority communities to change things, which however have not been experienced as successful but have led to resignation. Normalisation of the experiences is a result of adaptation to the racialisation processes and power relations in the Finnish society, when struggles against the order seem futile or too demanding.

In the following extract, the interviewee identified both family experiences and minority group experiences as the background for the normalisation of racism. He started by telling a story of how his father had been detained by the police because of his racial markers and the complicated process the required him to identify himself.

*My father [coughs] was stopped because (,) an African young man – and my father is quite old – robbed a local shop and they said that they are gonna stop him [the father] because he looks like the suspect and (,) they told him quite fairly that we are stopping you because that person was black and you are black too so we have to check on you so can you give us identification. My father doesn't have a Finnish passport and the *muukalaispassi*, what we call alien's passport (,) is not real ID so the police really cannot identify (,) based on that passport. (,) So what happened was my father had to call my entire family to bring any single identification that was valid (,) Kela card and every single one, just to show them that he was this man in the passport in that picture. We got through that and they [police] apologised later. (Male, 23, Somalia-Finland)*

When the interviewer remarked that the events must have felt bad, the informant responded by reflecting on their normality and the decade long history of similar events his ethnic group had been exposed to.

*Q: That must not feel good.*

*A: Actually it felt quite normal later like I (,) like I said earlier that when things like these happen to you... and I was followed by the security guards I still get followed by the security guards in the markets... but it just feels naturally normal. I don't really pay attention to it and I am quite natural on that which is quite interesting because (,) not many people are. Well I have seen this that usually these people who are new to the system and come new as this... As a new people in this country (,) refugees and so (,) who understand that this has been a struggle for twenty years and really what I feel that (,) even though this struggle has been there for twenty years nothing has happened and nothing has changed. (Male, 23, Somalia-Finland)*

Some informants related the normalisation of profiling to experiences they had since being teenagers, as in the previous extract. Others located the normalisation further in time, as something that had developed during exposure to unequal treatment since early childhood or, as in the case of the Roma, for several generations. Normalisation of inequalities results in bypassing racist acts: most events are not paid attention to and only very grave incidents are remembered. This needs to be understood as a coping strategy in a society where such experiences are part of the everyday life of racialised minorities.

*See, it's like you are born to be discriminated against or looked down on, so you just react and don't write these things down. If it's not really egregious stuff. (Male, in his 40s, Finnish Roma)*

When they occur on a continuous basis, experiences of ethnic profiling and discrimination can function as practices that teach one's "place" in the society and its hierarchies. Through repeated exposure to treatment as "other" and learning that one's rights are not safeguarded by the state – the very same state that claims equality and universal treatment is the site of exclusionary practices – means that one's citizenship is conditioned (de los Reyes 2006), with reference to race and ethnicity.

### **Humiliation as an Oppressive Effect of Ethnic Profiling**

The results of this study indicate that ethnic profiling by the authorities and security guards leave the victims humiliated, confused, sad and often angry. One informant described the feeling of being humiliated in an incident of ethnic profiling with the police as follows:

*It was rush time like people were coming from the work. Then when we stepped out from the metro like two or three policemen they came to us and they said like "Stop stop!" And they handcuffed us and we were like "what's happening?" They said like "Yeah we heard that here is like two guys that two black guys that have a gun." We were like "We are just sixteen or seventeen how can we have a gun?" [laughs] It was shocking like... It was*

*rush time so it was very embarrassing. Some of our school friends were like laughing and making jokes and we felt like criminal like we were just sixteen. (Male, 26, Asian country-Finland )*

This falls in line with Klien's (1991) argument that in regards to humiliation, there are usually three kinds of people involved – the perpetrator, the victim and the witness. The perpetrator enacts power which renders the victim powerless in the situation. The witness can either side with the victim by sympathising with his/her predicament, or side with the police by laughing and seeking other ways to enforce the victim's powerlessness. In the situation described above, the reaction of the witnesses (laughing) hypes the victim's embarrassment and humiliation. Being stopped by the authorities means that the stopped person is expected to prove his/her innocence to the authorities. Starting from the position of guilt or suspicion of guilt, victims of ethnic profiling feel like criminals because they are often targeted as criminals.

Lindner (2006) describes the experience of humiliation as follows:

enforced lowering of a person or a group, a process of subjugation that damages or strips away pride, honour, or dignity. To be humiliated is to be placed, mostly against one's will and often in a deeply hurtful way, in a situation that is greatly inferior to what one feels one should expect. Humiliation entails demeaning treatment that transgresses established expectations. The victim is forced into passivity, acted upon, and made helpless. (p. 172.)

Such is the case of the following description of one informant's experience of ethnic profiling from authorities:

*It was like I was traumatised like (,) not gonna lie (,) I still remember his face [...] because if nobody says anything (,) you feel like it's normal for you to be treated this way. I wanted to cry I was sad I was scared [...] So yeah it was bad it was horrible. (Female, in her 20s, Somalia-Finland)*

Being helpless and forced into passivity left this victim of ethnic profiling not only humiliated, but also traumatised. The victim was stripped bare of dignity, pride and power to affect the situation. Ethnic profiling thus exposes victims to different levels of violence, both physical and mental.

Humiliation could also be part of intergenerational relations. These experiences have taught children, sometimes at a very early age, that their family belonged to a group that was expected to commit crimes, or that could be stopped by authorities or guards in the middle of their everyday tasks, without proper reason. As the following extract makes visible, parents can find it very difficult not to be able to protect their children from such experiences and to be humiliated in front of them as a result of ethnic profiling.

*I went in there, and two guards started following me. And one was walking so close to us that my boy said "Hey mom, why is that man following us?" I said that he is a guard and doing what he is supposed to do. "Well mom, why is he following us?" Well he is doing his job. Then the child says "Yes, but why is he following us?" I said "He is following us, because his job is to make*

*sure that no one steals anything from here or does anything stupid.” My son said “But you are not allowed to steal.” I said “Yes, but the man doesn’t know that we know that one is not allowed to steal.” It was like a humiliating experience for me to have to say that to a child. I tried to explain this very quietly, but the man was so close that he could hear what I said when I said that yes, but the man doesn’t know that we know that you are not allowed to steal. What kind of image did he give to my child when we are in a shop and they treat us like this? (Female, 45, Finnish Roma)*

## **Resistance and Criticism of Police Practices**

Being stopped without a proper reason, searched and identity checked was experienced by many as a situation in which one’s personal integrity was attacked. Some informants responded to this intimidating situation by resisting the acts and questioning the authorities’ rights to conduct the stop. They were committed to struggle for their rights and did not want to capitulate in front of the humiliation of the stopping situation. As the following interviewee argued, knowing that one has not done anything wrong leads to a determination to not have to put up with unequal treatment.

*Well I can tell you that it was very distressing for me. Like I don’t like it either that... Or I don’t like it at all when a complete stranger comes out of nowhere and says “Okay, turn around, so I can check you.” Like fiddles with my mobile phone and looks in my wallet and checks my ID, like a whole-body search. Okay, I understand that this happens if I’ve done something, but if I’m out there walking, and they stop me without a reason, I will certainly rebel. I will definitely fight for what is right. If I’ve done something wrong or stolen things, if I’m a criminal or something. But the fact that I’ve done nothing, and they check if there is a search warrant out for this or that person. (.) Ridiculous! It is so ridiculous. (Male, in his 30s, African country-Finland)*

There were also interviewees who had made rather effective interventions to end the profiling situation. The following informant had made visible the racialised categorisation of the security guard who expected him to be part of a group of young men, on the basis of racial characteristics and because they had entered the same space. The informant was able to make it clear to the guard that he was not part of the presumed group, but also made the guard realise his act of ethnic profiling.

*These guards were doing policing and things because they were checking the metro. I could see they were after some Romani [...] they were really clever the Roma group. They were running after one car after another. They got down in Itäkeskus and that was also my stop. So then the guard [...] stopped me and said like you have to wait here and tell us where are the others. And I was like what are you talking about? He said “You are not with the group? Because I saw they were running away.” Then I told him that because I look the way they look it doesn’t mean that [I] am like them. It doesn’t mean that I am part of their gang.” I could see he was very ashamed. (Male, in his 30s, Colombia-Finland)*

Some interviewees also reflected on the historical and structural aspects of belonging to a racialised minority in Finland. Finnish citizenship and living for centuries in the country are no guarantee for equal rights, as the position of the Roma shows. The police actions are a sign and an everyday reminder of the conditioned citizenship that characterises the situation of racialised minorities. Criticism towards police practices is thus also a questioning of the subordinated position of the Roma minority.

*And then if a person from the majority population had done something like this... well, they certainly would not stop every person that they come across... Or then they would definitely explain what it's all about. But when you are a Roma person, they somehow think that, well, he doesn't need information or he doesn't have the rights. Because we are Finnish citizens and have the same rights as the Finns or persons from the majority population, even though we are an ethnic minority. But they don't necessarily treat us equally in all places, even though we are fellow citizens. (Male, 20, Finnish Roma)*

The following informant told that he had taken the habit of teaching recently arrived migrants about the Finnish police and informing them of their rights. This kind of resistance has effects on a level broader than just for the person him/herself.

*Sometimes when we are visiting [...] someone in the community and someone starts to talk about the police and everything. You will hear all sort of stories and some of them might be true and some of them might not be true [sighs] but the thing is that the more positive...If they were treating us in nice way then there would be more positive things to say about them and if they are not then obviously they are going to be negative. Then someone who just came to Finland might be paranoid [laughs] and act in the certain way when they are seeing the police like...What I try to do at least when...I do hang out with some of the guys who are from same country that my parents are from and whenever they ask about the police and everything and I say like "Look you have your right you don't need to tell them everything. Know your rights and they don't have the right to come and interrogate you without any questions. You can say that I want my lawyer and this and that." (Male, 25, Somalia-Finland)*

Among the Finnish Roma, some interviewees also remarked that people had started to make complaints about discriminatory actions and claiming their rights after getting a better education. This is also a story of resistance and empowerment as collective acts, of which knowledge is an essential part.

*A: Currently, more people are commenting on the matter and making complaints about both the police and guards, as well as teachers and other shop personnel. Complaints are made about basic services as well, about the persons at the cash register as well as their managers.*

*Q: Do you know why people have started to intervene more?*

*A: Probably because there is more information available. And somehow the Roma people have become more aware of what to do and how to file a complaint, step by step. Where to file the complaint and how it reaches its destination. Perhaps this has helped. And also the fact that more people have*

*started to get training and an education, and they want to become equal and fit into this society with regard to studies and the working life. Maybe people want to show that we can do it as well, perhaps that has had an impact. They have the attitude that hey, we don't want to do things the old way anymore.* (Male, 20, Finnish Roma)

On a general level, though, formal complaints did not seem to be commonly used by the informants when experiencing ethnic profiling. In fact, none of the interviewees had filed a complaint. The results are somewhat different from those of the EU MIDIS II (FRA 2017, 42–43), in which 30 percent of the informants in Finland had reported or filed a complaint about the last event of discrimination. This study however, covered all kinds of discriminatory acts and reporting of the incidents could also vary greatly.

## **Belonging**

Continuous police stops affect the level of trust towards the police as well as the sense of belonging of those stopped. Incidents of ethnic profiling showed who has the self-evident right to belong to the Finnish society and who does not – a distinction that is based on the notion of whiteness/non-whiteness. Although the following informant was born in Finland and Finnish is his main language, he could not think of himself as a (proper) Finn due to many experiences of being excluded. Police stops and guards who followed in shops were part of a more general structure of racism. The survey data indicates similar findings on experiences of ethnic profiling being connected to a lower sense of belonging to the nation (see chapter seven).

*Like I said earlier that I feel a Finn sometimes and then sometimes I don't quite feel a Finn even though I was born here and the Finnish language is my strongest language. (.) It's usually I think one of the reasons, one of the assumptions that I believe that even though, even after this I can never feel to be really a Finn. It's because of these kinds of incidents [...] in Finnish society that kind of rejects every single different person that lives in Finland. [...] People who don't look white.* (Male, 23, Somalia-Finland)

## **5.5. Different Groups and Experiences of Profiling**

Different minority groups experience ethnic profiling differently because they are often profiled under different categorisations of inhumanity and incivility. The study indicates that the Roma in Finland for example, experience ethnic profiling under a different guise than do black minorities in Finland. What unites the profiling experiences of different racialised groups in Finland is that they are being treated as “others” by authorities and security personnel.

### **Intersectionality of Race/Ethnicity, Gender, Class and Age**

In conclusion of the previous analysis, we can state that ethnic profiling largely targets young men who belong to racialised minorities. Police stops and identity checks, as well as the actions of security guards, often focus on young men.



However, this does not mean that women, older persons or even children are not subjected to ethnic profiling. It may occur less frequently and in different places, but is nevertheless part of their lives too.

If we look at the different spaces in which ethnic profiling takes place, the picture becomes more nuanced. Young racialised men are commonly stopped in the streets, outdoor city spaces and traffic hubs. Experiences of being profiled on the basis of ethnicity or race when visiting shops or sitting in the car do not seem to have such a clear division in regards to gender and age. Racialised minority women and men, both young and old, are likewise followed and stopped in shops, and at least the Finnish Roma report police stops to cars where women and children are present. Airports and harbours are places that often feature in the profiling stories of men of different age groups. Nevertheless, women and children are also controlled by the border guards, security personnel and the police in these places. Restaurants and nightclubs appear as places where especially young racialised minority men face problems, but the experiences of the Roma show that discriminatory stoppings likewise target women and children.

Young non-white men are often racialised as security threats (e.g. Keskinen 2011, 2013), which can lead to preventive measures directed towards this group in a disproportionate manner. The stories of our informants, as well as previous literature (e.g. Hydén and Lundberg 2004; Mulinari 2017), indicate that police profiling can also be related to situational and personal characteristics, such as time and place, style of clothing or hairdos, which increase the risk of being subjected to ethnic profiling. Race or ethnicity direct the interest of the police in the first place, but may intersect with observations of the personal characteristics and situational elements.

Immigration controls target especially non-white persons whom the police and border guards expect to be “foreigners”. It is, however, evident that these actions target a large number of people who have a legal right to reside in Finland, who are Finnish citizens, or who have not migrated at all during their lifetime – because they do not match the problematic idea of Finns “as white people”.

The role of class for ethnic profiling practices was not easy to detect. Racialised minority persons with different class backgrounds told about being stopped by the police or security personnel. It may be that in streets, parks and public transport young non-white men who were expected to be of working-class background were more easily targeted by the police and security guards, as they were suspected of crimes or being undocumented migrants. The Bulgarian and Romanian informants certainly were targeted not only on basis of their ethnicity and nationality, but also their perceived poverty and the associated threat of criminality. Other studies indicate that certain kinds of cars and especially old cars may be of special interest to police traffic stops (e.g. Hydén and Lundberg 2004, 169–171; Kainulainen 2009, 300–301), which could hint on the role of (working-) class. Highly educated, middle-class persons however, also reported stops at the airport and harbour or while driving a car, being followed in shops and being stopped from entering restaurants due to their ethnic or racial markers. Sometimes remarks on style, such as clothing connected to hip hop or reggae, were mentioned in a way that may have included traits of working-class image, but it is likely that the racialised markers were the main focus of the police or security guards in these incidents as well.

The Finnish Roma also have considerable experiences of ethnic profiling – by the police, security guards, salespersons and bouncers. Despite the gradual development in their housing and educational conditions, the stigma of criminality and the multiple forms of racism that the Roma encounter seem to be more enduring. The situation of the Roma who have come to Finland from Romania and Bulgaria is even more vulnerable and due to some specificities in their experiences of ethnic profiling, we discuss this group at length in the following sub-chapter.

### **The Romanian and Bulgarian Migrants**

The Romanian and Bulgarian interviewees, many of them identifying as Roma, faced frequent police stops, apprehensions, evictions from their sleeping places, and removals from certain spaces such as train stations and shopping centres by security guards. We have discussed earlier their experiences of the security guards. In the following, we discuss their stories of the enforcement of the ban on camping in Helsinki and the apprehensions by the police.

All of the interviewed persons mentioned that they had some interaction with the police and almost all had been stopped by the police and asked for identity documents. Besides issues of employment and income, the biggest worry for the families was the possibility of finding a safe place to stay for the night. The problems they listed were cold, damp, unsafe and unhygienic conditions; they were also afraid of being attacked by other homeless persons or native drug users.

Most of the participants reported evictions from tents, from cars and from abandoned houses or simply being woken up and told to move when sleeping at a park. A Romanian couple, who had come to Finland several times to provide money for the education of their children, used to stay with other families in an abandoned building. The husband told about an eviction:

*Two big massive policemen told us that we have five minutes to go. It happened about two o'clock at night. I remember it was the period when we picked up flowers, so we took the flowers, all our belongings and just got out. Then they threw something [into the building]. I think it was a gas bomb or something like that. I remember that after this event, we had to sleep in this smell for a long time. Even now, I can still smell it. (Male, in his 40s, Romanian Roma)*

A common theme in the accounts concerning the evictions, was a certain kind of game that the interviewees were forced to play with the police: people were evicted but would return to the same place later, often during the same night. One informant told that the police forced them to dispose their tent to a garbage bin, but that they had collected the tent afterwards.

Police stops also led to apprehensions. Many of the participants had been detained for periods from a few hours to 24 hours. One of the main problems for the participants was the lack of translation, and is also evident in the following account:

*I was begging in Pasila and then this one police car came [...]. And they stopped the car and they took me inside of the car without explaining why*

*they took me. They said to me that I am a criminal. But then I said “I didn’t take anything. I am not a criminal.” Then they said “Fuck you. You are a criminal.” Then they took me to Pasila police. [...] after about two, three hours of staying in the cell one policeman came and with some papers. He asked me to sign the papers. [...] I didn’t sign them. I refused to do that. In the next day, between ten to eleven o’clock a translator came. Then, I asked about the papers, because I wanted to know what it was inside the papers and the translator translated everything that was written. The translator translated to me that I have stolen big rings and thirty euros from an old lady. Then the translator asks me “That’s why you refused to sign?” I answered “No just because I didn’t [know] what is in the papers. That’s why I haven’t.” Then the translator told me it’s very good you haven’t signed. (Female, in her 20s, Romanian Roma)*

The reason for this detention was a suspicion of a crime, but during the interrogation the police revoked the accusation because she did not wear or possess similar clothes to the suspect. The problem with the lack of translation was common: often no translation was provided before the informants had been detained overnight, thus they were unaware of the reasons of the apprehension, or their rights as a detained person. The account of the use of hostile language by the police was not common, and there were several accounts of improper language being used by the security guards. The interviewees also told about detentions in which the reason for the apprehension was not made clear to them at all in a language they could understand.

However, most of the interviewees were of the opinion that the behaviour of the security guards was a bigger problem for them than the police. The most common context of interaction with security guards was in the control of the use of some space or certain facilities of these spaces such as toilets or electricity. A constant theme in the interviews was also the threat of violence by the security guards.

## **6. The Police Perspective**

### **6.1. Police Practices in the Control of Foreign Nationals**

The main motivation of the internal immigration controls conducted by the police is detecting those foreigners who do not have a legal right to stay in Finland. Immigration control is not a police investigation, and can be conducted without a suspicion of crime: it is defined as supervisory policing and is legally based on the Alien’s Act. Most of the police officers who were interviewed mentioned two main ways of conducting control of foreign nationals. According to an experienced police officer, immigration checks can occur as (1) a part of other police work such as public order policing or traffic controls or (2) as pre-planned “thematic controls”:

*[...] the premise [is] that [...] immigration control is performed [...] as part of basic police operations, i.e. when a foreigner is encountered during a police action [...]. While the person’s ID is being checked in connection with the police action, the conditions of his residence may also be checked. [...] And then the other way in which the police carry out immigration control*

*under the Aliens Act, this is like a theme control type [...]. A preliminary analysis is performed on some area, tips have been received about. For example, persons illegally in the country or human smugglers may be in the area or persons illegally in the country may be victims. So we perform this kind of a preliminary analysis and then target surveillance specifically on that area. (Female, in her 40s, police officer)*

The actual planning of the thematic operations is the responsibility of different police districts, but the National Police Board provides timetables when immigration controls should be carried out, usually for a week or two weeks at a time, and once or twice a year. The interviewees described these “thematic control operations” in different ways. Most informants mentioned operations that target restaurants, in which case the focus was on the legality of residence and the work of restaurant personnel. Another frequently mentioned example was traffic controls, which combined controls of truck traffic and control of foreign nationals. In the quotation above, the officer referred to a certain place as a “theme” for police action. This should be understood so that the “theme” is immigration control and sometimes the police departments organise the immigration checks in certain places such as railway stations or other traffic hotspots. The exact analysis that is the basis of these operations is not necessarily transparent to the public or the police officers conducting the work. One policeman said that the practice is to target places where a lot of people are traveling:

*Q1: In what kinds of places is monitoring carried out?*

*A: There were raids last spring, and I participated in them myself. They were carried out in collaboration between the Helsinki, Espoo and Vantaa police departments. Everyone thinks that if we want results, things happen in Helsinki. But in practice, the formal raids were done, for example, in Tikkurila, Myyrmäki, Espoo centre, and Leppävaara. Mainly in public transportation stations, shopping centres and such places. Otherwise, the raids took place in Helsinki city centre, the railway station, the Kamppi centre, and the Kaisaniemi park in the summer. In places with a lot of people. (Male, in his 30s, police officer)*

These kinds of operations usually lead to public discussions in the press. Additionally, during the time period that the National Police Board has issued, the patrol units of different departments are also expected to autonomously conduct controls during the work time when they do not have any other urgent tasks.

Moreover, police units specialising in immigration, public order policing, and community policing also carry out controls of foreign nationals as separate policing acts outside the “thematic weeks”. It depends on the department which unit or group is responsible for the control of foreign nationals. For example, at the time when the data was collected, two groups were responsible for such tasks in Helsinki: officers from the immigration unit and a special group of the public order police, which is mostly freed from normal emergency service and specialises in control and supervision activities. The following interviewee described the division of work:

*[Immigration control operations] are usually led by the immigration police or preventive groups. The uniformed patrol police will also be there, but I don't even remember the last time I've been part of that. Here in Helsinki*

*[...] we have a constantly rotating system that [...] focuses on order and safety, but we gather patrols into them from on-site teams and they are removed from (-) the runs. They always do like (-) ... They do all kinds of monitoring. So, for example, the kind of immigration [coughs] that you mean, we often take the patrols from that group. (Male, in his 40s, police officer)*

However, in no police department was there a special unit of which the sole purpose would be to conduct control of foreign nationals.

Every police officer who participated in the study, was aware that ethnic profiling is illegal. However, the concrete explanations concerning the way the targets of control were chosen varied, as did the opinions about whether the police were using ethnic profiling when they selected persons to be checked. For example, a police officer, with expertise on immigration policing, presented two strategies as examples of how the targets were chosen when control occurred in a specific place:

*Well, that time, for example, we went to the harbour and checked the entry conditions. At the harbour, we stopped many Finns in the same way by random sampling, and of course many Estonians were there as well. Not so many people of other nationalities came ashore from those Tallinn ships. At the time when we were monitoring immigrants, for example, at the railway station, a great number of asylum seekers had just arrived there. So we looked at their conditions for residence, because people who had not applied for asylum or registered were also among them. So we caught some people who had applied for asylum from some Southern European country already years ago and stayed in Europe for years. But during the great migration they were able to travel through Europe quite easily, and these kinds of people came over in large numbers. [...] So we carried out many checks on people who we assumed might belong to this group. Most of them, of course, had the card from the reception centre, and they had officially registered here as asylum seekers. (Female, in her 30s, police officer)*

Police action should not be “random” in the sense that it would have no legal basis. The police could, in principle, conduct checks randomly in order to avoid direct discrimination, although the law itself does not suggest this direction but states that the controls should be based on knowledge and observation. However, none of the interviewees gave an example of a process of real randomness. Neither did the informants who were in a leadership position in their organisations ever state that randomising the checks would be the method that their organisation used in order to ensure that discrimination does not occur. It is also clear that the status of a foreigner such as an asylum seeker, does not solve the issue of selection, as the status can be determined only during the check and not beforehand.

Other officers highlighted the role of experience and know-how of the police in selecting the targets. The following interviewee discussed an immigration raid that the Helsinki Police Department had conducted in the city centre and emphasised the intuition of the police officers who have long-term experience of working in the profession:

*It is bit difficult, well really difficult to explain it. Let's say that every police officer [...] has analytical skills brought by experience and is a professional.*

*If we go and do immigration controls [...] we do all the time these analyses. [...] at the railway station [...] we talk with people [...]. Some people speak Finnish, someone English. We can't be sure who is Finnish citizen and who is not. When we are talking with people, and also in this kind of situations, suddenly police might get an intuition there; it is a professional skill. And there can be a person whose legality of residence might need some investigation. It is just that something like this happens, it is extremely difficult to explain. [...]* (Male, in his 50s, police officer)

Two issues arise from this logic. Firstly, the Finnish Alien's Act – unlike the Swedish legislation – does not include any criteria of reasonable suspicion. This means that the police do not need to give more specific grounds for the check than “intuition” or “professional skill”. Secondly, as in the quotation above, the police tend to mix the search of foreigners in general with the search of undocumented migrants. The law states that the police should have knowledge concerning illegal immigration and some hints or observations in order to conduct a check, but in the end anyone who the police suspects as being a foreigner can be controlled according to the law.

Even in other countries, such as Sweden where the law is stricter, researchers have pointed out that different kinds of profiling are a common part of police work and a “fingertip feeling” or “gut feeling” in many ways guides police actions (Hydén and Lundberg 2004, 176–179). Decisions and actions that are difficult to verbalise are understood as tacit knowledge – knowledge developed during years of work, the nature of which is embodied and sensorial rather than about conscious rules. Such embodied knowledge may, indeed, help the police to conduct their everyday work and react rapidly in sudden situations but it may also be based on racial stereotypes and provide grounds for discriminatory behaviour.

Some interviewees, with personal experience of conducting controls, told that a combination of language skills and the person's external appearance affected the choice of who was controlled:

*So, the typical situation is that we go towards a group of people who are sitting and ask how are you, and if they don't answer in Finnish, it is likely that we have found a foreigner. This is the typical way [to do controls of foreign nationals]. I can't deny that external appearance would not be the principal reason in choosing who we approach.* (Male, in his 30s, police officer)

Language is not mentioned as a basis for discrimination in the Alien's Act but it is mentioned in the Non-Discrimination Act (8 §). Moreover, even if the police approaching and speaking to a person would not in itself constitute a police action in a legal sense, it is very likely that choosing the preliminary targets based on their appearance leads to ethnic profiling and discrimination, as people who do not fit the profile are not targeted at all.

Some officers mentioned that restaurant checks are conducted as part of other control operations, concerning for example, alcohol licensing. They also mentioned that what they called “ethnic restaurants” were targeted:

*And then when we're working on some theme, we prepare for it very carefully, i.e. we greatly analyse the information that we receive. We monitor these targets, perhaps well some ethnic restaurants, in a certain way. So we know that according to the registry, the place has, for example, two or three legal employees, but that there may be six or seven foreigners on the staff. Then we of course analyse if they are in the country illegally or if they have grounds for staying in the country. If we come to the conclusion that we must erm review the situation, we will conduct a spot check on the restaurant. (Male, in his 50s, police, chief officer)*

It should be noted that current legislation makes it possible for the police to conduct immigration raids to any restaurant on the basis that it employs foreign workers – the police does not necessarily need to have any other suspicion than that the workers might be, for example, working illegally. Again, the weakness in the legal framework can attribute to discriminatory practices, as the law does not require concrete suspicion in order for an immigration raid at the workplace to be carried out.

According to the Finnish Alien's Act, a foreigner has to prove his/her identity and their right to stay in Finland when the police ask about it. However, there is no legal requirement for a foreigner or for a citizen to carry an identification document with him/her all the time. The interviewed police officers gave varying descriptions on how they dealt with situations where the controlled person did not have her/his papers with her/him. The interviews made clear that the police have very wide discretion in these cases:

*Q: What do you do in situations in which the person does not have his ID with him?*

*A: Then [the measure is decided] on a case-by-case basis, if they cannot show us anything like that. Either they can tell us a believable story or, if I remember correctly, one person said that he has his library card with him. And we said that, well if you have a library card, you probably reside here pretty permanently. At least that time we went to someone's home together to see if the documents were there. And in practice and... even though we sort of told the young policemen that we were just going to see if the ID was there... So in practice, we conducted a home search. To find proof that the person is allowed to stay in the country. (.) But we often had to consider cases individually. If a person's stories or other referential matters revealed that he (,) resides in the country legally, then that was enough. Usually we trusted him. (Male, in his 30s, police officer)*

As the citation above indicates, sometimes a library card can be enough evidence that the stopped person had the right to reside legally in the country, but at other times, racialised minority persons were subjected to a house search. Wide discretion can result in flexibility and reasonable decisions, but can also lead to intense scrutiny and arbitrariness. This is in line with what the interviews with those who were subjected to ethnic profiling indicated.

The main strategies of the police to control whether the person was residing legally in the country included: checking the person's identity and information from police databases, searching for more evidence of the legality of the residence, asking the person to come to the police department with documents, and conducting a home

search. A home search would need a decision from a high ranking police officer in order to be legal.

The police also discussed the problems of ethnic profiling and, as the following citation shows, the idea of a “Finnish-looking person” could be tightly interwoven with notions of whiteness. The following informant was aware of the problematic nature of this connection, but instead of denying it, chose to make it explicit. This kind of openness provides possibilities for critical reflection and change of practices.

*If, for example, we are carrying out immigration control, the fact is that (,) we both probably understand (,) what is meant when we say a man looks Finnish, Swedish or Norwegian, for example. So we probably think that you are white person. When one is thinking quickly. So when thinking about it like this, certainly fewer white people, for example, than dark-skinned people are checked in immigration control. I think that is pretty obvious. (Male, in his 30s, police officer)*

To conclude, it can be stated that all interviewees were aware that the control of foreign nationals cannot be based on suspicions of ethnic background. The majority of the interviewees were of the opinion that the police do not conduct ethnic profiling, and that the suspects are chosen on basis of some analysed information, randomly, by status or professional experience, or other legitimate reason. However, some informants said that controls are done on the basis of language or the way persons look, or by a combination of both. Several also thought that the current instructions were not clear enough.

## **6.2. Supervision, Accountability, and Efficiency in Immigration Controls by the Police**

According to the National Police Board, most police departments have organised internal training on control of foreign nationals and prohibition of ethnic profiling (Pol 2017, 5). The police leadership of the department supervises the control of foreign nationals and the ban of ethnic profiling during the work (ibid., 5). Many police officers in senior or leadership positions highlighted in the interviews that the police have clear instructions on how to conduct the control of foreign nationals. Participants gave varying descriptions on what kind of instructions the police leadership gave before an operation. One police officer told that during field training, approximately nine years ago, the instruction had been simply to ask identity documents from a person who looked like a foreigner or did not look like a “native Finn”. According to the current legislation, this formulation would mean an order to conduct ethnic profiling.

*A: The actions were erm really straightforward. Maybe also because it was like (,) this kind of an exercise aimed at young policemen, who are still practically trainees. So at the same time it was for the control purposes, but it was also like training. And at first the legislative side was reviewed, but only very superficially. It only dealt with the residency conditions and what the role of the police is, if the conditions are not fulfilled. And then the*



*practical side (,) ... we went to a shopping centre, Itäkeskus if I remember correctly, and (,) began to ask people for their residency documents.*

*Q: How did you select people for checking?*

*A: That was a pretty straightforward action then as well. Erm they told us that if someone looks like a foreigner, ask them if they're a foreigner or a citizen of Finland.*

*Q: Did you also the check the ID's of people who said they were Finnish citizens?*

*A: Well that too... We did that on a case-by-case basis. If we received an answer in fluent Finnish, we usually wished them a good day. Then if the person (,) replied in very bad English or some other language, we kept on asking for the ID. But the actions were (,) really simplistic... they didn't like (,) really tell us why the place was chosen, just that this was it. They just said that if someone does not look like a native Finn, go and ask them for their ID. (Male, in his 30s, police officer)*

One police officer, who had more recent experiences of conducting immigration controls, stated that the instructions included a ban of ethnic profiling. However, these instructions were given in a manner that gave the impression that in practice, the ban did not matter.

*Q1: So how do you select people for checking?*

*A: So at the time this was also... I remember this being a main topic at the time, that ethnic profiling is forbidden. But let's say that it can be said a little jokingly in that certain tone of voice. (,) In principle (,) the official guidelines that they announce out loud... they say we are just going to talk to people.*

*Q2: What about when you said that people somehow... that it's like people are joking that we can't use ethnic profiling when it's a topic that is just being discussed. Or?*

*A: It's kind of (,) a little bit like... don't do it, you will do it anyway, but don't admit you are doing it. Like of course not (P) in our company... The higher people are promoted, the more careful they are with their words. We haven't had any high-level policies... like these word choices... and we don't say that out loud either, but it's said in such a way that the listener understands that you will do it anyway.*

*Q1: Have you had any related training?*

*A: No, not really directly. Well, for example, at the beginning of a raid such as this, we hold a briefing and may review, for example, what is meant by ethnic profiling and what you should not do. (Male, in his 30s, police officer)*

What the informant seems to be talking about is a kind of “double-standard”: it is recognised that ethnic profiling is illegal, but the common-sense understanding is that it will occur anyway, and should thus be disguised. It may be that the understanding of the authorities here is that a “Finnish-looking person” is white and therefore questioning non-white persons would be a way to locate foreigners (see the discussion in chapter five). This is a misjudgment on the basis of a racialised understanding of the national identity, which some other interviewed police officers also mentioned. It should be noted that if the superior officers do not take the ban of ethnic profiling seriously and provide clear rules of how to conduct the checks (and how not to), this leaves the floor open to individual officers who may conduct checks in a discriminatory manner while claiming to follow the official rules.

An important part of the accountability of police actions is that there are reliable and public statistics available about policing (e.g. FRA 2010, 54–57). In the UK, the practices of the use of stop and search powers are recorded together with information about the ethnic and racial background of those stopped. This enables a follow up on who are stopped and the possible disproportionality of minorities in the stoppings. However, in Finland, statistics based on self-reported ethnicity are not collected. Therefore, similar information on the stop and search practices are not available. Police officers should, however, register immigration checks to an electronic database called *Häke*, in which all police measures are registered.

*Q: What about those checks regarding residency rights, are they recorded in a police database?*

*A: Mmmm. (.) Yeah, normally. If we have an immigration control task, for example. A task. Then erm I enter the person's information in there. It's just like any other police task, and the performance and what the task is are recorded. And erm it's like a (.) number-based performance, and of course we have written-out explanations for them. And the written-out explanation in this case is uh... the conditions for residency rights have been checked, no action taken. So when I carry out a check on a person or perhaps three persons, the recorded performance is: the conditions for residency have been checked, no action taken, three copies. (Male, in his 50s, police officer)*

Nevertheless, several police officers who had personal experience in the control of foreign nationals indicated that not all cases where the identity documents were checked were registered. Many of the stops in which the racialised minority persons were found to be legally in the country did not become registered at all.

*[...]Usually [...] the police run into second and third generation immigrants while doing their tasks. The immigrants are starting to be at that age when the police readily start talking to them and [begin] to ask questions. And then when they pull out a Finnish driver's licence or something else from their pocket, it's not [recorded]. So even though the purpose was to check the nationality of the person based on advance profiling, that this took place will not show in the statistics in any way. Then we just conclude that, yes, that was a Finn. (Male, in his 30s, police officer)*

One police officer also highlighted that there is no specific title for the control of foreign nationals in the database, but records of the control are always attached to the code of another police action, such as public order policing or traffic controls. No statistics are created from the resulting records or provided for either the public or internal use by the police. The record does not include information about the nationality of the person who is stopped; nor does it necessarily tell why a particular person was selected for control. If the check leads to another action such as detention or a fine, records are created. From these records statistics are produced, but they are not published for the general public.

When the police organises thematic controls, checks are recorded in a more thorough way. When asked whether it would be useful to make this stricter recording a standard procedure when conducting immigration controls, some interviewed officers were sceptical:

*It [immigration control] is a police task that should be recorded. And reporting is always done especially in these theme controls – what has been monitored and how many people and what has been found etc. And likewise when these spot checks are conducted, the same thing is done. But the fact you meet a foreigner while doing some individual task, and then um it comes in connection with the other police task, well that is not written down in some book. It is just noted there alongside the task, and we say that okay everything is fine and that's it. And I don't see how we would benefit from statistics that say that things are okay. Let's say that we have monitored eight thousand people or carried out checks on them and concluded that ninety-nine percent are fine, so it doesn't really benefit us in any way. Since we know that we have a certain amount of people who are in the country illegally anyway. Those are the ones that we are trying to catch. We are not really interested at all in the activities of normal (,) foreigners. (Male, in his 50s, police, chief officer)*

As the previous citation shows, the police officers are not always aware of the harm that misdirected stops may cause for racialised minorities or the police-minority relations.

Another issue concerning the transparency of the checks and the recording of the acts is that persons who are controlled are not necessarily aware whether their residence status is checked or not. According to the police law (PoL 2011, 7 §), a police officer has to inform a person who is subjected to a policing measure that affects his/her personal liberty of the grounds of this measure. However, in regards to other measures, an individual only has the right to know the reasons of the measure and may not be aware of the addition of an ID check. One experienced police officer described the resulting practice in the context of the control of foreign nationals:

*Our starting point has really been that we carry out [immigration control] in connection with other police activities. And then the monitoring is really not very easy to carry out. It's completely clear that I've told those police officers there (,) that, for example, in connection with other police activities when you are carrying out a check on a person... Then you don't necessarily (,) I mean really, you don't necessarily have to justify anything. Like I said, you can check the person's conditions for residency invisibly, and they won't even know it. But like I said, I usually try to say that I checked that your residence permit is valid and so forth. (Male, in his 50s, police officer)*

The officer mentioned that, on the one hand, the possibility not to inform about the procedure made it less controversial, as the person would not feel discriminated since he/she would not know about the control act. On the other hand, as he himself states, this practice is problematic, although not strictly illegal. These kinds of hidden checks and the “double-standard” discussed earlier may lead to police practices that appear to be more problem-free and non-discriminatory on the surface than what a more thorough analysis shows. It would therefore be important for the police to recognise the problems and seek ways to tackle them.

According to the Helsinki Police Department, only one out of hundred checks leads to actual police measures (HPL 2016, 19). During Spring 2016, the police informs having controlled 1076 persons in four operations conducted in the Helsinki city

centre, metro stations and shopping centres (ibid., 20). These actions resulted in finding ten persons who did not have the right to stay in the country and were thus detained on the bases of the immigration law. Furthermore, the report states that the police discussed with persons without asking their ID documents. This means that these encounters were not registered, so the number of all persons the police approached and questioned during these days is not known (ibid., 17). The efficiency of such actions is questionable: while a lot of police resources are put to into the street and traffic hub actions, the results seem very meagre (cf. Hydén and Lundberg 2004).

In the interviews, most informants did not cite any numbers when asked about the efficiency and reasonability of the immigration controls. However, one officer estimated that the hit rate would be one in thirty:

*Q1: How many people who do not have the right to reside in the country are caught in those raids?*

*A: Well, since they come into my territory fairly easily, I may have a distorted image of it. So really on the whole in Helsinki, we come across quite a few of them daily, year-round. So what the impact of a raid such as this is... let's say that (,) if we question 300 people in total, then there is something ambiguous about 10 of them. Of course, there are people who need to be investigated. For example, these Western Africans, a significant number of them are in Finland with like Italian or Spanish documents, whereupon there is no information on them in the Finnish register. It's like... if they don't have the said documents with them, then from a police perspective they are here illegally until they have found the documents somewhere. So some action has to be taken against them. (Male, in his 30s, police officer)*

According to the National Police board, in 2016 the police made 1704 investigations concerning the individual's right to stay in all of Finland. Only 191 of these investigations were initiated because of the controls of foreign nationals conducted by the police. The rest were the result of, for example, requests from the Migration service (494 persons) or because of another investigation by the police (169 persons). The quotation above also indicates that not all of these investigations mean that a person is illegally in the country. Part of the investigations are done because the person did not have any documents with her/him and the police could not find the person in the databases. Overall these statistics indicate that *the control of foreigners has very limited effect on the immigration law enforcement*. An overwhelming majority of the cases of irregular immigration that the police investigate are not detected in targeted controls in the streets and other public places but in other official encounters.

The police argue that the hit rate of one in hundred is better than in traffic controls aimed to prevent drunk driving, as only one in seven hundred is found to drive under the influence of substances (HPL 2016, 20). However, concerning the complicated nature of undocumented migration, it is very unlikely that these kind of controls can work as a real deterrent. In the interviews, the police officers were not very eager to discuss the efficiency of the actions but often turned the discussion to the threats that immigration was seen to cause. When asked about the efficiency of the control acts, a theme raised by the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman, one informant answered:

*[...] There was talk about it, it was called into question, but. Okay, it is, however, our legitimate task. [...] I could compare it to (,) ... [although] it's a completely different thing, but to traffic control with the checkpoints to catch drunk drivers. So they have two hundred drivers blow in the alcohol meter, and they might not catch anyone. But we keep on doing it. (,) Do you think the work is wasted? Not necessarily. We may infer that erm either we are in the wrong place at the wrong time or the situation is good. And we have to do it in immigration control. Is it unnecessary? I don't know. We can draw conclusions from it. Perhaps. Is it a good situation, if we have been in the right place at the right time. The situation may be good. One may get the impression that the situation is good. But it presents a challenge. Like (,) last autumn, for example, with regard to these asylum seekers. It was a good example of how we don't usually... We have received three and a half thousand asylum seekers annually, and suddenly we received ten times as many, which like no one believed. There are different phenomena, and situations change very quickly. Like suddenly, if some European criminal group... there are groups moving around all the time. If Finland were to become a good destination for them. Then the situation can change in one night. And then these different... It's good that we carry out these different kinds of checks. (Male, in his 50s, police officer)*

Both the previously cited experienced police officer and the report of the Helsinki Police Department (HPL 2016) discussed immigration control as a question of crime prevention. This kind of criminalisation of immigration and focus on prevention of crimes not yet committed, the risk of which is hard to evaluate, follows the logic of the securitisation of migration, identified in politics and policies across Europe (e.g. Bigo 2002; Walters 2004). It legitimates security actions and the increasing scrutiny of migrants and racialised minorities.

Although many interviewees mentioned that the controls of foreign nationals were enhanced during Fall 2015, most did not argue that there would be a tangible need to increase controls in future. However, some participants noted that the situation could change when more asylum seekers would become undocumented. The discussion of threat and the criminalisation of migration were visible in this argumentation as well.

*Well, right now we have our eyes open and are talking about potential terrorist attacks. Like we read in the Ilta-Sanomat tabloid that people are increasingly told to be alert. As if it were somehow possible to be a hundred percent alert all the time. But right now with regard to this matter... as there are already many people completely without papers and there will probably be many more in the future... the worry is that people will remain underground here. And I don't think there is anything in the guidelines with regard to the matter, that our field groups would be used. So the situation is that (-) even though there are probably many more people without papers than before, the situation remains the same, and the field groups don't carry out immigration control in practice. I don't think that the situation in other groups is different from our group. But I could be wrong. (Male, in his 40s, police officer)*

Such argumentation strengthens the impression that the police control of foreign nationals is not based on specified strategies and analytical knowledge, but rests

on general level goals that bear a risk of targeting persons on the basis of their ethnic or racial minority position. Indirectly, such logic can support the racialised search for “non-Finnish looking persons” especially in cases where the legal supervision by the high ranking police or senior officers is insufficient, and in practice, allows ethnic profiling.

In regards to accountability, there were several weaknesses in the registering of the control of foreign nationals. First, several participants said that not all control actions are registered in the first place. Second, the statistics are not used in control of the police work and are not publicly available. Third, it is not possible to find information about the nationality and the reasons for the stop of a particular person in the registers.

### 6.3. Other Forms of Police Stops

There can be several reasons why a police officer approaches and questions a person, such as traffic control, public order problems or crime related suspicion. The police should always have a real reason and corresponding jurisdiction to any policing measure, for example, when checking someone’s identity or searching her/his belongings. As the previous chapters show, many members of racialised minorities felt that they had been unfoundedly singled out in crime or traffic control related stops. When discussing these issues with the police, most participants did not see discrimination as an issue when searching for suspects. However, several police participants admitted that ethnic stereotyping can form a part of the rationality behind stopping people and pointed out that the police have wide discretion when stopping cars.

*[...] So merely seeing a young Roma man drive a car... But of course the time and place where the driving takes place, for example, have an effect on the police officer’s decision. But one key issue that is apparent is that it is more than typical, or actually quite common, that the car the Roma person is driving has not been transferred under his own name. And then ambiguities arise when you enter the license plate in our machine. It says that no transfer notice has been made. So erm it gives us the license plate information and says the car has been sold somewhere. But it only shows the previous owner’s information, which is always a problem for us, of course. So I’m just really annoyed that they can’t personally take care of it, and it makes our job more difficult. And in certain situations, if some guys have the intention of committing crimes, it makes sense not to transfer the car under your own name. Because then you can’t tell who is driving the car just by checking the license plate. That is one clear reason why so many Roma people are stopped. Another reason is probably that – simply right or wrong – when you stop a Roma guy and ask him for his ID, there is a search warrant out for many of them. Or he is drunk or really many young Roma guys are driving without a driver’s license. So here... so there is a similar conflict here between the work experience accumulated by the police officer and a kind of discrimination... So with regard to the conflict, how do you approach that kind of a situation. Or at least I’m thinking a little bit that (,) are citizens being run over by a police car. [laughs] So I have conversation in my head about it daily here at work. (Male, in his 40s, police officer)*

In the above quotation, the police officer states three alleged reasons why the Roma may be stopped by the police often: because they drive cars that are owned by a person other than the driver; because many have warrants; or because of the frequency of traffic violations. It is evident that the first case would not raise any suspicion of criminal activity in the first place or would not be noticed by the police if the driver were not Roma. Other officers gave similar responses and cited examples of Roma behaviour in traffic as possible explanations of the frequency of their stops.

*No one says anything about it to anyone. That's just the way it goes. Then about the ethnic profiling, say at some traffic stop... how should I put it. Personally I would say that the profiling that every police officer does in their head is a very important tool, even though it might not be acceptable. But it is an extremely important tool. So without it, the profiling would be a kind of lottery, like eeny meenie, let's stop that car and do that. That kind of monitoring is not so efficient. Based on experience, if you stop a car driven by a Roma person, the likelihood is greater that defects have been found in roadworthiness tests and the condition of the car, and the person has problems with their driver's license and other things. The police officers learn it, and they also have performance targets. You must issue a hundred tickets every year, for example. (Male, in his 40s, police officer)*

This type of reasoning can be described, following Robert Reiner (2010, 170), as statistical discrimination, in which a group is stereotyped as more criminal than another along racial lines without proper basis or with merely anecdotal foundation. This kind of reasoning can lead the police to conduct traffic stops more easily on Roma drivers, although not having a conscious aim to discriminate. It should be noted, however, that the interviewed police officers were aware that this kind of generalisations and acting on basis of them are problematic from the point of view of equal treatment.

It is also possible, that the current legal framework contributes to stopping of vehicles driven by racialised minority persons such as the Roma. As the interviewees themselves stated, the police have wide discretionary powers to decide when to stop a car:

*Q: On what grounds are the cars stopped?*

*A: Well, in Finland you don't really need a specific reason to stop (,) a car. The police have extensive powers to stop a car. If the car is moving, then in practice, many things can be referred to. The driving capacities of the driver, for example. In practice (,) you can stop a moving car almost anywhere and inspect it. Specifically the condition of car... a technical inspection and a technical roadside inspection are possible. It can be a visible inspection or a more detailed inspection. Documents, i.e. when you are driving a car, the threshold is much lower than when you are walking on the street, for example. If you are walking on the street, strong grounds for jurisdiction are required to [stop] you. So in practice there has to be another reason for the stop, as just checking the ID is not sufficient grounds for stopping anyone. It has to be some other reason, a criminal disturbance, a crime or something else. When in traffic, it is enough if the car is moving. Of course, a real reason is needed. You cannot check a car just for the sake of checking it, but (,) you should again apply the principle of proportionality*

– is it worth stopping the car for no reason. Usually there is a reason. He has made a driving error, which usually means driving in an uncertain manner, if we are talking about traffic, for example. But then of course if we go to the checkpoint... then we'll stop everyone on a stretch of road and have them blow in the alcohol meter, or we check the seat belts or whatever. (Male, in his 30s, police officer)

Many officers pointed out that in Finland police has wide powers to stop a car. In principle, there should always be a reason for a policing measure. However, because there are several measures and the grounds for the stop and check of the car and the vehicle can vary, in practice, the police can stop any car they wish to.

#### 6.4. Racism and Stereotyping in the Police Force

Most participants did not consider the police force as a site of institutional racism or think that police officers would be more racist than citizens in general. However, many officers admitted or hinted on the fact that racialising language was commonly used among the police during coffee breaks, in patrol cars and in descriptions of suspects. There were, however, conflicting views on how this kind of speech affected the actions of the police patrols. Some argued that the police organisation was not racist, but individual police officers could be. The organisation could be thought of as non-racist, since the officers with racist views did not let this affect the quality of their work:

*[...] I would bet that part of the rhetoric that is yelled out in cafes is just many insecure colleagues thinking that this is the way things should be talked about here. Then when you sit in the patrol car with just your partner (,) he is much more contemplative. Or that you can talk to them (,) in a sensible manner (,) and they don't necessarily see everything in black and white... things are not so hectic. But that is really normal when you are having a conversation. (Male, in his 40s, police officer)*

While the belief in the police work was strong, some interviewees noted that racist attitudes could have an effect on some officers' behaviour.

*A: Well, in a way the fact that the organisation is hardly racist (,) but there are probably more racist policemen than people would believe. The way it shows or then (,) you sort of see things that (,) show that the actual opinions about foreigners are totally horrible (,) but things are still handled properly when out on a call – those kinds of people are around as well. (,) It's really hard to make any big generalisations based on my own experiences. about what is...*

*Q1: Have you ever been in a situation in which a colleague has acted inappropriately or in a racist manner?*

*A: Hmmm (,) yes, I would say that I can think of a few such occasions. (,) Or that it may have had an effect on your preliminary approach to the situation and hence also the final result. For example (,) if we go investigate a fight and the other party is a foreigner (,) the Finn is more likely to be believed. (Male, in his 30s, police officer)*



Most of the interviewees said that police are impartial and neutral – irrespective of personal opinions. A high ranking police officer, who believed that there were several racists officers in the police force, trusted that the police do not do wrong things because the high ranking police officers do not want this kind of trouble. Some stated that racist attitudes can affect the way officers behave, especially in situations in which there is a lot of discretion, such as when deciding if a drunk person should be taken to custody or not.

Those officers who reported that racist language was commonly used in the force did not usually question it openly and said that other police officers did not question it either. They told that usually nobody intervened when other police officers were using the n-word or other derogatory phrases like “Tims of the night”. There were mentions of the police using racist language about people from Africa with refugee status, even calling them with animal names. It was felt that there was a discrepancy between the official language of the high ranking police officers and the more everyday language of the police officers.

Some interviewees explained the stereotypical and racist attitudes among the police as the nature of the work: the police usually meet people only in negative circumstances. Many informants also pointed to the work culture and the pressure from peers (cf. Korander 2004):

*Police work also emphasises... that especially during patrol work when we are working long shifts and cooperate closely with both our partner and the entire fieldwork group... That you have a ridiculous amount of time to talk and share experiences in between tasks and while travelling. Then those certain stories start to take on a life of their own, and they get stronger and confirm people's views. And so every work community and the police, too, has room for a few people who think in a racist manner. And if they tell their racist stories, they are likely to help create these stereotypes and in a way that background message that is sent out. (Male, in his 30s, police officer)*

One officer spoke about an internal conflict, as she felt that there were a lot of younger officers who had grown up in a multicultural society and had tolerant attitudes, but at the same time she was afraid that the racist workplace culture might have a negative effect on them in the long run:

*Definitely. But does it lead to laws being broken. I'm not sure. I know policemen who are quite unsympathetic toward immigrants, for example. They can still execute their task exemplarily. But I know that all (,) those attitudes are exhibited by the person, even if they try to hide them. A person may feel that they have been treated in a racist manner, even though in principle, everything went ok. But whatever are those micro expressions from which you can [infer] things and leave you with an impression. So the police have racists among them. There are some really racist people. But I think that there are so many young policemen today who have grown up in this multicultural society. They are really open-minded policemen, and I see the future also in them. Then if a young open-minded person has to be the partner of a person with strong racist views for a long time, of course the worry is that the senior officer with his authority and loud... (,) and nasty language and other things may ruin the good young seedling. I think that the biggest worry of policemen is what if no one wants to play with me, and*

*therefore everyone must be totally alike. Then if someone there says that that was a pretty inappropriate comment, they (,) might have to be afraid that they are not seen as a friend. (Female, in her 30s, police officer)*

## 6.5. Police Education and Minorities

Education of the police forces in Finland is organised in the university of applied sciences level at the Police University College in Tampere. Since 2014, new police officers have been required to take a Bachelor's degree in police services. Based on our research data, it is hard to assess how often topics like equal treatment and non-discrimination are discussed in the courses of police education. According to the informants who taught at the Police University College, the ban of ethnic profiling is taught explicitly when immigration policing is discussed. The education includes some individual lectures on ethnic/racial minorities, but no full courses. The curriculum includes a course of 4 study credits in which the students are trained to analyse and reflect on the role of their own actions and attitudes in professional interactions, and how to encounter different kinds of clients and to evaluate the role of multiculturalism in policing on the societal level (PUC 2016). An officer, who received his police degree before the reform, approximately five years before the interview was conducted, was of the opinion that issues such equality, working with ethnic minorities and racism were discussed in the police education:

*Q: How were equality issues taken into account in police training?*

*A: They were taken into account. I have completed the old undergraduate degree. [...] In the old degree programme... at the beginning of the studies, we took into account... we had these theme days. We spent some time with different minorities. They actually came to meet us at the school, and we had these cooperation days. That stayed with me. In addition perhaps to the legal education, but yes, it was taken into account. At least in the old degree programme.*

*Q: How was racism dealt with in the training?*

*A: Well, I remember that as a criminal code offence, the criminalisation side. But if you mean the kind of vocational training, perhaps it related to the matter I mentioned earlier. Such as understanding minorities. The training at the time was pretty intensive, so everyone can understand that nothing was dealt with too deeply within that time. Let alone the fact that we were adults, and everyone had their own upbringing. And had we dealt with [racism], what effect could it have on the perceptions of adults... (Male, in his 30s, police officer)*

As the officer noted, the questions concerning ethnic/racial minorities or racism (in a broader sense, not only within the strict criminal law framework) were not discussed on a deep level. The police officers teaching in the Police University College at the time when the interviews were conducted had a similar opinion: there was not enough time to discuss experiences of racialised minorities in Finland or how different cultural backgrounds should be met in police work. However, one officer had given lectures on topics concerning the use of police powers and minority relations at the college. He believed that the new higher-level police education would make the police more conscious about non-discrimination issues.

Moreover, the police officers mentioned education as one possible solution for improving relations between ethnic minorities and the police. Other suggestions for the improvement of these relations included the requirement of more minority persons as police officers; better leadership and instructions from the high ranking police officers; and more community policing. In the above quotation, the officer expressed scepticism concerning the effectivity of anti-racist education. He was not the only one – other participants thought that it could be difficult to change the attitudes of the police officers through police education, if they had negatives attitudes towards migrants and minorities to begin with.

Police officers receive education throughout their careers because new guidelines are provided and the officers must be informed about the legal changes. For example, all police officers were ordered to participate in an online course about foreigner issues that was organised a couple of years ago:

*First of all, the [ban on ethnic profiling] is included in our guidelines, which are naturally reviewed in police basic training. Of course these articles are reviewed in police basic training. Then the year before last, we participated in online training. Online training on immigration matters that every policeman had to complete. And ethnic profiling was included there as well, the ban on ethnic profiling was one of the topics. And in recent years, we have invested in this on purpose. Just because [...] foreigners [are] police customers in various situations. And this does not mean that they are criminals, just police customers in different situations. (Female, in her 40s, police officer)*

However, there were differing opinions among the police officers about the effectiveness of the supplementary education. Some thought that the new instructions regarding the control of foreign nationals were rather abstract. One police officer was of the view that there had been too little education concerning the control of foreign nationals:

*I must say that we have received surprisingly little [immigration control] training, and there has been no further training. I wonder whether the lack of training is the result of the difficulties in coordinating profiling and practical police work. It may be that they cause a headache even at the highest levels. Perhaps they are considering those matters and will provide training when they figure out how these matters are defined in law [...], that how should [immigration control] be managed, when there are apparent difficulties with the way it should be done for it to be appropriate. [...] Of course training, at least to get operational models [...], so of course training, [...] workplace training could be useful [...] they could make the field worker's life a little easier by clarifying it with guidelines. But there are various problems, [...] that if the training is arranged by sending an e-mail and saying [that] read that and adopt those views and know them at your next work shift. So we clearly do not invest enough in lectures on the topic, perhaps, and teaching people these things. (Male, in his 40s, police officer)*

Several officers, who had finalised their police education in different decades since the 1970s, told us that a representative from the Roma community had given a lecture on the Roma culture. The police education includes guest lectures by minority organisations, which are aimed to enhance the students' knowledge on

minorities and equal treatment. However, these situations also show the prejudices that some police students may have of minorities to begin with. In order to tackle such views and their inherent racism, it may not be enough to listen to a few lectures about minorities. Such modes of teaching also exposed the representatives of the minority organisations to crude racist remarks during their work to educate to-be police officers.

*A: Well, one can see that they already have an attitude. One can sense the attitudes of the police and the guards from the person's... like the way we talk... There are those already racist guys [sighs] among them, to be blunt.*

*Q: Is it evident in some other ways?*

*A: Yes, you can tell by their comments and questions. They ask you some really childish and stupid questions, like do they raise you to become criminals. Hmmm. Do you get any other inheritance besides stealing. [...] is this your inheritance, that you are stealing. People like me... so goodness, they are about to enter this profession and make these kinds of stupid comments [...] They don't understand that they are only showing their own stupidity when they are asking these stupid questions. Of course, they also ask valid questions and probably ones that support their professionalism, but there definitely are those exaggerations. (NGO worker)*

On the other hand, the representatives of the minority organisations also had positive experiences of education that involved dialogue between the police and racialised minorities.

*A: We have become acquainted with preventive police officers through our collaboration with them. My own prejudices against the police have been broken down. I think they are really nice and want to get to know a Roma person. So we have set up these dialogue workshops with dialogue workshop methods and learning cafe methods. The police have been there talking to us and organising their own tables. We have been able to gather concerns from the perspectives of both the police and the Roma people. Also those of the young and middle-aged people.*

*Q: Have they been good meet-ups?*

*A: Yes, they have been really good meet-ups. Like also many young people have mentioned that it has been nice to meet these kinds of police officers who approach you as an individual and not, in principle, on the basis of the community's reputation. Or (,) ... they don't encounter you as a Roma person but rather as the person you are. (NGO worker)*

Since the practices that lead to ethnic profiling are multiple, as the previous sub-chapters have shown, it is not enough to tackle them by leaving the responsibility to a few representatives of minority organisations. Despite their expertise and hard work to enhance equal treatment of minority organisations, single lecturers or dialogue workshops cannot solve the problem; instead, the responsibility needs to lie with the police organization, and more broadly in the police education.

## 7. How Often Does Profiling Occur?

In this subsection some key aspects of ethnic profiling are studied quantitatively. This means focusing on survey data and on perceived stops executed by the police, security guards, salespersons, border guards and customs officials. The aim is to provide answers to three questions: How often does profiling occur among young people or young adults? Are there any ethnicity or race-based group differences in the likelihood of being stopped? Are there any interconnections between reported stops and trust in authorities and feelings of belonging?

### 7.1. Reported Stops

In our survey (see chapter 4.3.), respondents' own experiences and their knowledge of other young people being stopped were questioned. Individual experience were seen in relation to police, shopkeepers, security guards, border control and customs officials. Knowledge about other young people was asked only in relation to the police. Unlike others, the Finnish majority respondents were not asked about their experience of stops by border control and customs officials. To exclude stops caused by the respondents' own behaviour, they were asked whether they or their acquaintances were stopped without an apparent reason or on racialised grounds (see questionnaire in Appendix 2).

Even while excluding experiences in border zones, the data shows that stops occur quite often in the lives of young people. Out of all of the respondents, approximately 40 percent report either about being stopped or knowing about others' experiences of being controlled in a similar a manner. In a more detailed analysis, when looking at the police, salespersons and security guards, and border control and customs officials separately it can be detected that control is experienced in a somewhat similar frequency. Approximately 20 percent of all respondents have been stopped by the police without an apparent reason. 14 percent of the respondents reported being followed or driven away from premises by store clerks or security guards without an apparent reason. Moreover, 22 percent of ethnic minority respondents have been stopped without an apparent reason while crossing Finnish borders. In addition to these results, the data shows that out of minority respondents (no information is available on ethnic majority) who have been stopped, 36,2 percent (police), 25,0 percent (salespersons and security guards) and 31,2 percent (customs and border control) have been stopped during the last year.

In addition to the general frequencies, it is essential to look for group-based differences in the data. When analysing the overall presence of stops in the lives of respondents, two differences appear pivotal: differences based on gender and ethnicity. For young men (46,5 %) this presence is more frequent than for young women (30,4 %). Moreover, police stops and control by salespersons and security guards are present relatively often in the lives of ethnic minority respondents. Half of the respondents from minority (49,6 %) and a quarter of respondents from majority (25,0 %) backgrounds report that these types of control had targeted them or other young people they know. In a more detailed analysis, the data shows that stops and control are present particularly in the lives of respondents from Arabic and Kurdish speaking regions (60,6 %) and respondents from Somali backgrounds

(58,9 %). Reported differences are statistically significant even though the used sum variable is not totally reliable<sup>19</sup>.

In a more detailed descriptive analysis (see table 3), it becomes evident that gender-based differences stem from police stops. Boys and men (27,5 %) report having been stopped by the police significantly more often than girls and women (8,7 %). However, statistically significant ethnicity-based differences cannot be observed from the data, even though respondents particularly from Kurdish and Arabic speaking regions and from Somali backgrounds report about experienced police stops relatively often. The result changes quite dramatically when looking at the knowledge of other young people being stopped by the police and one's own experiences of control by salespersons and security guards. All minority respondents (excluding those from the Former Soviet Union) know significantly more other young people who have been stopped by the police and have themselves been disproportionately controlled by salespersons and security guards. It is rather surprising that gender differences cannot be observed within these questions. Overall, the descriptive results are roughly in line with earlier quantitative studies conducted in Finland (e.g. FRA 2009; 2017) and in other countries (e.g. Weitzer and Tuch 2002).

**Table 3: The relative proportions of “yes” answers according to ethnicity of respondents<sup>20</sup>**

	Police (others)***	Police (self)	Salespersons & security guards (self) ***	Border control & customs officials (self)
Finnish Speaking majority	13,1 %	16,8 %	6,5 %	-
Swedish speakers	4,9 %	9,8 %	4,9 %	-
Former Soviet Union	19,7 %	14,1 %	9,9 %	15,4 %
Somalian backgrounds	35,9 %	23,1 %	30,8 %	17,9 %
Middle-East, Turkey and North African	46,1 %	28,1 %	21,3 %	29,9 %
others/multicultural	33,3 %	20,0 %	26,7 %	12,5 %
All	24,7 %	19,2 %	14,1 %	-

Police (others): *Do you know young people who have been stopped by the police because of their alleged foreign background or ethnic minority status?*

Police (self): *Have you been stopped by the police without any apparent reason?*

Salespersons & security guards (self): *Have security guards or salespersons in shops been following you or telling you to leave without any apparent reason?*

Border control & customs officials: *Have you been stopped by customs officers or border guards without any apparent reason?*

\*\*\*p<.005

It is interesting to note that differences according to ethnicity are more moderate when asking about respondents' own experiences of police stops compared to their knowledge of stops targeting other young people. This might indicate that in some racialised communities these issues are relatively often discussed. This might in

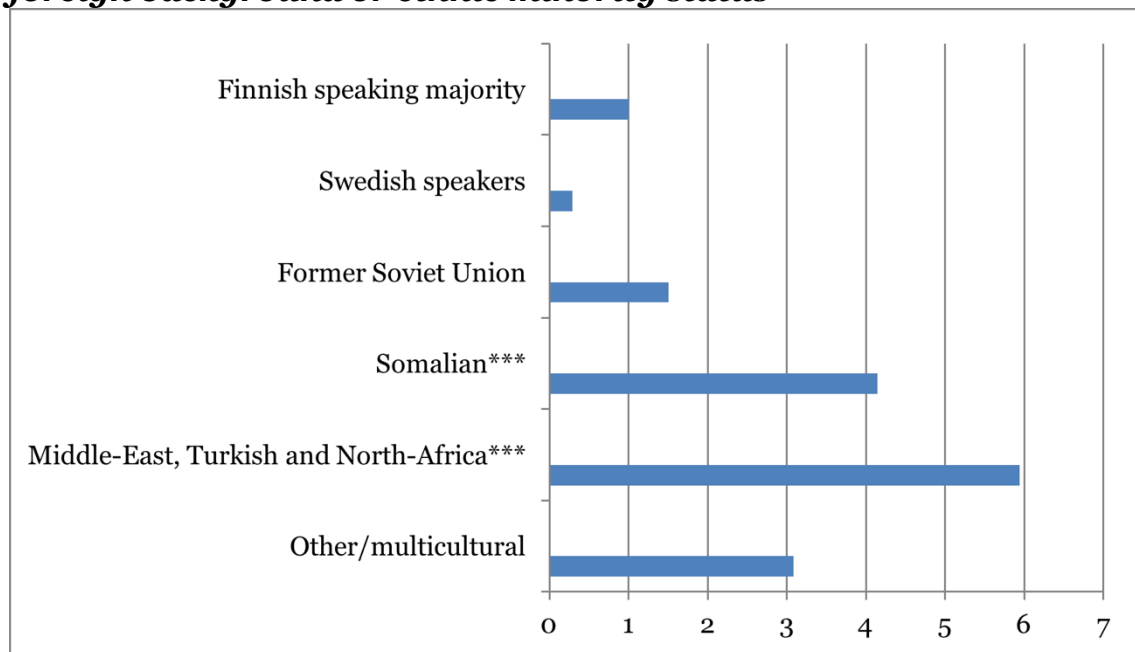
turn imply that (negative) police relations are a relatively popular topic among some minority groups.

Moreover, the somewhat conflicting perception above may be explained with a contingent nature of police encounters among some of our respondents. Among those minority respondents who have been stopped by the police only some (34,0 %) believe that they were stopped because of their skin color or appearance. Moreover, most of them (59,6 %) think that police officers have always behaved in a proper manner during the stops. These figures are not as positive when asking about encounters with salespersons and security guards and border control and customs officers. As for the former, a great majority (75,0 %) believe that they were followed because of the way they look and only some (25,6 %) think that salespersons and security guards have always behaved in a proper manner during their encounters. Encounters at the Finnish border checkpoints have been quite ambivalent for many respondents. Even though the bulk of them (61,4 %) believe that they have been stopped because of the way they look, also a great majority (63,6 %) think that border control and customs officers have always behaved in an appropriate way. Overall, according to these measures, respondents from Somali, Kurdish and Arab backgrounds consider the control targeted at them more illegitimate than others.

In other words, the above results imply that police stops are considered relatively legitimate among minority respondents, or at least that they are hesitant in stating that police stops are related to their ethnicity. The positive interpretation would be that Finnish police do not profile people on the basis of ethnicity to a great extent. However, in the light of our qualitative data, a more somber interpretation could be closer to the experienced reality of our respondents. It is likely that ethnic profiling takes place among Finnish police as well, but they are able to do this in a more “professional” or hidden way (see also FRA 2017, 72). This does not seem to be true for particularly salespersons and security guards, who might even behave explicitly in regards to racist manners<sup>21</sup>.

In addition to the descriptive results depicted above, it is important to utilise multivariate methods in order to conduct more valid analyses. To do this, three logistics regression analyses were executed. The results of these analyses are reported in figures 1, 2 and 3 (for more detailed regression models, see Appendix 3). As is usual, the results do not drastically differ from descriptive analyses. Compared to Finnish speaking majority respondents, respondents from Arabic and Kurdish speaking regions are six times and respondents from Somali backgrounds approximately four times more likely to know other young people who have been stopped by the police (figure 1). These differences are statistically significant even after other available variables (e.g. age, gender, socio-economic status and residential area) are controlled. Moreover, in addition to age, ethnic background was the only statistically significant variable in the model.

**Figure 1: Logistic regression analysis: The risk (odds ratio) of knowing other people stopped by the police because of their alleged foreign background or ethnic minority status**

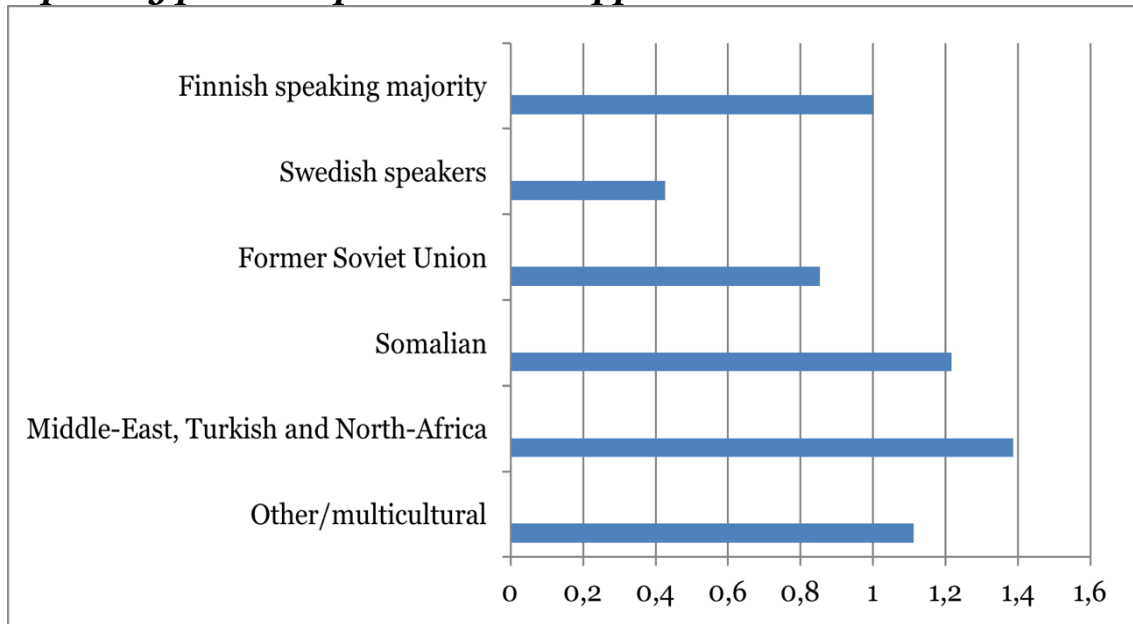


\*\*\*p<.005

The result is different when looking at respondent's own experiences of police stops (figure 2). Respondents from Arabic and Kurdish speaking regions are 1.4, and respondents from Somali backgrounds 1.2, times more likely than the Finnish speaking majority to report about being stopped by the police. As in the descriptive analysis, the differences are rather small and statistically not significant. However, this might be due to the small sample sizes or because minority respondents consider police stops as relatively legitimate and as having little to do with their ethnicity. In any case, as expected, logistic regression model shows that gender is the strongest independent variable explaining the risk of being stopped by the police. Compared to women, men are over three times (3.4) more likely to be stopped by the police without an apparent reason. Other statistically significant differences can be observed according to age and parental education. Older respondents are more likely and children of highly educated parents less likely to have been stopped by the police without an apparent reason (for more detailed results, see Appendix 3).

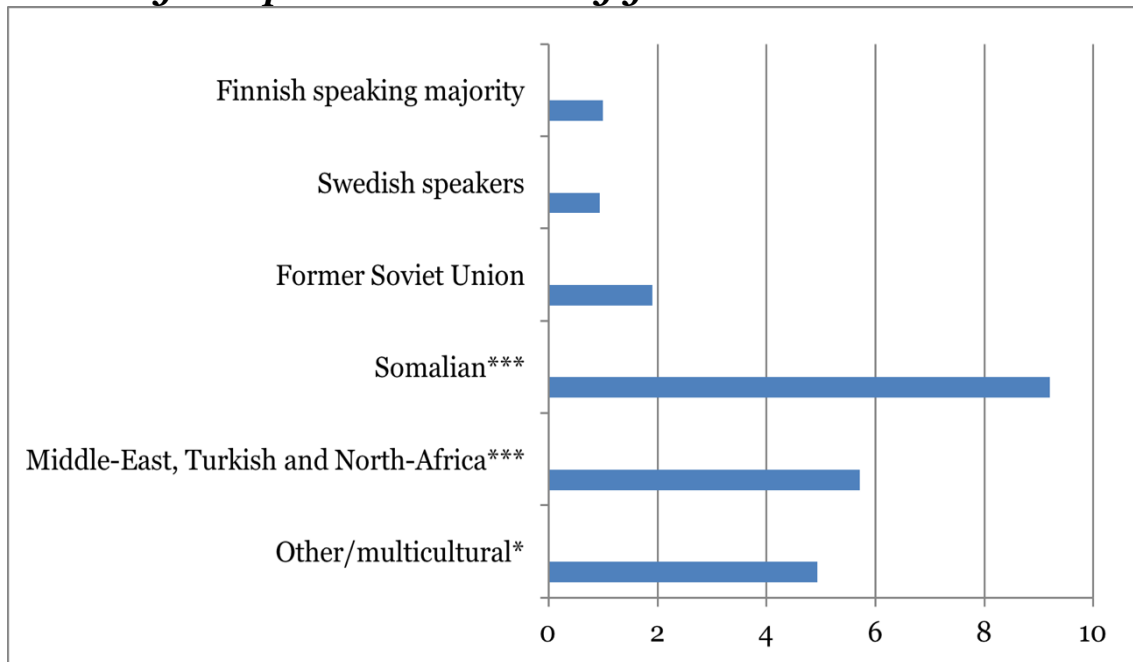


**Figure 2: Logistic regression analysis: The risk (odds ratio) of reporting police stops without an apparent reason.**



The situation changes again when looking at results concerning salespersons and security guards (figure 3). In contrast to the Finnish speaking majority, the risk of respondents from Somalian backgrounds to have been followed or driven away from premises by salespersons or security guards is almost ten times higher (9.2). The same risk for respondents from Arabic and Kurdish speaking regions is almost six times higher (5.7). These differences are statistically highly significant after controlling other available variables. The risk remains almost five times higher and statistically significant even for small-numbered group of others/multicultural respondents. It is remarkable that other statistically significant and systematic differences between independent variables (age, gender, socio-economic status and residential area) and the dependent dummy variable (control by salespersons and security guards) are barely found (again, for more detailed results, see Appendix 3). In the light of these results, it seems that salespersons and/or security guards pay attention to ethnicity and skin color in particular.

**Figure 3: Logistic regression analysis: The risk (odds ratio) of having been followed or driven away from premises without an apparent reason by salespersons and security guards.**



\*\*\*p<.005, \*p<.050

In addition to the results above, the significance of being stopped can be scrutinised from the perspective of minority respondents. They were asked 1) whether their experiences of being stopped had somehow affected the way they spend their free time, 2) whether they know which officials can be contacted in the case of witnessing discriminatory or inappropriate behavior by the police and 3) if they would need more information about their rights in situations in which police behaves in discriminatory or inappropriate ways.

Only two respondents admitted that experiences of being stopped had affected their leisure choices (cf. Tuominen et al. 2014). According to both of these open-ended comments, they told that they had started to avoid going out during dark hours. Speaking out during telephone surveys might indicate that the experienced discrimination is all-encompassing with severe repercussions.

*I don't feel like going out after dark. During the past year I have gone out like two times and had to start taking therapy. In trains it is very common that people tell me to go back to where I came from.*

The answers for the latter two questions are more quantitative, and probably tell something about the difficulties in tackling discrimination executed by authorities. Out of minority respondents only 20 percent reported that they know which authorities to contact if witnessing discriminatory or inappropriate behavior by the police (72 % said no). Moreover, half of the respondents (49 %) reported that they would like to have more information about their rights in relation to police, while 43 percent said no. Particularly those respondents who had been stopped by the police and controlled by salespersons and security guards (57,7 %) missed this type of information.

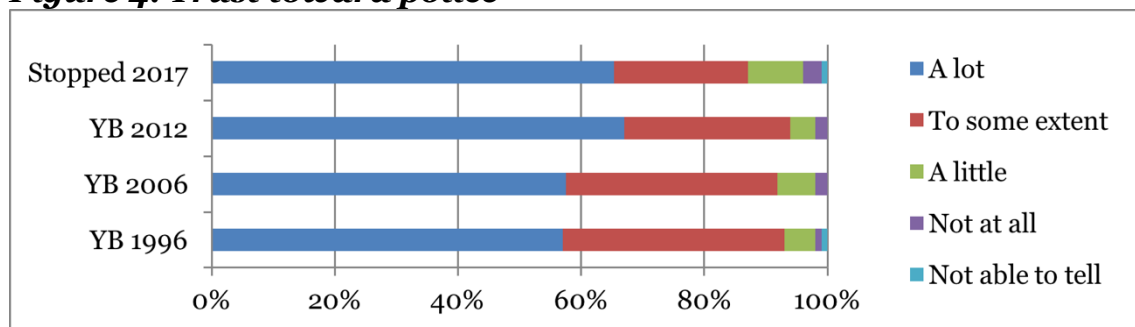
## 7.2. Correlates of Being Stopped and Controlled: Trust and Belonging

In this section the focus is to a great extent on ethnic minority respondents. This is due to the fact that many of the questions related to trust and feelings of belonging were not included in the data set covering Finnish majority respondents. However, some comparisons can be made with previous survey studies.

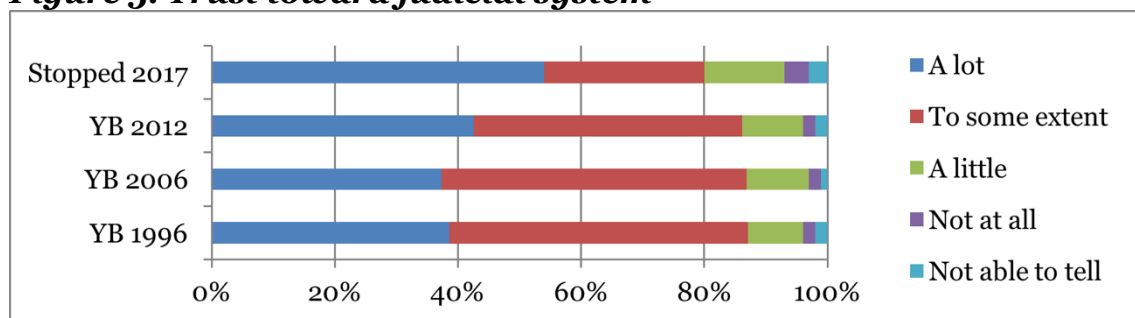
All of our respondents were asked about general trust in a scale from zero to ten (*other people would be fair even if they had the chance to exploit me*). Irrespective of ethnicity, a great majority have been able to build a rather strong trust toward others in Finland. As an exception, generalised trust is on a somewhat lower level among respondents from Arabic and Kurdish backgrounds.

A more detailed investigation of trust according to ethnicity requires going through previous literature. In years 1996, 2006 and 2012 young people of the same age (15–29) were asked about trust in institutions in the *Youth Barometer* survey (see Myllyniemi 2012, 39). Since in the *Youth Barometers* trust toward salespersons, security guards, border control and customs officials have not been asked, the most important institutions and professions for making comparisons here are police and judicial system. Earlier research results on trust toward both police and judicial system have been quite ambiguous when comparing groups from different ethnic or racial backgrounds (e.g. Kääriäinen & Niemi 2014; Castaneda et al. 2015, 18–19). According to our data, group-based differences are quite small. However, among minority respondents the variation (standard deviation) is relatively high; more respondents are placed in both ends of the continuums (see figure 4 and 5). These results do not raise large concerns about the relations between the Finnish judicial system and racialised minorities. It is worth noting that the survey was conducted before the public discussion on police racism in early Summer 2017, resulting from a journalistic story by The Stopped-project member.

**Figure 4: Trust toward police**



**Figure 5: Trust toward judicial system**



Thus, it seems that most youth, independent of ethnicity, tend to have strong generalised trust and trust in both policing and the courts of law. This is obviously good news and a solid foundation for a stable and thriving multi-ethnic society. Another thing that is probably important for the willingness to contribute and commit oneself to society and its institutions is the ability to feel as though one belongs to it. Thus, in addition to trust, feelings of belonging were also covered in our survey.

It is evident that studying feelings of belonging quantitatively leads to more or less cursory results. In spite of this, we asked about global, national and local identifications. For the minority respondents, the most preferred identities were “multicultural”, “resident of own locality” and “world citizen”. This implies that global and local identities are preferred over national and continental ones. As expected, for the Finnish majority youth, the opposite is the case. Feeling oneself as a Finn and a European is highly prevalent among them (see Myllyniemi 2014, 23).

In this respect, our main interest is to investigate the interconnections between trust, belonging and experiences on policing or other forms of control. These associations were investigated by using one-way analysis of variance. In the following, some of the most essential results are briefly depicted. More detailed tables with average means and p-values can be observed in the Appendix 4.

On a general level it can be stated that experiences of being stopped or knowledge of other young people being stopped are associated with relatively low levels of trust toward other people, several professionals and institutions. Some of these variances are statistically significant and some are not. Being stopped by the police or knowing other people having similar experiences are statistically significantly associated with having low trust toward municipal authorities, police, national parliament, security guards and border control officers. Furthermore, personal experiences of being stopped by the police are linked with increased probability to feel oneself as a foreigner and knowing other people being stopped is associated with low identification with “Europeanness”. Thus, selective stop and search practices of the police might have quite profound repercussions and explain some of the variation among minority respondents observed in figures 4 and 5.

Concerning trust, the same type of associations can be found in relation to experiences of being stopped without an apparent reason by security guards and while crossing the Finnish border. As for the latter, statistically significant associations exist between reported stops and trust toward other people, authorities, police, judicial system, national parliament and national government. Moreover, stops experienced at border zones are statistically significantly associated with reduced trust toward border guards, but not customs officers. It might thus be that border guards are the ones who have executed the stops perceived as being the most unjust. Finally, it might be surprising that reported control at Finnish borders is not connected to global, national or local identifications.

Compared to stops made by the police and those experienced at the border checkpoints, control by salespersons and security guards might have more moderate bearings. They are associated with relatively low trust towards the national Parliament, the European Union, the police and the security guards.

Again, it is worth noting that experienced control by the salespersons and security guards is not statistically significantly connected with reduced trust toward salespersons. Thus, it seems likely that minority respondents refer particularly to security guards, and less to salespersons, when reporting about being followed and being driven away from premises – many times in inappropriate ways and because of how they look.

In the end it must be reminded that when analysing the relations between stops, trust and identifications, it is a question of associations, not causality. It might very well be that connections between, for instance, reported stops and trust can be explained with a third, unknown variable. For instance, in previous research concerning Russian and Somali minorities in Finland, it was found that general experiences of discrimination and disadvantaged societal positions were associated with low trust toward police (Kääriäinen and Niemi 2014). Moreover, causal relations are often quite complex. It is thus possible that, for instance, weak trust toward police increases the likelihood of reporting about police stops, not the other way around.

### 7.3. Concluding Remarks

In light of the analyses above, it is possible to provide some answers to the three research questions presented in the beginning. Firstly, it seems that it is not highly common for young people to have been stopped or controlled by various security authorities. The bulk of our respondents (60,4 %) have neither been stopped by the police nor controlled by shopkeepers or security guards. Secondly, however, it is evident that the control of the security guards is particularly selective and probably includes quite explicit accounts of ethnic profiling. Relatively many ethnic minority young people report about security guards' inappropriate control that is based on their appearance. The same finding does not fully apply to the police: reported stops are distributed more evenly in the data, and encounters with the police are seen as being more appropriate. However, it seems that police control is quite an influential topic among some racialised minorities since respondents from particularly Somali, Arab and Kurdish origins know relatively many other young people who have been stopped by the police on racialised grounds.

The third research question was about the correlates of being stopped or controlled by security authorities. According to the results, it seems that reported police stops and stops at border checkpoints have comparably wide connections with different aspects of societal trust and feelings of belonging. To some extent the same applies to control of shopkeepers and security guards. All in all, leaning on the data, it can be concluded that targeted and unjust control of various security authorities may hamper young people's ability to trust and alter their willingness to contribute to Finnish society.

In the light of previous research, the quantitative results of this study do not provide great surprises. The only and quite positive surprise may be the small and statistically non-significant ethnicity-based differences in reported police stops in our survey. However, even though there is a great amount of research based evidence in the U.S. on ethnic profiling, there is not much European, not to mention Nordic, research against which to make comparisons. As a whole, the EU-

MIDIS studies on ethnic profiling provide rather similar results to the ones observed here.

Regarding concerns on policing and community work, investing resources in good relations between the police and racialised minorities will contribute to non-discriminatory practices and thus also increase the cohesiveness of the society. In Finland, according to the available research evidence, this work would be more of the preventive kind and less of the remedial. The trust towards the police and judicial system are strong even among minorities. One should not, however, take this situation for granted since the development in other countries has shown that problems can arise and that ethnic profiling is a central element of such issues (e.g. *Reading the Riots 2011; Fassin 2013*). As the data of this research shows, some persons and groups have a lower level of trust in and negative experiences of policing. Residential segregation has accelerated in Finnish urban areas during the last decades (e.g. *Vilkama 2010; Vaattovaara et al. 2012; Rasinkangas 2013*), but trust in the police seems to remain on a high level even in the more segregated areas. This is something worth maintaining, which requires tackling issues related to ethnic profiling.

## **8. Conclusions and Recommendations**

### **8.1. Conclusions: Under Heightened Scrutiny**

#### **Spaces and Actors**

This research has shown that those belonging to racialised minorities are under surveillance in many kinds of urban spaces and by several actors. Situations of ethnic profiling are part of their lives both through their own experiences and in the stories they hear about other minority persons' encounters with public and private security personnel. Sites where stops and situations of ethnic profiling took place were multiple: streets and parks, railway and metro stations, cars, shops and shopping centres, restaurants and bars, airports and harbours were among those mentioned.

The police are a central authority whose practices of identity control and search were considered to be (sometimes) based on ethnic or racial markers. The police stopped racialised minority persons especially in streets, busy traffic hubs, cars and border control areas. The importance of the police is related to its role and authority as the legitimate holder of (potential) force and violence, allotted by the state. Persons who are stopped are aware of the harm that resisting police actions can cause them and usually comply to the practices; yet, this does not prevent them from expecting proper explanations to why they were targeted by police actions while other (white majority) people were able to proceed their journey undisturbed. The stories about police ethnic profiling focused on the process of "being singled out" from the crowd, which was often experienced as uncomfortable and humiliating, especially when it was conducted in front of many passersby or family members.

The security guards, and to some extent salespersons, followed the movements of racialised minority persons extremely closely or suspected them of crimes they had not committed in shops and shopping centres. The security guards' behaviour was often experienced as rude and disrespectful; sometimes they were also reported to having acted in an aggressive, rough and violent manner. Overall, the study indicates that the security guards are experienced as the biggest problem in relation to ethnic profiling. This is supported both by the interview and the survey data. In the survey, young respondents of Somalian backgrounds reported having been the target of actions by the security guards nearly ten times, and young persons with Middle Eastern backgrounds nearly six times as often as the Finnish majority youth, without an apparent reason.

Moreover, the informants mentioned security guards and bouncers as actors who stopped, denied entry or searched them in restaurants and bars. However, police officers had also initiated identity checks and crime related raids based on ethnic/racial criteria in certain bars.

The customs, security personnel and police performed stops, checks and searches at border control points, such as airports and harbours, in connection to which ethnic profiling was reported. Many people were constantly stopped for search and ID-check when they entered or exited the ferries or passed the security control or customs at the airport. While "random check" is allowed in these situations, the informants were clear about their disbelief in the randomness of the acts they were targeted by. What they observed was that only non-white persons were stopped and checked, which contradicted the officials' claims of randomness. In addition, the police conducted control of foreign nationals in and around the harbours and airports.

Ethnic profiling practices thus cut across many everyday life environments and can interrupt journeys to school or work or make ordinary shopping situations uncomfortable. They make the persons stopped aware of the fact that they are perceived of as "others" – those not belonging to the country where they live and perhaps were also born or, in some cases, that they are considered as those expected to commit criminal acts merely because of their ethnic or racial background. Such acts produce conditioned citizenship, where rights and belonging are made dependent on the person's ethnic/racial background.

The spaces of ethnic profiling by the police, identified in this research, were largely the same as those detected in other European studies (e.g. FRA 2009, 2017), which mention streets, cars and public transport as main sites of stops. However, it seems that the area-based targeting and racialisation that many studies (e.g. Fassin 2013; Mulinari 2017) point towards is not as strong in Finland as it is for example in Sweden or France. The suburbs where many members of racialised minorities live are portrayed in stories on ethnic profiling, but even more so are the city centres and certain specified urban areas referred to. The spatial practices of ethnic profiling seem to be more focused and at the same time more dispersed: they range from ethnic/racial "niches", where many racialised minorities are expected to gather, to places where large numbers of people, including racialised minority persons, move about. The areas of residence and shopping centres with a number of racialised minority inhabitants or customers are situated along this continuum. This broad dispersion may be related to the lower degree of segregation of the areas

of residence in Finland compared to many other European countries, but also to the chosen tactics of the police.

This study has also shown that responses and interpretations of stops differ. Some informants pointed out that they did not care about being stopped for identity control or that they were treated respectfully during the encounter but for most interviewed persons the stops and searches were unpleasant, annoying or humiliating experiences. Their responses ranged from the normalisation of experiences, which occurred on a constant basis and were not expected to change in the near future, to resistance and claiming one's rights as individuals or racialised minorities. Normalisation of injustices should be viewed as a coping strategy in a racialising society and as an effect of its power relations.

Of importance is also the finding that many informants report being stopped by the police or security guards when moving around as a group of racialised minority persons. It seems as though if a group of non-white persons, especially if vocal or otherwise unapologetic in their behaviour, they are seen as suspicious or at least worth checking. In contrast, some informants pointed out that when attending shops or shopping centres in the company of white persons the following and scrutinisation they usually experienced in these spaces did not take place. Based on our data it is not possible to determine whether the likelihood of ethnic profiling increases when moving about in a group of non-white persons, since many interviewees also reported being singled out as the only non-white person from a group of white people. The dynamic of individual and group-related ethnic profiling could, however, be the focus of future research.

Intersections of ethnicity, race, gender, age and class proved to be a central element for the understanding of ethnic profiling in both qualitative and quantitative data sets. As the findings of many earlier studies (e.g. Weitzer and Tuch 2002; Reitzel and Piquero 2006) have evidenced, our study also indicates that young men belonging to racialised minorities are especially targeted by ethnic profiling practices. A more nuanced understanding, however, emerges when we look at spaces and actors performing ethnic profiling. Young racialised minority men are especially subjected to such acts in streets, other outdoor locations, traffic hubs and public transports. They are the main target of the police and to some extent, security guards' actions. While women and older persons are also stopped in these spaces, they seem to be targeted more often in shops, shopping centres and border control points. The actors in these spaces involve security guards, shop assistants, customs and the police. Driving in cars is, especially for the Roma minority and black men, a situation when police stops occur. It was not easy to see clear patterns in relation to class: the informants came from different class backgrounds and while some remarks could be related to class they may also be related to clothing and style that the police and security guards interpreted as suspicious.

### **Practices and Understandings of Ethnic Profiling**

The police have organised training on the change of law which prohibits ethnic profiling and have sought to develop police stops that do not specifically target racialised minorities. However, as our study shows, there is still work to be done to achieve this goal. Police practices that bear the risk of ethnic profiling are related to (1) the control of foreign nationals, or what is also called internal immigration



control, (2) suspicion and search related to crimes, (3) public order policing and (4) traffic stops. While the law and police practices concerning these actions differ, the examples from the interviews show that in practice the stops may include both kinds of actions: checks of the right to reside in Finland and checks related to suspicion of crime or criminal negligence. This is due to the fact that some stops and ID-checks occur in relation to other police activities. On the other hand, the kind of incidents that have garnered media attention and the concerns of the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman (see chapter one) are usually related to specific, “thematic” controls of foreign nationals that a large number of police officers are commanded to conduct simultaneously. This involves the stop and check of persons outdoors, in streets, busy traffic hubs and similar public places.

The risks of ethnic profiling in relation to the control of foreign nationals are related to several reasons. Unlike the Swedish legislation, the Finnish Alien’s Act does not define what reasonable suspicion means and thus the police are not required to specify the grounds for the checks. They can use their intuition or “gut feeling”, in research discussed as tacit knowledge, to identify targets of control. This leaves too much possibility for selection on the basis of generalised criteria and racialised expectations, instead of information that would be more clearly related to the behaviour of the person who is stopped. While the law points out that the police should have knowledge or hints on illegal immigration in order to conduct a check, in practice, anyone the police suspects to be a foreigner can be subject to an identity check. Moreover, the police state that they use language skills to inquire into the “foreignness” of the persons they consider stopping; yet, this does not rule out that the original reason for deciding to stop somebody was based on racialised grounds – in fact the interviews with the police strengthen the information provided by the interviews with those stopped that the original approach is based on ethnic or racial criteria, after which the question on language is raised. It should also be noted that, on the one hand, not everyone with legal right to reside in Finland speaks fluent Finnish and, on the other hand, undocumented migrants may also have learned some Finnish during their stay. Even if the law requires foreigners to document their identity when the police ask for it, it is an unpleasant reminder of their “non-belonging” for persons who lived for a number of years in Finland to be constantly required to prove their right to stay in the country, as our interviews show.

The police practices could also include a direct or indirect reference to seek for “non-Finnish looking persons”, i.e. non-white persons. This indicates that a Finn was equated to a white person, which is not unique to the police but rather a common way of connecting national identity to whiteness (e.g. Leinonen 2012; Keskinen 2014; Alemanji 2016) in Finland. However, the use of this racialised notion of Finnishness in police practices is a severe obstacle to the equal rights of racialised minorities and an important part of ethnic profiling practices. Since the introduction of the ban on ethnic profiling to legislation, it seems that at least part of the police force has resorted to a kind of “double-standard”, which means the leadership states that ethnic profiling is not allowed but the practice has not changed. This may be due to a lack of instructions or hinting on the acceptability of practices of searching for “non-Finnish looking persons” as long as this is not made public.

The study also points out the inadequacy of registering the grounds for stops and ID-checks, especially when it comes to cases in which the stopped person was

found to be a Finnish citizen or in possession of a valid residence permit. Practices that only or predominantly register stops in which the reason for ID-check or other police action was grounded omit information about the whole phenomenon and hinder investigation on (the risks of) ethnic profiling. Transparent and systematic registration would enhance possibilities of following police practices and the ways that they are directed towards different groups in the society (OSJI 2012, 75). In Sweden, regulations on registering all stops and their grounds have been introduced, but the practices are not always in line with the regulations; however, proper registering practices could provide means for those who wish to inquire or complain about police stops (Leander 2014a, 11–21).

Another kind of police action that has been identified as problematic in relation to ethnic profiling, i.e. terrorism related surveillance (e.g. Mulinari 2017, 24–26), does not feature in our data very much. These kinds of actions and logics of ethnic profiling are mentioned mainly in connection to control at airports and harbours. The interviewees mentioned security and customs checks in which the terrorism related suspicions were apparent to them. However, we did not set out to investigate these kind of stop and search actions by the police, which may mean that our questions were not formulated in a manner to invite such discussions.

Both the qualitative and quantitative data of this study indicate that police ethnic profiling is especially detrimental to trust in authorities and in regards to experienced sense of belonging to Finland. Negative encounters with the police and experiences of being treated unjustly by the very same authorities that should guarantee the safety of the persons stopped are likely to reduce the willingness of racialised minority persons to turn to the police when help is needed as well as their interest to inform the police about crimes. This finding is in line with earlier research literature on ethnic profiling. For example, according to the survey conducted in Chicago by Skogan (2017) exposure to stop and search had a clear negative effect on the trust of police and the effects were greatest among African-Americans and other racial minorities. Several studies also point out that the behaviour of police officers that is experienced as unfair undermines the likelihood of cooperation between the public and police (Bradford 2015, 109–111). Fairness in policing can, on the one hand, be understood as *procedural* (Tyler 2011; Jackson et al., 2012) meaning neutral and transparent decision-making by the police; giving people a voice during encounters with the police; and respectful and dignified conduct by the police officers. On the other hand, *distributional fairness* means that the police do not target groups disproportionately without a proper foundation. Although some studies point out that empirically people put more significance on procedural fairness than distributive fairness (see Bradford 2015, 106), it should be remembered that ethnic profiling cannot simply be overcome by more respectful and polite policing (cf. Bowling and Phillips 2007, 960).

Both the results from the interviews and the survey also point to the direction that the police are more skillful in exercising control of racialised minorities than the security guards. The interviewed persons who had experiences of stops by both groups emphasised that the police were often more reasonable while the guards were evaluated as rude and aggressive. According to the survey data, disproportionate stops of racialised minority persons were reported notably in regards to the security guards. While this may be related to the fact that police provided better information on the reasons for the stops, the interviews with the police also showed that the control of racialised minorities could be made without

informing the targets of the searches in official databases. The persons who the police checked were not informed about it, especially in cases where no remarks were found. While no harmful behaviour would be experienced by the individual person stopped and searched (in the street or while driving for example), these kinds of practices can still be imbalanced on the basis of ethnic/racial background and lead to minorities being disproportionately targeted. This, in turn, may result in increased investigations and arrests of racialised minority persons, with the result of their overrepresentation in the criminal justice system (OSJI 2012, 25; Fassin 2013). The harm of disproportionate stops and checks can thus not only be measured on basis of individual experiences, despite the need to incorporate such a perspective. In this study, we have sought to cover individual, group and institution-based perspectives to the phenomenon of ethnic profiling in order to shed light on its complexity and practices.

The legislative changes that were introduced to the Alien's Act, which should prevent ethnic profiling by the police and border controls, are an important achievement. However, current legal framework provides a wide discretion and does not include strict enough criteria to stop ethnic profiling. Our study shows that there are also problems with police practices that need to be addressed. Moreover, the practices and guidelines of security guards seem to be investigated or regulated to an even lesser degree and the results of this study indicate a clear need for further interrogation of these.

Lastly, both the interviews and the survey analysis point towards a need for information on the rights of those stopped and the complaint mechanisms related to ethnic profiling experiences. A majority of the respondents in the survey requested such information and were not sure where they would turn to in case they would wish to provide a complaint. None of the interviewed persons told about having filed a complaint, despite the many experiences of ethnic profiling they described.

When seeking to combat ethnic profiling the experiments and findings from other countries provide useful lessons. The Open Society Justice Initiative's handbook *Reducing Ethnic Profiling in the EU* (2012) includes a number of examples of how ethnic profiling can be tackled through legislation, projects and monitoring. In the UK, police reforms that aim to combat racial disproportionality have already a long history (Reiner 2010, Shiner 2015). Results of the reforms have been inconsistent: some police departments have succeeded in reducing disproportionality in stop and search (but not necessarily in arrest rates), and others have not (Miller 2010). Reforms in the UK have concentrated to a large extent on enhancing leadership, monitoring and education of the police officers. One problem has been the lack of an effective enforcement mechanism that would create real accountability (Shiner 2015, 169). For these reasons, the regulation of coercive powers of police is important and in order to reduce discriminatory policing broad powers to stop and search individuals should be curbed through tighter legislation and regulations (Bowling and Phillips 2007, 960–961).

## 8.2. Recommendations for Improving Practices

According to the Non-Discrimination law and the Police law in Finland, the police have a duty to enhance the equal treatment of persons. The United Nations, the

Council of Europe and the European Parliament have identified ethnic profiling as an important area of concern in regards to the equal treatment and non-discrimination policies. International human rights bodies, including the European Human Rights Court, have ruled against the discriminatory practice of ethnic profiling. Based on the results of this study, we suggest the following actions to be taken in order to tackle the problems of ethnic profiling.

### **1) Recognising that ethnic profiling is a problem in and for the Finnish society**

- When this fundamental starting point is accepted, it is possible to find solutions and means to tackle the issues in the practices of the police, security guards, border control and customs officers.

### **2) Develop further the police practices:**

- In the control of foreign nationals/internal immigration control no broad scale identity check actions in the streets, outdoors or traffic hubs should be issued, since the risk that these target persons on basis of ethnic and racial markers is considerable. Instead, the police should always have specified reasons for the stops, i.e. reasonable suspicion that a person is in the country without legal permission. Here we recommend to investigate the formulations of the Swedish legislation.
- Immigration controls should be undertaken (only) as part of other policing activities, when reasonable suspicion of crime or criminal negligence is raised by the actions of the persons in question.
- We also wish to raise the question: should control of foreign nationals be a police task at all? It negatively affects the trust that migrants and racialised minorities have towards the police. Thus, it could be reasonable that immigration control would be exercised by a separate authority.
- Enhance the accountability of police actions: the police should always record the reasons why the particular person was selected as a target of control in cases of internal immigration control or when suspected of crimes. The stopped person should, as a general rule, be given or have access to documentation on who stopped him/her and for what reason the stop was conducted.
- Create public statistics on police stops and their grounds, including information about ethnic and racial background of those targeted by the actions. The methods for gathering these statistics should be developed in cooperation with researchers and racialised minority communities in order to prevent further scrutinisation and ensure that the registration practices benefit the minorities who are subjected to ethnic profiling.

### **3) Legislation and legal supervision**

- The legislation should be changed so as to comply with and ensure the implementation of the recommendations of the previous section.
- The current complaint system regarding ethnic profiling is complicated and ineffective. We recommend that one body would be chosen to coordinate the complaint procedure and advise those who wish to file a complaint. It should be independent from the police force and have possibilities to sanction discriminatory behaviour. The Non-Discrimination Ombudsman could possibly be the authority to which this responsibility would be

directed. Information about the possibility to conduct complaints and advice on how to proceed should be actively distributed to the groups concerned.

#### **4) Police education**

- It is not enough to just inform police students about the unlawfulness of ethnic profiling. In order to change the practices producing ethnic profiling there is a need to include material in police education on racism as a societal phenomenon, discussions on “who are the Finns of today” and how to work with racialised minorities. The burden of dealing with racism and prejudices should not be left to visiting minority representatives but should be more mainstream to the police education.
- The practical problems related to preventing ethnic profiling and solutions to these problems should be discussed in police education and the training organised for officers in duty.

#### **5) Education of security guards and border control personnel**

- The training of security guards, customs officers and border guards should be investigated in relation to how they address minorities and ethnic profiling to determine whether there is a need to develop the education.
- We especially recommend that questions regarding minorities, racism and ethnic profiling are included in the training programmes of security guards, since the results of this study point to serious issues in this form of policing. Even though the training periods of security guards are short, these topics should be addressed as the guards conduct a major part of their work in commercial spaces and public transport hubs in the most urban and multiethnic regions of Finland.

#### **6) Guidelines and regulations in the private security sector**

- In addition to the education of security guards, we recommend that the guidelines and regulations concerning treatment of ethnic/racial minorities and prevention of ethnic profiling are investigated in relation to how they address questions of minorities and ethnic profiling.

#### **7) Community policing and police with ethnic/racial minority background**

- Community policing, i.e. police officers or preventive units that specialise on community relations with racialised minorities, can be a way of enhancing police-minority relations. However, it should be ensured that such actions do not result in increased scrutiny and/or stigmatisation of racialised minorities, but that minority communities benefit from the actions.
- We also recommend that the means to recruit racialised minority persons to the police are developed, as well as measures to change workplace cultures so that minority persons are treated in an equal and non-discriminatory manner. Individual minority police officers are not the solution to ethnic profiling or racism in the police force. For this purpose, the discriminating practices need to be identified and changed. Increasing diversity in the police force is recommendable because it combats

inequalities in the labour market and provides invaluable knowledge to the police force.

## **8) Support and advocacy groups for those experiencing ethnic profiling**

- We recommend that the national support service for crime victims, *Rikosuhripäivystys*, would train its personnel and volunteers on questions of ethnic profiling, so that they would be well equipped to answer the questions and better support the persons subjected to ethnic profiling
- We also recommend that funding would be provided for advocacy groups organised by racialised minority groups targeted by ethnic profiling. A resource centre that would collect information on ethnic profiling cases, report on them, provide information about ethnic profiling and help to conduct complaints would support those subjected to ethnic profiling.
- Encouraging individuals who are ethnically profiled to record the incidents, whenever it is possible and safe, would be important to provide further knowledge on the problem and enable to tackle its varied forms.

## **9) Make use of applicable practices from other countries**

- Information and evaluations on previous and ongoing efforts to tackle ethnic profiling have been well documented (e.g. Open Society Justice Initiative 2012) and can be used when seeking to develop practices in Finland. These actions show that it is important to tackle the problem holistically and include minority communities in the work.
- The UK and US, among others, have grappled with disproportionality in stops and searches for decades. Their experiences have shown that monitoring stops and gathering data are important tools in combating ethnic profiling and enhancing the effectiveness of police work, when conducted in cooperation with minority communities.

## **10) Future research and need for statistics**

- This study has investigated ethnic profiling in Finland for the first time. As such, it has mapped the terrain but many questions still require an in-depth examination. Among those are the experiences of different minorities; intersectionality and ethnic profiling; police practices and initiatives to develop them; private security personnel and their practices; customs and border control; and the implications of police culture to ethnic profiling.
- Theoretical understandings of the phenomenon would also benefit the research field that is often empirically and pragmatically oriented. International comparisons would enhance both knowledge production and practical solutions to ethnic profiling.
- More quantitative research in Europe, Nordic countries and Finland would also be needed. Excluding the US and UK, quantitative research on ethnic profiling leans solely on surveys. Register based data is not available, but could provide means to study the phenomenon with representative and reliable measures. This would require various security authorities to document their stops. The survey analysis would benefit from a follow-up study later on. Ethnic profiling is a phenomenon known by many racialised minority persons, as our study shows, but it has only become a public matter in recent years. The understanding of the phenomenon may change when it becomes addressed as a societal matter connected to equal treatment and

(non-)discrimination. The possible changes in reported incidents of ethnic profiling, trust towards authorities, sense of belonging, and disclosure would also be important to follow up in future.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup>[https://www.asianajaliitto.fi/viestinta/oikeudellisia\\_uutisia/kotimaiset\\_tietol\\_ahteet/2012/yle.fi\\_vahemmistovaltuutetun\\_toimisto\\_poliisin\\_selkiytettava\\_toimintaansa\\_ulkomaalaisratsioissa.4966.news](https://www.asianajaliitto.fi/viestinta/oikeudellisia_uutisia/kotimaiset_tietol_ahteet/2012/yle.fi_vahemmistovaltuutetun_toimisto_poliisin_selkiytettava_toimintaansa_ulkomaalaisratsioissa.4966.news) [Accessed 17.1.2018].
- <sup>2</sup><http://www.mtv.fi/uutiset/kotimaa/artikkeli/suomea-kehotetaan-kitkemaan-rasismia-ja-syrjintaa/1897138> [Accessed 17.1.2018].  
<https://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/Country-by-country/Finland/FIN-CbC-IV-2013-019-FIN.pdf> [Accessed 27.2.2018].
- <sup>3</sup> See also <http://yle.fi/uutiset/3-8821504> [Accessed 17.1.2018].
- <sup>4</sup> <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-9018723> [Accessed 17.1.2018].
- <sup>5</sup> <http://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/art-2000002910569.html> [Accessed 17.1.2018].
- <sup>6</sup> The journalist Kati Pietarinen is a member of The Stopped-project and the journalistic stories used partly the same data as this research report:  
<https://longplay.fi/sidetone/rasismi-rehottaa-poliisien-salaisessa-facebook-ryhmassa> <https://longplay.fi/single/satunnaistarkastus>
- <sup>7</sup> <https://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/art-2000005573827.html> [Accessed 26.2.2018].
- <sup>8</sup> <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/press-releases/survey-data-highlights-police-ethnic-bias-spain> [Accessed 17.1.2018];  
<https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/centres-institutes/centre-criminology/blog/2013/10/police-stops-spain> [Accessed 17.1.2018].
- <sup>9</sup> More details can be found here:  
<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/node/49433> [Accessed 17.1.2018].
- <sup>10</sup> In the Youth Crime Survey the term “from immigrant backgrounds” refers to both first and second generation young people.
- <sup>11</sup> The court ruled in favor of five men of the thirteen claimants. Six of the rejected applicants have filed an appeal before the European Court of Human Rights. See: Seydi and others v. France, Open Society Justice Initiative.  
<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/litigation/seydi-and-others-v-france> [Accessed 26.2.2018].
- <sup>12</sup> Spiegel, 31.10.2012, Court Rules Against Police Checks Based on Skin Color  
<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/racial-profiling-german-court-forbids-police-checks-based-on-skin-color-a-864455.html> [Accessed 26.2.2018].
- <sup>13</sup> [https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/decision-en\\_20090812.pdf](https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/decision-en_20090812.pdf) [Accessed 17.1.2018]. Rosalind Williams Lecraft v. Spain. - Submitted to the Helsinki Commission. March 22, 2010.
- <sup>14</sup> See <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/litigation/zeshan-muhammad-v-spain> [Accessed 26.2.2018].
- <sup>15</sup> 'Because You're Black': Spain Ethnic Profiling Case Goes to Strasbourg, 25.1.2018, Rights International Spain <https://www.liberties.eu/en/news/echr-takes-on-case-on-ethnic-profiling/14017> [Accessed 26.2.2018].
- <sup>16</sup> All police education materials highlight the risk of the potential misunderstandings between immigrants and the police. As a main reason for this is given that immigrants are suspicious about the police because of the experiences in their former home countries. The National Police Board stresses proper communication of the reasons of immigration controls.
- <sup>17</sup> The original idea was to include our survey questions in barometer conducted by The Finnish Youth Research Society and by The State Youth Council. However, we were able to get our questions accepted only for the test-phase of the survey. Apart from overrepresentation of Swedish speakers, the test data represents quite accurately the Finnish young population as a whole.



<sup>18</sup> In the context of telephone surveys it must be noted that not all young people have personal phone numbers. They might be under the names of their parents, some have pre-paid contracts, some confidential numbers and some do not have phone at all. It has been estimated that slightly over half of the young people from 15 to 29 years have a phone number that can be found from the registers. Among the sample of foreign language speakers the corresponding proportion was as low as 15 percent.

<sup>19</sup> Cronbach alfa's value measuring the reliability of the sum variable is rather low (0.434).

<sup>20</sup> In addition to six ethnic/national categories, our questionnaire were presented to eight Roma youth as well. Since the number is so low and Roma youth were reached through various contact persons we decided not to include this "non-probability" sub-sample in our data. However, it can be mentioned that the presence of control and profiling seems to be very intense in the lives of Roma youth. Seven out of eight Roma respondents know other young people stopped by the police without an apparent reason. Moreover, seven respondents report of having personally experienced stop and search practices of the police and all of them claim that this was because of their appearance or skin color. Finally, the majority of Roma respondents thought that during their encounters police had acted in inappropriate manners. These same findings apply to salespersons and security guards as well. The findings are even more striking when taking into account that the majority of Roma respondents were women (six out of eight) who are, in general, less likely targets of police control. Thus, and in line with our qualitative results, Roma youth may be the prime targets of ethnic profiling in Finland.

<sup>21</sup> While criticizing salespersons and security guards the actual formulation of the survey question must be taken into account. Instead of relatively neutral term "stop" respondents were asked about whether they have been followed or told to leave premises. These types of practices are in itself quite inappropriate. However, this does not change the fact that minority respondents are followed and told to leave premises relatively often and most of them think that this intrusive control is related to their skin color or appearance.

## References

- American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), (2017). *Racial Profiling: Definition*. [online] American Civil Liberties Union. Available at: <https://www.aclu.org/other/racial-profiling-definition> [Accessed 25.11.2017].
- Alemanji, AA. (2016). *Is There Such a Thing...?: A Study of Antiracism Education in Finland*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- AOA (2011). *Apulaisoikeusasiamiehen päätös*. 3695/4/09.
- Ariza, J. (2014). Police-Initiated Contacts: Young People, Ethnicity, and the 'Usual Suspects'. *Policing & Society*, 24(2), pp. 208–223.
- At Home in Europe (2013). *Somalis in Helsinki. Somalis in European Cities*. New York: Open Society Foundations. [online] Available at: <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/somalis-helsinki-20131121.pdf> [Accessed 5.1.2018].
- Balibar, É. (2004). *We, the People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bigo, D. (2002). Security and Immigration: Toward a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease. *Alternatives* 27(1), pp. 63–92.
- Bowling, B. and Phillips, C. (2007). Disproportionate and Discriminatory: Reviewing the Evidence on Police Stop and Search. *The Modern Law Review*, 70(6), pp. 936–961.
- Bradford, B. (2015). Unintended consequences. In R. Delsol and M. Shiner, eds, *Stop and Search*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Brah, A. and Phoenix, A. (2004). Ain't I a Woman? Revisiting Intersectionality. *Journal of International Women's Studies* 5:3, pp. 75–86.
- Castaneda, A., Rask, S., Koponen, P., Mölsä, M., and Koskinen, S. (2012). *Maahanmuuttajien terveys ja hyvinvointi. Tutkimus venäläis-, somalialais- ja kurditaustaisista Suomessa*. Helsinki: Terveysten ja hyvinvoinnin laitos.
- Castaneda, A., Larja, L., Nieminen, T., Jokela, S., Suvisaari, J., Rask, S., Koponen, P. and Koskinen, S. (2015). *Ulkomaalaistaustaisten psyykinen hyvinvointi, turvallisuus ja osallisuus Ulkomaista syntyperää olevien työ ja hyvinvointi - tutkimus 2014 (UTH)*. Helsinki: Terveysten ja hyvinvoinnin laitos.
- CDPDJ (Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse) (2011). *Racial profiling and systemic discrimination of racialized youth*. Quebec: Imprimerie GG Inc.

*Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*, 2012/C 326/02. OJ C 326, 26.10.2012, 391–407.

City of Helsinki (2017). *Puistot*. [online] Helsingin kaupunki. Available at: <https://www.hel.fi/helsinki/fi/asuminen-ja-ymparisto/luonto-ja-viheralueet/puistot> [Accessed 29.11.2017].

*Council Directive 2000/43/EC implementing the Principle of Equal Treatment between Persons irrespective of Racial or Ethnic Origin (2000)*. OJ L180/22.

de los Reyes, P. (2006). Välfärd, medborgerskap och diskriminering. In: P. de los Reyes, ed., *Om välfärdens gränser och det villkorade medborgerskapet*. SOU 2006:37. Stockholm: Edita, pp. 7–31.

de los Reyes, P., Molina, I. and Mulinari, D. (2003). *Maktens (o)lika förklådnader. Kön, klass & etnicitet i det postkoloniala Sverige*. Stockholm: Atlas.

de los Reyes, P. and Mulinari, D. (2005). *Intersektionalitet: kritiska reflektioner över (o)jämlighetens landskap*. Malmö: Liber.

de los Reyes, P., Hörnqvist, M., Boréus, K., Estrada, F., Flyghed, J., Arriagada, AG, Lundgren, M. and Lundström, M. (2014). *Bilen brinner... men problemen är kvar. Berättelser om Husby händelserna i maj 2013*. Stockholm: Stockholmia förlag.

Delsol, R. (2015). Effectiveness. In R. Delsol, R. and M. Shiner, eds., *Stop and Search: The Anatomy of a Police Power*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Delsol, R. and Shiner, M. eds., (2015). *Stop and Search: The Anatomy of a Police Power*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dyson, M. (2017). *Tears We Cannot Stop: A Sermon to White America*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Egharevba, S. (2011). *Understanding the Racial Nature of Police and Immigrant Relations in Finland. The Case of Africans in Turku*. Annales Universitatis Turkuensis B331. Turku: University of Turku.

EP (2009). *European Parliament recommendation to the Council of 24 April 2009 on the problem of profiling, notably on the basis of ethnicity and race, in counter-terrorism, law enforcement, immigration, customs and border control*. (2008/2020(INI)).

European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) General Policy Recommendation N°11, (2007). *On Combating Racism and Racial Discrimination in Policing*. [online] Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Available at: [https://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/activities/GPR/EN/Recommendation\\_N11/e-RPG%2011%20-%20A4.pdf](https://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/activities/GPR/EN/Recommendation_N11/e-RPG%2011%20-%20A4.pdf) [Accessed 4.1.2018].

- ECRI (2013). *Report on Finland (fourth monitoring cycle)*, 9.7.2013. European Commission against Racism and Intolerance.
- European Network Against Racism (ENAR) Fact Sheet 40, (2009). *Ethnic Profiling*. [online] Brussels: European Network Against Racism and Open Society Justice Initiative. Available at: <http://cms.horus.be/files/99935/MediaArchive/pdf/FS40%20-%20ethnic%20profiling.pdf> [Accessed 4.1.2018].
- Fassin, D. (2013). *Enforcing order: An Ethnography of Urban Policing*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), (2009). *EU-MIDIS. European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. Main Results Report*. [online] Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. Available at: <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2012/european-union-minorities-and-discrimination-survey-main-results-report> [Accessed 4.1.2018].
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), (2010). *Towards More Effective Policing Understanding and Preventing Discriminatory Ethnic Profiling: A Guide*. [online] Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. Available at: <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2010/towards-more-effective-policing-understanding-and-preventing-discriminatory-ethnic> [Accessed 4.1.2018].
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), (2017). *EU-MIDIS. Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. Main Results*. [online] Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. Available at: <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2017/eumidis-ii-main-results> [Accessed 4.1.2018].
- Fitzgerald, R. T. and Carrington P. J. (2011). Disproportionate Minority Contact in Canada: Police and Visible Minority Youth. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 53(4), pp. 449–486.
- Gabbidon, S. and Higgins, G. (2007). Consumer Racial Profiling and Perceived Victimization: A Phone Survey of Philadelphia Area Residents. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 32(1–2), pp. 1–11.
- Glover, K. (2009). *Racial Profiling. Research, Racism, and Resistance*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Goldberg, D. (2015). *Are We Post Racial Yet?* Cambridge: Polity press.
- Grönfors, M. (1979). *Ethnic Minorities and Deviance: The Relationship between Finnish Gypsies and the Police*. Sociology of Law Series no. 1. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

- Guentner, S., Lukes, S., Stanton, R., Vollmer, B. and Wilding, J. (2016). Bordering Practices in the UK Welfare System. *Critical Social Policy*, 36(3), pp. 391–411.
- Gundhus, H. O. I. and Franko, K. (2016). Global Policing and Mobility: Identity, Territory, Sovereignty. In B. Bradford, B. Jauregui, I. Loader and J. Steinberg, eds, *The SAGE Handbook of Global Policing*. GB: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Hancock, L. (2012). Securitization, Urban Policy and "The Community". In: Husband, C., ed. *Social Cohesion, Securitization and Counter-terrorism*. COLLEGIUM. Studies across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences 11. Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies.
- Harris, D. (1999). *Driving While Black: Racial Profiling on Our Nation's Highways*. Washington: American Civil Liberties Union.
- Harris, D. (2002). *Profiles in Injustice: Why Police Profiling Cannot Work*. New York: The New Press.
- Hautaniemi, P. (2004). *Pojat! Somalipoikien kiistanalainen nuoruus Suomessa*. Helsinki: Nuorisotutkimusseura.
- HE (2014). *Hallituksen esitys eduskunnalle laiksi ulkomaalaislain muuttamisesta*. HE 169/2014 vp.
- Heumann, M. and Cassak, L. (2003). *Good Cop, Bad Cop. Racial Profiling and Competing Views of Justice*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Home Office (2017). Police Powers and Procedures, England and Wales, Year Ending 31 March 2017. *Home Office Statistical Bulletin 20/17*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Home Office.
- Honkatukia, P. and Suurpää, L. (2008). *Nuorten miesten elämäntilanne ja rikollisuus*. Helsinki: Oikeuspoliittinen tutkimuslaitos, Nuorisotutkimusseura.
- HPL (2016). *Helsingin poliisilaitoksen selvitys*. 8 June, POL-2016-7378. Helsinki Police Department.
- HS (2008). 'Vähemmistövaltuutettu paheksuu poliisin ulkomaalaisratsioita' (*The Minority Ombudsman criticizes police over immigration raids*), 11 March. [online] Helsingin Sanomat. Available at: <http://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/artikkeli/V%C3%A4hemmist%C3%B6valtuutetu+paheksuu+poliisin+ulkomaalaisratsioita/1135234731691> [Last accessed 14.3.2017].
- Hydén, S. and Lundberg, A. (2004). Inre utlänningskontroll i polisarbete - mellan rättstatsideal och effektivitet i Schengens Sverige. *Malmö Studies in International Migration and Ethnic Relations*, 1. Malmö: Malmö högskola. *Linköping Studies in Art and Science*, 291. Linköping: Linköping universitet.

- Jackson, J., Bradford, B., Hough, M., Myhill, A., Quinton, P. and Tyler T.R. (2012). Why Do People Comply with the Law? Legitimacy and the Influence of Legal Institutions. *British Journal of Criminology*, 52(6), pp. 1051–1071.
- Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K. and Vesala, T. (2002). *Rasismi ja syrjintä Suomessa. Maahanmuuttajien kokemukset*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.
- Kádár, A. and Pap, A.L. (2009). Police Ethnic Profiling in Hungary – An Empirical Research. *Acta Iuridica Hungarica*, 50(3), pp. 253–267.
- Kainulainen, H. (2009). Huumeiden käyttäjien rikosoikeudellinen kontrolli. *Oikeuspoliittisen tutkimuslaitoksen tutkimuksia 245*. Helsinki: Oikeuspoliittinen tutkimuslaitos.
- Kerttula, T (2010). *Vartijat ja järjestyksenvalvojat julkisen vallan käyttäjinä*. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston oikeustieteellinen tiedekunta.
- Keskinen, S. (2011). Borders of the Finnish Nation: Media, Politics and Rape by 'Foreign' Perpetrators. In: E. Eide and K. Nikunen, eds., *Media in Motion. Cultural Complexity and Migration in the Nordic Region*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 107–124.
- Keskinen, S. (2012). Kulttuurilla merkityt toiset ja universaalien kohtelun paradoksi. In: S. Keskinen, J. Vuori and A. Hirsiaho, eds, *Monikulttuurisuuden sukupuoli. Erot ja kansalaisuus hyvinvointiyhteiskunnassa*. Tampere: Tampere University Press.
- Keskinen, S. (2013). Islam ja sukupuolistuneen väkivallan uhka suomalaisessa mediakeskustelussa. In: T. Martikainen and M. Tiilikainen, ed, *Islam, turvallisuus ja hallinta*. Turku: Eetos.
- Keskinen, S. (2014). Re-constructing the Peaceful Nation: Negotiating Meanings of Whiteness, Immigration and Islam after a Shopping-mall Shooting. *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, 20(6), pp. 471–485.
- Keskinen, S., Vuori, J. and Hirsiaho, A. (2012). *Monikulttuurisuuden sukupuoli. Erot ja kansalaisuus hyvinvointiyhteiskunnassa*. Tampere: Tampere University Press.
- Klien, D. (1991). The humiliation dynamic: An overview. *Journal of Primary Prevention*, 12(2), pp. 93–121.
- Korander, T. (2004). Poliisikulttuuri - Poliisiammatin ja -tutkimuksen väline. *Oikeus*, 33(1), pp. 4–24.
- Korander, T. (2014). *Rikottujen ikkunoiden nollatoleranssi. Tutkimus New Yorkin rikosentorjunnan uus konservatiivi-mallista Suomessa*. Turku: Turun yliopisto.
- Kundnani, A. (2014). *The Muslims Are Coming! Islamophobia, Extremism and the Domestic War on Terror*. London: Verso.

- Kääriäinen, J. and Niemi, J. (2014). Distrust of the Police in a Nordic Welfare State: Victimization, Discrimination, and Trust in the Police by Russian and Somali minorities in Helsinki. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, 12(1), pp. 4–24.
- Lamberth, J. (1998). *Driving While Black: A Statistician Proves That Prejudice Still Rules the Road*. [online] Hartford Web Publishing. Available at: [www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/45a/192.html](http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/45a/192.html) [Accessed 4.1.2018].
- Layne, H. and Alemanji, AA. (2015). ‘Zebra World’: The Promotion of Imperial Stereotypes in a Children’s Book. *Power and Education* 7(2), pp.181–195.
- Leander, P. (2014a). *Skyldig tills motsatsen bevisats? En granskning av polisens inre utlänningskontroller*. [online] Arena Idé. Available at: <http://arenaide.se/rappporter/skyldig-tills-motsatsen-bevisats/> [Accessed 5.1.2018].
- Leander, P. (2014b). *Efter Mos Maiorum. En granskning av polisens arbete med inre utlänningskontroller*. [online] Arena Idé. Available at: <http://www.arenaide.se/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2014/12/Final-Efter-Mos-Maiorum2.pdf> [Accessed 5.1.2018].
- Leinonen, J. (2012). Invisible Immigrants, Visible Expats? Americans in Finnish Discourses on Immigration and Internationalization. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 2(3), pp. 213–223.
- Lindner, E. (2006). *Making Enemies: Humiliation and International Conflict*. Westport, CT: Praeger Security International.
- Lindstedt, J.S. (2010). Syrjintä etnisen alkuperän perusteella. In *Oikeusasiames 90 vuotta -juhlakirja*, pp.129–157. [online] Oikeusasiames. Available at: <https://www.oikeusasiames.fi/documents/20184/44493/Lindstedt%2C+Syrjinta+etnisen+alkuperan+perusteella.pdf> [Accessed 15.3.2017].
- Lundman, R. and Kaufman, R. (2003). Driving While Black: Effects of Race, Ethnicity and Gender of Citizen Self-reports of Traffic Stops and Police Actions. *Criminology*, 41(1), pp. 195–220.
- Löfstrand, C. (2015). Private Security Policing by ‘Ethnic Matching’ in Swedish Suburbs: Avoiding and Managing Accusations of Ethnic Discrimination. *Policing and Society*, 25(2), pp. 150–169.
- Martikainen, T. and Tiilikainen, M. (2013). *Islam, turvallisuus ja hallinta*. Turku: Eetos.
- Massey, D. (2008). *Samanaikainen tila*. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Miller, J., Bland, N. and Quinton P. (2000). *The Impact of Stops and Searches on Crime and the Community Police*. London: Home Office.
- Miller, J., Gounev, P., Pap, A.L., Wagman, D., Balogi, A., Bezlov, T., Simonovits, B. and Vargha L. (2008). Racism and Police Stops: Adapting US and British



- Debates to Continental Europe. *European Journal of Criminology*, 5(2), pp. 161–191.
- Miller, J. (2010). Stop and Search in England: A Reformed Tactic Or Business as Usual? *The British Journal of Criminology* 50(5), pp. 954–974.
- Ministry of Justice (MOJ), (2015). *Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System 2014. A Ministry of Justice publication under Section 95 of the Criminal Justice Act 1991*. [online] Available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/480250/bulletin.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/480250/bulletin.pdf) [Accessed 4.1.2018].
- Molina, I. (2005). Rasifiering. Ett teoretiskt perspektiv i analysen av diskriminering i Sverige. In: P. de los Reyes and M. Kamali, eds, *Bortom Vi och Dom. Teoretiska reflektioner om makt, integration och strukturell diskrimination*. SOU 2005:41. Stockholm: Edita, pp. 95–112.
- Mulinari, LS. (2017). *Slumpvis utvald. Ras-/etnisk profilering i Sverige*. Stockholm: Civil Rights Defenders/Kriminologiska institutionen, Stockholms universitet.
- Myllyniemi, S. (2012). Tilasto-osio. In: S. Myllyniemi, ed., *Monipolvinen hyvinvointi. Nuorisobarometri 2012*. Helsinki: Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö, Nuorisotutkimusverkosto, Nuorisosiain neuvottelukunta, pp. 13–126.
- Myllyniemi, S. (2014). Tilasto-osio. In: S. Myllyniemi, ed., *Ihmisarvoinen nuoruus. Nuorisobarometri 2014*. Helsinki: Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö, Nuorisotutkimusverkosto, Nuorisosiain neuvottelukunta, pp. 11–124.
- Ojanen, T. (2010). Terrorist profiling: human rights concerns. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 3(2), pp. 295–312.
- O'Neill, M. and Hubbard, P. (2010). Walking, Sensing, Belonging: Ethno-Mimesis as Performative Praxis. *Visual Studies*, 25(1), pp. 46–58.
- Open Society Justice Initiative (OSJI), (2009a). *Ethnic profiling in the European Union: Pervasive, Ineffective, and Discriminatory*. [online] Open Society Foundations. Available at: [https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/profiling\\_20090526.pdf](https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/profiling_20090526.pdf) [Accessed 4.1.2018].
- Open Society Justice Initiative (OSJI), (2009b). *Profiling Minorities: A Study of Stop-and-Search Practices in Paris*. [online] Open Society Foundations. Available at: [https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/search\\_20090630.Web.pdf](https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/search_20090630.Web.pdf) [Accessed 4.1.2018].
- Open Society Justice Initiative (OSJI), (2012). *Reducing Ethnic Profiling in the European Union: A Handbook of Good Practices*. [online] Open Society Foundations. Available at:



<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/publications/reducing-ethnic-profiling-european-union-handbook-good-practices> [Accessed 4.1.2018].

Open Society Justice Initiative (OSJI), (2013). *International Standards on Ethnic Profiling: Standards and Decisions from the European Systems*. Case digests. November 2013. Open Society Justice Initiative. [online] Open Society Foundations. Available at:

[https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/case-digests-ethnic%20profiling-european-systems-110813\\_o.pdf](https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/case-digests-ethnic%20profiling-european-systems-110813_o.pdf) [Accessed 15.3.2017].

Open Society Justice Initiative (OSJI), (2016). *French Court Victory Puts Police on Notice over Racially-Biased Stops*. Press Release. November 9, 2016. Open Society Justice Initiative. [online] Open Society Foundations.

Available at: <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/press-releases/french-court-victory-calls-police-account-over-racially-biased-stops> [Accessed 16.1.2018].

Pap, A. (2007). Police Ethnic Profiling in Hungary: Lessons from an International Research. *Regio*, 10, pp. 117–140.

Peterson, A. and Åkerström, M. (2013). *Den sorterande ordningsmakten: Studier av etnicitet och polisiär kontroll*. Malmö: Bokbox förlag.

PeL (1999). *Suomen perustuslaki*. 731/1999.

Phillips, C. and Bowling, B. (2012). Ethnicities, Racism, Crime and Criminal Justice. In: M. Maguire, R. Morgan, R. Reiner, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, 5th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 421–460.

Pickering, S. and Weber, L. (2006). De-territorialising Criminology. In S. Pickering and L. Weber, eds., *Borders, Mobility and Technologies of Control*. AA Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer, pp. 207–212.

Poliisihallitus (POL), (2017): Poliisihallituksen selvitys. POL-2017-11444.

Police University College (PUC), (2016). *Opetussuunnitelma*. [online] Poliisiammattikorkeakoulu. Available at: [http://www.polamk.fi/instancedata/prime\\_product\\_julkaisu/intermin/embeds/polamkwwwstructure/26969\\_AMK\\_ops.pdf?8d4c2530c25bd488](http://www.polamk.fi/instancedata/prime_product_julkaisu/intermin/embeds/polamkwwwstructure/26969_AMK_ops.pdf?8d4c2530c25bd488) [Accessed 4.1.2018].

PolL (2011). *Poliisilaki*. 872/2011.

*Protocol No. 12 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*. Rome, 4.11.2000. ETS No. 177.

Puuronen, V. (2011). *Rasistinen Suomi*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Quinton, P. (2015). Race Disproportionality and Officer Decision-Making. In R. Delsol and M. Shiner, eds., *Stop and Search*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 57–78.

- Ramirez, D., Hoopes, J. and Quinlan, T. (2003). Defining Racial Profiling in a Post-September 11 World. *American Criminal Law Review*, 40(3), pp. 1195–1234.
- Rankine, C. (2014). *Citizen: An American Lyric*. Minneapolis: Graywolf Press.
- Rasinkangas, J. (2013). *Sosiaalinen eriytyminen Turun kaupunkiseudulla. Tutkimus asumisen alueellisista muutoksista ja asumispreferensseistä*. Turku: Siirtolaisuusinstituutti.
- Rastas, A. (2007). *Rasismi lasten ja nuorten arjessa*. Tampere: Tampere University Press/Nuorisotutkimusseura.
- Reading the Riots (2011). *Investigating England's Summer of Disorder*. London: The Guardian/The London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Reiner, R. (2010). *The Politics of the Police*. 4th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reitzel, J. and Piquero, A. (2006). Does It Exist? Studying Citizens' Attitudes on Racial Profiling. *Police Quarterly*, 9(2), pp. 161–183.
- Rigo, E. (2009). *Rajojen Eurooppa*. Helsinki: Like.
- Ronkainen, S. (2015). Goals, Tasks and Uses of Knowledge: Mixing Methodologies in Interdisciplinary Research. In: R. Brusila, A-K. Juntti-Henriksson, H. Vanhanen, eds., *Integrated Media in Change*. 2nd ed. Rovaniemi: Lapland University Press, pp. 13–34.
- Saari, K. (2009). Poliisin ja etnisten vähemmistöjen välinen suhde 2000-luvun Suomessa – kertovatko suomalaistutkimukset kahta ristiriitaista tarinaa? *Oikeus*, 38(4), pp. 402–419.
- Saarikkomäki, E. (2010). Nuoriin kohdistuva poliisikontrolli kyselytutkimuksen valossa. *Oikeuspoliittisen tutkimuslaitoksen tutkimustiedonantoja 106*. Helsinki: Oikeuspoliittinen tutkimuslaitos.
- Saarikkomäki, E. (2017). *Trust in Public and Private Public Policing. Young People's Encounters With the Police and Private Security Guards*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Saarikkomäki, E. and Kivivuori, J. (2013). Young People as Objects of Police Control in a Nordic Context: Who Are the Socially Visible Targets? *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 19(4), pp. 351–368.
- Salmi, V., Sirén, R., Danielsson, P. and Suonpää, K. (2014). Maahanmuuttajat rikosten uhreina ja tekijöinä kyselytutkimuksen valossa. In: M. Lehti, V. Salmi, M. Aaltonen, P. Danielsson, V. Hinkkanen, H. Niemi, R. Sirén and K. Suonpää, eds., *Maahanmuuttajat rikosten uhreina ja tekijöinä*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Helsinki: Oikeuspoliittinen tutkimuslaitos, pp. 128–240.

- Schildkraut, D. (2009). The Dynamics of Public Opinion on Ethnic Profiling After 9/11: Results from a Survey Experiment. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 53(1), pp. 61–79.
- Schierup, CU., Ålund, A., and Kings, L. (2014). Reading the Stockholm Riots - A Moment for Social Justice? *Race and Class* 44(3), pp. 1–21.
- Shiner, M. (2015). Regulation and Reform. In R. Delsol and M. Shiner, eds., *Stop and Search*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 146–169.
- Skogan, W.G. (2017). Stop-and-Frisk and Trust in Police in Chicago. D. Oberwittler and S. Roché in eds., *Police-Citizen Relations Across the World, Comparing Sources and Contexts of Trust and Legitimacy*. New York: Routledge.
- SM (2012). *Action Plan Against Illegal Immigration 2012-2015*. Ministry of the Interior publications 41/2012. [online] Valtioneuvosto. Available at: <http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-491-791-9> [Last accessed 15<sup>th</sup> of May 2017].
- Sollund, R. (2006). Racialisation in Police Stop and Search Practice – the Norwegian Case. *Critical Criminology*, 14(3), pp. 265–292.
- Spitzer, E. (1999). *The New York City Police Department's "Stop and Frisk" Practices: A Report to the People of the State of New York From the Office of the Attorney General*. New York: Civil Rights Bureau.
- Swedish Aliens Act 2005, *Aliens Act (2005:716)*. Available at: [http://www.government.se/contentassets/784b3d7be3a54a0185f284bbb2683055/aliens-act-2005\\_716.pdf](http://www.government.se/contentassets/784b3d7be3a54a0185f284bbb2683055/aliens-act-2005_716.pdf) [Accessed 14.3.2017].
- Syrjintälautakunta (2014). *Tapauksia ja oikeuskäytäntöä 2004-2014*. Syrjintälautakunta.
- Tani, S. (2011). Oikeus oleskella? Hengailua kauppakeskuksen näkyvillä ja näkymättömillä rajoilla. *Alue ja ympäristö*, 40(2), pp. 3–16.
- Tanner, A., ed., (2008). *Poliisi ja maahanmuuttajat. Kohti kotoutumista edistävää vuorovaikutusta*. Tampere: Poliisiammattikorkeakoulu.
- Tervonen, M. (2012). Romanit ja suuri muutos. In P. Pulma, ed., *Suomen romanien historia*. Helsinki: SKS, pp. 166–197.
- Tuomi, J., and Sarajärvi, A. (2004). *Laadullinen tutkimus ja sisällönanalyysi*. Jyväskylä: Gummerus Kirjapaino.
- Tuominen, M., Joronen, T., and Laihin, E. (2014). "Se sanoi, että näytän aivan \*\*\*\*\* ja alkoi solvaamaan". *Maahanmuuttajataustaisten nuorten turvattomuuskokemukset Helsingissä*. Helsinki: Helsingin kaupungin tietokeskus.

- Tyler, T.R. (2011). Trust and Legitimacy: Policing in the USA and Europe. *European Journal of Criminology*, 8(4), pp. 254–266.
- UL (2004). *Ulkomaalaislaki*. 301/2004.
- UNHRC (2009). *Rosalind Williams Lecraft v Spain*. Comm No. 1493/2006, 30 July 2009. United Nations Human Rights Committee.
- Vaattovaara, M., Kortteinen, M., and Schulman, H. (2012). A Nordic Welfare Model at a Turning Point? Social Housing and Segregation in Finland. In: J-C. Driant, N. Houard, eds., *Social Housing in Europe*. London: Routledge, pp. 49–70.
- Van der Leun, J., and Van der Woude, M. (2011). Ethnic Profiling in the Netherlands? A Reflection on Expanding Preventive Powers, Ethnic Profiling and a Changing Social and Political Context. *Policing and Society*, 21(4), pp. 444–455.
- Van der Leun, J., van der Woude, M., Leupen, A., and Blokland, A. (2013). *Country Profile: The Netherlands. An Exploratory Quantitative and Qualitative Research into Perceptions of Policing & Ethnic Profiling*. <https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2358040>
- Van der Woude, M., and Van der Leun, J. (2017). Crimmigration Checks in the Internal Border Areas of the EU: Finding the Discretion That Matters. *European Journal of Criminology*, 14(1), pp. 27–45.
- Van Dijk, T. (1993). Stories and Racism. In: D. Mumby, ed., *Narrative and Social Control*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Newbury Park: SAGE Publications, pp. 121–142.
- Verniero, P., and Zoubek, P. (1999). *Interim Report of the State Police Review Team Regarding Allegations of Racial Profiling*. Trenton: Attorney General's Office.
- Vilkama, K. (2010). Kaupungin laidalla. Kantaväestön ja maahanmuuttajataustaisten alueellinen eriytyminen Helsingissä. *Terra*, 122(4), pp. 183–200.
- Waddington, P.A.J. (1999). *Policing Citizens: Police, Power and the State*. London: Routledge.
- Walters, W. (2004). Secure Borders, Safe Haven, Domopolitics. *Citizenship Studies* 8(3), pp. 237–260.
- Weitzer, R., and Tuch, S. (2002). Perceptions of Racial Profiling: Race, Class, and Personal Experience. *Criminology*, 40(2), pp. 435–457.
- Weitzer, R., and Tuch, S. (2006). *Race and Policing in America: Conflict and Reform*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- YhdenvertL (2014). *Yhdenvertaisuuslaki*. 1325/2014.

# **Appendixes**

## **Appendix 1: Interview Themes**

### **Thematic Structure of Individual and Group Interviews**

1. Background information
2. Important life events and arrival in Finland (if the person has migrated) (for individual interviews only)
3. Experiences of being stopped by the police
4. Experiences of being stopped by security guards at shops/shopping centres/railway station etc.
5. Experiences of being stopped by border control
6. Other (possible) experiences of ethnic profiling
7. The meaning and implications of these experiences
8. Have you heard or do you know of others who have been stopped in the street or other similar places?
9. Other experiences and thoughts of the police
10. Is there something else you would like to tell/something that hasn't already been discussed that you find relevant in relation to this topic?

### **Thematic Structure of Police Interviews**

1. Background
2. Control of foreign nationals
3. Ethnic profiling and other police work
4. Registering and complaints about ethnic profiling
5. Police education and training when in duty
6. Police and ethnic/racial minorities
7. Other relevant matters

## Appendix 2: Survey Questionnaire

**Q1: Please try to think of the future of Finland. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?**

(fully agree / agree to some extent / disagree to some extent / fully disagree / not able to say)

- 1) The significance of communality will increase
- 2) There will be more discrimination toward minorities
- 3) Inequality will be more common
- 4) The significance of extreme societal movements will increase
- 5) Insecurity will be more common
- 6) More and more people will leave Finland

Next I will ask you some questions about trust.

**Q2: What do you think? Would most people try to exploit you if they had the chance or would they be fair? Please tell your opinion in scale from zero to ten. Zero means that most people would try to exploit you and ten that they would be fair. (0–10, not able to say)**

**Q3: How much do you trust in the following institutions?** (trust a lot / trust to some extent / not much / not at all)

- 1) Municipal authorities
- 2) Governmental authorities
- 3) Police
- 4) The national parliament
- 5) The government of Finland.
- 6) European Union
- 7) Large companies
- 8) Judicial system (e.g. courts of law)

**Q4: Do you believe that the following actors will treat everybody equally?** (trust a lot / trust to some extent / not much / not at all)

- 1) Police
- 2) Judicial system
- 3) Security guards and officers
- 4) Salespersons in shops
- 5) Border guards
- 6) Customs officers

Next I will ask you a couple of questions concerning feelings of safety and so called ethnic profiling.

**Q5: Think of your life during the past year. To what extent you have experienced uncertainties and insecurities because of the following things?** (very many, quite many, not many and not few, few, very few or not at all, not able to say)

- 1) Insecurities in your living environment
- 2) Physical violence against you

- 3) Mental violence against you
- 4) Discrimination against you
- 5) Your own future

**Q6: It has been claimed that some police officers target more control toward persons who appear to have a foreign background or represent ethnic minorities (such as Roma people). Do you know young people who have been stopped by the police because of their alleged foreign background or ethnic minority status?** (yes / no / not able to say)

**Q7: Do you think that targeted control by the police toward people who appear to have a foreign or ethnic minority background is acceptable?** (yes / no / not able to say)

**Q8: Have you been stopped by the police without any apparent reason (e.g. to check your identity or belongings)?** (yes / no / not able to say)

IF YES (Q8)

**Q8a: Do you think that you were stopped because of your appearance or your skin color?** (yes / no / not able to say)

**Q8b: Did police officers behave in a proper way during the stops?** (always / most of the times / rarely / never / not able to say)

**Q8c: Have you been stopped by the police without any apparent reason during the last 12 months?** (yes / no / not able to say)

**Q9: Have security guards or salespersons in shops been following you or telling you to leave without any apparent reason?** (yes / no / not able to say)

IF YES (Q9)

**Q9a: Do you think that this has happened because of your appearance or your skin color?** (yes / no / not able to say)

**Q9b: Did security guards and salespersons behave in a proper way during these situations?** (always / most of the times / rarely / never / not able to say)

**Q9c: Have security guards or salespersons been following you or telling you to leave without any apparent reason during the last 12 months?** (yes / no / not able to say)

**Q10: Have you been stopped by customs officers or border guards without any apparent reason (e.g. when you have arrived in Finland by boat or plane)?** (yes / no / not able to say)

IF YES (Q10)

**Q10a: Do you think that you were stopped because of your appearance or your skin color?** (yes / no / not able to say)

**Q10b: Did customs officers or border guards behave in a proper way during the stops?** (always / most of the times / rarely / never / not able to say)

**Q10c: Have you been stopped by customs officers or border guards without any apparent reason during the last 12 months?** (yes / no / not able to say)

IF YES (Q8, Q9 or Q10)

**Q11: Have your experiences of being stopped changed the places you go during your free time?** (yes / no / not able to say)

IF YES (Q11)

**Q11a: In what ways?** (open question)

**Q12: Do you know which officials you can contact in the case of witnessing discriminatory or inappropriate behavior by the police?** (yes / no / not able to say)

**Q13: Do you need more information about your rights in situations in which police behaves in discriminatory or inappropriate ways?** (yes / no / not able to tell)

\*\*\*

Finally, I would like to ask you some background information.

**B1: What is your gender?**

female / male / other / not able to tell or do not want to tell

**B2: How old you are?** (OR: FROM THE REGISTER)

**B3: What is the area code of your current address?** (OR: FROM THE REGISTER)

**B4: What is the highest degree your mother has completed?**

- 1) Vocational degree
- 2) Upper secondary school (high school)
- 3) Some other secondary degree
- 4) University of applied sciences
- 5) University
- 6) No degree
- 7) Not able to say
- 8) No mother

**B5: What is the highest degree your father has completed?**

- 1) Vocational degree
- 2) Upper secondary school (high school)
- 3) Some other secondary degree
- 4) University of applied sciences
- 5) University
- 6) No degree
- 7) Not able to say
- 8) No father

**B6:**

- 1) In which country you were born? \_\_\_\_\_
  - a. ASK IF BORN OUTSIDE OF FINLAND: Which year you moved to Finland? (The most recent year of migration if necessary) \_\_\_\_\_



- 2) Are you a citizen of Finland? (yes / no / not able to say)
- 3) In which country your mother was born? \_\_\_\_\_
- 4) In which country your father was born? \_\_\_\_\_

**B7: Do you feel belonging to some minority based on the following identities?** (yes, a lot / yes, a little / no / not able to say)

- 1) Ethnicity
- 2) Language
- 3) Religious or ideological conviction
- 4) Sexual orientation (e.g. gay or lesbian) or gender identity (e.g. trans-identity or inter-gender)
- 5) Disableness or long-term condition
- 6) Appearance (e.g. skin color or way of dressing)
- 7) Some other minority

**B8: To what extent you feel yourself as...**

(a lot / moderately / little / not at all / not able to say)

- 1) Finn
- 2) Foreigner
- 3) Resident of my own locality (e.g. as a resident of Tampere)
- 4) European
- 5) World citizen
- 6) Multicultural
- 7) Immigrant
- 8) Some other, what? (an open question)

**B9: What is your principal status at the moment? Are you...**

1. In school or a student
2. Worker (as an instruction: various grants/scholarships are included in this category)
3. Entrepreneur
4. Unemployed
5. On parental leave
6. In a workshop, in job placement etc.
7. Something else, what? \_\_\_\_\_
8. No answer

ASK IF IN SCHOOL OR STUDENT

**B10 Are you currently in...?**

- 1) Elementary school
- 2) Upper secondary school
- 3) Vocational education
- 4) University of applied sciences
- 5) University
- 6) Some other
- 7) Not able to say

**The interview is now completed. Thank you very much for your valuable help.**

(IF INTERVIEWEE HAS REPORTED ABOUT EXPERIENCES OF BEING PROFILED)

**In questions related to ethnic profiling you can be in contact with researchers of the Stopped-project (<http://www.profiling.fi/>) or with Non-Discrimination Ombudsman.**

## Appendix 3: Regression Models

**Regression Table: Do you know young people who have been stopped by the police because of their alleged foreign background or ethnic minority status? Odds ratios for “yes” answers.**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Fitness of model	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Nagelkerke $R^2$	0.170	0.195	0.210	0.211	0.237
Ethnicity					
Finnish majority	1	1	1	1	1
Former Soviet Union	1.614	1.592	1.606	1.606	1.507
Somalian	4.000***	3.595***	3.693***	3.749***	4.146***
Arabic and Kurdish	5.593***	5.336***	5.867***	5.981***	5.937***
Swedish Speakers	0.337	0.341	0.321	0.307	0.289
Multicultural	3.286	3.038	3.181	3.184	3.085
Gender					
Female		1	1	1	1
Male		1.236	1.164	1.150	1.102
Age					
15-19		1	1	1	1
20-24		2.400*	2.508*	2.529*	3.049*
25-29		1.348	1.359	1.367	1.919
Parental education					
Low education			1	1	1
Moderate education			1.865	1.875*	1.891
High education			1.034	1.049	0.940
Place of residence					
Urban				1	1
Suburban				0.919	0.944
Rural				1.301	1.335
Principal status					
Pupil/student					1
Worker					0.694
Entrepreneur					0.552
Unemployed					0.484
On parental leave					0.225
In workshop etc.					0.234
Other					1.158

\*\*\* $p < .005$

\*\* $p < .010$

\* $p < .050$

**Regression Table: Have you been stopped by the police without any apparent reason (e.g. to check your identity or belongings)? Odds ratios for “yes” answers.**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Fitness of model	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Nagelkerke $R^2$	0.036	0.141	0.161	0.169	0.204
Ethnicity					
Finnish majority	1	1	1	1	1
Former Soviet Union	0.801	0.752	0.861	0.863	0.853
Somalian	1.349	1.128	0.984	1.142	1.232
Arabic and Kurdish	1.862	1.367	1.177	1.301	1.354
Swedish Speakers	0.529	0.503	0.508	0.470	0.425
Multicultural	1.222	0.798	0.854	0.909	1.101
Gender					
Female		1	1	1	1
Male		3.633***	3.439***	3.342***	3.332***
Age					
15-19		1	1	1	1
20-24		3.784*	3.755*	4.083*	4.734*
25-29		3.374*	3.365*	3.685*	5.454**
Parental education					
Low education			1	1	1
Moderate education			0.996	1.063	1.067
High education			0.397	0.424	0.376*
Place of residence					
Urban				1	1
Suburban				1.757	2.079
Rural				1.841	1.937
Principal status					
Pupil/student					1
Worker					0.754
Entrepreneur					0.358
Unemployed					0.230
On parental leave					0.337
In workshop etc.					0.932

\*\*\*p<.005

\*\*p<.010

\*p<.050

**Regression Table: Have security guards or salespersons in shops been following you or telling you to leave without any apparent reason?  
Odds ratios for “yes” answers.**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Fitness of model	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup>	0.117	0.128	0.150	0.168	0.238
Ethnicity					
Finnish majority	1	1	1	1	1
Former Soviet Union	1.547	1.666	1.650	1.706	1.905
Somalian	6.789***	6.765***	7.332***	6.297***	9.201***
Arabic and Kurdish	3.952***	3.857**	4.480***	4.195**	5.712***
Swedish Speakers	0.725	0.752	0.711	0.792	0.936
Multicultural	5.143*	4.887*	5.165*	4.976*	4.928*
Gender					
Female		1	1	1	1
Male		1.527	1.452	1.471	1.492
Age					
15-19		1	1	1	1
20-24		1.058	1.097	0.947	0.740
25-29		0.788	0.793	0.678	0.536
Parental education					
Low education			1	1	1
Moderate education			2.192*	2.046	2.405*
High education			1.243	1.154	1.338
Place of residence					
Urban				1	1
Suburban				0.224	0.228
Rural				0.377	0.430
Principal status					
Pupil/student					1
Worker					1.588
Entrepreneur					0.375
Unemployed					2.972
On parental leave					0.832

\*\*\*p<.005

\*\*p<.010

\*p<.050

## Appendix 4: Variance Analyses

**Variance of trust according to stops. One-way ANOVA. Means in one to four scale in which one illustrates poor trust and four strong trust.**

	POLICE (OTHERS)		POLICE (SELF)		SALES- PERSONS & SECURITY GUARDS (SELF)		BORDER CONTROL & CUSTOMS OFFICIALS (SELF)	
	mean	p	mean	p	mean	p	mean	p
<b>GENERALIZED TRUST*</b>								
Yes	5,94	0,423	5,62	0,158	5,55	0,113	5,20	0,014
No	6,27		6,32		6,31		6,40	
<b>GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITIES</b>								
Yes	2,81	0,085	2,61	0,053	2,92	0,626	2,59	0,045
No	3,07		2,94		2,84		2,94	
<b>MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES</b>								
Yes	2,70	0,081	2,64	0,021	3,08	0,418	2,61	0,019
No	2,95		3,08		2,95		3,08	
<b>POLICE</b>								
Yes	3,35	0,026	3,23	0,012	3,43	0,379	3,23	0,009
No	3,62		3,61		3,55		3,60	
<b>NATIONAL PARLIAMENT</b>								
Yes	2,37	0,002	2,39	0,033	2,29	0,015	2,20	0,001
No	2,87		2,79		2,78		2,84	
<b>NATIONAL GOVERNMENT</b>								
Yes	2,85	0,116	2,91	0,517	2,86	0,328	2,65	0,006
No	3,08		3,02		3,03		3,12	
<b>EUROPEAN UNION</b>								
Yes	2,34	0,306	2,32	0,406	2,11	0,022	2,19	0,096
No	2,50		2,47		2,52		2,51	
<b>LARGE COMPANIES</b>								
Yes	2,31	0,550	2,53	0,278	2,14	0,154	2,10	0,060
No	2,40		2,32		2,42		2,43	
<b>JURIDICAL SYSTEM</b>								
Yes	3,21	0,106	3,23	0,333	3,31	0,752	3,09	0,045
No	3,43		3,39		3,36		3,42	

\* Scale from one to ten

**Variance of belief in equal treatment according to stops. One-way ANOVA. Means in one to four scale in which one illustrates poor trust and four strong trust.**

	POLICE (OTHERS)		POLICE (SELF)		SALES- PERSONS & SECURITY GUARDS (SELF)		BORDER CONTROL & CUSTOMS OFFICIALS (SELF)	
	mean	p	mean	p	mean	p	mean	p
<b>POLICE</b>								
Yes	2,82	0,000	2,68	0,000	2,93	0,019	2,89	0,007
No	3,52		3,45		3,35		3,37	
<b>JUDICAL SYSTEM</b>								
Yes	3,21	0,298	3,15	0,224	3,16	0,240	3,12	0,165
No	3,34		3,34		3,33		3,34	
<b>SECURITY GUARDS</b>								
Yes	2,65	0,063	2,36	0,001	2,31	0,001	2,64	0,172
No	2,94		2,99		2,97		2,89	
<b>SHOP ASSISTANTS</b>								
Yes	2,97	0,149	3,02	0,523	2,87	0,078	3,00	0,376
No	3,16		3,11		3,15		3,13	
<b>BORDER GUARDS</b>								
Yes	3,06	0,003	3,23	0,414	3,18	0,253	3,05	0,029
No	3,48		3,36		3,37		3,41	
<b>CUSTOMS OFFICERS</b>								
Yes	3,15	0,011	3,29	0,490	3,22	0,224	3,20	0,167
No	3,49		3,40		3,41		3,42	

**Variance in identifications according to stops. One-way ANOVA. Means in one to three scale in which one illustrates weak and three strong identification.**

	POLICE (OTHERS)		POLICE (SELF)		SALES-PERSONS & SECURITY GUARDS (SELF)		BORDER CONTROL & CUSTOMS OFFICIALS (SELF)	
	mean	p	mean	p	mean	p	mean	p
<b>FINN</b>								
Yes	2,13	0,082	2,34	0,364	2,22	0,713	2,24	0,962
No	2,33		2,23		2,27		2,25	
<b>FOREIGNER</b>								
Yes	2,45	0,028	2,30	0,870	2,49	0,043	2,36	0,604
No	2,23		2,31		2,27		2,29	
<b>RESIDENT OF OWN LOCALITY</b>								
Yes	2,63	0,786	2,57	0,394	2,51	0,152	2,63	0,881
No	2,65		2,67		2,68		2,64	
<b>EUROPEAN</b>								
Yes	2,01	0,057	1,80	0,002	2,05	0,281	2,00	0,131
No	2,25		2,26		2,19		2,21	
<b>WORLD CITIZEN</b>								
Yes	2,44	0,465	2,40	0,390	2,64	0,125	2,51	0,793
No	2,52		2,52		2,45		2,48	
<b>MULTICULTURAL</b>								
Yes	2,69	0,886	2,69	0,930	2,78	0,201	2,70	0,744
No	2,68		2,68		2,66		2,67	
<b>IMMIGRANT</b>								
Yes	2,31	0,190	2,16	0,606	2,41	0,053	2,30	0,444
No	2,15		2,23		2,16		2,20	



## **SSKH Notat 1998**

### **SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 1998**

1/98

Åsa Rosengren och Gunborg Jakobsson

Äldreomsorgen i Norden – med exempel från Herlev, Jakobstad, Sandefjord och Stockholm. Nordiska modellkommunprojektet NOVA.

2/98

Gunborg Jakobsson och Åsa Rosengren

Kartläggning av äldreomsorgen i fem nordiska kommuner. Herlev, Akureyri, Jakobstad, Sandefjord och Katarina-Sofia socialdistrikt, Stockholm. Nordiska modellkommunprojektet NOVA.

3/98

Susanne Jungerstam-Mulders

Extreme Right-wing Parties: Ideological, Protest or Racist Parties.

4/98

Kjell Andersson

Näringsutvecklingen i sydvästra Finlands skärgård 1985–1995. Tolv kommuner i ljuset av offentlig statistik.

5/98

Elina Vuola

Between the State and the Church – Nicaraguan Women's Reproductive Rights and the Promotion of Human Rights in the Finnish Development Cooperation.

6/98

Jouni Pirttijärvi

Indigenous Peoples and Development in Latin America.

7/98

Liisa Laakso, Iina Soiri and Zenebework Tadesse with Konjit Fekade

In Search of Democratic Opposition Constraints and Possibilities for Donors' Support in Namibia and Ethiopia.

## **SSKH Notat 1999**

### **SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 1999**

1/99

Mika Helander

Publications on Ethnic Relations in Finland 1991–1996.

2/99

Leo Granberg, Erland Eklund and Kjell Andersson

Rural Innovation and Environment: New Development Paths in the Finnish Countryside?

3/99

Åtta studier i nya och gamla mediemarknader.

Arbetsrapport från kursen i medieekonomi vid Svenska social- och kommunalhögskolan vid Helsingfors universitet våren 1999.

4/99

Viveca Ramstedt-Silén

Riksdagsutskott eller kvinnoförening? Det kvinnliga nätverket i Finlands riksdag.

## **SSKH Notat 2000**

### **SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 2000**

1/2000

Silka Koskimies

Experiences of Ethnic and Racial Discrimination in Finland. A presentation of NEON material, 1998-1999.

2/2000

Helena Blomberg & Christian Kroll

The Support For The Scandinavian Model In A Time Of Cuts:  
Attitudes In Finland

3/2000

René Lindqvist, ohjaaja Ullamaija Kivikuru

Mainonta Suomen kansallisilla kaupallisilla tv-kanavilla verrattuna lakiin televisio- ja radiotoiminnasta

4/2000

Mikael Blomberg

På kurs: vem, vad, var och varför? Svenskt kursdeltagande och önskemål om verksamhetens inriktning vid huvudstadsregionens vuxenutbildningsinstitut.

5/2000

Kjell Andersson, Erland Eklund & Leo Granberg

Turism, naturutnyttjande och innovationer i tre kommuner: en fältstudierapport

6/2000

Matti Similä

Migrants and Ethnic Minorities on the Margins: Report for Finland (MEMM-report to CEMES)

7/2000

Kim O.K. Zilliacus

Setting up a Nordic/Australasian Comparative Design: Similarities and Differences Revisited

## **SSKH Notat 2001**

### **SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 2001**

1/2001

Kim O.K. Zilliacus

An Introduction to Political Culture as a Basis for Opinion Formation

2/2001

Kim O.K. Zilliacus

Electoral Fortunes and Dilemmas: The Development of the Green and the Left-Wing Alliance

3/2001

Kim O.K. Zilliacus

Modern vs. Postmodern Politics: Theoretical Perspectives

4/2001

Kim O.K. Zilliacus & Niilo Kauppi

Postmodern Politics and New Communication Technologies: A Theoretical Framework

Social work in Europe: Challenging Racism

A Documentation of a Pilot Training Course within the Leonardo da Vinci Project "Developing a Common European Framework for Anti-Racist and Anti-Oppressive Practice for the Social Professions" at the Swedish School of Social Science, University of Helsinki, 29-31 March 2000

6/2001

Ilse Julkunen

Social and Material Deprivation among Unemployed Youth in Northern Europe

7/2001

Christian Kroll & Helena Blomberg

Different levels of policy change: A comparison of the public discussion on social security in Sweden and Finland.

8/2001

Helena Blomberg & Christian Kroll

Kommunerna och välfärdsopinionen – Attitydutvecklingen bland befolkning och kommunala eliter beträffande välfärdstjänsterna under 90-talet.

9/2001

Christian Kroll & Helena Blomberg

Förändringar i synen på arbete och arbetslöshet i Finland och Sverige under 1990-talet.

## **SSKH Notat 2002**

### **SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 2002**

1/2002

Eini Pihlajamäki, Mirjam Kalland & Gun Andersson

Det finlandssvenska kompetenscentret inom det sociala området.

Verksamhetsplan 2002.

Rapport över en planeringsprocess åren 2000–2001.

2/2002

Forskningsrapport: Forskningsmetodik 2 hösten 2001.

En mångsidig public service-kanal

FSTs digitala program två månader efter kanalstarten.

3/2002

Kaj Björni, Erland Eklund, Stefan Sjöblom & Charlotta von Troil

Regionala strukturer och regionalpolitik – den finlandssvenska problematiken

## **SSKH Notat 2003**

### **SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 2003**

1/2003

Utvärderingen av utbildningen och examina vid Helsingfors universitet:

Svenska social- och kommunalhögskolans rapport

2/2003

Jan Sundberg, Stefan Sjöblom och Ingemar Wörlund

Välfärd och lokal demokrati i Sverige under 60 år – inledning till ett forskningsprojekt

## **SSKH Notat 2004**

### **SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 2004**

1/2004

Socialt arbete och samhällsengagemang – diskurser och lokala praktiker

20 Nordiska Socialhögskolekonferens 16-18.8.2003

Konferensrapport

2/2004

Susanna Björkell

Natura 2000 i Rekijokidalen – en konfrontation mellan lokalt kulturellt och regionalt drivet naturskydd

3/2004

Veronica Korhonen

Konflikten kring implementeringen av Natura 2000 i Finland – en konflikt mellan olika kunskapssystem samt mötesplatsernas betydelse vid skapandet av tillit

4/2004

Lynn Bonney

EU:s implementering av Natura 2000 – interaktionen mellan EU och den finländska nationella nivån

### **SSKH Notat 2005**

#### **SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 2005**

1/2005

Elianne Riska

Arbete och hälsa: Två centrala värden i samhället

2/2005

Bettina Lindblom och Anna Henning

Ett steg i taget – guide för vetenskapligt skrivande

3/2005

Tom Moring & Johanna Lindfors (red.)

Valmaskinen och väljaren

En studie av hur valmaskinerna användes inför EU-valet 2004

4/2005

Heidi Orava

Rapportering av tsunamikatastrofen i finlandssvensk radio och TV

5/2005

Jenni von Frenckell

Tsunamins framfart i fem finlandssvenska dagstidningar

6/2005

Tom R. Burns

Institutionell diskriminering: Makt, kultur och kontroll över invandrares livsvillkor

7/2005

Dan Koivulaakso

The future and changing economies of rural areas

Projekt Report D18 of RURBAN, Minutes meeting study areas

8/2005

Ville Klemets

Den samhällsvetenskapliga miljöundervisningen vid RHH-högskolorna 2005-2006 samt förslag till framtida koordinering och utveckling av verksamheten

9/2005

Helena Blomberg & Christian Kroll

Integration genom arbete? Perspektiv på arbetslöshet, invandring och arbetsmarknad i Sverige och Finland.

10/2005  
Christian Kroll (red.)  
En nordisk modell i socialt arbete?

11/2005  
Nora Brandt  
Socialpedagogisk hästverksamhet  
En diskursiv studie i verksamhetens organiseringsprocess

### **SSKH Notat 2006**

#### **SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 2006**

1/2006  
Erland Eklund, Kjell Andersson, Nora Brandt, Stefan Sjöblom, Elianne Riska  
Den nya hästhushållningen, brukargrupper och markanvändning – en utmaning för deltagande planering  
Forskningsplan

2/2006  
Sebastian Gripenberg  
En kvalitativ utvärdering av INTERREG IIIA/Skärgården 2000-2006

3/2006  
Erland Eklund, Kjell Andersson, Nora Brandt, Stefan Sjöblom & Elianne Riska  
The new equine industry, Stakeholders and land use planning  
- a challenge for participatory planning

### **SSKH Notat 2007**

#### **SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 2007**

1/2007  
Nora Brandt och Erland Eklund  
Häst – människa – samhälle: om den nya hästhushållningens utveckling i Finland

2/2007  
Helena Blomberg and Christian Kroll  
Different rights and duties regarding welfare services: a focus on the municipal level

### **SSKH Notat 2008**

#### **SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 2008**

1/2008  
Ulrika Långstedt  
Förändringar i en traditionsbunden miljö? Om den nya hästnäringen och konsumtionslandsbygden i ljustet av "parabler" och "skript" bland jordbrukare och markägare

### **SSKH Notat 2009**

#### **SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 2009**

1/2009  
Arbetsrelaterad invandring  
i finlandssvensk dagspress  
Marina Lassenius

## **SSKH Notat 2010**

### **SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 2010**

1/2010

Ett steg i taget – guide för vetenskapligt skrivande (uppdatering av SSKH Notat 2/2005)  
Bettina Lindblom och Anna Henning

2/2010

Media ja valta kansalaisten silmin  
Kari Karppinen, Johanna Jääsaari & Ullamaija Kivikuru

3/2010

Lagging behind or leader in local democracy?  
Kjell Andersson och Imre Kovách

## **SSKH Notat 2012**

### **SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 2012**

1/2012

Resande teorier kring journalistik - prof. Ullamaija Kivikurus avskedsföreläsning 23.9.2010  
Ullamaija Kivikuru

## **SSKH Notat 2014**

### **SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 2014**

1/2014

Ett livskraftigt medielandskap på svenska i Finland  
Redaktör: Tom Moring

2/2014

Bildningsförvaltningen och skolan: Rekommendationer för en fungerande svensk bildningsförvaltning  
Cecilia Böhme, Henrik Hägglund & Stefan Sjöblom

## **SSKH Notat 2015**

### **SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 2015**

1/2015

Familj, fostran, anknytning och utbildning – trender i tiden  
Airi Hautamäki – avskedsföreläsning 18.9.2014

2/2015

Hälsa och samhälle – Ett fyrtioårs perspektiv  
Elianne Riska – avskedsföreläsning 26.11.2014

3/2015

Skenhelighet  
Jan-Erik Lönnqvist – installationsföreläsning 3.12.2014

4/2015

”Jag har haft nytta av socialpsykologin både professionellt och i mitt personliga liv.”  
En rapport om socialpsykologerna från Soc&kom i arbetslivet  
Anna Henning-Lindblom

5/2015

Syrjintä, polarisaatio ja väkivaltainen radikalisoituminen  
SYPONUR-väliraportti  
Karin Creutz & Juha Saarinen

**SSKH Notat 2016**

**SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 2016**

1/2016

What can social work practice learn from research on online support groups?  
Camilla Granholm and Vilma Lehtinen

**SSKH Notat 2017**

**SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 2017**

1/2017

Dolda data – Offentlighetsprincipen tillämpad på datajournalistik i Finland och Sverige  
Alexander Ugglå 16.12.2017

**SSKH Notat 2018**

**SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers 2018**

1/2018

The Stopped – Ethnic Profiling in Finland  
Suvi Keskinen, Aminkeng Atabong Alemanji, Markus Himanen, Antti Kivijärvi, Uyi Osazee, Nirosha Pöyhölä and Venla Rousku

ISBN 978-951-51-1713-7 (PDF)  
ISSN-L 1457-1250  
ISSN 1798-6966 (Online)

**SVENSKA SOCIAL- OCH KOMMUNALHÖGSKOLAN VID HELSINGFORS UNIVERSITET**  
SWEDISH SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI