(Procedural Justice?) An Examination

of the

Finnish Approach to Policing

Anthony Laird

The thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Criminal Justice of the University of Portsmouth
Institute of Criminal Justice Studies

September 2020
Whilst registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and conclusions embodied in this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other academic award.

Signed:

Anthony Laird

Date: 15.9.2020

Current word count: 53564
Acknowledgements

In many cases acknowledgement of people and organisations that have contributed and assisted in a project such as this may simply be a platitude or formality. In this case, however, nothing could be further from the truth. Starting with my supervisor Dr Sarah Charman, a person with the remarkable skills of asking exactly the right question at the right time and making suggestions for alterations and corrections in a way that I felt them to be my idea. Unfortunately, as I am not based in Portsmouth, I did not have many opportunities for face-to-face meetings with Dr Charman. We did, however, talk with the aid of video conferencing technology and regular emails, each of which provided me with a new sense of purpose and a plan of action for the next stage of the project. This thesis would have been very different without the guidance of Dr Charman, complemented by feedback provided by Dr Fiona Wade.

Without the patience and understanding of my wife Merja and our daughter Victoria, who regularly adapted their own plans in order to allow me time to conduct my research, this thesis would not have been possible. Just in case I missed something, my wife also regularly provided newspaper clippings about all matters relating to the Finnish police. Several of these articles led to trains of thought that I had not previously considered. She also made her proof-reading services available to me, which has undoubtedly improved the readability of this thesis.

From an organisational perspective, I would like to thank the National Bureau of Investigation (NBI) for allowing me to use a meeting room for two of the focus groups conducted in relation to this study. In addition, two members of the NBI forensic laboratory provided invaluable help in the construction and maintenance of an online survey that was posted on the Finnish police intranet system. Another member of the NBI forensic laboratory staff was of great help in the recruitment of focus group participants. Others were of great assistance as they took part in a pilot of the online survey and helped to highlight some changes that would potentially improve the quality of the data to be produced. The online survey and focus groups that were conducted during this research would not have been possible without the cooperation of the National Police Board, which gave permission for this research to take place.

Then there are the officers of the Finnish police who took part in the online survey and later focus groups. It goes without saying that research such as this would have been very challenging without their help. However, the fact that so many of them gave so freely of their time to relate their thoughts and experiences was truly surprising. The level of candour with which these officers spoke about both their working and in some instances their private lives provided a data-set that was, to say the least, unexpected. I hope that I have represented their contributions accurately and have done them justice.

In addition to the more tangible contributions of police officers, there were the countless number of individuals who had heard about my research and, in passing, asked how things were going. Some of these people had not been known to me before this study. On occasion, this simple enquiry and a brief chat that often followed was all that was needed to motivate the next session of writing. Then there are more immediate work colleagues, who have patiently listened to my “insightful” thoughts on policing. Sometimes it was just necessary to say something out loud in order to put it into perspective.
Without the assistance of all of these people, this thesis would not have been possible. I would like to take this opportunity to thank you all and hope you do not think I have wasted your time.

Thank you.
Abstract

At a time when policing agencies are coming under an increasing amount of scrutiny, the Finnish police are, reportedly, still managing to achieve very high levels of public trust. This research has been conducted in order to consider the question “How do Finnish police officers understand their role in Finnish society and to what extent could the Finnish approach to policing be considered procedurally just?”.

A mixed methods approach was used to collect primary data. This took the form of an online survey, which provided a combination of quantitative and qualitative data. In addition, focus groups involving semi-structured interviews were conducted. Primary data were analysed using thematic analysis. In so doing it became possible to gain an indication of the nature of policing in Finland from the perspective of police officers.

The key findings of this research indicate that the Finnish police are operating in an apparently “accidental” procedurally just manner. Rather than a fully planned implementation of procedural justice, a combination of cultural, legal and operational elements seems to have aligned to produce a form of policing that reportedly inspires high levels of trust/legitimacy in the general public. However, it was found that Finnish police officers are currently operating under high levels of fatigue and stress. Indeed, this may be compounded by the reported dissatisfaction with certain elements of the management structure and internal communication methods.

While many of the participants in this research appeared to have intentions very similar to those of procedural justice, it would, however, seem that these are coincidental rather than an institutional application of procedural justice theory.

Dissemination


## Contents

Declaration 2  
Acknowledgements 3  
Abstract 5  
Dissemination 5  
Contents 6  
List of Figures 9  
List of Abbreviations 10  
List of Appendices 11

### Chapter One:

**Introduction** 12  
1.1 Research Context 12  
1.2 Research Aims and Objectives 14  
1.3 Perceived Audience 15  
1.4 Thesis Structure 16

### Chapter Two:

**Historical and Social Background to Finnish Policing** 19  
2.1 Introduction 19  
2.2 Post-Independence Policing in Finland 19  
2.3 Mid-20th Century Police Reform 21  
2.4 The Stability of Finnish Society in the 21st Century 26  
2.5 Current Police Organisation 29  
2.6 Operational Environment 32  
2.7 Discussion 34  
2.8 Conclusion 35

### Chapter Three:

**Consideration of Finnish Public Perceptions of the Police from a Procedural Justice Perspective** 37  
3.1 Introduction 37  
3.2 The Image of the Finnish Police in Perspective 39
3.3 Possible Influences of Ethnocentrism and Group Theory
3.4 Consideration of Procedural Justice
3.5 Conclusion

Chapter Four:
Management and Operational Policing
4.1 Introduction
4.2 Consideration of Policing Management
4.3 Consideration of Operational Policing Styles
4.4 Policing and Social Control
4.5 Public Compliance or Common Goal?
4.6 Police Behaviour
4.7 Discussion
4.8 Conclusion

Chapter Five:
Methodology and Methods
5.1 Introduction
5.2 Research Aims and Objectives
5.3 Methodology
5.4 Role Conflict
5.5 Data Collection
5.6 Ethics
5.7 Survey Pilot
5.8 Sample Size
5.9 Analysis of Data
5.10 Conclusion

Chapter Six:
Attitudes of Finnish Police Officers
6.1 Introduction
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.2 The Finnish Police as Public Service Provider</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Motivational Factors for Finnish Police Officers</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 All Members of the Public Treated Equally</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5 The Pursuit of Justice, ‘Knowing Right from Wrong’</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6 Authority Figure/Position in Society: A Police Perspective</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.7 Notions of What Constitutes Successful Policing</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.8 Discussion and Conclusion</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter Seven:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Officers’ Perspective</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1 Introduction</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2 Police Training from the Officers’ Perspective</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3 Resources and Personnel Levels</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4 In the Line of Duty</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5 Finnish Police, Some More Equal than Others</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6 Management Style</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.7 Discussion and Conclusion</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter Eight:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion and Conclusion</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1 Introduction</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2 Key Findings</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3 Implications of Findings and Possible Value to Other Agencies</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4 Limitations of Study and Sample Size</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.5 Original Contribution to Knowledge</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.6 Suggestions for Further Study</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.7 Conclusion</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>References</strong></td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Figures

Figure 1. Map of Finnish Police Departments 30
Figure 2. Distribution of Finnish Police Officers by rank group 31
Figure 3. International comparison of police numbers to population 43
Figure 4. Barometric survey participants that answered “Quite a lot” or “Very much” when asked to what extent they trusted the police over a 20-year period 44
Figure 5. Participant responses to online survey question 1. Why did you become a police officer? 101
Figure 6. Participant responses to online survey question 7. What part of your job motivates you the most? 108
Figure 7. Participant responses to online survey question 6. How much discretion can you exercise in how you approach your duties? 111
Figure 8. Participant responses to online survey question 13. How would you describe your demeanour during an average interaction with the general public? 122
Figure 9. Participant responses to online survey question 14. How would you describe your demeanour while dealing with individuals you suspect are involved in a low-level criminal act? 122
Figure 10. Participant responses to online survey question 2. How satisfied are you that the level of training you were given prepared you for the day-to-day challenges of policing? 133
Figure 11. Participant responses to online survey question 4. Have you received formal vocational training since leaving the police training school? 134
Figure 12. Participant responses to online survey question 18. How long have you been a police officer? 135
Figure 13. Participant responses to online survey question 17. Do you always have the time you would need to deal with situations such as in Q13 and Q14? 138
Figure 14. Comparison of average police pay and average national income. 143
Figure 15. Participant responses to online survey question 16. Do you spend your free time in the company of fellow police officers? 149
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABDI</td>
<td>Advisory Board for Defence Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECMDDA</td>
<td>European Centre of Monitoring Drugs and Drug Addiction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECRI</td>
<td>European Commission against Racism and Intolerance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KELA</td>
<td>Kansaneläkelaitos [Finnish social security agency]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDMA</td>
<td>Methylenedioxyamphetamine (Ecstasy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBI</td>
<td>National Bureau of Investigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLAMK</td>
<td>Poliisimmattikorkeakoulu [Police University College]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PORA (III)</td>
<td>Poliisin hallintorakenteen kehittämishanke [The Police Administration Structure Development Project]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PISA</td>
<td>Programme for International Student Assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOPs</td>
<td>Standard Operating Procedures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPJL</td>
<td>Suomen Poliisijärjestöjen Liitto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPO</td>
<td>Suojelupoliisi [Finnish Security and Intelligence Service]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UoP</td>
<td>University of Portsmouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YLE</td>
<td>Yleisradio Oy [Finnish public broadcaster]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**List of Appendices**

Appendix 1. Police Organisational Structure  
Appendix 2. Survey Questions  
Appendix 3. Focus Group Suggested Points for Discussion  
Appendix 4. Ethical Approval letter from University of Portsmouth  
Appendix 5. Letter of Invitation to Participate in Survey  
Appendix 6. Letter of Invitation to Participate in Focus Group  
Appendix 7. Participants’ Consent Form  
Appendix 8. Letter of permission to conduct research from Finnish Police Board  
Appendix 9. Letter to potential focus group participants explaining purpose of the Study and what would be asked of them  
Appendix 10. Form UPR16 Research Ethics Review Checklist
Chapter One
Introduction

1.1 Research Context

A common refrain from policing agencies and politicians around the world has been the call for more police officers on the beat in order to reduce crime and improve public safety (Otárola, 2019; Mayor of London, 2020). Whereas this form of rhetoric may be popular with certain elements of the voting public, simply increasing police numbers may not be the only way to reduce crime rates and induce feelings of security in the population. Finland currently has the lowest number of police officers per capita in Europe. At this time there are 137 police officers per 100,000 people in that country (Eurostat, 2017). Perhaps counterintuitively, Finland scores 23.32 on the crime index compiled by Numbeo (2020), suggesting that Finland also has a low crime rate. A crime index score of below 20 is considered to be very low, 20-40 is stated to be low, 40-60 is moderate, 60-80 is high and above 80 is classified as very high (Numbeo, 2020). To provide perspective to these figures, Sweden scores 47.07 on the crime index (Numbeo, 2020) and has 198 police officers per 100,000 members of the population. The Republic of Ireland scores 45.43 on the same index (Numbeo, 2020) and maintains a police force of 278 per 100,000 people (Eurostat, 2017). Although these figures alone do not tell the whole story, it is suggested that they are sufficiently divergent to warrant further examination of policing in Finland.

Of particular interest are the findings of research conducted in 2016 and 2018 for the Police University College (POLAMK) by the marketing research company Taloustutkimus OY and reported on by Vuorensyrjä and Fagerlund. They indicate that the Finnish police have for the last twenty years consistently enjoyed very high levels of public trust (Vuorensyrjä &
In both cases, around a thousand individuals aged between 15 and 79 and living in mainland Finland were interviewed about their opinions on the Finnish police (Poliisi, n.d.a). At their lowest point since police bi-annual barometric surveys began in 1999, a reported 91% of the participants in a barometric survey expressed trust in the police. At its highest point in 2016 this figure was 98% (Vuorensyrjä and Fagerlund, 2016, p.5). In the most recent survey, the result was 95% (Vuorensyrjä & Fagerlund, 2018, p.15). Superficially, these figures seem impressive and may give the impression that the Finnish police are conducting their duties in a novel manner that encourages public trust. However, without consideration of how the Finnish police go about their tasks and the environment in which they operate, these figures may be less informative than face value may suggest. This research has been conducted in order to address the question “How do Finnish police officers understand their role in Finnish society and to what extent could the Finnish approach to policing be considered procedurally just?”.

According to Tyler (1988) there are seven aspects of behaviour that contribute to a position of procedural justice. These are fairness on the part of authorities, perception of honesty, ethical conduct, opportunities for interested parties to be represented, the quality of decision-making, opportunity for error correction and disinterested behaviour on the part of authorities (Tyler, 1988, p.103). In addressing these attributes in a Finnish context, consideration will be given to the notion that police legitimacy, as a desired outcome of a procedural approach to policing, may be achievable through routes other than a declared policy of procedurally just policing. In so doing, it is hoped that this research will contribute to discussion of procedural justice by highlighting the notion that environmental factors may affect how a procedurally just approach to policing may be achieved.
Whereas there is a body of work describing how the Finnish police go about various aspects of their duties, no previous research was found during a literature review that surveyed and interviewed Finnish police officers in order to discover what they felt their role is and how they position themselves in Finnish society. The reason behind the approach taken for this thesis was to discover if the Finnish police were engaged in society rather than isolated from it; the assumption being that there would be greater opportunity for communication and mutual understanding with a fully engaged policing agency over an isolated one, thereby providing a starting point for procedurally just policing. This in turn would help to explain the levels of trust the population expresses in the Finnish police. It is felt that by conducting this research in this way it has been possible to provide an insight into Finnish policing that has so far been missing.

1.2 Research Aims and Objectives.

This thesis will critically examine the Finnish approach to policing and explore the social environment in which the Finnish police currently operate. The primary aim of this research therefore is to critically analyse the views and perceptions of Finnish police officers as to the nature of their work and role and to assess whether or to what extent these working practices may relate to a framework of procedural justice. In order to achieve this aim, the following objectives have been put in place:

1. Critically analyse publicly available literature produced by the Finnish policing authorities and material related to policing in a more general sense both from Finland and international sources. In doing so, particular emphasis will be given to procedural justice theory with additional material from social identity theory and group theory.
2. Conduct mixed methods primary data collection to be analysed with the application of grounded theory with the aim of providing an understanding of how Finnish police officers perceive and experience their role as police officers.

3. Position the findings of this research within a framework of procedural justice theory in order to contribute to both professional and academic knowledge of the Finnish approach to policing.

The figures quoted in the introduction section are in relation to public trust in the police. For the purpose of this study, the terms trust and legitimacy will be discussed in accordance with research conducted in the UK by Hough et al (2010), who found that there are clear links between notions of trust, legitimacy and the position of the police in the eyes of the population under observation (Hough, Jackson, Bradford, Myhill & Quinton, 2010, p.6). As notions of trust and by derivation legitimacy are so key to this thesis, it would seem prudent to employ procedural justice as described by Tyler (1988) as a theoretical framework. In addition, social theories such as structural functionalism, social identity theory, ethnocentrism and in-group theory will be employed in order to aid discussion of certain aspects of the Finnish police and the cultural environment in which they operate.

1.3 Perceived Audience

The unique nature of the Finnish language has potentially made access to some earlier research into the Finnish approach to policing challenging. It is hoped that this thesis will help to raise awareness of a seemingly successful, although not perfect, approach to policing on the international stage. In a time of reduced funding for government institutions, Finnish policing has demonstrated that more is not always better, or even necessary, and that a non-
confrontational communication-based form of policing is not only resource-efficient but also more easily sustainable. In addition to international government policy-makers, it is hoped that the findings presented here will be of use to police training establishments as an example of what is possible even with restricted resources.

With regards to a domestic audience, it is hoped that Finnish policy-makers and senior officials in the Finnish Police Board take time to consider some aspects of this study. While there are some very interesting features to be found in the Finnish police organisation, it would appear that the Finnish approach to policing is not without issue. Not least of these is the reportedly very high levels of fatigue and frustration with limited resources to be found amongst Finnish police officers. Also, according to online survey and focus group participants, there were certain challenging attitudes to be found among some police officers that would be worthy of attention.

1.4 Thesis Structure

Chapter Two will present and discuss the recent social history of Finland in an attempt to describe some factors that may be contributing to the social conditions in Finland today. These include Finland’s imperial past, the construction of a national identity, the struggle for independence in the early twentieth century and the need to remain on good terms with both the Soviet Union and the West in the post-WWII years. Among other things, it is suggested that the precarious position of Finland during the Cold War led to an open and non-confrontational approach to government and governance, intended not to attract the attention of either side.
In Chapter Three consideration will be given to notions of justice and the Finnish public perception of the police. In doing so, certain aspects of ethnocentrism and in-group theory are employed. Consideration will be given to the possibility that the attitudes of the Finnish public towards the police may be impacted upon by some form of in-group bias.

Chapter Four will address some management styles commonly found in policing. This is followed by discussion of the current position the Finnish police hold in the society of that country. Consideration will also be given to the apparent Finnish propensity for compliance with rules and regulations. This discussion will include reference to the positions of Weber, Bourdieu and Foucault on social control and authority. The chapter will conclude with consideration of the extent to which the Finnish public are prepared to be critical of the police.

Chapter Five will present the methodology and methods used in this research project. This will include description of the ontological and epistemological approach taken in this study. In addition, the university ethics approval process and data collection methods will be described.

Chapter Six is the first of the research findings chapters. It will present the results of the mixed methods approach to data collection in relation to the attitudes and values of Finnish police officers. This will include attention to issues such as why they became police officers, notions of justice, knowing right from wrong and what constitutes successful policing from a police officer’s perspective. In addition, certain unexpected attitudes and comments made by participants will be presented and discussed.

In Chapter Seven, which is the second of the research findings chapters, consideration will be given to experiences of police officers and how they cope with the challenges of policing. These include access to resources, training and perceived organisational shortcomings. As
with the previous chapter, some officers expressed unexpected issues in their working life that will be presented here.

Chapter Eight will attempt to pull the various aspects of Finnish policing together and consider them from a procedural justice perspective. The chapter will also include the implications of this research, recommendations for further research and the limitations of this study.

Procedural justice is providing a theoretical framework for this study; therefore, reference will be made throughout to procedural justice theory in relation to matters under consideration in this thesis.
Chapter Two  
**Historical and Social Background to Finnish Policing**

2.1 Introduction

The stable, moderate and calm image that is currently portrayed by the Nordic nation of Finland obscures a turbulent, unstable and at times bloody history. Although Finnish policing has its roots in these earlier times, it will not be possible to consider all of these in this thesis. Instead, it was considered advisable to begin discussion of Finnish policing at a point in history when the independent Republic of Finland had already been established. As the chapter continues, there will be presentation of major points in the development of modern Finnish policing and current organisational structure.

2.2 Post-Independence Policing in Finland

According to Hietaniemi (1992), the Finnish police underwent a considerable amount of organisational change and development in the immediate post-independence period (Hietaniemi, 1992, p.55). Among the challenges faced by the newly formed state of Finland was coping with the societal unrest that remained after the short but brutal civil war that came about due to the power vacuum that was left by the collapse of the Russian Empire (Smith, 1955, pp.501-502). The police organisation had the unenviable task of upholding the law and the maintenance of the peace. This was to be done without alienating or disenfranchising any part of society, regardless of their position during the civil unrest. Whereas it would be unwise to compare policing in 1918 to modern-day methods, perhaps the delicate nature of the social and political situation in those early days helped to lay the groundwork for the approach used by the Finnish police today. Indeed, Prime Minister Paasikivi made a speech in Parliament in 1918 to the effect that “We have seen what happens to society when
governmental systems are lacking. It is a matter of extreme urgency that a legitimate government is established and that government officials are required to work within the law.” (Paasikivi, 1918, p.1242). With the benefit of hindsight, it may be tempting to think that this was comment on the founding principles of the judicial system and the police force seen in Finland today. However, perhaps it would be more realistic to consider what was being said as an indication of the desire of the Finnish government to move forward from their autonomous but colonial past and develop a more modern form of governance that would be acceptable to all political ideologies, while at the same time not giving their eastern neighbour cause for concern.

During the inter-war years of the 20th century, the Finnish police again underwent a significant amount of organisational change and development (Orasmala, 1976, pp.142-143). Due to the social and political instability left by the civil war, considerable effort was made to ensure that the police organisation was politically stable (Keskinen & Silvennoinen, 2004, pp.106-108). Among additional challenges faced by the emerging nation’s police force was the standard of training that police recruits were given (Lampikoski, 2018, pp.27-31). According to Lampikoski (2018), police training of this time was more of a filtering process, designed to weed out the least suitable recruits rather than to equip police officers with the skills needed for effective policing (Lampikoski, 2018, p.27). Unlike their modern-day counterparts in Finland, police officers of the early 20th century were generally not well-educated, with many of them having completed little more than primary school education (Hietaniemi, 1992, p.293). Perhaps as a consequence of little education and poor training, the Finnish police of that era were known to mete out rough justice to many who came to their attention (Orasmala, 1976, p.72). Interestingly, and perhaps consequentially, during this time more police officers died in the line of duty than at any time before or since (Sjöström, 2008,
Indeed, during the 1920’s and 1930’s, the Finnish police were not widely trusted by the general population. This may, in part, have been due to the alcohol prohibition in place between 1919 and 1932 (Customs Museum, n.d.), but perhaps a more significant reason is the political and social instability that remained after the civil war (Arosalo, 1998, p.153). During this time period, there were incidents of politically right-leaning organisations rendering individuals with a leftist political perspective to the border of the newly formed Soviet Union. There are reports that the police were either unable or unwilling to investigate such actions (Police Museum n.d.a.). Initially, in response to these events a special investigation group was set up in 1930. In the following years, the group suffered from what may be considered mission creep as they began to keep files on cultural figures and members of political parties. Eventually, Parliament and the general public became aware of the group’s behaviour and an enquiry was conducted. It became evident that the group had not only taken part in inappropriate treatment of prisoners, but they had also been involved in some of the forcible transportation of socialists to the eastern border (Hietaniemi, 1992, p.204).

2.3 Mid-20th Century Police Reform

By the 1950’s Finland was well into the post-war reconstruction of both tangible infrastructure and the less obvious establishment of peace-time social norms. As was the case in the post-civil-war period, Finland was again performing a very fine balancing act between the maintenance of relations and trade with the Soviet Union while retaining its position as a western European state. In 1952 Finland was to host the Olympic Games and the accompanying world’s press in the capital city of Helsinki. This was seen by many as an opportunity to showcase the country and its post-war achievements (Kokkonen, 2016). As the police would be primarily responsible for security at the Games, the opportunity was taken to
move away from the militaristic uniforms of the past to a more civilian styling that would project a friendlier, more approachable image of the police (Police of Finland, n.d.). During this time, effort was also made to improve the language skills of police officers who were likely to be in contact with foreign visitors (Police Museum, n.d.b.). Although modernisation of the police uniform could be seen as simply a cosmetic change on the part of the designers, it may in fact have been the point where attitudes began to change and Finnish police began to develop a more constructive approach to their activities (POLAMK, n.d.a).

Up until the 1960’s the Finnish police were still a rather disparate organisation with local police chiefs running their departments with a considerable degree of autonomy. In rural areas the chief of police often filled the additional roles of bailiff and prosecutor (Fredman, n.d., p.13). Even in the more urbanised areas the municipal police departments showed little interest in the formation of an integrated national police organisation at this time (Fredman, n.d., p.14). Fredman (n.d.), goes on to suggest that the disjointed nature of Finnish policing at this time led to rivalry and a degree of bad feeling between departments and uncertainty about lines of jurisdiction (Fredman, n.d., p.14). This kind of rivalry is unlikely to have improved the quality of policing available to the public or mitigated any inappropriate use of resources there may have been. In 1967 legislation was introduced to clarify and standardise the general nature of the police organisation, which at the same time left the departments with a degree of administrative autonomy (Fredman, n.d. p.16). Hietaniemi (1996) suggests that this was a pragmatic approach employed to appease and engage potentially disgruntled police chiefs during a time of major organisational change, as discussed by Hietaniemi (1996, pp.324-325). To date there is an ongoing rationalisation process that has gradually reduced the number of regional police departments from 24 in 2012 to a position of 11 today. In addition, the Finnish police have undertaken to simplify their command structure
(Poliisihallitus, 2014, p.7). The intention is that as this process continues, it will not only reduce costs, but it will also improve services to the public (Police Annual Report, 2016, pp.24-25). Further detail on the organisational structure of Finnish policing can be found in Appendix 1.

As part of current organisational practice, the Finnish police have an advisory committee. The board is made up of between 11 and 16 individuals from the Ministry of the Interior, the National Police Board and representatives of various citizens groups (Police Advisory committee, n.d.). As well as participants from the general population, these advisory groups include representatives of indigenous minority groups such as the Sami and Romani people and more recent arrivals to the country. There are also representatives of various minority groups and faith-based organisations (Ministry of the Interior, Finland 2019, p.28). In addition to the Police Advisory Committee, there is the Police Steering Board. Police departments are required to work to the laws, instructions and guidelines laid down by the national government (Police Monitoring, n.d.). As part of a quality assurance system, the Finnish police are audited by the National Audit Office and by an internal auditing system monitoring the legality of police actions. The relatively small size of the national policing organisation in Finland may have advantages. One of these is the rather flat nature of the command hierarchy, making the dissemination of procedural developments and changes to protocols easier than may be the case in larger organisations. The apparently relaxed nature of the management structure may not only improve communication from senior officer to operational police personnel but it may also provide opportunities for feedback in the other direction.
A major part of the Finnish policing ethos is the prevention of crime, as this is thought to be considerably more efficient in terms of workload and other resources than other more reactionary approaches (Preventative Measures, n.d.). In addition to regular policing duties, the Finnish police actively address issues such as the reduction of violence through enhanced networking with government agencies, including the social services and youth organisations. This is done in order to identify and redirect individuals that appear to be inclined to criminal activity before they act on their inclinations (Härönoja, 2017, p.6). This could, perhaps, be considered to be a move away from traditional policing, as it seems to be taking a more holistic approach than has been the norm for so many policing agencies for so much of their histories.

There is currently no independent police oversight organisation in Finland. However, there is a national ombudsman that deals with complaints against the police and ensures police accountability. The Finnish constitution mandates that the ombudsman (The Parliamentary Ombudsman of Finland, n.d.), the judicial system, the civil service and other public servants, including the police, conduct their duties in accordance with the law. Where necessary, the ombudsman is empowered to implement initial investigations into complaints that come before him/her. In addition to the parliamentary ombudsman, there is a Chancellor of Justice, who reports directly to Parliament. As is the case with the ombudsman, The Chancellor of Justice has the authority to investigate complaints against government institutions, the civil service and the police (The Office of the Chancellor of Justice, n.d.). If deemed necessary, complaints can be transferred from either department to the other, depending on the area of expertise required.
It would appear that the Finnish police have made consistent efforts to construct a less confrontational approach to their interaction with the population they serve, or at least that they have an understanding of the value of such an approach. The importance of effective communication and active interaction with the general public was pointed out in a policing strategy document published by the Finnish Ministry of the Interior (Ministry of the Interior, 2019, p.17). If this is indeed the case, there are stark contrasts to be drawn between the Finnish approach and that of some other police forces in the Nordic region. Finland’s neighbour Sweden, for example, has taken a rather different route, preferring a more reactionary approach that relies more heavily on judicial process than social support (Pelli, 2018). Interestingly, according to Ferris (2001), this approach simply consumes resources and runs the risk of moving a problem rather than actively addressing it (Ferris, 2001, p. 131). Additionally, many policing organisations in the United States of America, for example, have been taking a very different route to the goal of social order. For them, there seems to be an emphasis on the enforcement of statutes rather than the negation of infringement (D'Esposito, 2016, pp.410-411). Indeed, since the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York, some police departments have employed decommissioned military equipment in the course of civilian policing (Atkinson, 2017). Atkinson argues that routinely requiring police officers to perform their duties dressed in military special forces garb is likely to increase fear and distrust and restrict communication between the police and the society they patrol (Atkinson, 2017). Whereas the Finnish police do have a special weapons and tactics group (known as “the Bear group”), its deployment is kept to a minimum and militarised police officers are still a rare sight on the streets of Finland. Indeed, for many years the rapid response group remained a secret sub-group of the Helsinki traffic police unit (Helsingin Poliisilaitos, 2012, p.9), rather than the public face of policing that is increasingly the norm in
some jurisdictions. Even today there is very little in the way of publicly available information about this arm of Finnish policing.

The development of a modern policing agency in Finland on the part of government departments has been punctuated with varying degrees of success. However, perhaps it was the democratisation of social life and culture in the 1960’s and 1970’s, as described by Garland (2001), that crucially influenced the newly urbanised Finnish society (Garland, 2001, p.87). Although Garland (2001) did not specifically refer to procedural policing, he did point out that during the latter half of the 1960’s there was a political will, at least in the United States, to formalise policing. This was to include restrictions on the degree of discretion police officers could employ in the course of their duties (Garland, 2001, p.114). It would seem that a similar ethos developed in Finland.

2.4 The Stability of Finnish Society in the 21st Century

Whereas there are multiple possible ways of estimating levels of current social stability of a country, one such measure that will potentially affect levels of social stability into the future is the quality and level of educational attainment a country can deliver. Finland has a reputation for providing a high standard of education for children aged between 7 and 16 years old (OECD, n.d.). In addition, the Finnish education system consistently attains among the highest PISA scores across the board (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2019). On completion of compulsory education, most young Finns will continue their education at either vocational school or the upper secondary school with an aim to attend university. All compulsory education is free, but vocational and upper secondary school students are required to buy their own books, IT and other equipment. At university they also have to pay
registration fees. Although Bachelor’s degrees are available and recognised university qualifications, the norm in Finland is to complete a Master’s level degree before leaving university.

Another measure of a well-developed society is how well members of the public are cared for when they are unwell. Finland has a national health service that provides all residents with health care that is free at point of use (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2013, p.34). Hospital in-patients are charged a small fee to cover the cost of their meals. This is not a standard charge as it is calculated in accordance with the patient’s income (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2013, p.35). Additionally, under certain circumstances, there are small administration charges made when a patient attends a national health doctor’s surgery, although these charges have an annual cap depending on the patient’s level of income (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2013, p.35). Dentists and opticians are generally speaking not part of the National Health Service, but the very young, the unemployed and the retired have these services either free or at a subsidised rate (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2013, p.14).

In addition to the National Health Service, Finland has an extensive social security system funded from revenue collected in the form of taxation. In order to focus resources and provide appropriate support for the end users, social services are administered by local municipalities (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2013, p.39). As the Finnish social security system is an integral part of Finnish society, it would be challenging to live in that country and not use at least some of the services. These range from child care to physical and mental health care to social housing, unemployment and retirement pension payment. As
unemployment figures are commonly used to indicate the state of a nation’s financial well-being, it would seem that Finland has achieved a fairly stable situation with 6.5% of the population receiving unemployment support (Statistics Finland, 2019).

A long-lasting challenge of the medical and social services in Finland has been dealing with substance abuse. Finland has a history of seemingly socially acceptable substance abuse that has until relatively recently centred around alcohol (Nordic Alcohol and Drug Dependency Network, 2016). The reported use of illicit drugs has been relatively limited in Finland. However, according to the European Centre of Monitoring Drugs and Drug Addiction [ECMDDA] (2019), the use of illicit drugs is on the increase in that country. The ECMDDA (2019) report states that around 13.5% of 15- to 35-year-olds claim to have used cannabis in the last year, up from 8% in 2006, with 2.5% using MDMA and 1% using cocaine over the same period. As with cannabis, use of cocaine and MDMA is up by 0.2% and around 1.3% respectively.

Among the successes of the Finnish approach to social inclusion and support is that contrary to trends in many western European countries, homelessness is in decline (Y-Säätiö, 2020). This has been done with a combination of private housing associations and state funding that has bought both existing housing stock and built new accommodation. As part of this programme, formerly homeless people are offered support with any medical or dependency issues they may have. It has been found that interacting with homeless people in this way has saved money for the municipalities and contributed to the well-being of this section of society (Y-Säätiö, 2020).
As was stated earlier, Finland is comprised of a very flat social hierarchy. There is, however, a divide between the more affluent elements of society and those who are less well-off. According to Statistics Finland (2018a), 16.6% of Finnish households were at risk of poverty or social exclusion. This figure is contrasted with the European Union average of 23.5%. Statistics Finland (2018a) findings place Finland with the fourth lowest social divide in Europe; only Iceland, the Czech Republic and Norway have a less well-defined hierarchy of affluence (Statistics Finland 2018a).

2.5 Current Police Organisation

Finland is currently divided into 11 police departments, ranging from the large and sparsely populated regions of Lapland and Oulu in the northern half of the country to the considerably smaller, but more densely populated parts in the south such as Helsinki, Western Uusimaa and Eastern Uusimaa (Poliisi, 2019a) Fig. 1.

The Finnish police currently number approximately 7,200 sworn officers. These officers are organised and managed in a conventional ranking structure, ranging from a National Police Commissioner at senior management level to Junior Constables starting their careers as police officers at the other end of the scale. The distribution of Finnish police officers within that management structure has been represented in Fig 2. As the various ranks and titles found in the Finnish police system may not be directly comparable with those found in other countries and in order to make the personnel numbers more easily accessible, similar ranks have been grouped together to represent positions in the police organisational hierarchy.
The Finnish police organisation would appear to be attempting to represent itself as a modern enlightened agency. Evidence of this can be seen in the disproportionate number of images of young female officers going about their duties in promotional material. Examples can be found in a public relations pamphlet such as Police in Finland (Police in Finland n.d.) and the curriculum for the Bachelor of Police Services degree, produced by the Police University College (POLAMK, 2018-2020). However, figures provided by the Police Authority’s statistics group PolStat indicate that only 19.5% of Finnish police officers are in fact female. No statistical information is available on the ethnic make-up of the police organisation (J. Helenius, personal communication, February 5, 2020).
The role of the Finnish police is clearly laid out in the Finnish judicial statutes. They are to uphold the law and maintain the peace, prevent, uncover and investigate criminal activity and to prepare evidence for the prosecutor (Fredman, n.d. p.13). According to Rikander (2016), PolStat figures in 2015 show that of the 89,000 arrests in that year, only 5,770 involved the use of any kind of physical force (Rikander, 2016. p.78). In the event that physical force is used, the officer involved is required to make an immediate report to his/her commanding officer. Further reports are necessary if the action has involved the use of the officer’s firearm, even in the case of accidental discharge. Additionally, anything other than the most superficial injury to people or damage to property is to be included in these reports (POLAMK, n.d.b).

Finnish police officers are trained in the use of various pieces of equipment that may be used in the event of physical interaction. As sworn officers they are expected to have a clear understanding of the appropriate use of such equipment. As one of the government organisations responsible for the actions of police officers, the Police Board monitor the use
of physical force by police officers and provide and develop appropriate training in its application (Rikander, 2016, p.78). It has been acknowledged for some time that physical interactions can escalate very quickly and that it can be difficult for an officer to remember every detail of a particular event. The quality and transparency of such activity reports improved when the Finnish police implemented the use of a standardised use of force reporting process (Rikander, 2016, p.78). It was found that this method has also helped commanding officers to gain a clearer understanding of conflict situations involving their officers when they happened. According to Kääriäinen (2015), the application of an open, procedural approach to policing has caused the Finnish police to be trusted by the population as they are seen to be approaching their tasks in an even-handed and ethical manner (Kääriäinen, 2015).

2.6 Operational Environment

As part of the construction of a national identity immediately prior to and post-independence, the population of Finland developed a notion of national and cultural homogeneity. Although scientifically unfounded, this construct is still prevalent among some elements of Finnish society today (Tervonen, 2017). This perceived lack of diversity in the Finnish population may have provided an unintended and perhaps unnoticed benefit to Finnish policing. According to Ugelvik (2016), it could be argued that if the police and the population they serve have similar social backgrounds and values, there may be less opportunity for misunderstandings and conflict (Ugelvik, 2016, p.105). Indeed, this may have been the case in Finland up until the late 20th century. Although Finland was never part of the Soviet Union, the Finnish economy relied very heavily on trade with the Eastern Bloc and as a result was somewhat isolated from western Europe (Sutela, 2005, p.4). As a result of the turmoil
that followed the collapse of the communist regime in the USSR, Finland turned to western Europe and the European Union for trading partners (European Union, 2018). This in turn led to increasing numbers of Finns travelling overseas for both leisure and business, and thereby having greater contact with diverse ideas and interactions. It could be argued that this has caused the base population to have a more diverse and better-informed set of expectations than perhaps at any time in the past. At the same time as the life experiences of indigenous Finns have developed, there has also been an increase in the number of people with different linguistic and cultural norms making their homes in Finland (Statistics Finland, 2018b). Although the numbers are still very small, only when these populations become established will it be possible to accurately assess if the Finnish police are able to maintain their apparent legitimacy by serving the whole population, both indigenous and newcomers, equitably. It is unlikely to prove productive for the Finnish establishment to attempt to emulate the assimilation policies of other western European countries, as the backgrounds of many of the immigrants into Finland in recent years are the result of international conflicts rather than an imperial past, which is familiar in other parts of Europe (UNHCR, 2018). Additionally, refugee experiences and expectations of policing are likely to be rather more complex than would be the case with the majority of indigenous Finns.

According to Vitale (2017), in some jurisdictions, the role of policing is considered to be more closely aligned with the control of minority populations, be they social or ethnic groups, rather than a maintenance of societal standards and norms for the whole population and a common good (Vitale, 2017, p.27). By contrast, Finland has taken an approach that has closely aligned policing to the social services. Additionally, the Finnish approach emphasises the minimisation of criminal activity rather than attempting to eliminate it completely (Lappi-Seppälä, 2007 p.231). Total elimination would not only be an impractical goal, as described
by Durkheim (in Thompson & Thompson, 2004 p.57); it would also be a waste of the limited resources available to the Finnish police.

2.7 Discussion

Finland’s geographical position, combined with a distinctive language and culture, may in part be responsible for a certain level of isolation from some external influences (e.g. Singleton, 1998, p.3). Among the conditions that make Finland particularly interesting from a social perspective is the fact that although that country has the outward appearance of a modern post-industrial society, in fact most of the population became urbanised in the last two generations (Heikkilä & Järvinen, 2002, p.3).

During the Soviet era, Finland relied heavily on trade with the Eastern Bloc (Botticelli, n.d.). Although Finland was in most respects a western country, economic reliance on the Soviet Union is likely to have had an effect on social norms and expectations (Sutela, 2005, p.5). Included in this may have been a readiness to accept authoritarian governance and policing. By the end of the 20th century, eastern European geopolitics were changing rapidly. As the Soviet Union morphed into the Russian Federation, Finland turned further to the west. In 1995, Finland joined the EU and has been an active member of that organisation (European Parliament, 2015, p.13). This was also a time of change for the police organisation. Political decisions had been made to improve the standard of policing and police training around this time. To this end, the Police College of Finland was built in 1998; this would later develop into the Police University College (POLAMK) (Poliisi, n.d.b). This has not only allowed for more standardised training than was formally the case, but the training has also become much more academic in nature with an international orientation (Poliisi, n.d.c).
In order for police officers to be perceived as treating individuals with respect and impartiality, as suggested by Tyler (1989, p.832), it would seem to follow that there is a need for well-developed communication skills. Finnish police officers are expected to be able to speak at least two languages (Finnish and Swedish), with the majority able to express themselves in English and possibly other languages (POLAMK, 2018-2020, p.2.). In addition, police departments are active on all forms of social media (Ministry of the Interior, n.d.a.).

Whereas the Finnish police have all the trappings of any other police force, it would be a mistake to think of them simply as an organisation concerned with law enforcement, although that is their primary task. According to the government document Poliisihallituksen Tilinpäätös Vuodelta 2017 [Police Annual Report 2017] (Poliisi, 2018a, p.13), the Finnish police, as part of their crime prevention programme, rely on good cooperation with the social welfare system and other third-party agencies. Although the Finnish police do have access to crowd control equipment as seen in use by other police organisations, resort to such equipment and tactics has been rare. In extreme circumstances the Finnish police potentially have the option of calling for assistance from the military. Again, this is a rare event.

2.8 Conclusion

During the periods of socio-political turmoil that followed the Finnish Civil War and the Second World War, the civil authorities appear to have grasped the value of transparent procedures as they mediated between former enemies in the construction of a stable, modern democracy. The fourth issue to be considered in this chapter was the image of the Finnish
police past and present. It would seem that the authorities have understood for some time that the outward appearance of police officers is of importance in portraying a civilian persona. However, just how this has affected the current public image of the police in Finland is unclear. This discussion was followed by a brief description of the main departments in the Finnish police organisation, including the Security Police, the National Bureau of Investigation and uniformed sections.

In the following chapter the public perception of policing will be considered. In so doing it may be possible to gain a clearer understanding of what is being expected of the police and to what extent Finnish policing can be considered procedural justice, or if other influences are affecting their public image.
Chapter Three
Consideration of Finnish Public Perceptions of the Police from a Procedural Justice Perspective

3.1 Introduction
Differing social values and expectations could make it difficult to determine something as notionally simple as what constitutes good policing practice (Reiner, 2010, pp.155-159). This may be all the more challenging when consideration is given to issues of societal trust in policing. Judging from the results of biannual barometric surveys (Vuorensyrjä & Fagerlund 2018), it would appear that the national policing agency in Finland has managed to acquire a very high level of trust.

In this chapter, attention will be given to social theories that may prove helpful in a discussion regarding Finnish public attitudes towards authority and policing. Bearing in mind the social environment laid out in Chapter Two, it would seem advisable to consider some aspects of structural functionalism, social identity theory, ethnocentrism and in-group theory and how they may apply to modern Finnish society and the way that the Finnish population perceives their police force. However, procedural justice will provide the primary framework for this discussion. Procedural justice is not specifically an approach to policing, rather it is an approach to dispute mediation that not only instils a notion of fairness in disputing parties but, if implemented appropriately, can also provide the mediating authority with a position of legitimacy. The Finnish police organisation has reportedly achieved high levels of public trust/legitimacy, seemingly indicating that they have achieved at least one of the intended outcomes of procedural justice theory. In the early stages of this research project, it became evident that the Finnish police appeared to value equitable engagement and communication skills in their approach to policing, suggesting a further link to a procedurally just approach to
their duties. Additionally, it was felt that Durkheim’s structural functionalism (Durkheim in Thompson, 2002, p.61) would help to provide insight into the cultural norms and attitudes in Finnish society, thereby enabling consideration of to what extent, if any, Finnish society as a whole may be responsible for the levels of trust shown in the police. As Finland in its current form is a relatively new country, it was felt that social identity theory, as described by Tajfel (Tajfel, 1981, p.275) was worthy of consideration. It could provide an explanation of any effect a relatively newly formed national identity may be having on public attitudes towards government institutions. It would seem that a logical extension of such a discussion would require attention to in-group theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979, p.40) as a common notion of national identity could be contributing to a commonality of values and aspirations for a common good. In its most extreme form, in-group out-group attitudes morph into ethnocentrism. As ethnocentric attitudes generally involve discrimination against outsiders (Rosenblatt, 1964, p.131), it is considered to be worthy of consideration in order to establish the nature of the society in which the Finnish police operate. Initially, however, some more general influences on Finnish society will be considered in order to better understand the position of the police in that country.

The challenge of modern policing may be exacerbated by the asymmetrical relationship between the authority of a police officer and members of the public (Reiner, 2010, pp.7-8). Indeed, as mentioned by Vitale (2017), the police are the only members of civilian society that are licensed to use physical force against members of the general public in the course of their duties (Vitale, 2017, p.16). Vitale goes on to note that, in some jurisdictions, police officers are even permitted to use deadly force in certain circumstances (Vitale, 2017, pp.8-11). However, without the compliance and trust of the general public, even the most authoritarian and heavily armed police departments would not be able to function efficiently.
(Jackson, Hough, Bradford, Hohl & Kuha, 2012, p.10). Whereas it would seem likely that the majority of police agencies are aware of the need for the acceptance and support of the population they serve, it may be that some departments are more successful at the management of their public relations and interactions than others. In order to assess how the Finnish policing agency performs in this respect, consideration will be given to the only known surveys of their kind in Finland, the public opinion surveys produced by the Police University College (POLAMK). Although this is not intended to be a comparative study, in order to give perspective to the figures in the POLAMK survey, brief reference will be made to four other northern European countries with comparable population sizes and national police forces. These are Denmark, Ireland, Norway and Scotland.

3.2 The Image of the Finnish Police in Perspective

Historically, Finland had little in the way of a national identity or a notion of homogeneous “Finnishness” prior to the late 19th century (Paasi, 1997, p.44). There may be an argument that the social movement to create a national identity, in the lead-up to independence, as mentioned in the previous chapter, may be a crucial point in the construction of the current understanding of Finnishness. According to Stenius (2012), this may go some way towards an explanation of why the Finns are so accepting of authority and “law-abiding” (Stenius, 2012, p.218). As part of the development of a national identity, the population of Finland was required to emotionally invest in the construction of Finnishness (Ollila, 1998). Ollila points out that two state institutions, education and the army, helped the Finnish population to create a national narrative from a relatively disparate population (Ollila, 1998, pp.127-128). The thinking seems to have been that education helped to raise the agrarian peasantry out of servitude, and the military protected the population from external threats. Whereas this may
have been the case in the early twentieth century, there may be an argument that in this time of relative social stability the Finnish army may no longer hold the iconic position it once had (Kosonen, Puustinen & Tallberg, 2019, pp.55-56). Interestingly, recent research conducted by the Advisory Board for Defence Information [ABDI] (2020) found that around 80% of young people support compulsory military service for young men (ABDI, 2020, p.35). This would suggest that there is still an acceptance of a role for the military in Finnish society. It would seem, however, that the police may have taken the mantle of “guardian of the people” at least in peace time. It could be argued that this is more than simply public image, as it may have become part of the conditioning and societal positioning of policing in Finland.

As the question in hand is primarily social in nature, there are likely to be multiple possible explanations for the apparent national trust in the police in Finland (Fig 3). One of these may be the position of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church and the cultural influence it still has in an apparently modern secular country. Currently 72% of Finns are registered members of, and pay taxes to, the Lutheran Church (Evangelical Lutheran Church, n.d.). There may be something fundamental to Finnish culture in relation to organised religion that helps to understand the high levels of public trust in the police. Lutheran ecclesiastical teaching instructs that the world is divided into two spheres of influence. One is a heavenly kingdom ruled by gospel and the other is a worldly kingdom ruled by law (ABDI, 2020; Naumann, 2014, p.9). These long-held values are considered by some to contribute to the so-called Nordic work ethic. This position may have been exacerbated by the deep-rooted agrarian peasant national image, as described by Kangas (2003, pp. 80–85). There may, however, be an even more subtle social phenomenon at work here. Durkheim (1915) notes that society in general needs to establish and affirm itself by way of common behaviour and ceremony. He goes on to state that this behaviour is very similar to ways religious belief and ceremony...
cause individuals to behave in relation to a common belief system (Durkheim, 1915, p. 428), and presumably the common good. Indeed, it may be that such a recently unified and urbanised society considers trust in the police services almost as a civic duty (Durkheim, 1957, p.107), rather than a matter of personal preference or opinion.

Reliance upon social institutions may have involved acceptance of a political and judicial establishment that the Finnish people felt an emotional connection to. If it is true that these institutions have become part of what it is to be Finnish, it may also follow that an expression of trust in a part of the Finnish establishment, such as the police, may also be an expression of the national and personal pride discussed by Uglevik (2016, p.109). It may therefore follow that there would be reason for the Finns to feel personally dissatisfied with and/or responsible for a police organisation that was considered to be deficient. As is the case with many other large organisations around the world, the Finnish National Police Board conducts regular barometric surveys of public opinion in relation to the police service. In recent times, these surveys appear to indicate that the Finnish general public hold the police in high regard and that they are particularly trusting of the national police force. In 2016 the police achieved a 98% public approval rating. This was followed in 2018 by 95% of the survey participants stating that the Finnish police were either trustworthy or very trustworthy (Vuorensyrjä and Fagerlund, 2016, p.5; Vuorensyrjä & Fagerlund, 2018, p.7).

Vuorensyrjä and Fagerlund’s 2018 findings may be all the more striking, when the number of serving police officers per capita in Finland is taken into account. There are around 7,200 sworn officers serving a population of just over 5 million people. That is a ratio of about 137 officers for every 100,000 of the population, the lowest in Europe (Eurostat, 2016). Perhaps
equally surprising is that the Finnish police dealt with around 187,800 offences in 2018 (Statistics Finland, 2019). In order to gain some perspective on these figures it may be informative to compare them to some Northern European countries with similar population sizes (fig. 3.). Scotland, for example, has a comparable population, with around 5 million people. However, Police Scotland currently have around 17,000 officers on their pay roll (Scottish Government, 2019). In Ireland 14,000 Garda are responsible for the policing of just under 5 million people (An Garda Síochána, 2019). Interestingly, both of these policing agencies were, at the time of writing, campaigning for more officers (Scottish Legal News, 2018; Department of Justice and Equality, 2018). Police Scotland dealt with 244,504 crimes in 2017-2018 (Scottish Government, 2018). The Irish Garda published a figure of 214,374 reported crimes in that year (Central Statistics Office, 2018). There would appear to be nothing particularly remarkable about these figures, other than the relative similarity of the Scottish and Irish crime rates. Although these statistics should not be directly compared, they may be of use to give an indication of relative positions. Interestingly then that Finland, the country with the fewest police officers, also has the lowest reported crime rate both in real terms and in relation to the size of the police force. It should be noted that the public responses to the surveys mentioned are intended simply as an indication of general public attitudes and should not be directly compared. The Norwegian and Finnish surveys asked about levels of confidence or trust in the police. While these two terms are often used synonymously, according to Adams and Webb (2002), trust is more accurately related to a general expectation or prediction to come about. Confidence, on the other hand, is more specific in nature and is in relation to a particular occurrence (Adams & Webb, 2002). As both the Norwegian and Finnish terms have been translated into English, a decision was made to accept that there was sufficient similarity between the two terms not to be problematic in this study. By contrast, Scotland, Ireland and Denmark were describing levels
of public satisfaction with the police. Bouckaert and Van de Walle (2003) provide a definition of customer satisfaction as the link between the quality of a service being provided in relation to customer expectations (Bouckaert & Van de Walle, 2003, p.331). While it is acknowledged that there are differences in the nature of the questions being asked, it was felt that there are sufficient similarities in order to provide a general indication of public opinion.

The findings of the barometric surveys conducted by the Finnish Police Board, over a 20-year period, would appear to indicate that the Finnish police have been able to maintain, even marginally improve, their standing in the eyes of the Finnish population (Fig. 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Police numbers</th>
<th>Police per 100,000 population</th>
<th>Public trust or satisfaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>Circa 5.7 million*</td>
<td>10,600</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>68%**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Circa 5.5 million*</td>
<td>7,200</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Circa 4.9 Million*</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>Circa 5.2 million*</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>77%***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Circa 5.5 Million</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The very high 95% trust in Finnish policing may not, however, be unique. Tyler’s 1988 study of the justice system and policing conducted in Chicago found that 90% of survey participants expected that they would be treated fairly or very fairly by the police in future interactions (Tyler, 1988, p.113). As with the data under consideration for this study, Tyler’s findings were in reference to policing in general rather than any particular officer. Tyler (1988) also points out that high levels of public satisfaction with the police may, in part, be due to lack of information about police procedures, making a true judgment challenging.
(Tyler, 1988. p.130). Indeed, as satisfaction and trust are both expressions of subjective opinion, Tyler’s 1988 findings may also hold true in relation to Finnish levels of trust in the police.

Whereas this may indeed be the case in a Finnish setting, a further explanation for this situation may be found in the notion that the results of the Finnish survey could be more closely connected to Finnish social expectations rather than superior performance of the police. Thibaut and Walker (1975) found that the population they sampled, as part of their research in the 1970’s, demonstrated a sophisticated understanding of the administration of justice. Rather than being primarily self-serving, their research participants were concerned with the fairness of judicial outcomes (Thibaut & Walker, 1975, cited in Törnblom and Vermunt, 2016, p.126).

![Barometric survey participants that answered “Quite a lot” or “Very much” when asked to what extent they trusted the police over a 20-year period](image)

Fig. 4. *Hannonen, 2014, ** Vuorensyrjä & Fagerlund, 2016, *** Vuorensyrjä & Fagerlund, 2018
As Thibault and Walker’s research was conducted in the USA and reflects the opinions of citizens of that country, there may be limited relevance to considerations of public satisfaction or trust in policing in Finland. Thibaut and Walker may, however, have started a more general discussion that has moved the focus of the dialogue related to procedural justice out of the courtroom and into the police station. This issue will be considered in more detail later in this chapter.

Superficially, the figures shown in fig. 3 would seem to indicate a counterintuitive trend that would suggest that more police officers do not necessarily equate to more positive public opinion. This would seem to be confirmed by Holmberg’s (2005) findings that high visibility, or so-called proximity policing, is not necessarily as desirable in a Nordic setting as would appear to be the case in other parts of the world (Holmberg, 2005, p.214). In the USA, a study conducted in Kansas City by Kelling et al (1974) reported that increasing or decreasing the frequency of police patrols had little or no effect on either citizens’ fear of crime or their attitudes towards the police (Kelling, Pate, Dieckman & Brown, 1974, p.26, 32). Research conducted in the UK has shown that, whereas high visibility policing may help to reassure the general public and make them feel safer, it has little effect on overall crime levels (Karn, 2013, p.12). Interestingly, Scotland has by some margin the highest number of police officers in the examples shown here, both in real terms and per head of population. This presumably would allow for greater police visibility. However, Police Scotland also seem to provide a service that only 66% of the residents of Scotland are satisfied with (Scottish Government, 2018, p.74). According to Rowe, writing about the situation in the UK, due to the heterogeneity of society, societal expectations of policing are neither consistent nor coherent, making it unlikely that the police would be able to fulfil all of the expectations of society (Rowe, 2002, pp.239-440).
As Finland does not at present have the social diversity found in some other parts of the world, it could perhaps be argued that public perceptions and expectations are less diverse than in other places. Surprising then that the general public in the relatively homogenous Republic of Ireland were considerably less satisfied with the performance of their police service than are the Finns. According to a 2018 survey conducted by An Garda Síochána (Ireland’s National Police and Security Service) (2018) the public satisfaction figure indicated that 77% of the population were satisfied or very satisfied with the service they receive (An Garda Síochána, 2018). Public approval of the An Garda Síochána has even fallen slightly in recent years. Fenney (2019) found that a primary reason for this was dissatisfaction with how the Garda were being managed (Fenney, 2019 pp.257-258). The Finnish approach to police management will be discussed in Chapter Seven. Even when Police Finland are compared to the equivalent organisation in Norway, the best match not only for population and police numbers, but also for the similarity of the survey question being asked, there is still a considerable discrepancy in public opinion in favour of the Finnish police. Whereas this would seem to be a clear-cut result, as was the case with the crime rates mentioned earlier, the figures quoted may not be directly comparable, as they were gathered by different organisations and tabulated and analysed with differing environments in mind. Therefore, it may be unwise to draw overly strong conclusions from this data. Although these findings cannot be considered conclusive, they may have an indicative value for the purpose of this discussion. The following section will address certain aspects of social identity theory and procedural justice theory in an attempt to uncover an explanation for the Finnish attitude towards the police.
3.3 Possible Influences of Ethnocentrism and Group Theory

Of the social theories that are most likely to contribute to an understanding of why the Finnish population appears to be so positively disposed towards their policing organisation, ethnocentric theory would seem to be a useful starting point. Ethnocentrism is commonly associated with negative aspects of nationalism (Rosenblatt, 1964, p.131). However, in this case, ethnocentric attitudes may be more closely related to what could perhaps be considered the more positive notions of national and personal pride (Smith & Jarkko, 1998, pp.15-16). If a policing organisation is considered by the population to be a controlling force, distinct from the people, there is a possibility that rather than being considered as part of society, police officers may be thought of as outsiders, therefore less than trustworthy (Brewer, 1999, p.442).

Some aspects of theories related to ethnocentrism may also add to this discourse. In particular in-group theory, as described by Tajfel and Turner (1979, p.40), may help to understand some of the attitudes expressed by the Finnish population in relation to authority figures in general and the police organisation in particular. As the Finns began to develop a national identity in the late 19th century, there was an apparent desire among the people to differentiate themselves from their former colonial masters (Ollila, 1998, p.129). As desirable as it was to be seen as Finnish, it was equally important not to be seen as Swedish or Russian (Peltonen, n.d., p.280). In making this distinction the Finns were in effect constructing a national in-group that may still be in use today. Tajfel’s social identity theory suggests that the groups that people belong to help provide them with an identity (Tajfel, 1981, p.275) and perhaps self-esteem. To this extent Tajfel’s theory works as well for the Finnish population as any other group or nationality. However, with respect to Finnish attitudes towards the police force, there would seem to be a divergence. Social identity theory suggests that self-image
and notions of stature are bolstered by diminishing the stature of those who do not belong to the group (Brown, 2000, p.747). Whereas the police may be considered as an oppressive out-group in some jurisdictions as described by Farmer, Rabe-Hemp and Taylor (2019, p.39), this does not seem to be the case in Finland. The in-group that is the Finnish population may be demonstrating similarities to more common understandings of in-groups, such as those found in the workplace or associated with a sporting activity (Mael & Ashforth, 2001, pp.201-210). Finnish belief in the high standards of their police force could, in fact, be understood to be an expression of in-group bias in their favour (Turner, Brown & Tajfel, 1979, p.190). The Finnish police may be considered to be trustworthy simply because they are Finns. Although there are certain similarities between ethnocentrism and Tajfel’s social identity theory, the Finnish social phenomenon that is expressed as a positive attitude towards the police would not seem to be constructed in response to negative attitudes towards an external entity. Rather it may be an expression of shared realities and group prototypes, as described by Hogg and Rinella (2018, p.6).

In order to function smoothly, society requires generally accepted norms of social behaviour, which vary in form from what may be considered guidelines for desirable behaviour to rules that members of society are expected to adhere to (Fehr & Fischbacher, 2004, p.185). In the case of Normative Compliance (Kelman, 1958, p.53), a primary consideration is that the population feels that they have an ethical obligation to adhere to societal norms (Huckelsby, 2013, p.145). Additionally, if the legitimacy of these societal norms is evident to the majority of the population, then adherence to these norms would tend to be self-regulated and monitored, as they are generally considered to be beneficial to that society (Ellickson, 1994, p.191). In addition to Normative Compliance there is Instrumental Compliance. Whereas it may be tempting to consider these two forms of compliance as diametrically opposed, in fact
there are certain similarities that make such an understanding problematic. While the ultimate goal of Instrumental Compliance is the same as that of Normative Compliance, rather than relying on subjective notions of right and wrong, a potential offender is aware of the material consequences of breaking the rules (Snacken, 2013, p.30). In reality, policing agencies require a combination of both forms of public compliance and the legitimacy this provides in order to conduct their duties (Tyler 2013, p.14). There is, however, another aspect of social behaviour that may affect how and why individuals comply with social expectations. Bradford, Hohl, Jackson and MacQueen (2015) suggest that by treating individuals with respect and dignity, as described in procedural justice theory (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003, p.536), it is possible to positively affect their sense of social identity, which will in turn cause them to feel more attached to society at large and more likely to conform to the norms of that society (Bradford, Hohl, Jackson and MacQueen (2015, p.175). The way in which these attitudes and behaviours are manifested in Finnish society will be considered further in the following chapter.

3.4 Consideration of Procedural Justice

Procedural justice was chosen as a theoretical benchmark for this study as it would, potentially, allow examination of how the Finnish police interact with the general public in that country and the extent to which such interaction can be considered trustworthy and legitimate. The same criteria would also enable consideration of the internal operational structure of the Finnish police organisation. The combination of these two perspectives will provide a clear and structured overall description of the Finnish approach to the task of policing.
In so doing, it will be necessary not only to describe the nature of procedural justice, but also to position procedural justice within wider justice theory. In so doing, some alternative approaches to the maintenance of a stable society from a policing perspective will be outlined. This will include a brief presentation of three alternatives to procedural justice. These will be restorative justice, distributive justice and retributive justice.

Before discussing, in more detail, the various possible approaches to the provision of just policing, it would seem advisable to consider, in more general terms, what is meant by the term justice and how it applies to society as a whole. While a comprehensive consideration of a subject as multifaceted as this is well beyond the scope of this thesis, it is felt that a presentation of certain key theories may help to provide an understanding of some of the challenges faced by policing agencies and their approach to their duties. According to Miller (2013), there is little in the way of consensus as to what constitutes justice. However, in an attempt to address this situation, he describes what he refers to as universalist and contextualist understandings of what justice is. Universalist understanding suggests the possibility of a universal theory of justice that has validity in all circumstances and applications (Miller 2013, pp. 42-43). It would, however, seem that Miller’s universalism allows for the caveat that there may, on occasion, be a need for an element of contextual information while the primary concept of justice will not vary. The second of Miller’s notions is referred to as contextualist theory. According to the contextualist approach, justice is context-specific and requires contextual information. While Miller distinguishes between these two approaches to justice, he also notes that they are not mutually exclusive and can, in certain circumstances, be applied in unison (Miller, 2013, pp.43-44).
Of particular relevance to this thesis, Rawls (1971) discusses the notion of “justice as fairness”, by which he suggests that justice as fairness is in effect society’s common agreement to abide by a predetermined code of behaviour (Rawls, 1971, p.12). Indeed, this would, at face value, seemingly provide a common-sense tool. However, Rawls (1971) points out that this altruistic approach is unlikely to succeed as individuals are inclined to press for the values that they consider important, rather than accepting the need for an aggregate common good (Rawls, 1971, p.12). In contrast to Rawls there is the ideology put forward by Robert Nozick. In this approach he suggests that equitable distribution of what he referred to as holdings was not as desirable as individuals having the ability to personally benefit from any advantage they may have, providing it was gained by legitimate means (Nozick, 1973, pp.58-59). While Nozick’s approach may have its benefits, it is, however, in stark contrast to the utilitarian principle, which suggests that working to produce the greatest good for the greatest number of people would be a more socially just approach to social justice (Bentham in Gustafsson, 2018, p.87).

In its most fundamental form justice theory is derived from normative theory, which describes what society considers to be acceptable behaviour on the part of its population. A fundamental premise of justice theory is fairness. While superficially this may seem particularly self-evident, notions of how fairness can be achieved require further consideration. In order to address this issue, several theoretical explanations have been developed. While notions of social justice have their roots in ancient times, early twentieth century American writer Brandeis (1916) described social justice as the consequence of the population becoming tired of the legal justice approach that was in place in the USA at that time, as it was no longer serving its intended purpose, suggesting instead that social justice would better suit the needs of society (Brandeis, 1916, p.4). Social justice in its most
elemental form requires that all members of society have equal access to social, economic and political opportunities, thereby eliminating unfairness among members of society (Jackson, 2005, p.360). While this form of enfranchisement may appear to be a positive, caring approach to governance, it will be necessary to consider some of the various forms of social justice in order to gain a clearer understanding of the implications of these theoretical approaches. The first of these to be considered here is distributive justice. This is an approach offering equitable distribution of resources and assets to all members of society (Rawls, 1971, p.7). This means that society’s resources and assets will be distributed according to need rather than as an equal share for all. Rawls (1971) suggested that in order for distributive justice to function properly it would require that members of society would not know to what extent they personally would benefit from resource distribution. Rawls referred to this as a “veil of ignorance” (Rawls, 1971, p.12). From an internal policing perspective, distributive justice may be seen in the distribution of duties and shift patterns among police officers. Depending on how fairly this is done, this approach will affect how officers perceive their contribution is valued by the organisation in relation to that of others (Quinton et al, 2015, p.4). Restorative justice, as its name would suggest, achieves its goal with an emphasis on the restoration of any damages or injustices sustained by both an injured party and the offender to their original condition or state (Braithwaite, 1999, p.1). According to Braithwaite (1999), restorative justice has a particular advantage as it appeals to those members of society with more liberal tendencies by providing a less penal approach to criminal justice. At the same time, it satisfies more conservative elements by way of providing an opportunity for victim empowerment (Braithwaite, 1999, p.4). In a policing environment restorative justice has been found to reduce reoffending rates and improve victim satisfaction with policing (Greater Manchester Police, 2014, p.10). Perhaps a more widely employed approach to criminal justice is retributive justice. Retributive justice is aimed at the objective and proportional
punishment of those who contravene social norms (Carlsmit & Darley, 2008, pp.233-234). An important point to remember in consideration of retributive justice is that while it is intended to be seen as punishment for an offence, it is not simply a form of institutionalised revenge (Struhl, 2015, p.106). This form of justice does not, however, involve attempts to deter potential contravention of social norms, nor does it attempt to rehabilitate those who do cross the line (Allais, 2008, p.129).

As a form of justice provision, distributive justice as described by Rawls (1971) will afford the same resources to all members of society, regardless of personal needs or consideration of equality of treatment (Rawls, 1971, p.312). While this may seem to be fair and egalitarian, there is a supposition that everyone has the same need for each of the available resources. An example given of why this may not be appropriate is provided by Lockhart (1994), is the case of affirmative action (Lockhart, 1994, p. 37) certain resources would need to be reallocated in order to provide all members of society with equal benefit. From a procedural justice perspective, a distributive justice approach is challenging as, according to Rawls (1971), the original position of society requires that the population does not know what resources are available (Rawls, 1971, p.12). This position may cause opportunities for representation and correction, of inappropriate outcomes, to be challenging. Restorative justice would appear to be considerably closer in nature to procedural justice. Although a complete restoration to pre-conflict condition may not always be possible, restoration to a condition where all parties are satisfied would require good levels of communication, in order to establish what would be an acceptable outcome. There is, however, opportunity for a degree of conflict with procedural justice theory in that the process of victim empowerment, if taken to extremes, may be considered as a biasing influence on the justice provider (Umbreit & Coats, 2000, p.11). The intention of procedural justice is to provide an opportunity for all parties to express
themselves (Tyler, 1988, p.103). The third example given here, retributive justice, can perhaps surprisingly also involve certain aspects of procedural justice as retributive justice requires that a considered unbiased approach is used in decision-making (Wenzel & Okimoto, 2016, pp.12-13). Indeed, it would potentially be possible to apply almost all of the tenets of procedural justice to a retributive process. Depending on the form of punishment/retribution, there may even be opportunities for correction of inappropriate or excessive punishment.

It can be seen even from this small sample that notions of justice and how it should be served come in many forms. Indeed, there may be a cultural and/or regional aspect to how society deals with such issues in relation to local expectations. If this is the case, it would be misguided to suggest that any one of these approaches would have a universal application, as all of them would seem to require contextual and environmental information in order to function in a just manner.

Perhaps one of the more compelling theories in relation to policing and the public perception of their police service is that of procedural justice. First posited by Thibaut et al (1974), procedural justice was initially seen as a method to enable conflict resolution in a courtroom setting (Thibaut, Walker, LaTour & Houlden, 1974, p.1273). Research conducted by Thibaut et al (1974) showed that in simulated litigation scenarios, fairness and an opportunity to present the position of all interested parties during proceedings were of particular importance to research participants (Thibaut, Walker, LaTour & Houlden, 1974, pp.1283-1284). Indeed, in a later paper Thibaut and Walker (1978) described how procedural justice theory suggests that the outcome of an interaction with authorities is less important to a complainant than the
perception that the process was conducted in a demonstrably fair manner (Thibaut & Walker, 1978, pp.551-552). As is the case with the approaches to the provision of justice mentioned earlier in this section, the subjective nature of notions of fairness and justice would suggest that the context in which procedural justice is applied is as likely to affect perceptions of fairness both on an individual and institutional level (Ambrose et al, 1991 pp.245-246).

Tyler (1988) explained that rather than a single concept, procedural justice is composed of seven component parts. These are:

1. the degree to which those authorities were motivated to be fair; 2. judgments of their honesty; 3. the degree to which the authorities followed ethical principles of conduct; 4. the extent to which opportunities for representation were provided; 5. the quality of the decisions made; 6. the opportunities for error correction; and 7. whether the authorities behaved in a biased fashion. (Tyler, 1988, p.103).

In doing so Tyler has highlighted the fact that procedural justice is a multifaceted theory that requires careful consideration. By breaking elements of procedural justice down in this way, Tyler may have provided a check list by which an organisation can assess the degree to which they can be considered procedurally just. It is quite possible that an organisation may score rather well in some areas and less well in others.

Tyler (1988) points out that there is little by way of a standardised understanding of what was needed in order to be considered procedural justice (Tyler, 1988, p.105). Tyler’s research has indicated that particular value is given to consistency, accuracy, bias suppression and representation in matters of procedural justice (Tyler, 1988, p.106). With regards to procedural justice in a policing setting, Sunshine and Tyler (2003) found that a population’s perception of the legitimacy of the policing agency will have a significant influence on their preparedness to conduct themselves in a law-abiding manner (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003,
They also indicated that when the general public feel that the police are operating in a legitimate manner, the legitimacy of the police in general will be more readily accepted (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003, p.534). However, early forms of procedural justice, such as those discussed by Thibaut and Walker (1978), were primarily concerned with decision-making in relation to the ability of decision-makers to come to equitable conclusions (Tyler & Blader, 2003, p.350). Tyler and Blader (2003) point out that procedural justice theory has developed to become more focused on social interaction as procedures provide an environmental framework in which interaction can take place (Tyler & Blader, 2003, p.350). It is important to note that even a textbook application of the theories of procedural justice is unlikely to lead to total trust and/or satisfaction with all aspects of policing. As Bowling (2007) points out, a more pragmatic approach to a generally acceptable level and standard of policing may, in the end, be a more productive route. It is important to point out that Bowling is not suggesting that poor standards of policing are acceptable, rather that realistic expectations would be more readily achieved, providing that the policing agency consistently works to improve their performance in serving the population (Bowling, 2007, pp.29-31).

In research conducted in the USA by Wood, Tyler and Papachristo (2020) it was found that among the operational advantages of a procedurally just approach to policing are a reduction in the use of physical force on the part of police officers and a substantial reduction in the number of complaints made against the police (Wood et al, 2020, p.9817). However, Worden, Bonner and McLean (2018) suggest that when complaints are made against police officers, the principles of procedural justice can become particularly relevant. The writers point out that according to their research, the nature of complaints against the police is such that the complainant seldom obtains a favourable result (Worden et al, 2018, p.79). Worden et al (2018) suggest that citizen oversight is unlikely to be able to rectify this situation as
evidence tends to be limited in such cases. They go on to state that if the investigation process is perceived to be fair and transparent, as described in the tenets of procedural justice, there is a greater possibility that the complainant will consider the findings to be acceptable (Worden et al, 2018, p.80). However, not all studies related to police complaints have found procedural justice so effective. Walker (1997) states that some participants in his study felt the need for face-to-face interaction, explanations and apologies from officers (Walker, 1997, p.223). Interestingly, all of these issues may be rectified with improved and open communication, which is one of the foundations of procedural justice. In addition to these findings, Walker also indicated that there were certain differences in the expectations of ethnic groups (Walker, 1997, p.223).

Discussion related to policing and procedural justice, perhaps understandably, tends to concentrate on interaction between police officers and members of the public. However, research shows that an important factor influencing police interaction with the general public is the organisational and management culture of the policing organisation and how those organisations behave towards their officers (Trinkner, Tyler & Goff, n.d. p.4). According to Cohen-Charash and Spector (2001), the degree to which employees feel they are being treated in a fair and equitable manner by their employer is of particular importance. They suggest that employers that treat their employees with fairness will in turn contribute to a positive working environment for their staff (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001, p.280). Along similar lines, Bradford et al (2013) found that police officers who feel that they are being treated by their employer in a fair, procedurally just manner are more likely to adopt the values and approaches to policing demonstrated by their employer (Bradford, Quinton, Myhill & Porter, 2013, p.114). In addition, Marks and Fleming (2006) found that police officers who are treated in a fair, procedurally just manner by the policing organisation will
indeed conduct their duties and interactions with the public in a more professional manner (Marks & Fleming, 2006, p.29). Cohen-Charash & Spector (2001) introduce a note of caution on this subject as they point out that when individuals perceive themselves to have been treated unfairly by their employer, their feelings of injustice will be directed at the whole organisation rather than a particular event or outcome (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001, p.281). Trinkner et al (n.d.) suggest that such levels of dissatisfaction on the part of employees can, in turn, negatively affect organisational efficiency (Trinkner, Tyler & Goff, n.d. p.24).

As an example of the human fallibility and sound procedural structure that can be found in the Finnish national police service, it would seem fair to mention that in recent years a number of very high-ranking police officers have been investigated and some have been charged with involvement in criminal activity. A recent example of this would be the so-called Jari Aarnio case (The Office of the Prosecutor General, 2014), where the head of the Helsinki anti-drugs unit was charged and convicted with involvement in, among other things, drug smuggling. In some jurisdictions, this may be cause to question the standards of a policing agency, thereby diminishing public trust. This, however, seems not to have been the case in Finland. The latest barometric survey was conducted by POLAMK after these events came to light in the media and it would appear that the Finnish public see the fact that even senior police officers are not above the law as an affirmation of high standards in Finnish policing.

The impression of social cohesion in the Nordic countries in general and in Finland in particular may have been sustainable as long as the general, but questionable, notion of
homogeneity could be cited (Salo, 2006, p.14). However, the Finnish population is changing. Some of the more recent additions to the population are displaced people and refugees from some of the most violent conflicts in recent times (Ministry of the Interior, Finland n.d.b.). It would seem unlikely that these people will have the same preconceptions about policing and police officers as the base population. In order to help gain a better understanding of their new environment, the Finnish Immigration Service has developed information packages to help bridge any cultural divide that may exist (Finnish Immigration Service, 2019). Perhaps the acid test of Finnish procedural justice will be how well Finnish policing is prepared to adapt to the new milieu. In addition, the Finnish police have been provided with training to help with their interactions with minority groups in general (Council of Europe, 2019, p.9).

As is the case with seemingly every large organisation, media presence is of importance to the Police in Finland. Finnish entertainment media currently runs a variety of fly-on-the-wall entertainment/documentary television shows. These shows are popular with the viewing public and while they occasionally show some of the more unpleasant duties of a police officer, the general feel of the shows is that the police are steadfast and true in their approach to their tasks. In addition, the police are regularly reported on in the news media. Reports in the press range widely from descriptions of road traffic incidents to more critical articles related to inappropriate actions of police officers, as mentioned earlier in this chapter. Interestingly, according to research conducted by Kääriäinen, et al (2016), the more critical reports appear not to have a negative impact on levels of public trust in the police. Rather, it would seem that the levels of trust in the police increase among women, the highly-educated and the elderly (Kääriäinen, Isotalus & Thomassen, 2016, p.81).
While the tenets of procedural justice may appear to be self-evidently desirable and applicable to attempts to enhance the general standard of both policing and public trust in the police, it would be a mistake to consider procedural justice theory to be a panacea to the challenges of crime prevention and social order. It should also be noted that not all sectors of society will necessarily perceive social justice in the same way. To make such an assumption would be to ignore the multifaceted nature of policing and the society being policed. Research conducted in Australia (Murphy, 2007) found that a procedural justice approach had different effects on different sectors of society (Murphy, 2007, p.430). Similar findings were reported by Sargeant et al (2014), who stated that there was evidence to suggest that, in Australia, certain minority groups tend not to be inspired to trust the police as a result of a procedural approach. Sargent et al (2014) found that for a particular group, police performance rather than police procedure was more likely to lead to a trusting attitude (Sargent, Murphy & Cherney, 2014, p.513). In discussing aspects of procedural justice, Wolfe et al (2016) drew attention to the fact that little effort has been made to test the assumption that a single form of procedural justice could necessarily be applied to society as a whole (Wolfe, Nix, Kaminski & Rojek, 2016, p.258). They did, however, find that on the whole a procedurally just approach did, indeed, cause the general public to trust and obey the police. They also noted that a procedurally just approach was of particular value to levels of public trust in the police when dealing with the victims of crime (Wolfe, Nix, Kaminski & Rojek, 2016, p.274-275). While Tyler (2000) does take the possibility of an ethnically diverse population having differing notions of what constitutes fairness into consideration, he suggests that any effects of such diversity would be minimal in relation to more general public trust in the police (Tyler, 2000, p.998). This finding was reiterated by Sunshine and Tyler (2003), stating that while attitudes towards the police and the judiciary are not
consistent among all ethnic groups, there are striking similarities and only small differences (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003, p.537).

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter consideration has been given to the link between aspects of Finnish society and the high levels of trust in the Finnish police. In order to do this, the findings of a national survey conducted by POLAMK were addressed in comparison to similar surveys from four other northern European countries. It was shown that research conducted in Denmark found that among the participants, feelings of insecurity actually rose as the police presence increased (Holmberg, 2005, p.214). The research suggested that certain populations equate high police visibility with increased risk. This is not intended to suggest that current very low policing numbers in Finland are adequate, rather that very high visibility may not be appropriate in all circumstances.

From national survey data and Nordic risk assessment, another avenue was considered in an attempt to find a possible explanation for the high levels of trust the Finnish public reportedly have in their police force. For this, some aspects of social theory were addressed, including social identity theory, procedural justice theory, ethnocentrism and the related in-group theory. It became evident that there may be an understanding among the Finnish population that the police are trustworthy, because they are part of a population that sees themselves as exceptional. An additional notion in relation to these issues was the concept that perhaps the police have taken the role of peace-time protectors of the people, a function that was of great importance during the early days of the republic.
Another, perhaps unexpected, aspect of Finnish society that may contribute to social conditions in that country is the Lutheran Church. From the earliest days of independence, there were two fundamental cornerstones of national governance. These were the law and the church. This has led to a very formulaic approach to judicial proceedings, which may go some way to bolster notions of procedural justice in the Finnish judicial system, and perhaps by association, policing.

As it is the theoretical consideration for this thesis, procedural justice was considered in more detail than some of the other theoretical positions. Some aspects of procedural justice, as itemised by Tyler in the late 1980’s, would seem in theory to be engrained in the Finnish judicial system. According to Kääriäinen (2008) there is an understanding of the value of procedural justice in the Finnish policing agency and the population seems to be of the opinion that the police operate in a trustworthy manner (Kääriäinen, 2008, p.144).

In attempting to discover why the Finnish population is, reportedly, so trusting of policing in that country, it has been shown here that the apparent trust in the service provided by the Finnish police is a multifaceted issue, involving to some extent social conditioning of the population and perhaps a degree of confirmation bias. Additionally, it would be unwise to make overly far-reaching generalisations as to the perceptions of the entire population with reference to survey findings.

The following chapter will be used to discuss Finnish policing practice. This will include consideration of police management and operational policing practice in an attempt to
highlight any practices that may be peculiar to the Finnish police, aspects of which may go
some way to explain their apparent success.
Chapter Four
Management and Operational Policing

4.1 Introduction
In the previous two chapters the majority of the discussion has dealt with the social environment in which the Finnish police operate. Chapter Two provided a broad-brush picture of the type of society Finland has become, and in general terms considered how and why it has developed in the way it has. This was done to enable discussion of the effect that social environment can influence both the image of a policing agency and the manner in which policing is conducted in relation to the population being served. Chapter Three addressed the positive image the general population apparently has of the Finnish police force. The purpose of that chapter was to consider if there are any aspects of Finnish social attitudes and expectations that may be influencing the understanding that the Finnish police force is particularly trustworthy. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it became evident that taken in isolation, neither historical context nor consideration of social expectation provided concrete answers to the core question of this thesis. However, in combination, there appears to be evidence of a general acceptance of authority figures that may have a grounding in historical events. In this chapter, attention will be turned to aspects of police management and operational policing, in order to address the question “How do Finnish police officers understand their role in Finnish society and to what extent could the Finnish approach to policing be considered procedurally just?”.

In addressing these issues, the model described by Weber (1946) will be discussed as it may aid consideration of the possibilities whether a policing agency may be considered trustworthy as a combination of public trust in authority and compliant public attitudes or as a result of particularly effective policing. In order to provide an alternative perspective,
Foucault’s (1973) notions of the population providing the authorities with a mandate to govern may be a better fit. In addition to these will be consideration of Bourdieu’s (1979) notions of symbolic power and how this may be being employed by the Finnish police. Whereas it would seem that the Finnish public, in general, express high levels of trust in the police force, perhaps less well-publicised than the figures on public trust are the apparently less than positive findings of the police barometric survey (Vuorensyrjä & Fagerlund, 2018). These include a public description of some inappropriate actions on the part of the police. In some instances, this is said to have included discriminatory behaviour and poor communication skills in addition to examples of excessive use of force (Vuorensyrjä & Fagerlund, 2018, p.120). These issues will be considered in relation to theoretical positions in an attempt to provide insight into the general policing ethos in Finland.

In the discussion section of this chapter, the various aspects of policing will be drawn together in order to aid an examination of how the Finnish police are conducting their duties.

4.2 Consideration of Policing Management

Politicians and chiefs of police often resort to a declaration of a so-called “War on Crime” when questioned on reported levels of criminality in their jurisdiction (e.g. Smith & Simon, 2007, p.50). Presumably the intention is to project a message that criminal activity is being taken seriously and that the political party and/or perhaps the policing agency is/are taking concrete action to prevent it. It may also follow that as the police are considered an essential element of a functioning society, it would be illogical to construct a conflict that pits one part of society against another (Wacquant, 2008, pp.23-24; Lieblich & Shinar, 2018, p.131). It may be that a police force that is trusted by the population will apply some form of procedural justice to their duties, almost by default, and in doing so, maintain their legitimacy.
in the eyes of the general public, thereby removing the need for conflict. Internationally, many police organisations have taken their management structure and ranking hierarchy from the military (Johnson & Cox, 2004, p.76). This effect has been taken to an extreme in countries such as, but not confined to, the USA, where some police agencies not only routinely behave like soldiers in a combat zone but they are also equipped with decommissioned military vehicles and other military equipment for use in civilian policing (Vitale, 2017, p.25).

The style of management used to direct a large group of individuals in the commission of common tasks is likely to affect the behaviour, attitudes and perception of goals of those individuals (van Craen, 2016, p.285). Research conducted by Ashcroft et al (2003) for the National Institute of Justice in the USA identified four styles of police management behaviour. These were labelled as: traditional, innovative, supportive and active (Ashcroft, Daniels & Hart, 2003, p.2). The study found that “traditional” managers expected their officers to enforce the law and did not have a high opinion of community policing. For these managers arrest rates were of particular importance. Ashcroft et al (2003) also found that this type of manager tended to use punishment rather than positive affirmation in order to maintain control of subordinates (Ashcroft, Daniels & Hart, 2003, p.3). According to the report, “innovative” managers tended to take a less formal approach to policing, preferring to maintain a personal relationship with subordinates. This form of manager values communication between the police and the community and encourages officers to ask the general public how they feel crime-related issues can be solved (Ashcroft, Daniels & Hart, 2003, p.4). “Supportive” managers are described as functioning as a buffer between patrol officers and higher management (Ashcroft, Daniels & Hart, 2003, p.5). The final management style identified was described as “active”. These managers tend not to draw a
clear differentiation between the role of manager and patrol officer. For them, involvement in the day-to-day activities is the key to effective policing (Ashcroft, Daniels & Hart, 2003, p.6). The report points out that officers who have an “active” manager are more likely to be involved in community relations and problem-solving activities than is the case with other officers. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this research found that management style affects officer behaviour and that these findings should be taken into consideration when defining a police department’s operational goals (Ashcroft, Daniels & Hart, 2003, p.9). Although this study was conducted in the USA, it is felt that the findings described above will have general equivalents internationally.

From a procedural justice standpoint, all of these management styles would appear to be flawed. Perhaps the furthest from a procedurally just approach would be the “traditional” management style. There are two main issues with this approach; the first of these is the suggested attitude towards subordinate officers. The use of punishment in order to maintain organisational discipline would suggest an unhealthy working environment. This in turn is unlikely to encourage open communication and will potentially lead to stress in employees (Guthrie, Ciccarelli & Babic, 2010, p.42). The second area of concern with this form of management is the lack of interest in community relations, preferring instead to measure success in relation to arrest rates. This lack of communication and punitive form of policing is unlikely to cultivate public trust and police legitimacy that is so fundamental to a procedurally just approach to policing (McCluskey, 2003, p.16).

Superficially, the closest to procedurally just policing were the so-called “innovative” managers. For them communication would seem to be of particular importance. They
reportedly prefer an informal approach to management and interaction with the general population. These managers may be providing a more positive working environment for their employees and be causing them to be more engaged in the role of police officer, thereby improving the standard of service on offer (Skogan & Hartnett, 1997, p.70).

As with the “innovative” management style, “supportive” managers would appear to have the best interests of their subordinates in mind in implementing their approach. However, by shielding police officers from the gaze of senior management and governing authorities, the “supportive” managers may also reduce ability to ensure that officers are held accountable for their actions (Ashcroft, Daniels & Hart, 2003, p.59). This is problematic as accountability and/or transparency is/are important factors in the provision of procedurally just policing (Schulenberg, Chenier, Buffone & Wojciechowski, 2015, p.12).

The final management style described by Ashcroft (2003) is the “active” manager. As the name would suggest, these managers are actively involved in the working day of subordinate officers. From a procedural justice perspective this is a potentially problematic management style as it may lead to officers feeling that they are being micro-managed and not trusted to perform their duties appropriately (Schafer, 2010, pp.741-742). Schafer (2010) suggests that undermining employees in this way is likely to have a negative effect on organisational activity (Schafer, 2010, p.742).

Police management in Finland was of particular interest to online survey and focus group participants in this research. The experiences of Finnish officers will be considered further in Chapter Six.


4.3 Consideration of Operational Policing Styles

Some policing organisations seem to favour tactics that emphasise the suppression of criminal activity and punishment of offenders over community engagement. Zero Tolerance Policing (ZTP) proved popular with several police forces in the late 1990’s. ZTP is a form of policing that is derived from the so-called “broken windows” approach proposed by Kelling and Wilson (1982), suggesting that even low-level visible crime can create an environment that will propagate further crime and that to eliminate such activity will help to create feelings of safety among the population (Kelling & Wilson, 1982). Policing agencies as diverse as the New York Police Department in the USA, the city of Hartlepool under the jurisdiction of the Cleveland Police in the UK (Dennis & Mallon, 1998, pp.63-64) and other international police forces have made use of ZTP (Punch 2007, p.21). There are claims that “assertive” policing has been responsible for a major reduction in crime in New York City due to ZTP (Kelling and Bratton, 1998, pp.1228-1229). However, according to research conducted by Lincoln (2004), while ZTP can be effective in specific areas for a short period of time, it should not be seen as a long-term solution to crime prevention as it can have negative effects on the human rights of the population being policed and on the premise of innocence until proven guilty. According to Lincoln (2004), the ZTP approach has also led to an increase in complaints about police behaviour (Lincoln, 2004, p.13). Bjørgo (2016) suggests that an arrest-and-punish-after-the-fact form of policing is outdated and inefficient. Instead, he puts forward multiple proposals to aid the construction of a more comprehensive approach to policing. These are “the integration of traditional social and individual-oriented crime prevention, the situational prevention strategy of making it harder to commit crimes, combating crime via the criminal justice system, and societal security and risk management perspectives.” (Bjørgo, 2016, p.1).
While it may be naïve to suggest that there is no place for the use of any kind of coercive measures by the police authorities, some policing agencies have found that notions of a “War on Crime” have not produced the expected results. Indeed, in England and Wales there has been a move since the 1990’s towards a community-based form of policing (O’Neill & McCarthy, 2014, p.145). This approach was described by Innes (2005) as soft or non-coercive policing and comprises of a visible police presence, persuasion, negotiation and community interaction (Innes, 2005, p.157), all of which chime rather well with the tenets of procedural justice (Tyler, 1988, p.103). As policing agencies are unlikely to have the resources and skills necessary for all of the points listed by Innes (2005), a multi-agency approach including health, education and other social services would seem to be in order (Innes, 2005, p.157). Crawford and Evans (2017) noted that in the UK the level of inter-agency cooperation needed in order to provide an integrated form of crime prevention was not always forthcoming (Crawford & Evans, 2017, p.815). Gilling (1994) suggests that not all inter-agency cooperation is necessarily undertaken with wholly philanthropic motives in mind (Gilling, 1994, p.247). In addition, there are multiple challenges with this approach. Not least of these is the potential for differing understandings of not only the meaning of crime prevention but also how to go about achieving that goal (Gilling, 1994, p.249). A similar sentiment was indicated in a paper produced by the Police Foundation (Higgins, Hales & Chapman, 2016), where it was noted that multi-agency cooperation requires senior management to be involved in the establishment of common goals and criteria for the measurement of success in crime prevention (Higgins, Hales & Chapman, 2016, p.13).

In a Nordic setting, a holistic approach to “soft policing” appears to be more readily accepted. According to Takala (2004), an important aspect of crime prevention is crime prevention through environmental design (Takala, 2004, p.141). By this Takala is suggesting that by
opening up environments and encouraging the intensive use of public spaces rather than restricting access to them, there develops what he refers to as a “natural supervision”. Takala also points out that there are certain similarities to be found in the approach to crime prevention taken by all of the Nordic countries (Takala, 2004, p.141). These include:

“Placing an emphasis on multidisciplinary action, both in the use of social prevention and situational prevention of crime.”

“Giving a high importance to crime prevention at the local level, especially stressing the responsibility of the municipalities.”

“Emphasising cooperation not only between the various actors in the public sector, but also in regard to the private sector including various organizations and the citizenry.” (Takala, 2004, p.141)

This Nordic approach would align rather well with the description of crime prevention strategy provided by Welch et al (2018), in which cooperation of multiple agencies potentially provides opportunities for would-be offenders to moderate their behaviour before the police become involved (Welsh, Zimmerman & Zane, 2018, p.141).

The following section will present some theoretical perspectives that have been considered relevant to the subjects discussed in this chapter.

4.4 Policing and Social Control

A discussion of policing and policing methods would seem incomplete without reference to issues of power and social control. A prominent voice on such issues in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was Max Weber. Some aspects of Weber’s thoughts of power and its application fit rather well with notions of procedural justice. Clearly the police are in a position of power, they carry weapons and are empowered by government and the population to contribute to the maintenance of a stable society (Vitale, 2017, p.16). However, Weber points out that power is hierarchical in nature, with various positions imposing their influence
on those below them in that structure. Interestingly, according to Weber, positions of power can be precarious and require the compliance of the population being governed. According to Weber, in order for those with power to stay in control it is necessary for them to demonstrate their legitimacy (Weber, 1946, p.80).

In their study of police legitimacy, Sunshine and Tyler (2003) broke the subject matter down into two general groups. The first of these was consideration of the degree to which police legitimacy is of importance to the general population, other than for instrumental factors and the ability to combat crime and to provide an equitable service. The second was to discover what may lead a population to consider the police to be a legitimate authority (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003, p.514). In answer to their first avenue of investigation, they found that although there were certain demographic variations, police legitimacy was a motivator behind public compliance (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003, p.529). In the second part of their investigation Sunshine and Tyler (2003) showed that there is a correlation between a procedurally just approach to policing and the extent to which the police are considered legitimate by the population (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003, p.530). Perhaps surprisingly, they found that distributive justice, which in a criminal justice setting may be considered traditional policing as it tends to be orientated towards arrest and conviction and police performance, was not as clear an indicator of police legitimacy. This finding was reiterated by Ballucci and Drakes (2020, p.4). Sunshine and Tyler (2003) noted, however, that as was the case with the importance of police legitimacy, there were certain demographic differences in the results of this study (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003, p.530). This study showed that police legitimacy is of particular importance to the general population and that legitimacy is most readily achieved with the application of a procedurally just approach to policing. When police legitimacy is achieved, the population is
more inclined to be compliant with the authorities, thereby freeing police resources (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003, p.535).

Bourdieu, on the other hand, seems to have described the relationship between governors and governed as a hierarchy of power that has its origins in systemic institutions (Bourdieu, 1979, p.80). According to Bourdieu, for this social structure to function, there would be a need for a dominator-dominated relationship between the police and the general public.

Foucault saw institutional power, such as that held by the police, in a rather different light. For him, power was not hierarchical as Weber and Bourdieu had described it. Rather, it took the form of social norms and pressures that reward those who comply with the directions of the authorities and restrict those who do not (Foucault, 1973, pp.240-241). Foucault suggested that rather than being “points of application”, individuals are in fact the vehicles of power (Foucault, 1980, p.98) and as such are instrumental in its use.

Interestingly, Durkheim suggested that crime is a necessary aspect of society and understanding that actions which offend a society’s established norms have consequences helps to maintain public order (Thompson & Thompson, 2004, p.57). It would appear that the severity of these consequences may not have a direct correlation with levels of public order. Finland is generally considered to be a very stable and safe country (e.g. Fund for Peace, 2018), and yet it also has what by many standards could be considered a lenient/progressive judicial system (Statistics Finland, 2015) and a culture of low-key policing.
Among the primary points raised by Loader was the need for legitimate policing to be reflective of the whole population and not simply rich and/or vocal members of the population (Loader, 2016, p.213). Indeed, Loader suggests that by including the disgruntled and minority groups into the public debate on crime and crime prevention, it would be possible to provide a form of policing that would not only be relevant to the whole population, but it would also provide a greater part of the population with a feeling of personal safety. This in turn makes it more likely that most of the population will be content most of the time. If this general contentment equates to a feeling of security, there may also be a benefit to the public perceptions of police legitimacy.

4.5 Public Compliance or Common Goal?

There may be an argument that the Finns and other Nordic populations are compliant and accepting of authority for a common good as a result of what may be referred to as Nordic communitarianism (Brandal & Thorsen 2018, p.173). In its simplest form communitarianism is an understanding that an individual’s identity is constructed with reference to his/her relationship to the community in which he/she lives. Importantly, this ideology emphasises the interests of the community as a whole rather than those of the individual (Witoszek & Midttun, 2018, p.3). While this construct would normally be confined to relatively small groups, such as family or immediate communities, it may be possible to argue that a country with such a strong national identity and perception of homogeneity may be demonstrating a form of extended communitarianism (Pylkkänen, 2007, p.336).

An indication of how amenable the Finnish population is to the rule of law was demonstrated in a survey conducted by Houtsonen (2012). Houtsonen asked 723 participants about, among
other things, their opinions on the rule of law. Around 70% of the people who expressed an opinion stated that they were either strongly of the opinion or of the same opinion that all laws should be followed to the letter. The same survey indicated that the remaining 30% of individuals either partly disagreed or disagreed. Perhaps of importance in a discussion of why Finns appear to be so compliant is the finding that less than 12% suggested that they disagreed with the statement that ‘laws should be followed to the letter’ (Houtsonen, 2012, p.82). These findings may be of assistance in gaining an understanding of why the Finnish police are, apparently, so highly regarded by such a large part of the population.

### 4.6 Police Behaviour

van Dijk, Hoogewoning and Punch (2015) suggest that when the general public are treated according to the tenets of procedural justice during interactions with police officers, they are more likely to have a more positive impression of such contact. This in turn can lead to improvement in the levels of communication and compliance that are so vital to effective policing. They go on to explain that when police officers are treated with openness and respect, there is a greater chance that this behaviour will be reciprocated (van Dijk, Hoogewoning & Punch, 2015, p.180).

Interestingly, a study by Donner and Olson (2019) indicated that the way police officers are treated by their employer will also affect the way they interact with the public (Donner & Olson, 2019, p.396). van Craen (2016) described this behaviour in relation to social learning theory, in which individuals learn what is acceptable behaviour and what is expected of them by imitating the behaviour of others in a group (van Craen, 2016, p.285). van Craen (2016) goes on to suggest that setting an appropriate tone will not only positively affect the
behaviour of police officers, but it will also increase perceptions of trust and trustworthiness (van Craen, 2016, p.290).

According to Hough et al (2017), procedural justice requires public acceptance of the legitimacy of the agency policing them (Hough, Jackson & Bradford, 2017, p.277). Along similar lines, Saarikkomäki (2015) found that a population that is being treated with respect and consideration by their policing agency is more likely to be responsive and cooperative during interactions with the police (Saarikkomäki, 2015, p.16). Importantly, Hough et al (2017) also point out that it would be a mistake to assume that procedural fairness can necessarily be equated with the fairness of judicial outcomes. Just as not all outcomes of an unfair judicial system will inevitably be unfair (Hough et al, 2017, pp.277-278). It may also follow that displaying some of the characteristics of procedural justice is not a guarantee that the agency in question has adopted and is implementing the ideology across the board.

4.7 Discussion
Management of any large organisation is likely to be challenging, perhaps police management more so. While certain aspects of management, such as staff well-being and safety, would be similar to other organisations, police management according to the values of procedural justice has added complications. The police are not only required to provide a standardised level of public service, they would also need a flexibility that enables each individual customer to feel that they have been engaged with and treated with respect. In addition, procedurally just police management would need to trust that the actions of their subordinates would be transparent, lawful and would withstand both public and internal scrutiny. Unfortunately, none of the management styles mentioned in this chapter seem to be able to address all of these challenges.
It would seem from these examples that there are widely differing approaches to policing and indeed the examples given are somewhat of an over-simplification of real-world policing. However, they do help to enable discussion on the differing perspectives and the extent to which the police should be involved in maintaining public safety. On the one hand, some policing agencies have a central role and concentrate on the suppression of criminal activity (Kelling & Wilson, 1982). On the other hand, the police form part of a collective of agencies with the aim of corrective rather than coercive measures (Welsh, Zimmerman & Zane, 2018, p.141). While it would seem that both extremes have some answers to the challenges of policing, in isolation neither would seem capable of dealing with all situations. There is a need for some form of organisational compromise in order to provide an optimal service to the public.

With regard to the social control aspect of policing, it would seem that one of the major motivators for public compliance with the law is police legitimacy. How such a position of legitimacy may be achieved is a considerably more involved issue. As it has been shown, there are multiple alternative theories that can be used to explain, at least in part, public compliance with authority. However, regardless of how these positions of authority are achieved, they are unlikely to be sustainable without legitimacy in the eyes of the population (D'Esposito, 2016, p.415). According to van Dijk et al (2015), an effective tool in the development of police legitimacy is a procedurally just approach to interactions with the public, which is in turn reflected in the behaviour of the public (van Dijk, Hoogewoning & Punch, 2015, p.180).
4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has addressed some of the issues to be taken into consideration when attempting to provide procedurally just policing. In order to illustrate the diverse alternatives in approaching the challenges of policing, the extreme examples of ZTP and a more holistic, multi-agency approach were presented. It was suggested that while ZTP can be effective, it should only be used for short periods of time in a limited area and that extended use can have a negative impact on the civil liberties of the population. The multi-agency approach, on the other hand, would appear to be much more in line with the tenets of procedural justice, as it attempts to prevent crime through the intervention of education and social services before the police become involved.

It would seem that a major influence on the behaviour of police officers is the attitude of management. It was found that officers reflect the attitudes and values of the people who are giving them direction. This means that a manager that favours a coercive approach to policing will inspire similar attitudes, while a more relaxed communicative style will also be seen in subordinates. Interestingly, but perhaps unsurprisingly, this phenomenon will also be seen in interactions between the police and the public.

From a procedural justice perspective, perhaps the value of police legitimacy is key. While it may be possible for the police to attain some form of legitimacy in multiple ways, without public consent it may be considerably more challenging to maintain that position of legitimacy over time.
Chapter Five
Methodology and Methods

5.1 Introduction
The purpose of this chapter is to describe and critically assess the methodology and research methods used in this project. This will include a presentation and justification of the ontological and epistemological perspectives taken by the researcher. Additionally, there will be an explanation of the reasoning behind the mixed methods approach used for primary data collection and the approaches used in the analysis of the data acquired, a presentation and assessment of practical and logistical issues, consideration of matters related to participant acquisition, the need to produce relevant documentation in the native language of the participants and then the need to translate participants’ contributions into English. Potential limitations of the approach taken in this research project will also be considered and assessed.

5.2 Research Aims and Objectives
The primary aim of this research project was to address the question “How do Finnish police officers understand their role in Finnish society and to what extent could the Finnish approach to policing be considered procedurally just?” In so doing, the findings of this research will be positioned within a framework of procedural justice theory in order to contribute to both professional and academic knowledge of the Finnish approach to policing. The study will provide an introduction to Finnish socio-political conditions with a brief overview of recent Finnish history and more current social norms. This was done in order to make the findings of this study more accessible and to provide context for readers outside of Finland.
It was felt that consideration of these factors may highlight any social conditions that could help to understand the apparently compliant nature of Finnish society, at least with respect to their attitudes towards the police. This involved giving attention to social theories related to social cohesion and public compliance with the requirements of authority. In addition to these points, consideration was given to the publicly available literature related to police management and the manner in which operational policing is conducted in Finland. Qualitative and quantitative primary data were collected by way of an online survey of Finnish police officers and a series of focus groups also with serving Finnish police officers. These data were in turn analysed with an application of grounded theory. Justification of the mixed method approach taken here will be provided later in this chapter.

5.3 Methodology

As stated earlier, this research was conducted in order to address the question “How do Finnish police officers understand their role in Finnish society and to what extent could the Finnish approach to policing be considered procedurally just?” It is felt that in doing so, it may be possible to highlight particular aspects of policing in Finland that set it apart from seemingly less well-regarded police organisations. According to procedural justice theory, policing authorities can maintain their legitimacy through the application of transparency and an even-handed, fair-minded approach to their duties (Tyler, 1988).

While this research has attempted to gain an understanding of policing in Finland, it is primarily a consideration of social attitudes and how these attitudes may have come about. Although some of the data take a quantitative form, providing a relatively easily tabulated and potentially generalisable data-set, reporting solely on this type of data without providing
some form of qualitative depth would potentially limit the value of the findings (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p.15). The mixed methods approach that has been used in this research has caused a categorical statement of an ontological position to be challenging. However, on a continuum of ontology, as discussed by Burr (1998, p.23), ranging from positivist/realism at one end and interpretivist/relativism at the other, it would be fair to say that there has been an emphasis towards a relativist grounded theory approach as described by Glaser and Strauss (1999) in this study, although effort has been made to remain as objective as possible.

The explorative nature of research using grounded theory makes the approach particularly suitable for projects such as this one. Rather than considering data from a theoretical or ideological standpoint, grounded theory allows the researcher to address an observation or data without preconception or expectation (Denscombe, 2007, pp.89-90). The purpose is to analyse that observation or data for recurring concepts that can potentially, with the use of inductive reasoning, be employed in the construction of a new theory that can then be readily applied to real world scenarios (Glaser & Strauss, 1999, pp.114-115 & 262) without forcing the data to fit preconceived theories.

As this research was conducted according to a mixed methods approach, it is difficult to be categorical about whether an insider’s Emic or an external observer’s Etic approach was taken. Researchers such as Morris et al (1999) suggest that these two epistemologies are not necessarily mutually exclusive and can, if appropriately applied, be mutually advantageous (Morris, Leung, Ames & Lickel, 1999, p.789). With this in mind, it would be challenging to claim that the researcher’s epistemology was not in some way affected by the fact that he has worked for the organisation under examination for more than 25 years. During this time, he has undoubtedly formulated opinions and attitudes towards his employer that may, in turn, have affected the findings of this research project. Furthermore, he is probably known, at
least by name, to some of the online survey participants and is known to some of the focus group participants from the greater Helsinki conurbation. Therefore, it would be unwise to suggest that the data produced were arrived at from a purely Etic position, although it should be borne in mind that the researcher is not a police officer and has no personal experience of operational policing. However, as a policing organisation insider, access to participants may have been easier than would have been the case for an external researcher (Greene, 2004, pp. 3-4).

If the Finnish population is as trusting of their police force as some sources would seem to indicate, it would seem unlikely that the trust expressed will be in relation to a single common aspect of policing, as trust is a rather subjective notion. Therefore, it would seem advisable from the outset to accept that a single truth in relation to the quality of policing in Finland is unlikely to be achievable and that it may be more productive to consider what may be contributing to the apparently unusual position of policing in that country (Vuorensyrjä & Fagerlund, 2018).

5.4 Role Conflict

While it is acknowledged that the researcher is in a position of police insider and as such may have been exposed to some degree of unconscious biasing influences during the course of this research, it is felt that these influences are not likely to have significantly affected the outcomes of the project as a whole. The researcher is a civilian forensic examiner with the NBI forensic laboratory and has no personal experience of operational policing. Indeed, in the course of his professional life, other than pro-forma requests for forensic examination and responses to those requests, he has very little communication with sworn police officers at a
professional level. He is, however, subject to police authority rules and regulations with respect to confidentiality as they apply to civilian staff. Other than having an insider’s knowledge of what may have been considered sensitive operational information and a need for caution when discussing ongoing investigations, the regulations had little impact on this research project, as nothing that would be considered operationally sensitive was to be addressed.

As a forensic examiner, the researcher is aware of the risks related to various forms of bias and how they can distort examination or research findings (Costley, Elliott & Gibbs, 2010, p.6). Professional experience has shown that a transparent methodical approach to data collection and analysis can lead to the most robust results. In an attempt to ensure similar levels of impartiality in this research, it was decided that rather than forming a hypothesis and searching for corroborating or contradicting evidence, it would be advisable to apply a grounded theory approach that would allow for the data to be collected and interrogated with a thematic analysis, thereby allowing the data to tell the story. While this approach does not guarantee that no biasing influences have affected the outcome of this research, it is a widely accepted approach to data analysis in the social sciences (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

It is not possible to know to what extent the researcher being an “insider” may have influenced the participants’ engagement with this research. It is, however, clear that his position with the NBI forensic laboratory gave him access to the police intranet system that may have led some potential participants to feel more comfortable with their involvement than may have been the case, had the researcher been considered an outsider (Fleming, 2018, p.314).
At no time did the Police Board, The National Bureau of Investigation or the NBI forensic laboratory attempt to influence either the data collection or the reported outcome of the data analysis.

5.5 Data Collection

In the early planning stages of data collection, consideration was given to the possibility of conducting telephone interviews with Finnish police officers. Indeed, this would have provided an opportunity to ensure that participants could be sourced from all parts of the country and potentially provide evidence of different styles of policing. However, it was felt that this would be an inefficient way to obtain a representative sample of data as officers may not have had time to provide considered answers to survey questions on the phone during working hours, and varying shift patterns may have made arranging appointments to make contact out of working hours challenging (Dillman, Smyth & Christian, 2014, p.293). After considering the possible data collection options, it was decided that research into a multifaceted organisation such as the Finnish police would best be served by a hybrid or mixed methods approach. Denscombe (2007) noted that the use of mixed methods can provide complementary and alternative perspectives on subjects under examination (Denscombe, 2007, p.110). This would potentially allow for quantitative data to be collected from a large group of police officers, thereby providing a generalisable starting point for the data set. This quantitative data would then be given a degree of depth with qualitative material. To this end, an online survey consisting of nineteen questions was constructed (Appendix 2). These questions were structured around four general themes, the first of which was related to the participants’ motivation to become a police officer. This was intended to provide insight into the type of individual that wants to become a police officer. It was hoped
that this would enable consideration of the prevalence of various notions of policing, such as a social service at one extreme and “War on Crime”/zero tolerance policing at the other. The literature review indicated that a police officer’s position on this continuum may impact on his/her approach to their duties and therefore the nature and quality of their interaction with the general population. The second theme was structured around levels of participant satisfaction with career choice. As many of the duties performed by police officers can be challenging on both physical and psychological levels, an officer that is not suited to the tasks is unlikely to be able to function in an optimal manner. The literature review found that the Finnish police authorities invest considerable resources into police training. Consideration of how well this training prepares officers for these tasks was felt worthy of attention. Professional motivation and approach to the task of policing make up the third and fourth themes. The literature review showed that the Finnish police have attained and are maintaining a high level of public trust/legitimacy. As police legitimacy is a significant aspect of procedurally just policing, it was felt that data related to how and why Finnish police officers go about their tasks would be informative and would assist in an understanding of the extent to which the Finnish police are implementing procedural justice. A list of the questions asked can be found in Appendix 2. The quantitative online survey data were augmented by additional qualitative data that participants provided in free text comment boxes that were available to them in relation to several of the survey questions. When translated into English and combined into a single document, the comment boxes provided over 122 pages, almost 42,500 words of additional, primarily qualitative material. This was surprising as it had been expected that the majority of qualitative data would have come from focus groups. Although the focus groups provided a considerably smaller sample than was possible with the online survey, it is felt that this has been compensated for with the quantity of qualitative data collected from survey additional comment boxes.
In order to more easily identify potential focus group participants, the final question of the online survey asked willing parties to provide the researcher with their email address. As part of the anonymity assurance, they were told that this information would not be passed on to any third party. By the time the online survey was closed, a list of sixty individuals had indicated that they would be prepared to take part in a focus group discussion. All potential focus group participants were initially contacted by the gatekeeper, suggesting a short list of possible venues and dates. These included a group in the capital city area, one group in the city of Tampere, north-west of Helsinki, and two groups in regional police departments in the southern part of the country. Rather disappointingly, the first call for participants only provided one group of four participants in the Helsinki area, with one or two interested individuals in the outlying areas. After a second call for participants, it became evident that there would not be enough participants from Tampere to provide a working focus group. In an attempt to widen the net, approaches were made to the Oulu police district in the northern part of the country. Again, with limited success. Around this time a police officer approached the researcher to ask if he was still looking for participants as she and a couple of her colleagues would be interested in taking part. This led to a second group in the greater Helsinki area. One provincial department made contact and provided a third group. The gender split was 7 female officers and 5 male officers. This is by no means a large sample of the Finnish police force, nor is it representative of the gender balance in that organisation, as female officers currently make up less than 20% of police officers in Finland (J. Helenius, personal communication, February 5, 2020). However, some researchers such as Guest et al (2017) suggest that between three and six groups can offer a representative sample, providing between 80% and 90% of themes (Guest, Namey & McKenna, 2017, p.3).
Previous experience of focus groups in Finland had shown that groups of around four people provided opportunity for all participants to both speak and listen to the contributions of others, in the relatively short time available. A few minutes of relaxation and a general chat, at the beginning of the meeting, seem to have put the participants into a frame of mind to actively participate in the more structured phase of the conversation from the outset. Before the focus groups’ discussions related to this study began, the participants were given a short briefing about the aims of the research project. If they found any of the subject matter discussed in the focus groups uncomfortable in any way, they could withdraw from that part of the discussion. Participants were sent a copy of a list of suggested topics for discussion. As was the case with the online survey, the suggested points for discussion were structured around themes of the participants’ motivation to becoming a police officer, levels of satisfaction with career choice, professional motivation and approach to the task of policing. A list of the subjects suggested for discussion can be found in Appendix 3. However, participants were also informed that they were free to raise any issues that they felt would contribute to the general line of the discourse. All focus groups were recorded on both a dedicated digital recording device and as a back-up the researcher’s mobile phone. As part of the briefing, the participants were asked not to mention any sensitive details relating to cases they may have worked on or to mention any names or places directly. Some aspects of the conversation were particularly frank and open, suggesting an unexpected level of trust and engagement on the part of the participants, as mentioned in Robson (2002, pp.284-285). The focus groups were conducted in Finnish and later simultaneously translated and transcribed by the researcher, using the NVivo software package. There were two reasons for this, the first being that any accidental mentions of specific names or places could be redacted, thereby potentially helping to maintain the anonymity of participants and the security of any sensitive subjects that may have been discussed. The second reason for the researcher
undertaking the translation and transcription of the recordings was that it presented an opportunity to become more deeply engaged with the material than may have been the case, had the job been performed by a third party. The NVivo software package was chosen for this task as it is relatively easy to use, not only for transcription purposes, but also for the codification of themes that emerged from the participants’ comments, thereby making analysis of a considerable amount of data more easily achievable in the time available.

The decision to conduct primary data collection in this way proved informative as the online survey afforded access to a wide range of serving police officers, potentially providing data from both, challenging to access and sparsely populated rural regions, and more urban police departments. This was considered of value as rural policing over long distances is unlikely to face the same challenges as more densely populated inner-city police districts. Another advantage of a quantitative survey is that the data collected are relatively easily tabulated and generalisable (Bell, 2009, p.7). The online survey used for this research included an opportunity for participants to make additional comments in relation to some of the questions in free text boxes. An issue that had not been anticipated was the enthusiasm with which these text boxes would be used. Translation and transcription required a considerable amount of time. In addition to the data that an online survey can provide, it was felt that this research project would benefit from the depth of data that can be achieved with the use of focus groups (Oppenheim, 1992, p.79). It may have been advisable to have performed an analysis of the online survey data before conducting the focus groups, as this may have provided opportunities for deeper examination of highlighted themes (Wolff, Knodel & Sittitrai, 1993, p.121). It was felt, however, that there was a risk of losing participant engagement, should excessive time pass between initial contact and the in-person meetings. Not only did the focus groups provide the depth of data expected, analysis of the primary data also showed
that the participants in both the online survey and the focus groups voiced similar concerns and attitudes in addition to what was being asked of them.

In addition to the primary data collection, secondary data were collected in two ways. This involved digital format text sources accessed online via search engines such as Google Scholar, Science Direct, the digital archive of the Finnish Police University College and the online library of the University of Portsmouth. Some of the online searches also included accessing official Finnish government sites, such as those of the Finnish Ministry of the Interior. In addition to these online sources, the researcher had access to the Police University College library in Tampere and the National Bureau of Investigation library in Vantaa. In order to make citations more accessible to non-Finnish readers, where it was possible, English language versions of official documentation were used. All documentation, such as letters of introduction and lists of focus group discussion topics, was produced in English first and approved by the University of Portsmouth Ethics Committee (Appendix 4), then where appropriate, translated into Finnish and checked for accuracy by a native Finnish speaker. All communication with participants was conducted in the Finnish language. There is a risk that doing so may have alienated a small proportion of the potential participant pool as around 5% of the population indicate that their first language is Swedish (InfoFinland, 2019). However, this was potentially such a small sub-group of Finnish police officers that it was felt unlikely to significantly reduce the validity of the research findings.

A decision was made to restrict the online survey and focus group participants to non-managerial serving police officers. This was done in an attempt to access the attitudes and feelings of the grassroots officers that presumably interact with the general population more
often than senior officers and are therefore more likely to contribute to the image the general population has of the Finnish police. Additionally, as these officers are responsible for the implementation of policing policy, they were considered to be an appropriate target group for data collection and insight into the nature of policing in Finland. In an attempt to maintain the anonymity of participants, no identifiable information was requested.

5.6 Ethics

Before any data collection could take place, there was a requirement that the researcher obtain ethics approval from the University of Portsmouth’s Ethics Committee. To do so the researcher provided a research proposal detailing the nature of the research, the issues being addressed and a description of how the data would be collected. Included in the ethics bundle were copies of the letter of invitation to take part in an online survey, invitation to take part in a focus group and a letter explaining the purpose of the study to potential focus group participants (Appendices 5, 6, 9) and participant consent forms (Appendix 7). The University of Portsmouth Ethics Committee indicated that some minor alterations were to be made to the ethics documentation (Appendix 4). These were duly made by the researcher and approved by the researcher’s supervisor, Dr Sarah Charman. At this stage permission to begin data collection was granted. As this research was to involve serving Finnish police officers, it was also necessary to request permission from the Finnish Police Board to conduct this research (Appendix 8). The Finnish Police Board approved the research proposal, with the proviso that no confidential or sensitive documentation was accessed (Appendix 8).

In order to maintain a professional distance and to mitigate the possibility that potential focus group participants felt in any way obliged or coerced into taking part in this research project,
the recruitment of focus group participants was conducted with the aid of a gatekeeper (Singh & Wassenaar, 2016, p.42), who is a member of the Finnish National Bureau of Investigation (NBI) middle management. The individual in question had been approached with a letter of invitation explaining the nature of the study and asking for his assistance. The gatekeeper indicated that he was prepared to take part and duly helped to facilitate initial contact with potential focus group participants. Additional assistance was provided by the NBI and a regional police department in the form of meeting rooms for the focus groups. These meeting rooms were provided free of charge. The researcher was also permitted to access and retrieve online survey results on an NBI computer.

Of primary concern to the researcher was the need to ensure that no harm came to himself or the research participants in line with the guidelines of the British Sociological Association, (2017, p.5). This was not simply a case of providing a safe, comfortable space for focus groups, as attention was also given to mitigate any stress or emotional discomfort that may have been experienced by the participants in relation to the material being discussed. To that end, all participants were informed that they could leave the focus groups at any time or refuse to discuss a particular point if they were uncomfortable doing so. In order to ensure that all focus group participants were aware of what was being asked of them, they were provided with a letter of explanation as part of the invitation to participate (Appendix 8).

Additionally, before each focus group began, the participants were given an oral briefing reiterating the goals of the research and explaining what was about to happen. As part of the briefing, participants were assured that no personal data about them or specific information about any case work would be asked and that every effort would be made to ensure that their identities would be kept confidential (Bell, 2009, pp. 50-55). Participants were then asked to complete and sign a participant consent form in duplicate (Appendix 7). One copy was to be
retained by the participant and the other by the researcher. On completion of this project, a
digitally scanned copy of each consent form will be stored on a secure university server in
compliance with University of Portsmouth (UoP) policy on data management and retention
(UoP, 2015). At the end of each focus group session, a short period of time was set aside for
general chatting as a form of decompression from the more challenging discussion that had
just taken place. Ensuring the physical safety of online survey participants was not possible.
However, it was assumed that as the participants would need access to a police intranet
connected computer, they would be at a police station desk at the time and were therefore in a
safe environment. The emotional well-being of online survey participants was equally
challenging to control. Indeed, there were responses to the online survey that would suggest
that a small number of participants were experiencing work-related stress at the time of their
participation.

All collected data in response to the online survey and the focus groups will be stored on the
University of Portsmouth secure server for ten years from the completion of this research
project in line with University of Portsmouth policy (UoP, 2015). Working copies of all focus
group recordings, transcripts and online survey responses were temporarily stored on a
password protected laptop computer. At no time did anyone other than the researcher and his
supervisor have access to these files.

As an employee of the National Bureau of Investigation, the researcher took 20 days paid
study leave during the course of his professional doctorate studies. This was not a gratuity
given specifically to this researcher, rather it is part of the Finnish Police Board’s personnel
development program and is available to any police employee conducting research at this
level. Other than that, this research project was conducted during the researcher’s free-time at his own expense. At no time did the Police Board, The National Bureau of Investigation or the NBI forensic laboratory attempt to influence either the data collection or the reported outcome of the data analysis.

Although no form of financial inducement was offered to potential participants, they were offered a PDF copy of the thesis produced from this research on its completion. Unfortunately, due to the measures taken to ensure the anonymity of survey participants, the researcher has no way of directly contacting them. In order to rectify this situation a message will be posted on the Finnish police intranet system, asking survey participants to make contact in order to claim their copy of the thesis they have contributed to. This will be done with the proviso that their contact information will only be used to send their copy of the thesis and will not be recorded, shared or stored.

The researcher is a native English and fluent Finnish speaker. Therefore, he was able to access English and Finnish language texts. Where other languages such as Danish and Norwegian resources were accessed, an online translation app was used to aid understanding.

5.7 Survey Pilot

In order to ensure that the survey software package was functioning according to expectations and that the questions were understandable, a small number of National Bureau of Investigation Forensic Laboratory staff took part in a pilot test of the online survey. Among the points raised from piloting the survey was the recommendation that one or two minor
terminology changes be made to the survey questions. It was suggested that the more specific vocabulary would potentially make the participants’ responses more informative. As the individual who made these suggestions is a serving police officer and native Finnish speaker, all of his suggestions were applied to the questionnaire. The survey pilot did not highlight any major technical difficulties. However, a minor drawback of using the Finnish police intranet system in order to advertise the online survey was that only one package of survey software has security approval from the Finnish Police Board. This meant that some further minor adjustments had to be made to the structure of the online survey, all of which were discussed with and approved by the research supervisor before the survey went live.

5.8 Sample Size

The total population of police officers in Finland is in the region of 7,200 (Eurostat, 2016). However, some of those are on or above management rank and were not intentionally included in the data collection process, making the target group for a representative sample somewhat smaller. With this in mind, it was decided to calculate the confidence interval, using the total number of police officers in the country in order to obtain a conservative result. Using a standard 95% confidence level, a population of 7,200 and a sample size of 352 online participants provided a confidence interval of 5.1. As the participants referred to in this sample are self-selected, they cannot be considered to be a truly random sample of Finnish police officers. Therefore, these results should perhaps be considered as an indication rather than truly quantitative findings. Additionally, it has been suggested by Brüggen and Dholakia (2010) that self-selecting survey participants may be taking an opportunity to voice an opinion, rather than altruistically offer information (Brüggen & Dholakia, 2010, p.249).
5.9 Analysis of Data

As the primary data collected for this study are in both qualitative and quantitative forms, there was a need for appropriate forms of analysis to be employed. It was decided that responses to online survey multiple choice questions would be presented in bar graph format, giving the percentage of participants that selected each of the possible choices. This part of the primary data was intended to provide a general understanding of how Finnish police officers think and feel about the work that they do. Where appropriate, these findings are addressed in the body of the following two chapters. As the online survey provided participants an opportunity to express additional comments in several of the online survey questions, a considerable amount of qualitative data was also obtained.

The second part of the primary data collection took the form of semi-structured discussions in a series of focus groups populated by Finnish police officers. Each one of these groups performed slightly differently from the next, each expressing particular interest in different parts of the subjects provided to them as starting points for conversation. Previous experience of this type of data collection has shown that an efficient approach to the analysis of this kind of material is a thematic analysis. Although there may be a risk that some of the discussion is not particularly relevant to the research project, there is an opportunity to highlight themes that had not been considered in the planning stage of the project, but that may be of importance or relevance to participants.

The qualitative data provided in online survey comment boxes substantially supplemented the data collected from the focus groups. The two qualitative data sets were interrogated by way of a reflexive thematic analysis, as discussed by Braun and Clarke (2019). It was felt that this
approach would be more productive and potentially give greater insight into the thoughts and attitudes of Finnish police officers. Although thematic analysis is generally considered to be a method rather than a methodology, it was decided that as the approach taken to data analysis is directly affected by the ontological and epistemological position of the researcher, it would be appropriate to consider it a part of the methodological approach in this instance. The thematic analysis process was broken down into six stages, as described by Braun and Clarke (2006). These were familiarisation with the material, coding, identification of themes, reviewing of themes, definition and naming of themes, and writing (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.87). For this research, the translation and transcription of qualitative data provided an opportunity to become fully familiarised with the collected data. Indeed Bailey (2008) suggests that transcription is an important first stage in the analysis process (Bailey, 2008, p.129). The following stage of the thematic analysis was coding. According to Basit (2003) this is in essence a categorisation of the collected data, allowing for patterns found in the data to be highlighted (Basit, 2003, p.144). Having completed the coding process, the codes were reassessed and organised into general themes. Eventually, as a result of the evaluation stage, a hierarchy of themes, some of which were rather unexpected, became apparent. In the earliest stage of naming the themes, very general language was used. However, as a consequence of further analysis and initial attempts at the writing stage, some of the names used to describe the themes evolved and developed into those used in the report presented in the following two chapters.

As a mixed methods approach was taken to data collection for this project, an element of quantitative data was also obtained. As a function of the software package used for the survey data collection, the data were automatically tabulated into an Excel spreadsheet. These data have been presented in relatively raw form and can be seen as percentages of participants in
the following two chapters. In order to make these findings as accessible as possible, they are presented in bar graph format.

5.10 Conclusion

In conclusion, a mixed methods approach was employed in the collection of primary data for this research project. This was done in order to provide data with both depth and breadth and to provide a holistic picture of the current situation in Finnish policing. It was felt that to restrict the ontology to either realist or relativist ideology would potentially risk losing valuable insight into the workings of Finnish policing. As the researcher is employed by the National Bureau of Investigation, a department of the Finnish police, and is known to some participants, it would be challenging to argue that his findings were the result of external observation. However, effort was made to produce an impartial report that was informed by the data collected rather than any preconceptions or insider knowledge of the researcher. This approach did, however, make a categorical statement on whether an Emic or Etic epistemology was used rather challenging.

All aspects of participant recruitment and implementation of data collection methods were conducted in accordance with University of Portsmouth ethics policies. In the following two chapters the findings of the data collected from serving police officers will be presented. This will be done in order to enable consideration of the attitudes, values and experiences of Finnish police officers in relation to their chosen profession.
Chapter Six

Attitudes of Finnish Police Officers

6.1 Introduction

In this and the following chapter, primary data collected directly from serving police officers will be presented. Where relevant, reference has been made to appropriate literature. This has been done in order to provide a degree of perspective to the findings. This discussion will be expanded upon in Chapter Eight, where attention will be given to the findings in relation to the published literature, with an emphasis on procedural justice. As was described in Chapter Five, data collection took the form of an online survey accessed via the Finnish police intranet system and a series of focus groups populated by police officers from the greater Helsinki conurbation and a regional police department in southern Finland. Collecting data in these two ways has provided both qualitative and quantitative material that, when analysed in combination, may help to give an indication of any ideological approach and/or practical application of policing that is specific to the Finnish police. Relevant parts of the data collected, relating to the attitudes of Finnish police officers, will be presented and discussed here. In Chapter Seven, attention will be given to experiences of policing from the police officers’ perspective. The two chapters have been divided in this way in order to allow two separate but closely aligned aspects of policing to be explored individually, in order to discover if the repeatedly expressed high levels of trust in the police may originate from the officers themselves, or if the reported high levels of trust can be found in the organisation they work for. As the intention was to maintain the anonymity of participants, individual focus group speakers and the focus groups, members of the groups have been assigned an alphanumeric code. The code consists of the number of the focus group and the number of the speaker. For example, Focus Group 1, Participant 2 will be coded FG1P2. References to
online survey responses have also been assigned alphanumeric codes. For example, Q1, and Q2, refer to survey questions one and two respectively.

As a starting point for this discussion, participants were asked both why they wanted to become police officers and what they would do if they could not be a police officer. Additional aspects of questioning and discussion were related to police officers’ thoughts on their position of authority in society, their concepts of justice and fairness and their role in society and finally what motivates them in their duties as a police officer. This was done in order to highlight attitudes and/or attributes that may help to explain the position of the police in Finnish society.

The findings presented in this chapter are divided into three general sections. The first of these sections is related to who becomes a police officer and, more specifically, why the participants became police officers. The section is subdivided into two themes identified in the data: 6.2 The Finnish Police as Public Service Provider and 6.3 Motivational Factors for Finnish Police Officers. The second section will discuss more aspirational themes described in 6.4 All Members of the Public Treated Equally and 6.5 The Pursuit of Justice, ‘Knowing Right from Wrong’. The final section is also subdivided into two main themes: 6.6 Authority Figure/Position in Society: A Police Perspective and 6.7 Notions of What Constitutes Successful Policing. These themes are related to how participants reportedly feel about the role of a police officer in Finnish society. Where appropriate, discussion of relevant points will be made with reference to procedural justice and related theories as well as other material addressed in the previous chapters of this research project. This will be done in order to make the findings more immediately accessible and to position the findings of this research in the current policing literature.
6.2 The Finnish Police as Public Service Provider

As part of this research project, it seemed advisable to consider the type of people that apply to become police officers, and their motivation for doing so. This was done in order to highlight any personality or attitude patterns that may help to explain why the Finnish police seem to be regarded as so trustworthy (Vuorensyrjä & Fagerlund, 2018, p.15), at least in the eyes of the general public.

According to participant responses to the online survey Question 1, where participants could choose more than one response to the multiple-choice question, two thirds of Finnish police officers claimed that it was the variety of the work that drew them into policing. Other aspects such as public service, job security and prestige all scored around 30% each (Fig. 5). There were also some rather unexpected comments in the comments box related to this question. These included several mentions that a family member had been a police officer or that it was the result of a speculative application to the police training school. There may be an argument that such applications may not have been particularly well thought through.

Although the findings of the online survey may not be directly comparable with the findings of Charman (2017), who described reasons for becoming a police officer in the United Kingdom as ‘action-/outdoors, working with a team and community service’ (Charman, 2017, p.253), there would, however, appear to be more similarities between Charman’s findings and the comments of the focus groups that took part in this study. Around two thirds of focus group participants expressed notions related to service and helping people during the interviews (FG1P1, FG1P2, FG1P3, FG1P4; FG2P3; FG3P1, FG3P2 & FG3P3).
The results of the focus group discussions appear to indicate that whereas there may be some tendency towards service and communication type professions among participants, these are in fact rather tentative links and are unlikely to be significant in discovering a discreet Finnish police personality type. Although there were generally expressed suggestions related to a desire to help people and to have a positive effect on their lives, several different types of alternative professions were mentioned.

These included the priesthood, professional soldier, working in a restaurant and running a small business. Interestingly, in response to Q8, (If you could change something about your work what would it be?) there were 18 references to service or the inability to provide the level of service the participants would like. This attitude towards serving the general public would appear to be in line with the aims of the Finnish police organisation as stated on the police website Police of Finland, General Operational Principles (Police of Finland, 2019). There may be an argument that in positioning themselves as a public service, rather than an
instrument of social control, the public may be perceiving them in a similar light to paramedics or fire fighters. In countries such as the UK, where according to Smith (2018), 91% of the public are proud of the fire brigades, the police scored rather less well in the same survey. Indeed, a recent Ipsos MORI poll showed that in Great Britain 47% of survey participants expressed trust in the police (Ipsos MORI, 2019).

Although it may not be possible to derive any clear message from the participants’ possible alternative occupations, there were comments made during the focus groups (FG1P2, FG1P4) and in online survey comment boxes (Q8, Q9, Q19), suggesting that there is, however, a general police type. For the participants who made these comments, a police officer is a person who is pragmatic and is prepared to work in cooperation with the general public for a common good. It was suggested that a good police officer would prefer to discuss a minor infringement with a perpetrator rather than automatically write him/her a ticket. A similar line of discourse in one of the focus groups was summed up by a participant who noted that “By working in this way, the general public get the impression that we are not all shits.” (FG2P3). An online survey participant commented that “Most have a strong will to do their job well and common sense. Things are handled by law, but according to the situation, everyone is seen as a person.” (Q19). While this may well be true, there is an argument that accepting an institutional bending of rules to allow pragmatism and discretion to be involved in decision-making could negatively affect the standardisation of service provided (Bronitt & Stenning, 2011, p.324). There were additional comments to the effect that “The Finnish police are members of the public.” (FG3P1). According to a participant, “Kids can come and talk to us.” (FG3P1). Along this line of discussion there seemed to be an apparently common, although not universal, opinion among participants that the Finnish police are good communicators (Q10, Q12, Q19, FG1P3, FG1P4, FG2P1). As part of their police public relations mechanism,
police officers regularly go into schools and interact with students and teachers (Hästbacka, 2018, p.7). A focus group participant noted that part of his job was to go into primary schools and read to the children there (FG3P1). The Finnish Ministry of the Interior expressed the intention that this kind of ’soft policing’ will imprint a positive attitude towards the police from a very young age (Ministry of the Interior, Finland, 2016, p.8).

Whereas the Finnish approach to policing could also be considered a rather institutional or functionalist approach to policing, as described by Durkheim (Durkheim in Thompson, 2002, p.61), it may be that Finnish society is still small enough to function in this way. Durkheim discusses the priority of the state and its agents in their role of collective embodiment of a collective conscience (Durkheim in Thompson, 2002, p.61). It would seem, however, that a position of positive reinforcement and crime prevention, rather than overt social control, would correspond more closely with the stated aims of the police authority mentioned in Chapter Five. This notion was endorsed by a participant who commented that “We don’t need to herd people like a flock of sheep or group certain people into one group and treat them all as possible terrorists. It’s better to just get on with our work.” (FG2P3). Similar feelings on the service provided by the Finnish police were expressed by a small number of participants to the effect that” We are ordinary people sorting out ordinary people’s business” (FG2P3) and “I have always thought that we make sure that ordinary people can live an ordinary life in safety. And everything that has a negative impact on that, the police remove.” (FG3P3). These comments would seem to chime rather well with findings described by Tyson (2019), suggesting that the manner in which officers approach their duties will impact on public trust in the police in general (Tyson, 2019, pp.122-123). If these comments are representative of attitudes in Finnish policing, it may, perhaps, also be possible to construe that the Finnish police have a sense of connection to the population they serve.
In order for a policing agency to be able to provide an efficient and effective service to a population, a clear and focused management structure would seem to be, as suggested by the College of Policing in the UK (2017, p.8), a prerequisite. In some jurisdictions, however, the hierarchical approach to police management may have been taken to an extreme. White (2012) describes a situation in New York City, where there was, reportedly, an overly bureaucratic and militaristic management style. This led to the restriction of officers’ ability to be creative in their approach to problem-solving in the course of their duties, thereby diminishing the standard of service to the population (White, 2012, p.84). Chappell and Lanza-Kaduce (2010) found in their research, also in the USA, that notions of institutional paramilitary hierarchy were instilled into trainee police officers from the earliest stages of their induction into policing (Chappell & Lanza-Kaduce, 2010. p.195). It would, however, seem that even in a police organisation with an apparently flat hierarchy, such as that found in Finland, management style was a subject of particular interest to participants in this research project. The subject was raised by all of the focus groups, in one form or another, and widely commented upon in online survey responses to Q10, (What are the biggest challenges faced by Finnish police officers?). It would seem that not all participants have had particularly positive experiences in their contact with police management; the following quotation provides a summation of many of the comments made in response to Q10:

“No managerial training, no human resources management, organisational management, financial management, strategic management, or operational management. Lawyer training does not include psychological aptitude tests or management training. Most of the police management have no police training, experience and substance expertise in police work. Some of these leaders have advanced their careers by studying law not management…” (Q10).

Other participants were more concise, commenting simply, for example, “Management and the Police Board.” (Q10). It was, however, pointed out that the hierarchy in the Finnish police
is much flatter than organisational structures in policing agencies in some other countries (FG2P3). The participant who made this observation expressed the opinion that this makes for a more relaxed image of the police. By way of explanation, he posited that perhaps strict hierarchy has a negative effect on police interaction with the public. He suggested that:

“If you have a self-important manager and the next level down and then onto the van driver (meaning patrol officer), he/she will pass it onto the public. If you have a negative feeling...or you feel that you are not valued, and you take all kinds of negativity from the management it's not a surprise that it gets passed on to the public.” (FG2P3)

These comments from Finnish police officers would seem to suggest that there is an awareness of the importance of appropriate management skills and that an inappropriate approach to police management can lead to a negative impact on job satisfaction among officers. If this is indeed the case, and officers are not satisfied with the way they are being managed, the experience of negativity may, according to Quinn and Hargie (2004), be passed on to the general public (Quinn and Hargie, 2004, p.147), as suggested by the participant.

In relation to the apparently widely held attitude that policing is a service industry, there seemed to be a certain degree of pride expressed by participants in the approachability of Finnish police officers. However, there was also repeated mention of frustration at the lack of accessibility of police officers to the general public. It was explained that “…it is almost impossible to talk to a police officer in a local police station these days…” (Q12). This line of discussion was added to by another participant who noted that “The European capital city of Helsinki has no operational police station in the central area.” (Q12). It was also suggested that “Today, people do not even bother to call and report crimes to the emergency centre because they consider it to be pointless, as the police will either not come, or sometimes come in a couple of hours.” (Q12). The frustration expressed in relation to this issue was
evident in both the online survey comment boxes and the focus group discussions. If these feelings of frustration are representative of Finnish police officers, it may be that participants’ claim that policing in Finland is a service industry may be more than repetition of an official line. Indeed, it would seem that many of the participants feel that the recent rationalisation process (Poliisin hallintorakenneuudistus (PORA III)), has stifled their ability to perform their duties to a standard that they themselves feel would be acceptable. Interestingly, the frustration mentioned here was very different to that discussed by Morin (2017), where he found that a large portion of frustration found among police officers in the USA was in relation to their interaction with members of the public (Morin, 2017), whereas the findings of this research indicated that participants were frustrated with the restricted service they are able to provide to the public.

In the next section consideration will be given to what motivates Finnish police officers. This will be done in an attempt to discover if there are any particularly unusual motivators that may help to explain the position of the police in Finnish society.

6.3 Motivational Factors for Finnish Police Officers

Generally speaking, personal or even team motivation can be bolstered by setting a goal. On a personal level, this could be to learn a new skill or in the case of a sporting activity for the team to win a trophy. For policing organisations, setting such a goal may be considerably more complicated, as they are not required to operate at a profit nor would it be possible for them to totally eradicate crime from society, making notions of success challenging to measure. This being the case, the process of policing will be at least as important as its end result. A potential problem with this approach is that the setting of a motivational goal, in these circumstances, is particularly challenging. In order to gain an understanding of how the
Finnish police negotiate this issue, participants were asked directly what part of their job motivates them the most.

One of the participants’ first thoughts was to serve the victims of crime. The participant did, however, eventually mention the apprehension of the offender. For this participant the notion of discovering something that was not immediately obvious, something that nobody else knew, was particularly rewarding. Interestingly, the participant went on to mention the notion of getting a good conviction in court (FG3P3). Rather poetically, an online participant mentioned a desire to “… protect the lambs from the wolves.” (Q1). These comments fit rather well with the findings of the online survey (Fig. 5). Perhaps encouragingly, from a procedural justice perspective, the most common motivating factor for survey participants was ‘The knowledge that everything possible had been done to clarify what had happened.’, with more than 58% of participants making this statement. This left ‘Catching the offender’ in second place but still receiving over 52% (Fig. 6). Rather surprisingly, considering comments in the focus groups and survey text boxes, less than 43% of participants mentioned ‘Service to the public’ (Fig. 6).

There was opinion voiced in one of the focus groups that motivation is gained from the knowledge that the work has value, but that as a police officer you do not need to get involved in the big picture (FG2P3). Rather it was suggested that it is more fulfilling to do your own part of the job as well as you can, then move on to the next one. A small number of participants were of the opinion that they work on their own part of an investigation, but that does not restrict them from thinking outside the box and communicating with colleagues to consider alternative approaches to a particular problem. Interestingly, there was mention from five focus group members (FG2P1, FG1P2, FG2P3, FG3P3, FG3P4) of the aim of their
investigation being ‘reaching a conclusion’, rather than perhaps the more obvious ‘getting a conviction’.

Fig. 6. Participant responses to online survey question 7.

This, however, was not a universal finding as a small number of participants did give a response of ‘Catching bad guys’ in answer to Q8 and Q9 of the online survey. One of the participants stated that the prosecutor’s office sometimes thanks them for the work they have done. This participant also expressed an opinion that police officers do what they do for the prosecutor’s office (FG3P2). Another officer agreed that she sometimes gets feedback from the prosecutor’s office about how she has performed her duties and that she occasionally gets a note about a sentence that has been handed down by the court (FG3P4). This member of the group went on to comment that the court sentences are a measure of having done a good job, and that although it is enough that the case has been solved, “A good sentence helps.” (FG3P4). It was, however, pointed out by another focus group member that the sentences are a matter for the court, not the police (FG3P1). This observation was corroborated by the other group members.
Whereas there may be an official line on the part of the policing organisation that police officers are to remain separate from the judicial system, it is perhaps understandable that they measure their success and therefore motivation from what may be seen as a concrete conclusion, such as a conviction. If this is the case, it may prove challenging to argue that the police are conducting their duties in an impartial manner. The online survey gave participants the option of ‘Other’ to answer the question related to professional motivation. On the whole, the comments made were positive and tended to be along the lines of “Every day is different”, “The excitement” and “Helping/Serving people” (Q10). However, others have an apparently deeper motivation that comes from a desire to serve society and to do good, although one participant stated bluntly that he wanted to “Get foreign criminals out of Finland.” (Q10). This was not the only indication that a small number of the participants seem to find dealing with non-indigenous people challenging; however, the others were more guarded in the way they expressed their opinions (Q10). This issue will be considered in more detail later in this chapter. In addition to such comments, there were suggestions that for some, motivation appears to come from outside of policing, as they answered that they have wanted to be a police officer since they were children.

This examination of the motivating factors in Finnish policing has demonstrated that while there are well-meaning, well-motivated officers, there are also individuals with questionable understanding of the role of a police officer. Interestingly, the stated desire to do good may be assumed to be a positive motivator. On the other hand, it is unlikely that even the least socially aware motivation mentioned in this section, such as the desire to remove foreign criminals from the country, is considered to be doing bad by the officer that holds those beliefs. Therefore, an unqualified expression of a desire to do good may not be as informative as it would superficially seem, as different perspectives may provide differing understandings
of the term “good”. It may be necessary to acknowledge that, as with the rest of society, police officers have a variety of motivators influencing how they go about their tasks.

The following section will consider participants’ perceptions of the even-handedness of Finnish policing.

6.4 All Members of the Public Treated Equally

As this research project is intended to report on the nature of Finnish policing from a procedural justice perspective, it was considered necessary to consider participants’ approach to one of the main tenets of procedural justice, which is fairness, or at the very least the perception of fairness, as described by Bowers and Robinson (2012, p.214). It would seem that in order for fairness to be achieved and accepted by the population as a whole, that fairness would need to be demonstrable. As notions of what is equitable and what is not may vary from person to person, demonstrable fairness may be a challenging goal to achieve.

Indeed, this may become even more challenging as the Finnish population becomes more diverse. Thomann and Rapp (2018) suggest that consideration should be given to ensure that immigrant populations receive equitable policing, to ensure that the national police remain legitimate to them and to limit the possibility that minority groups would resort to self-policing as a result of isolation from the mainstream (Thomann & Rapp, 2018. p.547). In addition, it will be necessary for the Finnish police to evolve from its current state in order to retain their representativeness and thereby relevance to the population (House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 2015, p.4).

In an attempt to standardise the actions of police officers as much as possible, the Finnish police are provided with standard operating procedures (SOPs). These documents allow an
organisation’s approved procedures and approaches to be standardised and disseminated throughout the organisation (Metropolitan Police Service, 2012). However, SOPs are only of use if they are implemented and adhered to by the intended parties. When asked about the level of discretion they have in the course of their duties, the participants in the online survey answered that over 91% have either a large amount of discretion or some discretion while a little over 8% felt that they had little in the way of flexibility while performing their duties (Fig. 7). Indeed, this lack of flexibility was often mentioned in the survey comment boxes as well. Surprisingly, less than 2% of officers feel obliged to adhere to SOPs. If this is a true reflection of the attitude of Finnish police officers towards official documents and guidelines, there may be reason to question the level to which standardised policing has been achieved in that country.

It was acknowledged by a focus group member that when “the first foreigners came to Finland, the police struggled to know how to treat them” (FG3P1).

![Fig. 7. Participant responses to online survey question 6.](image-url)
The participant went on to say that “Now that there are more foreigners in the country, the police have learned to treat everyone the same.” (FG3P1). Whereas it may be debatable if treating all members of the population in the same way is necessarily a positive approach (Daymont, 1980, p.391), it was understood from this comment that the participant intended to express a lack of discriminatory behaviour towards people with non-indigenous backgrounds.

The same participant emphasised that:

“If you behave appropriately you will be treated well but if you cause trouble, we have enough knowledge of the law and we know how to use it. But it is according to the situation not according to the person. The person doesn't dictate how we deal with the thing, rather it's the situation.” (FG3P1).

This line of discussion was continued by another member of the group who noted that there was racism among police officers. The participant went on to state that:

“I was thinking about the racism question and that some people have a problem if a lot of foreigners come here, and how we should respond to the situation. Still today there are people that have very strong opinions about foreigners coming here. But as a police officer, even if my personal opinion is what it is, as a police officer, I am completely neutral.” (FG3P4).

Another participant noted that there is still a surprising amount of racism in the police, but that in her opinion officers leave their personal opinions behind when they go on duty (FG3P3), and everyone, no matter their skin colour or what they look like, is treated in the same way. These observations were borne out in research conducted in Sweden (Uhnoo, 2015), in which there was a report of inappropriate language used in coffee room banter that was found not to be evident in the behaviour and speech of officers on duty (Uhnoo, 2015, p.131). Waddington (1999) came to a similar conclusion, suggesting that although it may be inappropriate and brutish, such behaviour tends not to be reflected in interactions with the general public (Waddington, 1999).
Not all participants in the online survey were particularly reticent in expressing their opinions about foreigners in the country. When asked about the biggest challenges in Finnish policing, one officer commented simply “foreigners” (Q10). As an example of comments along a similar vein it was suggested by another participant that there is “Prejudice on the part of the police and some members of the public.” (Q10). In reaction to this line of discussion, an online survey participant identified “Immigrants from non-Christian Europe” as a primary challenge to policing in Finland. The purpose of this paragraph is not to suggest that the Finnish police are institutionally racist. Indeed, issues of race relations had not been an intended subject of investigation in this research project. Unexpectedly, this part of the focus group discussion was initiated by a focus group participant. It has been included as it would seem that this is an issue some Finnish police officers are aware of, are concerned by and felt was worthy of discussion. In relation to this theme, Nix et al. (2017) found that an individual’s race does not have as significant an influence on police application of procedural justice as does the individual’s demeanour (Nix et al, 2017, p.1173). However, it should be borne in mind that Nix et al were working in the United States of America, so their findings may not be directly applicable in a Nordic setting.

The data collected in the online survey and the focus groups did not provide a statistically significant indication of ethnic or minority group discrimination on the part of the Finnish police. There was, however, one apparently racist comment made in response to Q7, (What part of your job motivates you the most?) and three such comments in relation to Q10, (What are the biggest challenges faced by Finnish police officers?) These were:
“When I can get foreign criminals out of Finland” (Q7),

“Foreigners, … and the crimes committed by them.” (Q10),

“…an increasing proportion of customer contacts are related to foreigners.” (Q10), and

“Foriegners, especially those arriving from Africa and the Middle East with very closed cultures, and not the same understanding of police / law / good practices as in Finland, or the western world. A variety of police tactics training and "bad" / old tactics, quite a mixed game!” (Q10).

The fact that four such answers were made would indicate that three different participants answered in this way. This would provide a maximum number of four online survey participants, or just over 1% of participants openly expressing racially motivated feelings.

There is, however, evidence to suggest that there are still shortcomings in relation to the policing of immigrant and other minority groups. Research conducted by Egharevba and White (2013) stated that the Finnish police employ certain phenotypes in order to classify minority groups in the course of their duties (Egharevba & White, 2013, p.257). Among concerns raised by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) (2019), were the ’…numerous allegations of ethnic profiling…’ conducted by the Finnish police, despite the fact that such activity had been made illegal in 2015 (ECRI Report on Finland, 2019, p.23). Another finding of the European Commission report was that ethnic minorities are more likely than the indigenous population to be stopped by the police for an identity check. However, it was also reported that there are plans to make police documentation of these interactions more accurate with an aim to increase transparency in policing practice (ECRI Report on Finland, 2019, p.24). As a part of ongoing efforts to address discriminatory behaviour on the part of police officers, the Finnish police authority is attempting to make the Finnish police more diverse and representative of the changing population. Indeed, the Police
University College has stated a desire in their mission statement for 2017-2021 for applicants from minority groups in order to rectify this demographic discrepancy (Poliisihallitus, 2016). Although the attempts being made are laudable, due to the lengthy training required, it is likely to be some time still until a truly diverse police force will be evident on the streets of Finland. Unfortunately, the fact that the Finnish police are not representative of the population may, ultimately, have a negative effect on public perceptions of their legitimacy (Tyler & Lind, 1992, p.139). As was stated in an earlier chapter, there are no data currently available relating to cultural and ethnic diversity in the Finnish police (J. Helenius, personal communication, February 5, 2020).

A final point in this section is in relation to the way in which the Finnish police are reportedly dealing with the workload they currently are experiencing. In response to online survey questions Q8, Q9, Q10, Q11, Q12 and Q19, there were over 500 references to the volume of work police officers are expected to deal with. In addition, all of the focus groups raised the subject of what has become known in police parlance as ‘killing cases’; by this they mean that there are a large number of offences committed that are recorded and not investigated. A focus group participant (FG1P5) went so far as to put forward the figure of 140,000 un-investigated cases each year. No official documentation was found to support this claim; however, there was a report by the Finnish public broadcaster YLE (Happonen, 2019), which provided the same figures. It remains unclear if the participant was quoting the news media article or providing first-hand information. This participant went on to note that in the neighbouring country of Sweden “…all cases are investigated and fingerprints are taken as a routine part of the arrest process.” He went on to suggest that “…perhaps this is why our figures look better than theirs.” (FG1P5). Similar sentiments regarding the ‘killing’ of cases were expressed by FG1P2, FG1P3, FG3P4 and in response to Q12.
In this section, consideration has been given to participants’ opinion on the standard of service the Finnish police provide to the public. The following section will address what is presumably the ultimate goal of the service provided by the Finnish police organisation.

6.5 The Pursuit of Justice, ‘Knowing Right from Wrong’

Perhaps surprisingly, there was little in the way of consensus among participants as to either the nature of justice or how it is best served. For a small number of participants there was a notion of getting a conviction and what they referred to as a ‘good sentence’ as an indicator of justice being served. This would seem to indicate that there is, at least among some officers, a rather judgmental attitude towards their work. There may be a suggestion that it would be common sense that investigators would see conviction and presumably punitive sentencing as vindication for the efforts they have made and as confirmation that they have done their job well. In relation to these points, there was also mention of the satisfaction that was gained from having a suspect in custody. There may, however, be a risk that an overzealous conviction and sentence orientated criminal investigation may be open to inappropriate behaviour, as has been documented in other parts of the world (Covey, 2013, p.1136). Indeed, there was suggestion that if a case does not go to court, or if the suspect is not convicted or is “given too light a sentence” (FG3P3), there may be cause for some detectives to feel that they have wasted their time and that results such as these can have a negative impact on staff motivation and that “Getting a good conviction” (FG3P3) can be important to them. Whereas attitudes such as these may not seem unreasonable, it may be particularly challenging to reconcile them with the principles of procedural justice, as described by Tyler (1988, pp.111-113).
At the other end of the continuum, three of the 13 focus group participants (FG2P2, FG3P3, FG3P1) stated that the judicial outcome of a case was of no concern to them. For them, it would seem that the investigation of events and accurate reporting of their findings was the best conclusion to a case. One participant commented to the effect that “The kind of police officer that is too adventurous is a risk to all other police officers. The kind that has entail problems that sees danger the whole time it just doesn't work in our society.” (FG2P2).

Another participant confirmed this approach, suggesting that “We can't really start thinking too deeply if justice has been served or not. It is more a question for the general public.” (FG3P3). It was also pointed out that “You have to remember that in Finland the sentence is a matter for the courts. It's not our concern.” (FG3P1). By way of an illustration of this point, a participant remembered an occasion during his training at POLAMK, where he was taught that “Judges judge, but they can only judge the information they are given.” (FG2P2).

Presumably, the intention of the lesson was to drive home the message that there is a separation between the police and the judicial system. From a procedural justice perspective, this could be considered a more appropriate attitude towards criminal investigation than seeking convictions and harsh sentences. The participants that made these observations also stated that, although they occasionally communicate with detectives in other departments, on the whole they are content with dealing with the tasks that are assigned to them.

Additional aspects related to notions of justice that were apparently of particular importance to multiple participants were what they referred to as “knowledge of right from wrong” and “fairness” (FG1P1, FG1P2, FG1P4, FG3P2, Q10). Indeed, these would appear to be desirable attributes of a police officer. However, these attributes may need to be tempered with a degree of caution. If the participants were suggesting that a subjective knowledge of right from wrong is appropriate in policing, there may be cause for concern. Presumably, a police
officer is required to conduct his/her duties in accordance with the law, keeping reference to their feelings to a minimum. The same may be said of fairness. It should, perhaps, be noted that as a neutral party, a police officer should have little say in the fairness of an outcome. Fairness may be, more suitably, the concern of the involved parties. In relation to the subjectivity involved at some levels of policing, several participants mentioned the need for flexibility, common sense and life experience as valuable attributes in policing (FG1P2, FG1P4, FG1P6, Q8, Q9, Q11). One focus group participant used a term borrowed from ice hockey that has been translated as ‘game eye’ (FG1P6), meaning that it is important to be aware of the situation you find yourself in and be prepared to adapt and react accordingly. This may be a pragmatic approach towards policing in that it may positively contribute to communication in the initial stages of an interaction. However, a standardised, procedural approach may provide greater opportunities to provide demonstrable fairness.

In the following section consideration will be given to the participants’ understanding of their position in Finnish society.

6.6 Authority Figure/Position in Society: A Police Perspective

A point that was explicitly referred to by one focus group and obliquely mentioned by others was the feeling of authority and power that being a police officer provides. In reference to this feeling, one participant mentioned the first time that she was on traffic duty and was required to direct the traffic on the main thoroughfare through the capital city. She recalled, “It was four o'clock rush hour and I was there telling people (drivers) to stop and wait. It was a wonderful feeling!” (FG1P2). According to another participant, this feeling of authority is so seductive that it can be very difficult for retired officers to accept that they no longer have a badge (FG1P4). Brandl and Smith (2012) made very similar observations in their research
into policing in the USA. They found that being a police officer actually forms part of a person’s identity and that the sudden removal of social status and coercive authority as a result of retirement can be very stressful (Brandl & Smith 2012, p.114). Other members of the focus groups mentioned the exhilaration they feel when they get the call to respond to an emergency. One participant noted that “No-one will admit to this out loud, but it gives you a special kind of power when you put on your uniform, an authority that no-one else in the country has.” (FG1P4).

In order for the police to maintain their authority, there is a need for public support for their actions (Jackson, Trinkner & Tyler 2018, p.4). It may be possible for a population to accept the authority of a policing agency, while at the same time not accept that the agency is legitimately holding their position of power. For a policing agency to attain and maintain legitimacy, it will require that organisation to manage the use of authority to comply with the social norms of the population being policed and to be seen by that population as even-handed. In Finland, this may be less of an issue than in some other countries as, at this time, the majority of the general public that expressed an opinion appear to be predisposed to an acceptance of police authority. This widely accepted notion of police authority, as was indicated in the barometric survey conducted by POLAMK (Vuorensyrjä & Fagerlund, 2018, p.7), would presumably also indicate an acceptance of police legitimacy, as there would appear to be little in the way of vocal public criticism of policing in that country. In turn, this may suggest that the position of authority has not been inappropriately applied. Gilbert, Wakeling, and Crandall (n.d.) suggest that police legitimacy is achieved through treating members of the public with respect, through communication that allows all parties to have their say and through decision-making that does not take irrelevant information into consideration (Gilbert, Wakeling, & Crandall n.d., p.2). From the data collected for this
study, it would seem that although the Finnish police have an understanding of their position of authority in Finnish society, they see themselves very much as involved members of that society. They seem to feel that the apparent legitimacy of the Finnish police organisation comes from being connected to the population they serve rather than being an external force.

Examples of the above-mentioned attitude can be found in participants’ responses to the online survey question relating to their professional motivation as police officers, such as “Compliance with the rule of law and serving the community.” (Q9). A focus group participant stated: “We are a part of the Finnish population and I think that the police represent the Finnish population quite well…” (FG3P1). It would appear that the participants see themselves as members of the community they serve rather than the paramilitary agents of law enforcement seen in some other parts of the world (Stoughton, 2015). As such, the research participants appear to be of the opinion that they approach their tasks in an even-handed way and are performing a public service in the course of their duties. Indeed, another focus group participant noted that “Authority isn’t necessarily a negative thing, if it is used appropriately.” (FG1P2). Similar comments were made in response to the last question in the online survey. Here, participants were given the opportunity to express their thoughts on anything that had not already been covered. Among the comments relevant to this section were indications of an understanding of the conditional nature of the position of the police in Finnish society and a need for mutual respect and co-operation. The quotations that follow are examples of such comments:

“The police have been successful in their work because the public trust them. Confidence is earned by being among the citizens and taking care of their issues in a visible and accessible way. The police have managed to do their job without going to extremes and have been able to assess their activities as well. At times it is necessary for the police to exhibit a degree of authority. This is only possible if you (the public) know and trust the police.” (Q19)
and

"The police are trained to make decisions independently and not to simply follow instructions. Working with the public enables the police to gain their trust and gain a sense of effectiveness. Communication is two-way and productive. The public are best served by the police helping them to help themselves. At an incident, the police must demonstrate their authority, but not to an excess. Here too, preventative action can be achieved. The value of face-to-face policing and the information gained can help to prevent something bigger from happening." (Q19)

As well as an apparently clear understanding, among the participants, of the position of power and authority that wearing a police uniform brings, there is also a suggestion of a readiness to accept the responsibilities that authority brings and to take control when the need arises. However, perhaps more importantly from a procedural justice perspective, the comments reported on here would also appear to indicate attitudes that might be described as doing policing with the population rather than doing policing to the population. It may be that by maintaining a position among society, rather than apart from society, and by not over-policing, the Finnish police have managed to attain an acceptable level of legitimacy in the eyes of Finnish society. However, this may be a consequence of restricted resources rather than planned practice.

In an attempt to explore this relationship in more depth, online survey participants were asked how they would describe the nature of their interactions with members of the public. With the intention of providing a counterpoint, participants were also asked about their interactions with individuals suspected of being involved in a criminal act (Fig.8, Fig.9). Whereas the survey findings indicate reduced levels of friendliness and an increase in procedural attitude in interactions with individuals potentially involved in a criminal act, the overall behavioural trend is very similar in both types of interaction. Although the authoritative aspect of interaction with a criminal suspect is roughly double that of interaction with the general
public, it is still apparently a relatively insignificant aspect of police interaction with the population, at least from the perspective of the police.

Fig. 8. Participant responses to online survey question 11.

Fig. 9. Participant responses to online survey question 12.
Perhaps unsurprisingly, a large variety of suggestions were made, ranging from the more neutral “Reliable and Listening” to perhaps less predictable options such as “Empathic” and “Humorous” in describing interaction with the public. There were, however, suggestions that participants’ approach was a little more robust when dealing with a possible suspect. Interestingly, the verb ‘depends’ features rather prominently in both sets of circumstances, suggesting a degree of flexibility in the approach taken to such interactions (Q13 & Q14).

The results would seem to indicate that the findings of this research project align rather well with those of Nix, Pickett, Wolfe and Campbell (2017, p.1160) in that there are indications that the attitude of the individual being spoken to would affect the behaviour of the police officer. Participants’ comments in relation to this notion included: “It also depends a lot on the customer's attitude.”, “Depends on the customer's mood.” and “Their behaviour determines how they are treated.” (Q14). This phenomenon is borne out in an article by Roufa (2019), where he notes that good communication skills can lead to more positive interactions between the police and the general population (Roufa, 2019).

Although a number of focus group participants appeared to be expressing an almost guilty pleasure in the position of authority that is obtained on donning a police uniform, online survey participants reported very low levels of authoritative behaviour either in their interactions with criminal activity or the general public. Whereas this is self-reported behaviour and as such is difficult to verify, there may be an argument that the Finnish population responds more favourably to a more informal form of policing. Perhaps by working in this way, it may be possible for the Finnish police to maintain the positive public opinion they currently enjoy.
6.7 Notions of What Constitutes Successful Policing

The online survey contained two questions that would potentially provide participants with an opportunity to express their understanding of what constituted good policing. The first of these was Question 11 “Is there anything you personally need that would help you do your job better?” The intention was that by expressing how they could do their job better they may also express an understanding of a successful outcome from a personal perspective. The second was Question 12 “In your opinion, is there anything that the Finnish police would need to change in order to improve the standard of service provided?” The intention here was to express notions of success from an organisational perspective. Participants were given a third opportunity to communicate their thoughts in a catch-all question, Question 19, which asked “If there is anything you feel you would like to add that has not been asked in this survey, please feel free to use this space.” Perhaps surprisingly, there are no comments made about conviction rates or other stereotypical notions, such as crime fighting. Further reference will be made to questions 12 and 19 in the following chapter. Almost all participants that expressed an opinion relating to successful policing described an inability or a restricted ability, due to limited resources, to provide the level of service the public would deserve. It may be possible to derive from these comments that, at least for the participants, successful policing is the ability to provide a good level of service in all parts of the country.

Initially, focus group discussion of subjects related to successful policing seemed to be particularly challenging for many of the participants. At first participants referred the researcher to the Police Act in Finnish law (Ministry of the Interior, Finland, 2013). To begin with, it was assumed that this reaction was in response to the point for discussion being so self-evident to the participants that their opinions were difficult to articulate, or perhaps that it was something that they had not thought about. Eventually, it became evident that the reason
for the difficulty in answering the question was not with the subject matter, rather it was the
nature of the question. It had been, incorrectly, assumed that in an organisation as relatively
small as the Finnish police, officers would have more commonalities, or perhaps less clearly
defined personality diversity, than may be the case in larger organisations, and that as such
Finnish officers may display similar attributes and goals. However, for the participants, who
were all serving police officers, this was clearly not the case. It appears that Reiner’s (2010)
description of four distinct personality types involved in policing, namely the avoider, the
reciprocator, the enforcer and the professional (Reiner, 2010, p.133), was closer to the
participants’ experience than had been expected. It was pointed out that the skills needed by
an officer depend on the duties that are being performed. However, some general attributes of
what makes a good police officer were offered. These included a suggestion that good
communication skills are of primary importance for patrol officers and detectives, as they
regularly come into contact with the general public (FG1P2, FG1P3, Q12, Q19). On the other
hand, a controlled curiosity and patience are valuable traits for technical support officers
(FG1P2).

The notion that police officers are a homogenous body displaying common attributes led to
one of the focus group participants to mention an attempt some time ago to make all police
officers look as uniform and standardised as possible. According to the participant, this meant
a height restriction and a requirement for a certain style of haircut and no visible tattoos. It
was suggested by the participant that this image set the police apart from the population and
that the more informal approach that is currently the norm makes police officers more
approachable, as they more closely reflect the population they serve (FG1P4). Currently there
are no height or age restrictions for applicants to POLAMK. Additionally, hair length and
tattoos are not mentioned in recruitment documentation (POLAMK, 2016). However, shaved
heads and body builder physiques are not an uncommon sight among patrol officers in Finland, which may, given the right set of circumstances, cause them to have a rather intimidating image, thereby possibly reducing the chance of voluntary engagement on the part of some parts of the population.

By way of an example of a Finnish approach to policing, in comparison to an apparently very different style, a focus group participant related the story of a criminal suspect repatriation that had happened some time ago:

“Two Finnish police officers were sent to the USA to collect a fugitive who was not voluntarily returning to Finland. At the airport they were confronted by a large group of rather militaristic looking police officers that were treating the deportee in an aggressive way. The individual was in turn responding with similar behaviour. The American police were rather surprised at the response to the procedural approach the Finnish police officers took, talking in a calm and restrained manner to the detainee. As a result, the individual calmly walked onto the aircraft and quietly sat in his place where he stayed for the entire journey.” (FG2P3)

Another focus group participant suggested that:

“I have worked in the aliens’ department and I have been involved in repatriation jobs. And you get on much better when you are friendly and know how to talk to people. If you are polite, and explain that this is something that is going to happen and we will be doing it like this. Just get them prepared and you don't immediately go to violence to deal with things.” (FG2P2)

Other examples were given where polite and calm matter-of-fact attitudes towards people in such situations are reflected back to the police officers. This style of interaction would seem to adhere rather well to notions of procedural justice, as described by Tyler and Huo (2002, p.12).

While there was an expressed understanding of the need and purpose for clear guidelines and procedures, there was also a feeling, among participants, that there needs to be flexibility in policing. Indeed, it was suggested that in order for this more relaxed form of policing to be
effective, police officers need the freedom to adapt to the situations in which they find themselves. A focus group participant also noted that:

“Yes, and the basic nature of the Finns is what it is... and the majority of Finnish police are the same basic nature... and the customers aren't the type of people that will readily start throwing stones and burn car tyres. They would rather stay calm and we are the same. Why make a big deal out of something if it can be dealt with in an easier way?” (FG2P3)

It would seem that there is a rather pragmatic attitude to policing in Finland and that there is an understanding that there is a line that must not be crossed by police officers. It was, however, pointed out that there are officers that see danger and threat behind every rock and that they are ready to resort to extreme measures. Several participants mentioned a perceived need for more training in coercive measures (Q8, Q10, Q11). Indeed, this is a phenomenon that is becoming increasingly apparent in policing around the world (Mosteller, n.d.). Mosteller points out that in the United States of America there is a feeling that the militarisation of police agencies has gone too far and that it has, as a result, led to lower levels of public trust in the police (Mosteller. n.d.).

Although there was a clear awareness of the advantages of a more communicative style of policing expressed by participants, there was also an apparent understanding of the limitations to be found in the Finnish police force. This became evident in the comments made by a number of participants to the effect that “It’s surprising how satisfied the public are with the police, I’m not!” (FG3P4). This participant went on to suggest that perhaps the Finnish police have too high expectations of their abilities. This point will be considered in more detail in the following chapter.
6.8 Discussion/Conclusion

There is a certain amount of contradiction in some of the findings reported in this chapter. Perhaps one of the more noteworthy of these is the differing understandings expressed regarding motivation and notions of what constitutes a good result in policing. For a small number of participants there was an expressed desire for convictions and sentencing. Superficially, this may be seen as an obvious approach. However, the Finnish police have a stated goal of neutrality in their tasks (Police in Finland, n.d.). From a procedural justice perspective, such an approach may be problematic as focus on convictions and service to the prosecutor’s office, as described by participants, may risk an infringement of the rights of the accused in favour of those of the victim. Indeed, this was an issue raised in the online survey comment boxes. Several officers seemed to be of the opinion that offenders have more rights than the victims (Q10, Q12). Depending on how common these attitudes are in the Finnish police, there may be a negative impact on one of the primary tenets of procedural justice, namely fairness. It is interesting to note that certain participants expressed a rather surprising alternative attitude towards their profession. For them, the process of investigation is of more interest than the judicial outcome of their efforts. In adopting such an attitude, it may be possible for those officers to maintain the professional distance necessary to provide an even-handed police service.

Although aspects of conflict theory were unsurprisingly evident, in that the police were apparently cognisant and enthusiastic about the position of power they found themselves in, there was a commonly held and regularly mentioned feeling of the police being part of the community. Some aspects of Finnish policing discussed in this chapter suggest an understanding of the importance of effective communication between the police and the
general public, and that a calm relaxed approach can be more productive than a more coercive approach. Additionally, aspects of functionalist theory may be evident in the comments in which the participants described the cooperation between various agencies that contribute to a stable social environment. Perhaps the population of Finland may be small enough and stable enough to maintain social equilibrium. If this is the case, it may help to explain the apparent social standing of the Finnish police.

The data represented here would seem to suggest that although there was no overt mention of procedural justice on the part of any of the participants, there may be an inherent understanding of the principles of procedural fairness, albeit with some limitations, good communication and a desire for engagement with the general population. There may be an argument that rather than the public benefiting from procedural justice in policing, the police are benefiting from an inherent social stability among the Finnish population.

The following chapter will consider the effect of being a police officer on the personnel of the Finnish police.
7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, consideration was given to the attitudes of Finnish police officers and what they consider the role of a police officer to be. In doing so it became evident that, at least among participants, there is little in the way of a homogeneous notion of what good policing is. However, there were indications that service and interaction with the general public, rather than a heavy-handed, authoritarian approach to policing, was preferred by the participants.

This chapter will discuss how police officers are affected by the challenges of policing in Finland. In order to do so, it was considered necessary to discuss how well-prepared Finnish police officers are for the duties they are expected to perform. This will include discussion of both the basic training offered by POLAMK (Poliisiammattikorkeakoulu [The Police University College]) and supplementary vocational training provided by that institute. The intention is to establish not only if serving officers are receiving the level of training suggested by the POLAMK website, but also to discover if the participants feel that they are being supported in their vocational development in a way that would help them perform their tasks in an optimal way. Additionally, consideration has been given to how Finnish police officers feel about their duties and working environment, as these attitudes may well affect the way in which those duties are performed. As has been stated earlier, this research has been conducted in order to address the question “How do Finnish police officers understand their role in Finnish society and to what extent could the Finnish approach to policing be considered procedurally just?”. 
If officers are indeed expected to work in accordance with something akin to the tenets of procedural justice, it would seem necessary to provide them with a working environment that would allow them to do so. A perspective closely aligned with procedural justice is that of organisational justice. Reynolds and Helfers (2013) suggest that an employee’s, or more specifically, a police officer’s perception of the fairness of the behaviour of their employer will affect those individuals’ attitudes towards their duties (Reynolds & Helfers, 2013, p.372). If officers are treated in a fair and balanced manner by the organisation they are employed by, they may be more inclined to have a positive attitude towards their duties. Indeed, good department morale may help officers to cope with some of the more challenging duties they are expected to perform (Wolfe & Nix, 2016). On the other hand, if officers feel disgruntled by what they see as poor management skills or inappropriate decisions, they may in turn be less inclined to behave in a cordial way during their interactions with the general public.

7.2 Police Training from the Officers’ Perspective

This section will consider the attitudes and experiences of the Finnish police officers that took part in primary data collection for this study.

As was discussed in an earlier chapter, the Finnish police organisation puts considerable effort into the training of students at the Police University College (POLAMK). Of the survey participants, less than 3% of participants felt dissatisfied with the training they received. At the other extreme, just over 20% reported being very satisfied with basic police training. It should perhaps be pointed out that basic police training in Finland takes the form of a Bachelor’s degree and is completed over a period of three years. These findings appear even
more positive when the 50% who stated that they were simply ‘Satisfied’ were taken into account. This would suggest that nearly 70% of participants reported a positive experience regarding the training they were initially given. There was, however, still a significant number, almost 30%, that seemed to be rather indifferent about the quality of training they received (Fig. 10). Among the criticisms made of the training was that there was too much emphasis on academic study and that the instructors at POLAMK have become disconnected from the reality of policing (Q3). There were also a number of participants that suggested that some aspects of policing had been “learned the hard way” (Q3). No explanation was given as to what having “learned the hard way” entailed. Considering the apparent non-confrontational approach of the Finnish police it was surprising to note that some participants were of the opinion that they should have been given more training in coercive measures (Q3, Q10, Q11). Interestingly, several focus group participants made reference to the high standard of new officers that are being trained by POLAMK (FG1P4). Whereas some of the older participants did reflect on the old days when training was considerably more hands-on in the early stages of an officer’s career than it is today, there seems to have been an acceptance of the value of an academic approach to police training (FG3P1), at least by some participants. It was evident from some comment boxes in the online survey that some of the survey participants were trained prior to the implementation of POLAMK. Many, although not all of these participants, were also of the opinion that officers graduating from POLAMK are better prepared for the challenges of policing than they had been at the start of their careers (Q3).

The nature of modern policing would seem to make it impossible for a police officer to graduate from basic training, gain employment as a police officer and embark on a career without some kind of supplementary training. When online survey participants were asked if
they had received any vocational training since their basic training, rather surprisingly more
than 26% answered that they had not. The remaining 73% indicated that they had (Fig. 1).

Fig. 10. Participant responses to online survey question 2.

Initial analysis of the responses to this question led to a degree of confusion. A
supplementary question had been asked, requesting that participants list the courses they had
attended since basic training. There were officers who mentioned that they had done little
more than completed the police driving tests (Q5). While a considerable number of others
appear to have been particularly active in the maintenance of their professional skills, a small
number stated to the effect that they had applied for training but had not been given
permission to attend (Q5). From the lists of courses provided by some participants it would
seem that there is a wide-ranging and varied curriculum on offer, so presumably there is a
less obvious reason for around a quarter of officers, reportedly, not receiving any
supplementary training. Among possible explanations for this may be the financial and
resource constraints mentioned by a considerable number of online survey participants
(FG3P3, Q10). If it is the case that police numbers are so depleted that something as
seemingly fundamental to police work as attending a crime scene causes staffing problems, as reported by one participant (FG3P4), it would seem unlikely that there would be sufficient staffing levels for officers to regularly attend training courses. Training restrictions caused by limited personnel numbers may suggest that officers in metropolitan areas have better access to training than their colleagues in the more rural areas, simply because there are more flexible staffing numbers than may be the case in smaller police districts. If this is so, it may be challenging to claim that training opportunities for police officers and the standards of policing they are able to offer are the same across the country. The fact that around a quarter of police officers claim not to have received any supplementary training since the completion of basic training may be of concern, as the European Commission on Human Rights and Policing states that police officers should have sufficient training to do their job efficiently (Murdoch & Roche, 2013, p.22). Although it was not the intention of this study to collect and analyse demographic data about the participants, officers were, however, asked about their length of service in policing (Fig. 12).

Fig. 11. Participant responses to online survey question 3.
It had been assumed that the participants would be fairly evenly distributed across the time scales represented in the survey question (Q18). This did not turn out to be the case. Fig 14 indicates that almost two-thirds, just over 63% of participants had more than 10 years’ experience.

![Q18. How long have you been a police officer?](image)

Fig. 12. Participant responses to online survey question 18.

The second largest group of participants were those in the early stages of their career, with nearly 20% of participants having served as a police officer for 1-5 years. According to a report compiled by the Finnish Police Board (2009), this apparent disparity of years of service was found to be roughly equitable with more general demographics found among Finnish police officers. Although this is not a particularly current study, it does point out that the average age of Finnish police officers in a large southern police district, the largest by population in the country, is in the late thirties to early forties range (Konttinen et al. 2009, p.14). If this is still the case, then the online survey participants may be considered to be reasonably representative of Finnish policing in general. Although not directly asked, the focus group participants appeared to be of a general age group that would suggest more mid-to late career rather than early career. It could be argued that this is a rather encouraging
finding, as it may also be indicative of a level of professional engagement that extends into mid- to late career, at least among the officers that took part in this research project.

In the following section, an issue that was touched on during discussion of the accessibility of vocational training will be addressed further, namely personnel levels and reported staff morale. This will include consideration of the police rationalisation project PORA and the effects it appears to have had on officers.

### 7.3 Resources and Personnel Levels

Since 2008 the Finnish police have undergone a series of changes to working practice, the so-called PORA (Poliisin hallintorakenteen kehittämishanke [The Police Administration Structure Development Project]) project. This project has initiated the rationalisation of policing practice and the restructuring of police districts to form fewer, larger police departments (PORA III). This involved merging 90 police departments into 11. Additionally, official figures indicate that since the inception of the PORA reforms police officer numbers have been reduced significantly from 7,545 in 2008 (Sisäasianministeriö, Poliisiosasto, 2008, p.18) to around 7,200 sworn officers in 2018 (Poliisihallitus, 2018, p.37). Whereas PORA may have led to greater efficiency and financial savings in policing, it would appear that these changes are not universally popular with police officers and that there is a feeling that there has been a negative impact on officers and their emotional and possibly physical well-being. Of all the themes initiated by participants, both in focus groups and in online survey comment boxes, limited resources and staffing numbers were among the most commonly mentioned frustrations (FG1P1, FG2P2, FG3P3, Q10). When this issue was broken down further, it became evident that participants are feeling the strain of high expectations on
relatively low staff numbers, but there was also a reported perception that due to the current staffing levels the general public are not being provided with the service they need (FG1P3, Q10, Q12, Q19).

When asked about time resources available to them, the online survey participants expressed a variety of opinions. Almost 20% stated that they have sufficient time to conduct their duties, whereas more than 37% of participants answered that they only sometimes have the time needed. The remaining approximately 30% commented that they usually do not have time to do their job and almost 13% stated that they do not have the time needed to do their job (Fig. 13). Although it is not possible to know from the answer option ‘Sometimes’ to what extent this may be the case, it may not be unreasonable to suggest that somewhere in the region of 50% of survey participants feel that they do not have sufficient time to conduct their duties to a standard that they consider acceptable. Szalma et al (2008) point out that while a certain level of time constraint can increase the speed in which a task is completed, there is, inevitably, also a negative effect on the accuracy with which some tasks are performed (Szalma, Hancock & Quinn, 2008, p.1515). Such working environments can also cause levels of frustration and dissatisfaction among employees, which can lead them to either disassociate themselves from their task or to seek to change their profession (Duran, Woodhams & Bishopp, 2018, p.194), thereby placing even more pressure on the officers that remain.

A reported side-effect of the current size of police districts, which was apparently important to participants, is that the police management staff do not necessarily know the operational
officers who work for them (Q10). It was suggested that this does not lead to a smooth working environment and can cause communication problems.

![Figure 13](image)

**Q17. Do you always have the time you would need to deal with situations such as in Q13 and Q14?**

Additionally, there seemed to be a sense that the police themselves were, at least in part, responsible for the current staffing issues. It was proposed that when the pressure of work increased due to the organisational changes, the police simply worked harder and longer (Q19). This however, was not a universal understanding of the situation, as several survey participants suggested that the police should be more flexible and prioritise their tasks better (Q8, Q12). Wolter et al (2018) suggest that perhaps unsurprisingly, a reduction in the demands placed on police officers would help to promote officer well-being and efficiency in policing in general (Wolter et al, 2018, p.52).

Reportedly, exhaustion and burnout are a common problem among police officers (FG1P3, FG3P1, FG3P3, FG3P4, Q7, Q10, Q12, Q19). It should be borne in mind that burnout is not simply tiredness, according to Doolittle (2013); it is, among other things, the result of chronic
workplace stress (Doolittle, 2013, p.5). Burnout would appear to be so much a part of modern policing in Finland that the focus group participants spoke about this level of tiredness in a very matter-of-fact way, giving the impression that it was not only commonplace but almost expected that officers will at some point not be able to function due to the pressures of work. Comments made by participants included:

“There is not enough time to do everything that needs doing. There is so much to do that I have experienced, from time to time, cumulative stress and related problems.” (Q10)

“Many of us have burned out as a result. (General agreement) They have had to go on sick leave and be off work.” (FG3P4)

and

“It might be a good thing to do to widen your parameters as to what it means to have done your job well. For example, I can feel that I have done my job well if I get all my cases done before they expire. That they have moved forward. And that I haven't had to take sick leave as a burnout.” (FG3P3)

There was an understanding, among participants, that supervisors have a duty of care for the officers in their charge in that they should notice when an officer is reaching his/her limit and re-assign them to other duties (FG2P3). A comment made by one participant suggested that he was so tired that he did not know how he would go on (Q7), perhaps suggesting that although there may be support systems in place, some individuals are slipping through the net.

Of relevance to discussions of procedural justice in policing, Burke (2007) points out that officers working under high levels of stress are more likely to display violent behaviour than would be the case in the general population (Burke, 2007, p.178). This level of fatigue has implications not only for the officer who is experiencing the effects, but also for other parties.
involved and is unlikely to have a positive impact on an officer’s communication skills (FG1P3, Q10). This phenomenon has not gone unnoticed by officers that were prepared to share their thoughts with the researcher. Another theme that may be linked to the reported levels of burnout is that of the perceived laziness of some officers. Whereas in some cases it may be that an officer is indeed simply lazy, withdrawal of professional commitment is, according to Lambert, Kelley and Hogan (2013, pp.62-63), one of the possible indicators of burnout. Burnout among Finnish police officers was also highlighted in a recent report produced by the Finnish police trade union Suomen Poliisijärjestöjen Liitto (SPJL), suggesting that in a recent survey, 58% of officers feel that their personal well-being at work has declined in recent times (Rinne, 2020). There were suggestions that among the conscientious staff members levels of exhaustion are so high that officers are making mistakes.

In addition to widespread levels of fatigue, participants reported a sense that they are not only having to deal with insufficient staffing levels but it would seem that a considerable number of officers were struggling to obtain the equipment they feel they would need to perform their tasks efficiently (Q8, Q10, Q11). This, reportedly, was not necessarily a question of costly investments, rather it was more mundane tools of the trade, such as communications and IT equipment for patrol officers. Whereas there is no way to independently verify such claims, similar assertions were made by multiple participants (Q8, Q10, Q11, Q12). Perhaps of particular concern were the statements regarding the lack of safety equipment provided to officers (Q8, Q11, Q12). It is noteworthy that the European Convention on Human Rights and Policing states that there is an expectation that police officers will have the training and equipment needed to discharge their duties efficiently (Murdoch & Roche, 2013, p.22).
Participants displayed an apparent acceptance of the need for proper procedures and the need to abide by regulations. However, several participants also noted that the levels of bureaucracy they are being expected to deal with is becoming unreasonable with the limited staff numbers and what they perceive as an increase in criminal activity (Q8, Q10, Q12, Q19). As an example of comments made by participants, one officer described the current situation as: “…having to prioritise with a heavy hand, focusing on more serious cases…” (Q10).

There are, however, perhaps less obvious causes of stress in the lives of police officers. According to research conducted in Sweden by Greubel and Keklund (2011), organisational change can also have a negative effect on the well-being of police officers (Greubel & Keklund, 2011, p.3). They also noted that even the anticipation of major workplace change can impact on officers’ sleep, general well-being and stress levels (Greubel & Keklund, 2011, p.14). Among the issues that appear to be of particular concern to participants is that the standard of work they are able to do is suffering and as a result it is leading to increased stress levels among police officers (Q8). This is apparently compounded by what is seen by several participants as “continuous organisational changes.” (Q8, Q10, Q12). If such changes are as regular as suggested, there may be an argument that the police organisation may be exacerbating the effects of stress on police officers.

It would seem that with few exceptions the participants were of the opinion that police pay was not commensurate with what is being asked of them. One participant noted that:

“It depends how you get to the good pay. Some of us have to do a lot of overtime.” (FG1P4).
Another focus group participant commented along similar lines that:

“If I think that there is a family...a couple...a mother and father are police and they have children, the pay isn’t the reason for coming to work. It can be quite challenging to make ends meet. You just have a very simple life. I don’t know if...do people stay if they want more financial gain?” (FG2P2).

Similar comments can also be found in online survey responses such as:

“Better pay to meet the demands of work.” (Q8).

Perhaps of particular importance was the attitude expressed by an online survey participant who seemed to be indicating that there were problems not only with the amount of money being paid to police officers, but also with how that amount is calculated. The participant noted that “I get the same pay for spitting at the ceiling as I do for working hard all day.” (Q8). There was also suggestion that in addition to a fairly widely expressed feeling that police officers are being underpaid, the current salary they receive does not take into account the danger, the responsibility and complexity of modern policing (Q11, Q19). Comments such as these were fairly common, suggesting that there is indeed an issue, which, if left unattended, may eventually lead to motivation problems and disillusionment among some officers. A point that may be worth taking into consideration with regard to police pay is that if officers are stressed by the nature of the work they are being expected to do, the situation is unlikely to be improved if they are also feeling the effects of financial pressures in their private lives. If police officers are indeed exposed to both professional and financial stress, it would seem to follow that they are unlikely to be performing their duties to the best of their abilities.

In order to provide a degree of perspective to police pay in Finland, a comparison was made to average police pay in similar and neighbouring countries and to respective national average incomes (Fig. 14). While it is understood that national average salaries may not be an
accurate representation of the spending power of a particular population, no figures reflecting the more representative median income levels of police officers were found during this research. The figures quoted should be considered as indication of relative position rather than comparable sums. These countries addressed were Denmark, Sweden and Ireland. The figures provided were sourced from the website SALARYEXPERT and are representations of average pay for police officers in the countries mentioned. It should be noted that each of the salaries quoted are pre-tax and as such are not directly comparable, as local taxation will affect the value of the particular incomes. The sums quoted are intended as an indication only. It can be seen that although Finnish annual police pay at £52,808 is second place in the countries mentioned, in comparison to national average income, the Finnish police are earning around £15,000 a year or approximately 30% more than the national average.

However, the Average Salary Survey website suggested that a mechanical engineer in Helsinki can expect to earn around £39,375 per annum. The figures mentioned here would suggest that, in monetary terms, the Finnish police are not badly paid. However, it should be borne in mind that many police officers are expected to work shifts and are exposed to levels of workplace risk that the majority of society would find unacceptable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National policing agency</th>
<th>Average annual police officers’ pay in local currency</th>
<th>Average annual police officers’ pay in UK pounds</th>
<th>National average income in UK pounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>60,620 euro</td>
<td>52,808</td>
<td>37,736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>572,009 Krr</td>
<td>66,686</td>
<td>47,006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>492,973 SEK</td>
<td>40,574</td>
<td>43,371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>58,491 euro</td>
<td>50,953</td>
<td>47,983</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 14. Comparison of average police pay and average national income. Currency conversion made with OANDA currency conversion tool 4.3.2020
Although there would seem to be a certain level of dissatisfaction with the levels of reimbursement offered to Finnish police officers, there would also seem to be a remarkable level of job satisfaction expressed by research participants (FG1P2, FG3P3, Q9). It may be significant that when focus group participants were asked what they would like to do if they were not police officers, only one had an immediate answer and even that seemed to be rather tongue-in-cheek. All the rest struggled before making tentative suggestions. However, not all participants were necessarily as content with their choice of profession. A small number seemed to have a rather philosophical attitude suggesting that:

“If you've been doing this for a while and have more years behind you than in front. It's better to be satisfied.” (FG2P1)

For one participant in particular, there was a feeling that:

“Life is what happens at home.” (FG2P2).

Rather than a lack of commitment, there may be an argument that such comments may be expressions of some kind of coping mechanism used to maintain a distance from the nature of the work these individuals undertake. Additionally, as discussed earlier in this section, these examples of distancing may be symptoms of an underlying level of fatigue. Indeed, there may be an argument that what is being perceived by the general public as a disinterested, even-handed approach to policing is actually disengagement due to stress and tiredness.

7.4 In the Line of Duty

It would seem likely that projecting an image that inspires trust among such a large proportion of the general public, as would appear to be the case in Finland, would necessitate the police to have a positive and professional attitude both towards the tasks asked of them and their role in Finnish society. In this section, consideration will be given to the attitudes online survey and focus group participants expressed in relation to these matters.
A major part of any large organisation’s efficient working practice is the requirement for appropriate documentation of company policy, or in the case of the police, perhaps a mission statement. There is also a need for a statement of what that organisation is expecting of its employees (Waddington, 1998, p.159). In an organisation such as the police, this documentation is likely to take the form of Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs). SOPs have multiple functions; in a policing organisation these not only inform officers about what is expected of them in certain situations, but they can also provide a system that allows police personnel to describe and document their activities, thereby potentially adding a level of transparency to their actions. If constructed appropriately, SOPs can, potentially, contribute to the feeling of confidence the public have in the policing agency. Surprisingly, documentation of activities and recording of events are not popular among police officers (Q10, Q12, Q19). In fact, when online survey participants were asked what they would change about policing in Finland, bureaucracy was repeatedly mentioned. There was an apparently widely held opinion that time dealing with bureaucracy is time away from policing. This would seem to fall in line with findings described by Crank (2004), suggesting that there are two schools of thought regarding bureaucracy in policing. Sergeants and above apparently saw the value of documentation, while constables tended to have a more practical, applied understanding of police work (Crank, 2004, pp.45-46). Additionally, Burke (2007) found that bureaucracy can be a significant contributor to levels of stress in police officers (Burke, 2007, p.304).

If depictions of police officers in the entertainment media were to be accepted as factual, the majority of officers are either homicide detectives or want to be homicide detectives, as
described by Reiner (2010, pp.186-187). Whereas this may be the case in some police departments in Finland, it was not among the reported aspirations of the focus group participants. Although it was noted that investigations involving deaths tend to have access to all the resources the investigation team would need (FG3P3), it would seem that the focus group participants found other types of investigation at least as, if not more, rewarding to conduct. There would seem to be a preference among this group for large-scale multifaceted jobs that require effort to clarify not only what happened, but how it happened and who was involved. There was comment that some officers shy away from cases involving criminal activity against children (FG2P2). The reasons given for this reaction were that they would be too emotionally challenging and that not everyone can cope with such things. On the other hand, there were participants that felt that they had an opportunity to positively influence the lives of the victims of such crimes and felt that the emotional impact on them was secondary to the value of the work (FG2P3). Although this may be considered by some to be a laudable public service, it was pointed out by van Gelderen, Konijn and Bakker (2017) that this attitude towards public service can, if taken to extremes, be detrimental to the well-being of the service provider (van Gelderen, Konijn & Bakker, 2017, p.854). Interestingly, some participants were quite self-deprecating with comments such as “I don't do real police work but it depends on the job you are doing.” (FG3P1) and “I just spend eight hours a day reading documents, I don't do police work.” (FG1P3). There was, however, no clarification of what these individuals considered “real policing” to be.

Focus group participants explained that if an officer is experiencing difficulties performing his/her duties, albeit through tiredness or boredom, it is possible for them to request a short break from frontline policing in favour of backroom tasks (FG3P1). Additionally, it was noted that if a group leader notices that an officer is not performing to his/her usual standard,
that officer will be temporarily reassigned (FG2P3). It was suggested that by rotating officers in this way it may be possible to maintain the level of service the Finnish general public feel they are getting (FG2P3). No corroborating data were offered to support this notion. On the face of things, this would appear to be a rather pragmatic approach to the maintenance of standards with a limited number of staff.

A positive aspect of policing mentioned in focus groups was the ability to transfer from one role to another with relative ease. It was suggested that in doing so, it is possible for officers to remain fresh and engaged in policing (FG1P1). Indeed, it was noted that there are so many possible aspects to policing open to an officer, after completing the basic training, that it is possible for everyone to find the job that suits them best. There was mention in other focus groups that some people are happy to be a patrol officer and have no interest in becoming a detective (FG1P4, FG2P1). There were, however, less positive comments on the current organisational situation in the Finnish police, such as:

“…we have done well to achieve the image we have, but how long will an organisation of this size be able to keep up appearances…” (Q19).

Additionally, there were suggestions that the police organisation is too rigid and does not allow experts to use their skills. This would appear to be an issue that was of concern to participants, with officers feeling that they are not supported in their tasks by the organisation they work for (FG2P3, Q8, Q10, Q11, Q12, Q19). For individuals who feel a need to serve society, not to feel supported by the organisation they work for would seem to suggest that there are communication and perhaps managerial issues within that organisation. Tremblay, Genin and di Loreto (2011) point out that employers that do not support their staff run the risk of their employees becoming stressed and less productive than they might otherwise be.
In addition to this there can be negative effects on employees’ free-time and family life (Tremblay, Genin & di Loreto, 2011, p.76).

In an attempt to discover to what extent, if any, Finnish police officers are isolated from the society they serve, online survey participants were asked to what extent they spend their free-time in the company of other police officers (Fig. 15). Participants answered that almost 41% rarely spent time with fellow police officers while just over 41% responded that they sometimes did so and just under 14% stated that they often spend free-time with their colleagues. The extreme options of ‘Never’ and ‘Exclusively’ made up less than 5% of responses. This would seem to be rather a different finding from that of Reiner (2010), who suggests that “…many police officers have difficulty socialising with civilians in ordinary social life.” (Reiner, 2010, p.122). Indeed, this is borne out by van Dijk et al (2015), who state that this kind of behaviour can lead to social isolation (van Dijk, Hoogewoning & Punch, 2015, p.81). Although neither of these studies produced any quantitative data to support their findings, it would seem to be a given in some cultures that police officers are isolated from the society they serve. Whereas this may have been a commonly accepted truism in policing studies, there is evidence to suggest that this may no longer be the case. Charman (2017) points out that, in recent times, there has been a move away from an in-group to a more individualist culture in policing (Charman, 2017, p.148). Brough et al (2016) also noted that police in-group socialisation off duty has become less common as police accountability has increased (Brough, Chataway & Biggs, 2016, p.33). Indeed, from the data collected for this research, it would seem that Finnish officers do not regularly socialise with their colleagues in their free-time. It would seem that they do instead spend free-time with non-police personnel, which would suggest that interaction with the general public is the
norm. This in turn helps to reinforce the notion that the Finnish police are, in fact, part of the society they serve, rather than a closed group. Indeed, there may be further advantages from this approach. There is evidence to suggest that temporary separation from police culture in the company of non-police personnel may be of benefit in the management of work-related stress and improved officer well-being (McLemore, 2016).

A number of participants expressed their opinions regarding a perceived change in public attitudes that they had noticed. An example of this was the reportedly now common practice of recording video footage of interactions with police officers (FG3P4). Interestingly, the participants who spoke about this phenomenon seemed to have a relatively relaxed attitude, suggesting that it was not seen as a particular problem (FG3P3).

![Q16. Do you spend your free time in the company of fellow police officers?](image)

Fig. 15. Participant responses to online survey question 16.

There was an apparent understanding that for the members of the public involved, a rare interaction with the police is something worth recording and posting on social media (FG3P1). There was, however, also mention that at times there have been attempts to use
such video footage as a tool to discredit the police by provoking them into doing or saying something inappropriate (FG3P1). It was clear from the way that the participants spoke about such incidents that they were well aware of the intention of this kind of filming and found it to be more of an irritation than a potential threat to their legitimacy. One participant suggested that this kind of behaviour can, however, be potentially dangerous. The participant recalled:

“I was at a car accident; it was a ball of flames and people start filming before they call 112. Then someone eventually realises that shouldn't someone make the call, while everyone is filming.” (FG3P4)

The fact that the participants do not seem overly concerned about being filmed in the course of their duties may suggest an awareness of the fact that in Finnish law there are no restrictions on taking images of public officials in a public place (Finnish Constitution, 1999), providing that there is no interference with them conducting their duties. Although the Finnish police seem relatively relaxed about being filmed on duty, not all police forces share this attitude. In 2015, Spain implemented a Citizen Security Law, stating that taking and distributing images of the police without permission can lead to heavy fines (Day, 2018). According to Cassehgari and Simons (2017), Belgium also has the facility to fine individuals who violate the privacy of the police. In the Netherlands, the police are attempting to take things a step further and introduce legislation that prohibits recognisable images of the police from being published (Cassehgari & Simons, 2017).

For their part, the Finnish Police Board began a pilot study in 2016 into the viability of body worn cameras (Poliisi, 2019b). At that time, they gave an opinion that there are unquestionably many advantages to the use of body worn cameras. However, they also expressed an awareness of the need for their proper use at every stage and that the cameras
are used in accordance with the law and in a standardised fashion. The Police Board also noted that the use of body worn cameras would require clearly stated SOPs (Poliisi, 2019b). The following year the Police Board published a statement that it had been hoped that the cameras would improve productivity and quality of policing. The statement went on to note that they had already improved the safety of police officers as there had been fewer acts of violence towards the police and had shown officers to be using due process in the course of their duties (Poliisi, 2019c). Over a four-year period, body worn cameras have been in use by the Helsinki police department. According to a recent television documentary by the national broadcaster YLE on the subject, the police have not taken to the use of the cameras with any great enthusiasm (Kolari, 2020). The documentary stated that video from body worn cameras had been used only four times as evidence in court. A representative from the police pointed out that the cameras were of more use as a preventative measure rather than for the recording of evidence (Kolari, 2020). The documentary claimed that although the uptake of camera use was less than had been expected, there are now plans to roll out their use across the country (Kolari, 2020).

Several online survey participants responded to the question regarding the biggest challenges faced by Finnish police officers by indicating that violence in general was on the increase (Q10), but perhaps of greater concern was the perception that violence and threats of violence towards police officers are becoming more common (Q10). Although official police figures for such behaviour were not available, this situation was commented upon in a newspaper interview given by the Minister of the Interior Maria Ohisalo (Teivainen, 2019). According to the police association website, police officers are not only experiencing higher levels of physical violence, but their families are also more commonly becoming the target of threats (Almgren, 2019). According to a survey conducted by the Finnish police trade union SPJL in
2020, 70% of police officers have experienced physical violence in the course of their duties (Rinne, 2020). According to the same study, there is a feeling among police officers that their ‘customers’ are more aggressive and challenging than they once were (Rinne, 2020).

Currently uniformed officers have a name tag that is clearly visible. Whereas there may be an argument that knowing an officer’s name makes them more human and approachable, there is the added risk that such information could potentially put the officer and their immediate family at risk. In an attempt to improve the personal security of officers, there are plans to replace the officer’s name with an alphanumeric code that would be unique to that officer (Almgren, 2019), the intention being that they would be identifiable as a particular government official but not as a particular individual. As part of this innovation there is suggestion that the officers’ names would also be replaced on their police identity cards, as some members of the public have asked to see the card of plain-clothed police officers with the simple intention of learning their name. Whereas this may seem to be a pragmatic approach to improving officers’ safety, perhaps counterintuitively officers may actually become dehumanised in the eyes of offenders, if their name tags were to be removed. An additional aspect to be considered is that, according to Wortley (2001), anonymity among persons with authority provides a sense of licence (Wortley, 2001, p.17). Taken to extremes, this, in turn, may negatively affect police communication with the public that is necessary in order to maintain police legitimacy (Chernikoff Anderson, Knutson Giles & Arroyo, 2002, p.42). Interestingly, some police forces in the UK, such as the Greater Manchester Police and the Metropolitan Police Service, have in recent years adopted the use of name badges with the intention of improving the recognisability of local police officers and to improve accountability for the actions of those officers (Greater Manchester Police Name Badge Policy, n.d.; the Metropolitan Police Service, n.d.).
Among related issues was the mention of online survey participants’ opinions that the Finnish police were starting to suffer from diminished credibility (Q9, Q10). Unfortunately, none of the participants who mentioned this phenomenon provided any explanatory detail. As these comments were anonymous, it was not possible to go back to the participants to ask them to expand on their comments. Bearing in mind that the data have been translated from Finnish into English, the words ‘credibility’ and ‘legitimacy’ are not that far apart in their meaning. If it is the case that the police have noticed that they are losing their position of legitimacy with the public, notions of procedural justice may be challenging if the position of the police continues to decline, as may have been suggested by participants.

7.5 Finnish Police, Some More Equal than Others

A publication produced by the Finnish police (Police in Finland, 2019) and a related section of the Finnish constitution (The Constitution of Finland, 1999, Chapter Three, Section 6), in essence state that everyone in Finland is to be treated equally. It would seem, however, that this has not been the experience of at least some of the female participants in this research project. Several of them related experiences of being expected to unnecessarily prove themselves to their colleagues (FG1P1, FG1P4, FG3P1, Q10). These reports were unexpected as the Finnish police have no official recognition of the concept of “Woman’s work” described by Rabe-Hemp (2009, p.116). It should be pointed out that none of the accounts of discriminatory behaviour were focused on actions of the police organisation. Rather the participants were describing the attitudes and actions of their fellow officers. The quotations that follow are examples of reported situations that female officers have found themselves having to deal with, in addition to conducting their duties to a professional standard:
“I was told by a male colleague while we were in the van about to start a 12-hour night shift together, that a woman’s place was somewhere else. And he tested me at every chance he got… Thankfully I have age and experience and what not, so it didn’t bother me, but it still comes to mind from time to time. But if I had been a bit younger, perhaps it would have been more difficult.” (FG1P1)

and

“…I don't want to work in the country and secondly, I am a woman. Female police always get the shit jobs. If I go to some small town. In XXXXXXX which is the place I want to be, I have many more possibilities. This was in the early 2000's when in some small departments they didn't want to (something unclear). Because there were so few police that there was a concern that if it came to the use of physical force, a woman would not be as good a partner as another man. This attitude was quite common in the early 2000's. I haven't heard of this so much in XXXXXXX. At least no-one has said it to me. But in the early 2000's I was in quite good shape, I used to go to the gym with the boys. Maybe they saw that I have physical strength.” (FG1P4)

In addition to the pressures such as these placed on female officers by their colleagues, there is the social pressure that a number of them experience in their private lives. A small number of participants suggested that they have had difficulty in sustaining intimate relationships, as some civilians find the fact that they are police officers intimidating (FG1P1, FG1P4). Of these two in particular were considered to be examples of experiences of a surprisingly outdated working environment, but reportedly they are not unusual:

“Yeah, and as a young woman you should be yourself. If you are masculine, all well and good. But you mustn't pretend to be a tough guy. You mustn't scratch your balls. You don't need the approval of others by being one of the guys. You are who you are.” (FG1P4)

and

“…men think of you as some kind of threat maybe... I have had a long-term relationship collapse because I am a police officer. It was too much. It's some kind of magnet that maybe it requires a man to ... maybe you can't understand because you are police officers and don't think like civilians…” (FG1P1)

Mentioning of the notion of a female officer ‘scratching her balls’ suggests an awareness of the coping methods some female police officers feel that they need to adopt in order to fit in
in a masculine working environment. The participant noted that this was not an appropriate way to behave, suggesting instead that “You don't need the approval of others by being one of the guys. You are who you are.” (FG1P4). This was also the finding of Swan (2016), who found that female officers that behave in a masculine manner tend to be shunned by their peers (Swan, 2016, p. 2). There was also suggestion that female officers have the additional challenge of finding a persona that is acceptable in their interactions with members of the public in their off-duty time.

It would seem unlikely that such experience is unique to Finnish police officers. Indeed, researchers such as O’Connor Shelley, Schaefer Morabito and Tobin-Gurley (2011) noted that there is considerable documentation of male officers behaving inappropriately towards their female colleagues. They suggest that this is done to develop an inequality in the working environment in order to maintain dominance over female officers (O’Connor Shelley, Schaefer Morabito & Tobin-Gurley, 2011, p.355).

7.6 Management Style

As was the case with the subject of police remuneration, it is perhaps less than surprising that participants considered the subject of police management a point worthy of discussion. The nature of responses ranged from the more predictable criticism to a proportion of very positive comments, particularly concerning immediate superiors. In this section participants’ perceptions of management and management style will be discussed in order to consider how this aspect of the policing organisation may be affecting the way policing is conducted in Finland.
Management style was a major theme in the primary data collected for this study. It should be noted that the majority of participants reported feeling that the level of management closest to them is generally good, understanding and supportive. There were, however, suggestions expressed by a considerable number of participants that management in the Finnish police has become too large and unwieldy and that there is currently a tendency to micro-manage police officers (Q8, Q10, Q11). In relation to this issue there was also mention of the feeling that over-management can have a negative influence on levels of motivation (Q8, Q10, Q19).

It would seem, however, that there are differing opinions among research participants on this matter:

“I feel the need for further training, for deeper and broader management.” (Q11)

“At the moment, a little clearer management. However, the problem is not a big one.” (Q11)

and

“Better management at both general and daily level.” (Q11)

Whereas these comments would appear to be expressing a need for more or perhaps better management of daily duties, there was a more commonly mentioned and contradictory desire for less management. Some examples of these comments were:

“Management regulations that reduce well-being at work.” (Q10)

“Maybe not in my current job, but in my previous job, my motivation was most weakened by the weak professionalism of my supervisors covered by micro-management style: "to do so as I say, because I'm your boss",” (Q10)

“Rigid and bureaucratic system. Management practices.” (Q10)

and

“Management!” (Q10)
There may indeed be value in the notion that over-management is causing a degree of frustration or even conflict within policing organisations in general. Cain (2017) points out that due to the dynamic and potentially dangerous nature of policing, micro-management of officers is not appropriate, and that there is a need for a style of management that is capable of taking into consideration the unpredictable nature of policing while at the same time maintaining a professional discipline. She goes on to suggest that it is important for managers to trust in the abilities of their subordinates and that they should be prepared to delegate and permit officers to conduct their duties with minimum involvement (Cain, 2017). Reynolds (2019) seems to concur with this suggestion as he notes that over-management can drain a workforce of motivation, and in so doing actually reduce the level of control managers have (Reynolds, 2019).

In addition to a feeling of being over-managed, several participants expressed a degree of dissatisfaction with the quality of the leadership there currently is in Finnish policing (Q8, Q10, Q11). There was even suggestion that at times lack of managerial skills is having a negative effect on grassroots policing (Q8, Q19, FG3P3). An apparent cause of dissatisfaction among officers is the reported remoteness of upper management. Whereas this would appear to be in contradiction with attitudes towards over-management, it would seem that the participants see value in two-way communication with their supervisors. There were suggestions that due to poor communication, higher management are unaware of the consequences of some of the decisions they have made (FG1P2). One participant even suggested that:

“I would switch the management to people who are very interested in investigating crimes and arresting suspects.”, (Q8)

and that
“...not really interested in the quality of the results, it is enough for the statistics to look something like good”. (Q8)

It was suggested that in order to rectify the current situation, there would be a need for greater levels of professionalism in police management. If this is indeed the case, the Finnish police management style would seem to differ markedly from that reported on by de Maillard and Savage (2018), who found, at least in the UK, that there was a move to a management style more focused on problem-solving than quotas (de Maillard & Savage, 2018, p.320). It was apparently important for participants to note that certain high-level managers have been promoted to their current position as a result of attaining an advanced degree in law, whereas, in their opinion, business management professionals would be of more practical use to the police organisation (Q8, Q10). According to research conducted in Canada by Hogan, Bennell and Taylor (2000), there are three primary issues required for a successful transition from rank-and-file officer to management. These requirements are professionalism, interpersonal skills and managerial training (Hogan, Bennell & Taylor, 2000). The first of these attributes may be rather difficult to define and generalise accurately, as it would presumably depend on the duties and skills of an individual officer. The second would seem to be a valuable and hopefully common skill for any police officer, particularly one that is working in accordance with the tenets of procedural justice. The third requirement, training, is perhaps the core issue mentioned in this part of discussions with participants. If officers are promoted to a managerial position in a modern policing agency, they need to be trained in modern management skills. This issue may have already been taken into consideration by the Finnish policing organisation. In order for officers to progress to management roles, police officers are currently required to complete a Master’s degree in police management studies at POLAMK. This includes modules on management skills and supervisory tasks (POLAMK,
n.d.c.). It would seem, however, that in the eyes of participants there is still room for improvement.

Participants seem to have had an understanding of the value of the human resources that can be found in the Finnish police force. They also appeared to comprehend the need to maintain the well-being of that human resource. There was, however, a fairly general feeling that this is an aspect of policing in Finland that is not especially well addressed. There was one comment that was of concern as a participant stated that there is a particular senior officer that causes fear in his subordinates (FG3P2). Whereas it would not be wise to generalise about such a comment, the hierarchical nature of management would suggest that one manager of this type can negatively affect the working life of multiple officers under his/her command. Indeed, there was another comment suggesting that:

“If you have a self-important manager his/her negativity will be passed to the next level down and then on to the patrol officer. The patrol officer will, in turn, pass the negativity on to the public. If you have a negative feeling...or you feel that you are not valued, and you take all kinds of negativity from the manager, it's not a surprise that it gets passed on to the public. Your own bad feelings ...could it be that?” (FG2P3)

Comments such as these would suggest that there is a clear understanding of the need for good communication with management in order for officers to feel valued at work and to be able to serve the public in an appropriate manner. Equally important is the effect this kind of working environment is likely to have on the well-being of police personnel. Police officers are expected to interact with many elements of society that the majority of the population are either not willing or not able to deal with. If officers do not feel that they have the support of the organisation they work for, it may be particularly challenging for them to carry out their duties in a fair and balanced manner.
7.7 Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter has turned the focus of the conversation from the policing organisation and how that organisation interacts with Finnish society to a more personal level looking at how Finnish police officers feel about the work they do and how being an employee of the Finnish police may be affecting them as individuals. The first aspect to be considered was how well training prepared an officer for the demands of the job, both in terms of what is considered to be basic training in Finland and in supplementary vocational training during the course of their career. A majority of participants expressed a general feeling that the level of basic training is good and that they had been properly prepared to take up the role of police officer. However, when it comes to supplementary training, feelings were mixed. While a considerable number of participants reported having obtained a significant catalogue of extra skills, others have received the bare minimum. This would seem to suggest that even in an organisation as ostensibly standardised as the Finnish police, there are variations in the levels of training and policing skills available to the Finnish population.

The second section of this chapter considered the resources and staffing levels currently available to Finnish police officers. One of the more concerning points that came to light in relation to these subjects was the level of exhaustion the participants reported feeling. According to the participants, this has reached a level where it is more a question of when an officer will burn out rather than if they will burn out. It was shown that working conditions such as the participants described lead to heightened levels of stress among the officers concerned. Another point of interest raised in this section was the remuneration police officers receive for the service they provide. While a proportion of participants seemed to think that police pay was reasonable, others commented that it is possible to make a
reasonable pay check, but it is necessary to work a lot of overtime hours in order to do so. If this is the case, the additional hours worked will presumably only add to the reported feelings of exhaustion and stress experienced by police officers. The final issue described in this section is referred to simply as ´resources´. One of the clearest issues to come from this project was just how few police officers there are in Finland. This would appear to be a situation that is causing stress and frustration among participants, as they claim not to be able to perform their tasks to the standard they would like.

On a more positive note, participants commented on the ability to transfer from one duty or even department to another with relative ease (FG2P2). It was suggested that in this way it is possible to maintain motivation and job satisfaction (FG2P3). Of particular interest in this section, however, was the response to a question related to the amount of free-time police officers spend in the company of fellow officers. It was found that although a small number of Finnish police officers do spend some free-time with their colleagues, they seem not to isolate themselves from the general population. There may be an argument that natural and informal interaction with the general population is allowing Finnish police officers to belong to and be trusted by the society they live in. However, there were also concerns raised by participants regarding the personal safety of both them and their families. It was reported that along with increased levels of violence a number of participants suggested that the police were starting to lose credibility in the eyes of the general population.

While mention was made regarding positive relationships with supervisory level managers, there seems to be a fairly clear expression on the part of the participants that the current style of management in general is not particularly well suited to policing in Finland. Among
particular complaints were feelings of frustration in being micro-managed, while others expressed a desire for clearer direction from their management. Interestingly, there was a differentiation made between management and leadership. It would seem that management is considered to be bureaucratic and theoretical whereas leadership is more practical and operational. There were clearly expressed feelings about the effect management styles can have on staff well-being, in particular that poor management can impact on the attitudes and motivation of frontline officers and that this in turn will potentially have a negative effect on the service provided to the public.

The data reported on in this chapter related to the feelings and opinions discussed by participants in relation to their profession. This in turn has highlighted some unexpected themes, not all of which can be considered particularly positive. Participants were not asked to produce any evidence to support their contributions to the online survey or the focus groups. However, it is felt that it is of value to consider how police officers think, feel and talk about their profession in order to understand how they perform their duties. It would seem that although there is a feeling that the participants’ employer is expecting a lot from them, there would appear to be a level of professional commitment on the part of many of the participants, which may explain, at least in part, the popular image of the Finnish police.

In the following, final chapter of this study, the findings of each of the preceding chapters will be brought together in a discussion and conclusion of the subjects covered in the preceding chapters.
8.1 Introduction
In addition to this introduction, Chapter Eight will be divided into six main sections. The first of these is a presentation of the key findings of this research project. This will be followed by a section considering the implications of the findings and possible value to other policing agencies. The third and fourth sections of this chapter will address the limitations of the study and sample size and the original contribution this research has made to knowledge of the subject matter. The penultimate section will consist of suggestions for further study. The chapter will be brought to a close with a conclusion section in which the findings of this study will be drawn together.

The research project described in this document was undertaken in order to address the question “How do Finnish police officers understand their role in Finnish society and to what extent could the Finnish approach to policing be considered procedurally just?”. This research may be of particular significance as no previous study of this kind was discovered in relation to the Finnish police during the literature review stage of the project. It is felt that the findings discussed here provide valuable insight into the approach taken by the Finnish policing agency and the environment in which the Finnish police conduct their duties.

According to research conducted by Vuorensyrjä and Fagerlund (2018), the Finnish police have attained high levels of public trust. Concepts of ‘trust’ and ‘legitimacy’, while not synonymous do, to some extent, overlap (Jackson & Gau, in press, p.10). Jackson and Gau (in press) suggest that trust in the police is linked to an expectation, on the part of the public,
that police officers will behave in a suitable manner. They add that true, sustainable police legitimacy requires that the public trust that the police are in fact applying the authority that has been invested in them appropriately (Jackson & Gau, in press, p.3). A commonly related metric used to establish organisational success is customer satisfaction. Interestingly, Bouckaert and Van de Walle (2003) found that satisfaction is not necessarily dependent on the quality of service. They suggest rather that customer satisfaction can equally depend on whether the customer has sympathy with the declared mission of the service provider (Bouckaert & Van de Walle, 2003, p.332). During the planning stages of this study, it became evident that in addition to the overlap in the meanings of the terms “trust” and “legitimacy” described by Jackson and Gau (in press), there may be subtle conceptual differences in the use of these terms between the Finnish and English languages. In order to allow for these conceptual differences, a decision was made to combine “trust” and “legitimacy” as a single conceptual unit and to consider them in line with the description given by Jackson and Gau (in press). Reference is also made to public “satisfaction” with policing. In this thesis, this term is primarily related to studies made in other jurisdictions and is the result of local approaches to data collection. While these studies are not directly comparable to the data collected in Finland, it is felt that their inclusion has helped to provide a degree of perspective to the Finnish approach to policing. For the purpose of this study, it was felt that it would be informative to confine discussion to consideration of how the Finnish police are achieving and maintaining high levels of public trust/legitimacy, rather than to what degree they may or may not be satisfied with the service provided. To that end, a decision was made early on in the development of the research proposal for this study to consider the collected data from a procedural justice perspective (Tyler, 2013). The fact that one of the primary tenets of procedural justice is legitimacy (Tyler, 2013, pp.286-287) suggested that procedural justice
would be able to provide a benchmark by which policing practice in Finland could be measured and assessed.

As policing and the role of the police officer have a unique position in modern society, it was judged necessary to consider what type of person becomes a police officer. The thinking was that if the Finnish police are attracting a particular type of individual, there may be an explanation for the apparently positive public opinion. Included in this line of investigation, attention was given to the way in which Finnish police officers are trained. This enables reflection on the possibility that the Finnish police are being introduced to the world of policing in a manner that promotes something akin to a procedural justice approach to policing, thereby potentially encouraging trust on the part of the general public. These points are raised by Tyler (2011), who noted the importance of appropriate recruitment, training and remuneration and the role these issues play in how the general public experience interactions with the police and police legitimacy (Tyler, 2011, p.257).

As recruitment material and training prospectuses were unlikely to provide an understanding of real-world policing in Finland, it was considered necessary to access the thoughts and experiences of serving Finnish police officers. To that end an online survey and series of focus groups were conducted. The data collection of both the online survey and the focus groups provided participants with a degree of freedom to mention or discuss issues that were important to them. Indeed, at times this took the research in some unexpected directions. These will be discussed further in later sections of this chapter. At certain points in the previous chapters, reference has been made to circumstances and statistics of other countries.
These were not intended as direct comparisons, rather they have been included in order to provide perspective to the figures quoted from Finnish sources.

As well as considering the social and historical environment from which the modern Finnish police have developed, it was also thought necessary to address the legal system in which that organisation is required to operate. Finnish judicial process is a hybrid of ancient Nordic tradition and later European inquisitorial systems, with some more recent additions from the Anglo-Saxon approach (Meinander, 2013, p.4). The Finnish judicial system does not include the option of a jury in the Anglo-Saxon understanding of the term. Rather, in complicated or serious cases the Finnish system employs a panel of judges in the decision-making process (Oikeus.fi, n.d.a.). The process is very procedural and relies heavily on documentation rather than opinion, apparently removing as much subjectivity from the judicial process as possible. Finnish policing would appear to have adopted a similar approach to their duties in that they operate according to a proscribed set of SOPs and legal requirements (Fredman, n.d. p.13).

8.2 Key Findings

This research has produced three key findings. The first of these is that the Finnish police are operating in a manner that closely resembles procedural justice. However, it may be challenging to demonstrate that the Finnish police have intentionally implemented procedural justice theory in their approach to policing. Secondly, it has been noted that there are reportedly high levels of fatigue and stress among Finnish police officers that may be affecting their ability to perform their duties effectively. This may highlight an approach to officer welfare that would call into question notions of institutional procedural justice in the Finnish police. The third finding to be given particular attention to in this section is the
quality of internal communication in the command structure of the Finnish police. If Finnish
police officers are of the opinion that the current system of internal communication does not
suit their needs, there would be further reason to question the application of institutional
procedural justice in Finnish policing. The following sub-sections will describe in greater
detail how these findings were expressed by participants.

**Accidental procedural justice:** By reviewing official, publicly available documentation and
analysing survey comments and focus group participants’ opinions regarding police resources
and staffing numbers, it became evident that the Finnish police are operating with very
limited resources. Operationally, this means that there are too few officers and insufficient
equipment to conduct an order-maintenance form of policing that controls the population and
suppresses opportunity to commit crime, as covered by Schulhofer, Tyler & Huq (2011,
p.349). It is just this limited access to resources that would seem to be a contributing factor in
the Finnish authority’s apparently alternative approach to policing and social stability. Rather
than expending time and effort into apprehending and prosecuting individuals that have
already become involved in a criminal lifestyle, it has been considered more efficient to
approach crime prevention at its root with education and familiarity, instead of overpowering
force (Oikeusministeriö, 2016, p.14). It would seem that by functioning in this way, the
Finnish police are working to promote the notion that they are one of the social services,
rather than purely a law enforcement agency (Oikeusministeriö, 2016, p.14). This approach
may be responsible for a form of “accidental” procedural justice in which the Finnish police
appear to operate in a disinterested procedural manner as a pragmatic response to their
workload, rather than a conscious application of procedural justice theory in its truest sense.
Indeed, the Finnish police are governed by clearly-defined rules and regulations as set out in the Police Act (Ministry of the Interior, Finland n.d.c.). With regard to the actions of the Finnish police as an institution, the highly proscribed nature of the Finnish approach to policing would appear to make opportunities for inappropriate behaviour limited. It may be worthy of note that the Finnish judicial system has been described as one of the most independent in the world (World Economic Forum, 2016). Other points described by Tyler (1988, p.103) may be covered by the position the Finnish police have in that country. If they are in fact one of the social services conducting their duties in an impartial manner, issues of bias, decision-making and ethics may be less of an issue than would be the case, should a more confrontational form of policing be implemented. There are, however, mechanisms in place to monitor and manage the actions of officers when needed (Police Monitoring, n.d.).

Laudable as the aspiration for policing to be considered one of the social services may be, the fact remains that the police are the only one of the social services licenced to carry firearms and are permitted to use physical force to detain members of the public (Vitale, 2017, p.16), thereby placing them in a position of power over the general population. It would be challenging to argue that these factors do not distance the police from other members of the social services and a true position of neutrality.

While considerable effort has been made in Finland to improve the levels of training and education Finnish police officers receive, there are still attitudes and behavioural traits to be found among some Finnish officers that are unlikely to be considered fitting for a modern police force. Indeed, these findings would seem to be putting into doubt notions that the Finnish police are intentionally operating in a procedurally just manner at officer level. These included additional comment box responses to questions 7 “What part of your job motivates you the most?” and 10 “What are the biggest challenges faced by Finnish police officers?” of
the online survey. In addition, research participants reported racist opinions being expressed in the coffee room (Q7 & Q10). Although there is international research indicating that such opinions among police officers are not uncommon but tend not to equate to action (Uhnoo, 2015, p.131; Waddington, 1999), arbitrary categorisation of any group of the society that the police are sworn to serve would seem to be counter-productive. From a procedural justice perspective, group engagement rather than division has been found to be an effective approach to encourage cooperation between the authorities and the population (Tyler & Blader, 2003, p.353). Another of the attitudinal issues that became apparent during analysis of primary data was that sexism is still being experienced by a number of Finnish police officers. As was the case with racist attitudes, the female officers that reported this issue did not suggest that this was an institutional issue. Rather that some of their fellow officers treated them differently from their male counterparts and that they had been expected to prove their abilities to their colleagues in ways that male officers were not (FG1P1 & FG1P4). Due to limited time and resources, these issues were beyond the scope of this study.

It may be somewhat of an exaggeration to suggest that the Finnish police are operating according to a fully planned procedural justice protocol. It would seem, however, that there are sufficient similarities between the pragmatic, non-confrontational approach taken in Finnish policing and procedural justice theory for the public to consider the Finnish police to be trustworthy/legitimate in their actions.

Additional aspects that impact on the notion that the Finnish police are operating according to procedural justice protocols in their truest sense are the environmental circumstances in which they serve. It would seem that the Finnish population has a predisposition to an acceptance of the position of authority the police of that country currently hold, while at the
same time they do not feel a need to be over-policed. Indeed, compliant attitudes found among the Finnish population, coupled with the diminutive size of that population, as discussed by Durkheim (Durkheim in Thompson, 2002), may be providing a suitable set of circumstances needed to enhance this apparently procedurally just approach to policing (Durkheim in Thompson, 2002, p.61).

The level and style of communication reported by the participants in this research may also be providing the police with an understanding of the needs of the population, thereby allowing micro-alterations to be made to each interaction. As mentioned in Chapter Six, this may be resulting in the Finnish police doing policing with the general public rather than doing policing to the general public. While it may be tempting to discard this approach to policing as only appropriate for very small populations such as is found in Finland, even the largest of police agencies could potentially be sub-divided into manageable districts/units that could be encouraged to listen to the policing needs of the population of those districts. Indeed, this may be of particular importance in accidental procedural justice. By upholding the laws of the land, while at the same time policing in a communicative manner, taking into consideration the values of the population being policed, it may be possible to maintain public safety and police legitimacy with limited resources.

**Challenging operational conditions:** There is evidence to suggest that expecting employees to complete their tasks according to a reasonable time constraint can improve efficiency (Szalma, Hancock & Quinn, 2008, p.1515). Indeed, there may be an argument that the restricted resources available to the Finnish police may have contributed to the appearance of a procedurally just approach to policing. While SOPs are intended as a method to ensure
quality of service, they can also be seen as an indication of the minimum level of service an organisation considers acceptable. Tight time constraints may cause police officers to comply more directly with SOPs as they do not have time to do anything more than the SOPs require. However, taken to extreme, this approach and workload can have negative consequences for the well-being and productivity of employees (Lambert, Kelley and Hogan, 2013, pp.62-63).

From the data collected for this study it would appear that a heavy workload is, indeed, having a negative effect on the well-being and health of some officers. During focus groups, some participants spoke about burn-out as though it were an accepted professional hazard (FG1P3, FG3P1, FG3P3, FG3P4, Q7, Q10, Q12, Q19). This would suggest levels of exhaustion in excess of simple tiredness or fatigue. Although no evidence was provided by participants to support their claims, the fact that several participants made very similar comments would suggest that this is not a rare occurrence. It should be borne in mind that in addition to tiredness and fatigue, stress is a major contributor to burn-out (Doolittle, 2013, p.5). Regardless of what is actually causing the levels of stress reported by these officers, there is a strong argument that officers that are stressed are unlikely to be performing to the best of their abilities (Tremblay, Genin & di Loreto, 2011). Although stress can manifest itself in many ways, one symptom that may be of relevance here is the tendency for stressed employees to disassociate themselves from their tasks (Duran, Woodhams & Bishopp, 2018, p.194). There may be an argument that such disassociation could, under certain circumstances, be confused with what is from a procedural justice perspective a more desirable position of disinterest. Such levels of officer stress would seem to make the positive findings expressed in public surveys all the more surprising (Vuorensyrjä, & Fagerlund, 2018) and would seem to suggest that the Finnish police are not operating according to a fully planned application of procedural justice.
Interestingly, none of the participants suggested that they were particularly stressed by the nature of the work that they do. Even those officers who regularly work on cases that society as a whole tends to find the most challenging to deal with suggested that it is a question of the ability to compartmentalise and not to become overly involved with the subject matter (FG2P3). This would suggest that the reported high levels of stress and burn-out are less related to the nature of the work than to the workload expected of police officers. However, participants pointed out that when an officer, for some reason, feels the need for a change, there is a fairly flexible system in place that allows officers to transfer from one department to another with relative ease (FG2P2). This being the case, there would appear to be an institutional awareness of the challenging circumstances in which Finnish police officers operate and an effort to ameliorate some of the negative consequences of the working environment in which these officers find themselves.

**Internal Communication:** In primary data collected from serving police officers there were multiple references to the quality and attitudes of management in the Finnish policing organisation. The target of these comments tended not to be line managers, rather there were repeated suggestions that upper management had become out of touch with the realities of frontline policing and that there was too great a reliance on bureaucracy and documentation (Q8, Q10, Q12, Q19). Much of the discussion of procedural justice in this thesis so far has been in relation to the interaction between the police and the public. However, it should be borne in mind that the principles of procedural justice apply equally well to organisational structure and workforce management. From a procedurally just position, it should be noted that inefficient or restricted communication between management and staff is likely to impact on the quality of service the subordinates are able to provide. Indeed, research conducted by Tremblay et al (2010) found that when an employee feels valued and supported by their
employer, they are more likely to be a productive member of the organisation (Tremblay, Genin & di Loreto, 2011, p.76).

An additional issue related to police officers’ perceptions of management was that due to the recent restructuring of police districts, it is possible that members of management will not necessarily know everyone under their command. Again, this is unlikely to lead to the quality of interactive communication that would be needed in order to claim an institutional implementation of procedural justice in the Finnish police.

While there is no reason to discard participant contributions in relation to management, it is interesting to note that there would also seem to be a general perception of a flat hierarchy in the Finnish police management structure, as described by focus group participant FG2P3. However, if police officers feel the need to express their opinions of upper-management in this way, it would perhaps suggest that the levels of communication and accountability set out in the principles of procedural justice have yet to be achieved by the Finnish police at an institutional level. If this is the case, it may be further indication of the accidental procedural justice mentioned earlier in this chapter.

It would seem then that in relation to Tyler’s seven-point checklist (Tyler, 1988, p.103), the Finnish police are succeeding rather better in some areas than in others, at least in their interaction with the general public. The first of Tyler’s criteria was fairness. With the exception of a small number of inappropriate comments regarding certain minority groups and reported gender inequality among police officers, it would seem from the participants’ perspective that the Finnish police conduct their duties in an open and even-handed manner,
leaving adjudication of events to the judicial system (FG3P1, FG3P3). The second point on Tyler’s list was honesty. There was nothing found in the literature review or the primary data to suggest that the Finnish police were not performing their duties in an honest manner. Indeed, when individual police officers have been suspected of inappropriate behaviour, they are openly dealt with in accordance with the law. Interestingly, when this has happened, public opinion of the police has gone up among certain demographic groups (Kääriäinen, Isotalus & Thomassen, 2016, p.81). This would seem to indicate that at an institutional level, the third principle of Tyler’s list, “ethical principles of conduct”, would also apply to the extent that police officers are required to conduct their duties in accordance with the law. From the data collected, it would seem that there is an understanding among participants that one of the roles of a police officer is to collect and collate information relevant to an event. This information is then passed through the judicial system for further consideration (FG2P3). The Finnish judicial system works in such a way that the fourth and fifth points on Tyler’s list, “opportunities for representation” and “quality of decisions made”, may be considered more an issue of judicial process than a function of the Finnish police. The sixth and seventh tenets of procedural justice, “opportunity for error correction” and “whether the police behave in a bias manner”, are, when considering the actions of the police, more challenging. There is currently no fully independent police oversight organisation to deal with complaints against the Finnish police. There is, however, a national ombudsman’s department that is tasked with ensuring that the police conduct their duties in accordance with the law (The Parliamentary Ombudsman of Finland, n.d.). A further important element to procedurally just policing mentioned by Tyler is legitimacy (Tyler, 2011, p.257). While it would appear that the Finnish police do enjoy a high level of trust/legitimacy in the eyes of the general public (Vuorensyrjä & Fagerlund, 2018, p.15), it remains unclear as to whether this is solely due to the actions of the police or the extent to which a population that is
predisposed to a positive attitude towards the police is affecting this situation. It should be borne in mind that procedurally just policing is not confined to police interaction with the general public. There is also a personnel management aspect to be taken into consideration. It would seem from reports provided by participants that there are high levels of exhaustion and limited resources among Finnish police officers. Additionally, some reported a disconnection between upper-management and the rank and file. If this is indeed the case, it would seem that from an internal perspective, organisationally the Finnish police are reportedly performing less well than their public image would suggest.

8.3 Implications of Findings and Possible Value to Other Agencies

The findings of this research show that Finnish policing, both from an institutional and individual officer perspective, has strengths and flaws. Among the institutional weaknesses is the extremely low level of resources that the police have to work with. This in turn is causing officers to take on workloads that are affecting their health. Viewed from an alternative perspective, although this approach may have been taken too far, this also means that the Finnish police are working to very high levels of efficiency. Other, less positive aspects that came to light during the data collection were evidence of racism and sexism. While attitudes such as these were not widely expressed, neither are appropriate in an organisation that prides itself on its ability to communicate with the entire population of that country. On a more positive note, the fact that police training in Finland has taken a much less authoritarian route than had been the case in years past, the Police University College would seem to be providing the police force with more rounded and thoughtful officers that are capable of producing the standard of policing that is aspired to. This may or may not have been deliberate in the Finnish setting, but there would seem to be some positive effects from the
situation in which the Finnish police find themselves. Whereas it has become evident that police trust/legitimacy is important, it may be that it is not necessary for all aspects of policing to be of the highest standard in order for policing agencies to perform their duties to a level that inspires trust/legitimacy in the eyes of the public. However, with openness and communication it may be possible to remove the barriers of mistrust and reduce the pull towards conflict with the population that is expecting to be kept safe.

The findings presented here may be of particular interest to police agencies that are struggling with staffing levels and equipment acquisition. It would seem that an important aspect of the Finnish approach to policing is communication and open interaction with the Finnish population. While this approach to policing is not without financial cost, it would appear to be considerably more sustainable both in terms of monetary investment and officer numbers than a policing model that utilises overpowering force. The Finnish approach could potentially be achieved in part by discouraging in-group/out-group attitudes, thereby helping to break down preconceptions and biases on the part of both officers and the general public. Improved levels of communication may also inform the policing authorities of reasons behind particular types of criminal activity, in order to prevent them before they occur rather than react to them after the damage has been done, thereby potentially conserving resources. Many policing agencies approach policing from a police visibility perspective, the idea being that a police presence will subdue criminality. The Finnish approach is visible to the public in a rather different way. In Finland the police provide several public services, such as the issuing of driving licences and other permits. In doing so, they are not only visible in a non-confrontational way, they are also providing the public with a positive experience of police officers. The outcome of such interactions is almost always positive, as the customers will
usually receive the document they have applied for. In turn, this may be reinforcing customers’ positive preconceptions.

8.4 Limitations of Study and Sample Size

A potential limitation of this study was the fact that all interaction with survey and focus group participants took place in the Finnish language; additionally, some material in the Danish and Norwegian languages were accessed. This may have caused some nuance of language use to have been lost in the translation process. Additionally, participant involvement relied on self-selection. According to Brüggen and Dholakia (2010, p.249), this may have involved, to a certain degree, participants taking an opportunity to voice an opinion rather than share information. If this is the case, certain issues may be over-represented in the primary data. However, effort was made to ensure that only general themes mentioned by multiple participants were reported on, thereby limiting the effects of individual participants that may have been taking an opportunity to air grievances. It is felt that the sample size, diversity of participants and the approach taken to the analysis of primary data were sufficient to provide a generalisable representation of attitudes found among Finnish police officers.

While it would seem that the Finnish police have managed to develop an approach to policing that works well in that particular environment, it may be particularly challenging to attempt to reproduce the Finnish model elsewhere. As has been discussed in earlier chapters, the working environment in which the Finnish police operate may be very specific to Finland. There may, however, be opportunities for certain aspects of the Finnish policing ethos to be implemented elsewhere. A clear starting point would be to establish what the local population is expecting of their policing agency. In order to make this task more manageable, it may be
necessary to consider population differences. For example, an urban community may not perceive police and policing in the same way as a rural community. This may be particularly challenging for agencies serving large and/or diverse populations, as expectations may be more diverse than is currently the case in Finland. An important point to consider is that productive communication happens in both directions. As was mentioned earlier, doing policing with a population is more efficient than doing policing to a population. This would suggest that resources spent in this way may prove beneficial. It would, however, be a mistake to consider open communication a quick and simple fix applicable in all situations encountered by policing agencies. In order to implement something akin to a Finnish style of policing, policing agencies that have historically applied a crime suppression style of policing may also find it necessary to address certain biases and attitudes that such an approach to policing may involve. Indeed, it would seem that, for the participants in this study, it was important to be considered a part of the population being served, rather than a group apart. While this change in attitude may not necessitate large financial outlay, it may be one of the more challenging aspects of the Finnish approach to policing to implement, as it will require both police agencies and police officers to reconsider the nature of their duties. Although certain aspects of how the Finnish police operate may be a reflection of the Finnish legal system, a disinterested application of the law to all involved parties rather than a “War on Crime” approach appears to have proven successful. A potentially more challenging aspect of the Finnish approach to public safety may be the integration of policing and the social services. This may be equally the case in jurisdictions with large well-established social service mechanisms, as change may be expensive and time consuming, as it is in places with less well-developed social services, as there may simply not be resources available for such integration. However, integration of the kind implemented in Finland may enable a more
flexible application of resources, with an emphasis on crime prevention rather than forceful implementation of judicial process.

8.5 Original Contribution to Knowledge

This thesis will contribute to the literature on policing and police culture as it provides insight into a style of policing that with very low officer numbers has managed to provide an apparently safe environment while at the same time inspiring high levels of trust in the eyes of the population it serves. It shows that although the Finnish police are achieving good results by situating themselves within the social services, and not taking an overtly confrontational approach to policing, the social attitudes of the Finnish population may also be influencing how the police are being perceived. This research was conducted from a procedural justice perspective. However, it became evident that other theoretical considerations would be needed in order to better describe the relationship there currently is between the Finnish police and the population they serve. These include elements of in-group theory and ethnocentric theory, consideration of structural functionalist theory and identity theory. It is felt that this has helped to describe certain predispositions the Finnish public may have towards the police.

Additionally, it has been shown that while the Finnish police appear to be demonstrating certain attributes that could be described as procedurally just policing, not all aspects of Finnish policing fulfil the criteria described by Tyler (1988). This would suggest that although it may be desirable to apply the principles of procedural justice to policing, it may be sufficient to achieve those aspects of procedural justice that a particular society finds the most valuable. These findings may be of particular interest to policing agencies intending
organisational change, as they would suggest that rather than blanket change, a nuanced and targeted approach considering the cultural expectations of the population may be more effective and resource-efficient.

8.6 Suggestions for Further Study

Among the unexpected issues that came to light during this research project were reports of racism and sexism among some Finnish police officers. While these points were beyond the scope of this thesis, it is felt that these are subjects that require investigation as they are likely to negatively affect any notions or aspirations there may be to procedurally just policing. However, this study has indicated that there are aspects of Finnish policing that could be considered to align with procedural justice theory. It is suggested that an ethnographic study of police behaviour be conducted in order to assess the extent to which routine interaction between police officers and police dealings with the Finnish population could be considered to be procedurally just at street as well as institutional level.

8.7 Conclusion

It has not been possible to indicate a particular aspect of Finnish policing that sets that organisation apart from other policing agencies, at least not to the extent that would explain the very high levels of trust/legitimacy the public have repeatedly expressed. If it is indeed the case that the Finnish population is contributing to the public image of the police, it may also be the case that the Finnish model will not be easily repeatable by other agencies. There may be a risk that if resources continue to be restricted in the way they currently are, the trust the public have in the institution may diminish over time.
Perhaps unsurprisingly, the analysis of the Finnish approach to policing has shown that as is the case with other large organisations, Finnish policing comprises of a combination of institutional, human and local cultural factors. From a procedural justice perspective, the Finnish police would seem to be performing with varying degrees of success, perhaps leading to an accidental form of procedural justice. On the one hand, the Finnish police are reportedly underfunded and under-resourced. According to the data collected for this study, this has put undue strain on police officers with apparently high levels of stress and burnout. Causing police officers to conduct their duties while watching the clock is unlikely to positively contribute to levels of communication, particularly if they are dealing with a member of the public that has recently been the victim of a crime. On the other hand, there is apparently an aspiration for the Finnish police to be considered a part of the well-developed social services of that country. This means that considerable effort is being made to identify and interact with young people that may be heading down a path of criminality and redirect them before things go too far, rather than dealing with the results of their misguided actions at a later date. Additionally, there have been concerted efforts to improve the training given to what are referred to in Finland as students of policing. Indeed, it may be that expecting police officers to have taken part in academic-style education in policing before becoming a police officer may cause them to become more communicative and perhaps allow them to make more considered decisions in the course of their duties. While this would seem to suit the tenets of procedural justice rather well, the academic training of police officers has not been in place in Finland long enough to make a categorical statement that it has made an impact on either public opinion or the standard of policing in that country.
When it comes to the question of the human factor in Finnish policing, again there were aspects that put the Finnish police in a positive light from a procedural justice standpoint while other issues were less so. Among the second focus group were expressions of discriminatory attitudes towards female officers and certain ethnic groups. It is important to note here that it is not suggested that the Finnish police are institutionally sexist or racist, rather that even in an organisation that proports to serve the whole population equally, there are still elements of that organisation that see fit to make arbitrary categorisations of not only members of the public but also of their work colleagues. In doing so, there is a risk that those individual officers will put the perceived legitimacy of Finnish policing in general at risk.

There were, however, indications that Finnish police officers see themselves very much as part of the community they serve. In doing so, it may be that Finnish police officers are maintaining a level of communication with the general public that is unlikely to be as smooth in agencies where police officers more commonly maintain a distance. Indeed, this may be a key point in understanding the social position of the Finnish police.

It would seem then that in order to attain and maintain a high level of public trust/legitimacy, it is not necessary for a policing agency to be perfect in every way. Rather that, as suggested by Bowling (2007), it may be sufficient for policing to be “good enough”. Indeed, this has made the distillation of specific points that would be easily transferable to other agencies rather challenging. However, in addition to the key findings listed earlier in this chapter, some salient points did emerge from the literature review conducted for this study that may be worthy of consideration. The first of these is the integration of policing into the social services. In doing so, the Finnish authorities appear to have limited the degree to which the police are in a position of conflict with the public, potentially allowing for a more even-handed approach to the provision of social justice than may be found elsewhere. Another
Some features of Finnish policing may be of practical use, both to the police and the society they serve. One of these would be to concentrate on the prevention of crime through public education and timely intervention of social services rather than deal with crime after it has taken place. A related point would be to restrict the use of ideologies such as “War on Crime”. Not only is this form of policing very resource-heavy, it also places the police in a position of conflict with sections of the society they are sworn to serve. So finally, in answer to the research question “How do Finnish police officers understand their role in Finnish society and to what extent could the Finnish approach to policing be considered procedurally just?”, it would seem that the Finnish police officers who participated in this research and their employer both have a clear understanding of their role of public servant in Finnish society. This is supported by a non-confrontational, pragmatic approach to their duties. While the Finnish approach to policing may not be procedural justice in the purest sense, it would appear to be close enough to procedural justice theory to inspire the high levels of public trust/legitimacy the Finnish public reportedly have in them.
References


Bailey, J. (2008). First Steps in Qualitative Data Analysis: Transcribing. Family Practice.127-131. Retrieved from https://watermark.silverchair.com/cmn003.pdf?token=AQECAHi208BE49oan9kkhW_Ercy7Dm3ZL9Cf3qfKAc485ysgAAArQwggKwBgkqhkiG9w0BBwagggKhMIICnQIBADCCApYGC5rQSlb3DQEHATeBglhkPBZQMEAS4wEQQM-DTRPCghaWI-1hzEAgEgICZ8CQEuGBc7f4TXBRF-AiMpw_W-4-
D7ZAfYFiYdpLFJ4KAZb50GU1NKgQsldhBvDuL8L88eb6De8xu1mZM9IvibLQu8Fo_a66S4up0vPE_jswAUcbNbmny79b994AcMICCrWJD3CNg7w1xJcWS5U69AwZj9Net4SX2N679uKKLfs7xljKr-SL3bCO5hI0HkTgpuH6btuPBTWApBOluCnImU0QGmTr7V5yeT6B25960QxoWNemJ6gtZOKgl1JQf1EEzbG_mO9P9Bp21GC5fIn-wUL_hKi7VbtMNQK67KFlb18v2PxyD3QjBt3Qq4zVEX0oIoMmioky67ygs-ZTSKXozzt60ZLUo2nkY03iA79r4FCBE0hyj8UBFDroSzZ_NCp0PZNrQnPrNiAeBn011v7DhWYCYja8dJ78Ox3EzK5juYR2NqBf2g6CkWk9MZ-oduGlKUSd7GMvMIWG5OcdQh12cnEjkM46RYSjDQcmI4WeM-4GNpEodxHD-Rvtq8-r7tzs7GAnYZFLeSmuKi_ULi8uQoCfJnZjdluECDWUAoBSpEIftxA4bUSPZ1MOUuji9G9GvfBCxwRZxiMBC3ufS7KP84Hwr8Ae8ksilgpjylf-tmTZaYDNwCySuY9JXeVARohsHh9xokItKxYVav054MF9DYZTgffFMGAg4z-V_qR9DPUQSvtxner6AqiSn_Fr-aolU-YHowLgwTc78pf9UrbMDtxIUsCZWBHhcGJLogGRF6xFDVsFrFat7i7g41pV1O69ab79wfNwFCee9w41vDazLRFcboFvwERZtFRQ


Happonen, P. (2019, February, 14). Yle sai hurjat tilastot: Poliisi keskeytti ja lopetti viime vuonna 140 000 tutkintaa – katso tästä, millaiset jutut jätettiin tutkimatta. [Yle has received shocking figures: The Police stopped investigating 140,000 cases last year- this is the kind of cases that went un-investigated]. Yleisradio. Retrieved from https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10645262


http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/27713/1/Procedural%20justice%20trust%20institutional%20legitimacy.pdf


198


Volanen, R. (2017). *Suomen synty ja kuohuva Eurooppa* [The Birth of Finland and Europe in Ferment]. Otava Helsinki


Appendices

Appendix 1.

Police Organisational structure

SUPO

The Finnish Intelligence Agency (Suojelupoliisi, SUPO) are responsible for anti-terrorism, counter-espionage and national security. By most standards SUPO is a very small department of the Finnish police. As it is an organisation concerned with national security, its operations are restricted to within the Finnish boarders. As a result, it has become important for SUPO to develop and maintain good working relationships with international partners in order to remain prepared for possible external criminal activity entering the country (SUPO, n.d.a.). The relatively small number of officers and the sensitive nature of much of the work conducted by SUPO means that this particular section of the Finnish police will only be addressed here in a superficial manner. Among the missions assigned to the criminal intelligence section was counter-intelligence, the major focus of which was the USSR. The precarious nature of international relations between the USSR and Finland meant that SUPO was required to keep a low profile in order to remain operational (SUPO, n.d.b).

As is the case with other Finnish police sections, SUPO works according to the premise that prevention is better than cure, preferring to disrupt actions against the state before they happen. According to the SUPO website, that organisation operates in compliance with three points of reference, Legality, Reliability and Quality (SUPO, n.d.c). It is explained that assurance of legality is maintained by internal
controls that monitor the actions of SUPO in relation to the human rights of individuals. Additionally, SUPO are governed by a parliamentary ombudsman and the national audit office. The final premise is monitored by the judicial system that assures that SUPO’s use of secret information and coercive measures complies with the law of the land (SUPO, n.d.d).

The National Bureau of Investigation (NBI)

The National Bureau of Investigation (NBI) was formed in 1954 and became operational in 1955 (Hietaniemi, 2015). It was the result of the amalgamation of two existing departments known as the Uusimaa Province Crime Police Centre and the Crime Research Centre. Initially, the Uusimaa Province Crime Police Centre was tasked with the collation of national criminal activity and the Crime Research Centre had been responsible for criminal intelligence and the investigation of national criminal activity and forensic examinations (Hietaniemi, 1996, pp.289-290).

The NBI is a policing agency with national jurisdiction and is responsible for the detection and investigation of organised crime; additionally, they provide forensic and other expert technical support for the police regions (Police of Finland, 2018b). This support typically involves investigation of criminal activity such as major murder investigations, narcotics and crimes with particular social significance. The NBI also provides international support where needed, including disaster victim identification and training (Police of Finland, 2018b).
Although the NBI headquarters is located in Vantaa, part of the greater Helsinki conurbation, there are also five field offices in the cities of Tampere, Turku, Maarianhamina in the autonomous Åland islands, Oulu and Rovaniemi (Police of Finland, 2018a).

**Uniformed Police and Crime Scene Examiners**

The uniformed branch of the Finnish police is primarily occupied with maintaining public order and general law enforcement. As this section of the police organisation is by far the largest, the performance of these officers will be the main focus of this study. Due to organisational cutbacks and other rationalisations, uniformed officers are commonly the first to attend the scene of a crime (Poliisi, 2018b). In their first attender role, they will commonly isolate the scene and perform initial examinations. In addition to technical skills, this can be a very challenging role as there is commonly a need to accurately and sensitively communicate with the victims in order to ascertain what appears to have happened. This, in itself, is not a particularly uncommon situation; the College of Policing (2017) in the UK state that police officers are required to be both compassionate and professional in the conduct of their duties. In addition to their challenging tasks, uniformed officers are the most visible aspect of policing; as such, the public image of these officers is likely to be reflected on the policing organisation as a whole (Born, 2015).
Appendix 2.

Survey Questions (English)

Note: The English language version of these questions was not seen by survey participants and is included as an aid for readers who do not speak Finnish.

Q1. Why did you become a police officer?

Q2. How satisfied are you that the level of training you were given prepared you for the day-to-day challenges of policing?

Q3. If you answered NOT SATISFIED, please state how this could have been improved.

Q4. Have you received formal vocational training since leaving the police training school?

Q5. If you answered YES, please list the courses and the year they were completed.

Q6. How much discretion can you exercise in how you approach your duties?

Q7. What part of your job motivates you the most?

Q8. If you could change anything about your job, what would it be?

Q9. What part of your job would you not want to change?

Q10. What are the biggest challenges you face in your job?

Q11. Is there anything you personally need that would help you do your job better?

Q12. In your opinion, is there anything that the Finnish Police would need to change in order to improve the standard of service provided?

Q13. How would you describe your demeanour during an average interaction with the general public?

Q14. How would you describe your demeanour while dealing with individuals you suspect are involved in a low-level criminal act?

Q15. How often do you interact with the general public (non-criminal activity) in the course of your duties?

Q16. Do you spend your free time in the company of fellow police officers?

Q17. Do you always have the time you would need to deal with routine situations?

Q18. How long have you been a police officer?

Q19. If there is anything you feel you would like to add that has not been asked in this survey, please feel free to use this space
Survey Questions (Finnish)

Q1. Miksi sinusta tuli poliisi?
Q2. Miten hyvin saamasi koulutus valmisti sinua poliisityön käytännön haasteisiin?
Q3. Jos vastasit HEIKOSTI, niin kerro lyhyesti, miten koulutustasi olisi voitu parantaa?
Q4. Oletko saanut muodollista ammatillista koulutusta sen jälkeen, kun suoritit poliisikoulutuksen?
Q5. Jos vastasit KYLLÄ, luettele kurssit ja vuodet, jolloin suoritit ne:
Q6. Kuinka paljon voit vaikuttaa siihen, miten suoritat tehtäväsi?
Q7. Mikä työssäsi motivoi sinua eniten?
Q8. Jos voisit muuttaa jotakin työssäsi, niin mitä muuttaisit?
Q9. Mitä et haluaisi muuttaa työssäsi?
Q10. Mitkä ovat suurimmat haasteet, joita kohtaat poliisityössäsi?
Q11. Onko jotain, mitä henkilökohtaisesti tarvitsisit, että voisit tehdä työsi paremmin?
Q12. Onko jotain, mitä Suomen poliisin pitäisi muuttaa parantaakseen palvelun tasoa?
Q13. Miten kuvaileisit asennettasi tavallisessa vuorovaikutustilanteessa väestön kanssa?
Q14. Miten kuvaileisit asennettasi, kun olet teknemisissä ihmisten kanssa, joiden epäilet olevan osallisena lievään rikokseen?
Q15. Kuinka usein olet vuorovaikutuksessa kansalaisten kanssa työtehtävissä, jotka eivät liity rikoksiin?
Q16. Vietätkö vapaa-aikaasi poliisikollegojen seurassa?
Q17. Onko sinulla yleensä tarpeeksi aikaa hoitaa rutiniluonteisempia tehtäviä niin hyvin, kun mahdollista?
Q18. Kuinka kauan olet ollut poliisi?
Q19. Lopuksi voit halutessasi lisätä kommenttisi kysymyksiin tai palautteen kyselyn toteuttajalle:
Appendix 3.

Focus Group Suggested Points for Discussion (English)

Note: The English language version of this list was not sent and has been included as an aid for readers who do not speak Finnish.

Here is a short list of possible subjects of interest that you may find useful to start the conversation off. Please note that although they look like questions, they are intended as points of interest, there are no right or wrong answers. You do not have to use these points; if you have any suggestions of more appropriate subjects, I would be most interested to hear them. My role is that of a moderator, I will only get involved in the conversation to ask clarifying questions or to help to keep the flow of the conversation moving forward.

Please try not to mention names or specific incidents that may be recognisable.

If you couldn’t be a police officer what would you do?
What type of person wants to become a police officer?
What is the role of a police officer?
What motivates a police officer?
What is the most challenging part of your job?
How is justice best served?
How would you improve policing in Finland?
How do you know when you have done your job well?
Why do you think the Finnish police have scored so highly in international comparisons?

**Focus Group Suggested Points for Discussion (Finnish)**

Tässä on lyhyt lista mahdollisista keskustelun aiheista, jotka voivat olla hyödyllisiä keskustelun aloittamiseksi. Vaikka ne näyttävät kysymyksiltä, ne on tarkoitettu keskustelun aiheiksi eikä niihin ole oikeita tai väärää vastauksia. Teidän ei tarvitse käyttää näitä aiheita; jos teillä on ehdotuksia sopivammista aiheista, ottaisin niitä mielelläni vastaan. Minun roolimmä on olla moderaattori; osallistun keskusteluun vain kysyäkseni selventäviä kysymyksiä tai auttaakseni pitämään keskustelun käynnissä.

Huom! Yritäkää olla mainitsematta nimiä tai tiettyjä tapauksia, jotka ovat tunnistettavissa.

Jos et olisi poliisi, mitä tekisit työksesi?
Mikä on poliisin tehtävä?
Mikä motivoi poliisia?
Mikä on työssäsi haastavinta?
Miten oikeusparhainta toteutuu?
Miten paarantaisit poliisin käytänteitä Suomessa?
Mistä tiedät, että olet tehnyt työsi hyvin?
Miksi mielestäsi Suomen poliisi on menestynyt niin hyvin kansainvälisissä vertailuissa?
Appendix 4.

Ethics Approval letter from University of Portsmouth

FAVOURABLE ETHICAL OPINION (with conditions)

Name: Anthony Laird

Study Title: Ice Blue: an examination of modern policing in Finland

Reference Number: FHSS 2018-070

Date: 16/10/2018

Thank you for submitting your application to the FHSS Ethics Committee.

I am pleased to inform you that FHSS Ethics Committee was content to grant a favourable ethical opinion of the above research on the basis described in the submitted documents listed at Annex A, and subject to standard general conditions (See Annex B). With this there are a number of ethical conditions to comply with, and some additional advisory notes you may wish to consider, all shown below.

Condition(s)¹

1. 8.3 the researcher claims on one hand that they have undergone security clearance and therefore know how to go about restricted information. On the other hand, they claim that there is no need to access sensitive information. These two claims clash somewhat; can they be clarified?

2. 11.1 “In the event that insufficient participants self-enrol, a gatekeeper will be asked to make more direct contact with potential participants, inviting them to join the focus groups.” The researcher has prepared a letter to be sent to a potential gatekeeper but nowhere does it state who that gatekeeper might be. This needs to be addressed.

3. 11.7 The Finnish Police should be listed here.

4. 12.2 “Working copies of audio files and transcripts will be temporarily stored on an encrypted memory stick...” This should be transferred to the UoP N Drive asap.

5. 12.3 “All audio files and related transcripts will be stored on the University of Portsmouth N drive for ten years from the date of assignment completion. After ten years, they will be securely and permanently deleted”. It is not necessary to delete the data after ten years as long as it continues to be stored securely.

6. 12.3 “Digitally scanned copies of participant consent forms will be stored on the University of Portsmouth N drive for thirty years from the date of assignment completion”. It is only necessary to retain these for 10 years.

7. In the PISs, it states “This study has been reviewed and given a favourable opinion by The Institute of Criminal Justice Ethics Committee”. It will, in fact, have been reviewed and given an FEO by the FHSS Ethics Committee. Contact details need to be included.

¹ A favourable opinion will be dependent upon the study adhering to the conditions stated, which are based on the application document(s) submitted. It is appreciated that Principal Investigators may wish to challenge conditions or propose amendments to these in the resubmission to this ethical review.
Appendix 5.

Letter of Invitation to Participate in Survey (English)

Note: The English language version of this invitation was not sent and has been included as an aid for readers who do not speak Finnish.

University of Portsmouth
Researcher Anthony Laird
Professional Doctorate Student

Institute of Criminal Justice
anthony.laird@myport.ac.uk
Supervisor Dr Sarah Charman
sarah.charman@port.ac.uk
Director of Studies Dr Andrew Williams
andy.williams@port.ac.uk

Study Title: *Ice Blue: an examination of modern policing in Finland*

Dear Colleague,

If you are a police officer below managerial rank, I would like to invite you to take part in a short (10-15 minutes) survey that makes up part of a research project I am conducting. The aim of this project is to examine the attitudes and values of serving police officers in an attempt to discover how the Finnish police manage to provide the level of service to the public that they do.

My name is Anthony Laird and I am a doctoral student with the University of Portsmouth in the UK. Since 1986 I have been directly involved in forensic examination, both in the UK and in Finland. During this time, I have become aware of some of the issues and challenges faced by police officers in the line of duty. I hope that by engaging in open and constructive discussion of these issues it will be possible to not only raise awareness of the challenges and problems there may be, but also to express what is being done well in Finland, and how this may be shown as an example to other agencies.

Please note, you are under no obligation to take part in this survey. Answering the survey questions will indicate that you are taking part voluntarily and that you give your consent to the information being used. No identifiable information about you or your department will be disclosed to any third party.
You are free to withdraw any contribution you do make, without explanation, up until the time the data you provide is submitted.

If you do not wish to take part, but know an officer who might, I would be grateful if you would point this survey out to them.

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter

Anthony Laird

anthony.laird@myport.ac.uk

Dr Sarah Charman

sarah.charman@port.ac.uk
Hyvä kollega,

Jos olet esimiehinsen alapuolella oleva poliisi, haluaisin kutsua sinut osallistumaan lyhyeen (10-15 minuuttia kestävään) kyselytutkimukseen, joka on osa tutkimusprojektiani. Tämän projektin tavoitteena on tutkia poliisien asenteita ja arvoja. Pyrkimyksenäni on selvittää, miten Suomen poliisi pystyy palvelemaan väestöä nykyisellä tasolla.


Voit vapaasti lopettaa osallistumisesi ilman selityksiä sihiä asti, kun antamasi tiedot lähettetään.

Jos et itse halua osallistua kyselyyn, mutta tiedät poliisin, joka saattaisi olla kiinnostunut, olisin kiitollinen, jos voisit kertoa hänelle tästä tutkimuksesta.
Kiitos siitä, että olet lukenut tämän kirjeen.

Anthony Laird

anthony.laird@myport.ac.uk

Dr Sarah Charman

sarah.charman@port.ac.uk
Appendix 6.
Letter of Invitation to Participate in Focus Group (English)

Note: The English language version of this invitation was not sent and has been included as an aid for readers who do not speak Finnish.

University of Portsmouth
Researcher Anthony Laird
Professional Doctorate Student
Institute of Criminal Justice
anthony.laird@myport.ac.uk
Supervisor Dr Sarah Charman
sarah.charman@port.ac.uk
Director of Studies Dr Andrew Williams
andy.williams@port.ac.uk

Dear Colleague,

Thank you very much for taking part in my survey. I am currently in the process of translating all the additional comments into English. So, it will be some time before I have anything concrete to tell you.

As part of your survey response, you kindly sent me your email address indicating that you would be prepared to take part in a focus group in relation to my study. I am in the process of arranging some venues and will contact you as soon as I have a choice of dates and venues for you to consider attending.

Thanks again for your help

Forensic Examiner with the National Bureau of Investigation
(Doctoral Student with the University of Portsmouth)
Hyvä kollega,

Kiitos paljon osallistumisestasi tutkimukseeni. Olen parhaillaan kääntämässä lisäkommentteja englanniksi, joten kestää jonkin aikaa, ennen kuin minulla on mitään konkreettista kerrottavaa.

Osana tutkimusvastaustasi annoit minulle sähköpostiosoitteesi, ilmaisten näin halukkuutesi osallistua tutkimukseeni liittyvään keskusteluryhmään. Olen parhaillaan järjestämässä kokoontumispaikkoja ja olen yhteydessä sinuun heti, kun minulla on ehdottaa aikoa ja paikkoja keskusteluryhmalle.

Kiitos vielä kerran avustasi.

Tekninen tutkija, keskusrikospoliisi, rikostekninen laboratorio

(Tohtoriopiskelija, Portsmouthin yliopisto)
Appendix 7.

Participants Consent Form (English)

Note: The English language version of this form was not used and has been included as an aid for readers who do not speak Finnish.


Study Title: Ice Blue, an examination of modern policing in Finland

Name of Researcher: Anthony Laird

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated.. ............... (version............) for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the focus group at any time without giving a reason.

3. I understand that my contribution to this study will be anonymised.
4. I understand that data collected during the study may be looked at by individuals from the University of Portsmouth or from regulatory authorities. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my contribution.

5. I agree to my voice being recorded as part of this focus group.

x. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant: Date: Signature:

Name of Researcher: Date: Signature:

When completed: 1 copy for participant; 1 copy for researcher’s file
Suostumuslomake

University of Portsmouth
Tutkija Anthony Laird
Tohtoripiskelija
Rikosoikeuden laitos
anthony.laird@myport.ac.uk
Ohjaaja Dr Sarah Charman
sarah.charman@port.ac.uk
Opintojen johtaja Dr Andrew Williams
andy.williams@port.ac.uk

Tutkimuksen otsikko: Ice Blue, an examination of modern policing in Finland

Tutkijan nimi: Anthony Laird

nimikirjaimesi ruutuun

1. Vakuutan, että olen lukenut ja ymmärtänyt --/--/---- päivätyn tiedotteen (versio ........) koskien ylläolevaa tutkimusta. Minulla on ollut mahdollisuus pohtia tietoa, esittää kysymyksiä ja saada niihin tyydyttävät vastaukset.

2. Ymmärrän, että osallistumiseni on vapaaehtoista ja että minulla on oikeus vetäytyä työryhmästä milloin tahansa kertomatta syytä.

3. Ymmärrän, että minun osallisuuteni tähän tutkimukseen käsitellään anonyymisti.


5. Suostun siihen, että ääneni tallennetaan osana tämän työryhmän keskustelua.
x. Suostun osallistumaan yllämainittuun tutkimukseen.

Osallistujan nimi:

Allekirjoitus:

Päivämäärä:

Suostumuksen vastaanottajan nimi:

Allekirjoitus:

Päivämäärä:

Lomake täytetään kahtena kappaleena: 1 osallistujalle, 1 tutkijan arkistoon
Appendix 8.

Letter of Permission to conduct research from Finnish Police Board

Tutkimuslupa
ID-1819614 1 (4)
02.07.2010 POL-2016-16020

Tutkimuslupapäätös; Ice Blue: an examination of modern policing in Finland

Hakija
University of Portsmouth
Institute of Criminal Justice Studies

Työn vastuullinen johtaja
- Dr Sarah Charman

Tutkija
- Anthony Laird

Asia
Tutkimuslupahakemus

Hakemus
Anthony Laird tekee Portsmouthin yliopistossa Englannissa rikosoikeuden tohtoritutkintoa, jossa on tarkoitus tutkia Suomen poliisin työskentelytapoja. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on selvittää poliisin toimintakulttuuria Suomessa sekä sitä, mistä johtuu Suomen poliisin kyky palvela kansalaisia tehokkaasti pienellä henkilöstömäärällä. Lisäksi tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää Suomen poliisin ajatuksia ja arvoja tutkimusaiheeseen liittyen.

Tutkimuslupahakemuksen on liitetty tutkimussuunnitelma, jossa on tarkemmin selvitetty tutkimuksen tieteellisiä perusteita, taustoja ja menetelmiä.

Tutkimuksen tekemiseksi hakija pyytää lupaa tehdä verkkokyseely poliisihallinnossa (noin 1600 poliisille) sekä järjestää keskustelutuliasutetut kolmelle keskusteluryhmälle (noin 15 poliisia). Tutkijan kannsa on erikseen sovittu, että verkkokyseely toteutetaan poliisissa webprotokolloituna. Lisäksi tutkija pyytää lupaa käyttää tutkimuksessaan poliisin rekrytointi- ja koulutusmateriaalit sekä poliisin toimintaa ohjaavia ohjeikköitä tai sääädöksiä.

Päätös
Poliisihallitus myöntää hakijalle oikeuden suorittaa hakemuksessa esitetty
haastattelut ja haastattelut poliisihallinnossa jäljempänä mailtin ehdoin ja
rajoituksen. Päätös pitää sisältä oikeuden käyttää poliisihallinnon
rekrytointi- ja koulutusmateriaalit sekä poliisin toimintaa ohjaavia
asiakirjoja hakemuksessa ja tutkimusaiheessa mailtin tavalla.
Lupa ei kuitenkaan pitää sisältä oikeutta saada käyttöön poliisisyysikäiden
salassa pidettäviä asiakirjoja ilman asiakirjan laatteen yksikön
nimennämaista lupaa.
Voimassaolo ja muuttaminen

Tämä päätös on voimassa siihen asti, kun tietojen käyttö on tarpeen tutkimuksen suorittamiseksi tai sen tulosten asianmukaisuuden varmistamiseksi, kuitenkin enintään 31.12.2020 saakka.

Polishallitus katsoo hakijan hyväksyneen tämän päätöksen ja sen ehdot viimeistään silloin, kun se ryhyy tämän lupapäätöksen mukaisiin tätäkinänp downloadsii. Polishallitus voi muuttaa tästä päätöstä ja sen ehtojaa milloin siihen syytä on.

Tietojen esillehaku, käsitteley ja muut ehdot

Tämän luvun nojalla saadut tiedot ovat salassa pidettäviä ja niitä saa käyttää vain lupahakemuksen liitteenä olevassa tutkimussuunnitelmassa ja tutkimukseen.

Kysely- ja haastattelututkimukset tulee toteuttaa polishallinnossa siten, ettei niistä aiheutu merkittävää vahinkoa tai haivaa virkatehtävien hoidolle. Tutkimuksen osallistumiseen tulee perustua vapaaehtoisuuteen.

Polisin rekrytoint- ja koulutusmateriaalit käsitellään ja tietoja hyödynnänä on otettava huomioon, että materiaali saattaa sisältää luottamuksellisia tietoja tai turvallisuudella tietoja, joka ei saa joutua polisin ulkopuolisten tahojen haltuun.

Tutkimuksen teki ei saa paljastaa salassa pidettävää sisältöä tai tietoa, joka asiakirjana merkitynä olisi salassa pidettävä, eikä muutakaan tietoonsa saamaansa seikkää, josta tietää, että säädetty vatsiolovelvollisuus. Tutkimuksen teki ei saa käyttää salassa pidettäviä tietoja omaksia tai haivaa toisen hyödyksi tai toisen vahingoiksi. Vatsiolovelvollisuus ja hyväksikäyttökiello ovat voimassa myös tutkimuksen päättäytymän.

Tutkimuksen teki vastaa osaltaan siitä, että tutkimusaineisto käsitellään ja säilytetään hakemuksessa mainitulla tyyn suorituspaikalla sekä muun käsittelyn yhteydessä lain edellyttämällä tavalla siten, etteivät tiedot voi paljastaa sivullisille. Sähköisessä muodossa olevaa tutkimusaineistoa saa säilyttää aina sellaisissa tietokoneissa ja elektroniisissa laitteissa, joissa käytetään aina kiintelevyn ja muiden tietovälineiden vahvaa salauksen takia, wihoidaksi ja vastaavaksi. Tutkimuksen teki on myös eräen käyttöä varmistutta siitä, että kiintelevyä tai muuta tietovälineellä ei ole hätä-, vakoo- tai muita halallisia ohjelmaa tai tiedostoa. Henkilotietojen käsitellyssä ja aineiston suojaamisessa tulee lisäksi noudattaa polishallinnossa ja suojelupolitissa tutkotunvasta, tietosuojasta ja etäydyttä annettuja ohjeita ja määräyksiä.

Tietytäaineista tarkoitetetan tässä uudessa sähköisessä muodossa olevan tiedon tallentamiseen tarkoitetut opista, elektronista tai magnetista välineitä (muut)
Appendix 9.

Letter to potential focus group participants explaining purpose of the study and what would be asked of them (English)

Study Title: *Ice Blue, an examination of modern policing in Finland*

We would like to invite you to take part in our research study. Before you decide we would like you to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Talk to others about the study if you wish. Or ask us if there is anything that is not clear.

**What is the purpose of the study?**
As part of my doctoral studies, I plan to carry out a research project into policing practice in Finland, in an attempt to discover how/why the Finnish police consistently score so well in international comparisons.

**Why have I been invited?**
As a serving police officer, you probably have experience and insight into the subjects of interest to this study. It is hoped that your knowledge will help to provide this study with meaningful results.

I will be arranging a small one-off focus group, lasting no more than one and a half hours, in the near future at a department near you. The intention of the focus group is to gain an understanding of the operational challenges faced by Finnish police officers.

**Do I have to take part?**
You are under no obligation to take part in this focus group. If you do decide to take part, you are free to leave the group at any time.

What will happen to me if I take part?
You will be asked to take part in a small focus group lasting no more than one and a half hours. The meeting will consist of a short briefing about the research project and an explanation of your rights as a participant. You will also be informed that the meeting will be recorded. Should you still be prepared to take part, you will be asked to sign a consent form stating that you are participating of your own free will and without pressure.

Participants that have signed the consent form will then be asked to take part in a conversation with reference to a short list of topics, (see below). At the end of the meeting you will have an opportunity to ask any questions you may have about the research and how your contribution will be used.

Expenses and payments
Unfortunately, you will not be offered any payment to take part in this focus group. However, any travel costs you incur will be refunded to you. Additionally, refreshments (coffee and cakes) will be provided during the meeting.

What will I have to do?
As a participant in this focus group you will be asked to consider the topics listed below and be prepared to express your thoughts and opinions in relation to your profession.

- If you couldn’t be a police officer what would you do?
- What type of person wants to become a police officer?
- What is the role of a police officer?
- What motivates a police officer?
- What is the most challenging part of your job?
- How is justice best served?
- How would you improve policing in Finland?
- How do you know when you have done your job well?
- Why do you think the Finnish police have scored so highly in international comparisons?

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?
Other than a possible disruption to your working day, very little in the way of disadvantage or risk to participants is foreseen. Any risk of your contribution being identifiable to you personally will be minimal as all participant information will be anonymised, and the audio recording of the meeting will be translated into English before any report is written.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?
On your request, I will be available to make a presentation about this research and the survey findings at your place of work. In addition, you will be provided with a PDF copy of the doctoral thesis that will result from this study.
Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?
As stated earlier, your contribution will be kept confidential; no information that will connect you to your contribution will be used in the study report. All paperwork, including your consent form, will be stored in a locked cupboard. Digital recordings will be stored in an encrypted file on a password protected computer. All digital data will be stored for a period of ten years and digitised copies of consent forms will be stored for thirty years, in accordance with university standards. Some data may also be looked at by authorised people to check that the study is being carried out correctly. These individuals will have a duty of confidentiality to you as a research participant and they will do their best to meet this duty.

What will happen if I don’t want to carry on with the study?
Should you wish to leave the focus group meeting, you can do so at any time. However, any contribution you make up to the time of your departure will be retained, as removing one person from a conversation transcript will have a negative effect on the integrity of the rest of the material gathered.

What if there is a problem?
If you have any concerns about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to me, the researcher, email: anthony.laird@myport.ac.uk or my supervisor Dr Sarah Charman, email: sarah.charman@port.ac.uk, we will do our best to answer your questions. If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally, you can contact Director of Studies Dr Andrew Williams, email andy.williams@port.ac.uk.

What will happen to the results of the research study?
The audio recordings of your and other similar focus groups will be transcribed into English and assessed for any common threads and ideas that will in turn be compared to official SOP’s and procedural manuals. Eventually the survey results will make up part of my doctoral thesis.

Who is organising and funding the research?
This study is sponsored by the University of Portsmouth in the UK. This means that the University provides proper supervision and insurance. No financial gain or profit is expected from this research.

Who has reviewed the study?
Research at the University of Portsmouth is supervised by an independent group called the Ethics Committee. Their role is to protect your interests. This study has been reviewed and given a favourable opinion by The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Park Building King Henry I Street Portsmouth PO1 2DZ.

For further information about this research project please contact:

Researcher Anthony Laird
Email: anthony.laird@myport.ac.uk
Supervisor Dr Sarah Charman
Concluding statement
I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for taking the time to read this document and to thank you in advance for any contribution you may be able to make to my research. I hope to hear from you soon. If you decide to take part in this focus group, you will be given a copy of this information sheet and the participant consent form on the day.
Osallistujan tiedote

Tutkimuksen otsikko: Ice Blue, an examination of modern policing in Finland


Mikä on tutkimuksen tarkoitus?
Osana tohtoriopintojani aion toteuttaa tutkimusprojektin poliisin käytänteistä ja työskentelytavoista Suomessa. Yritän selvittää, mitkä tekijät vaikuttavat Suomen poliisien niin hyvään menestymiseen kansainvälisissä vertailuissa.

Miksi minut on kutsuttu?
Poliisin teillä on luultavasti kokemusta ja näkemystä tämän tutkimuksen mielenkiinnon kohteesta. Toivon, että teidän tietonne auttaa tuottamaan mielekkäitä tuloksia. Aion kutsua lähiuluvesiuudessa koolle pienimuotoisen työryhmän, joka kokoontuu korkeintaan 1,5 tunniksani teidän työpaikkallanne tai sen läheellä. Työryhmän tavoitteena on ymmärtää päämäärän Suomen poliisien kohtaamia käytännön haasteita työelämässä.

Täytyykö minun osallistua?

Teillä ei ole mitään pakkoa osallistua tähän työryhmään. Jos päätätte osallistua ryhmään, voitte keskeyttää milloin tahansa.

**Mitä minulle tapahtuu, jos osallistun?**
Teitä pyydetään osallistumaan pieneen työryhmään, joka kokoontuu korkeintaan 1,5 tunniksi. Istunto koostuu lyhyestä johdannosta, jossa selitetään kuinka osallistujana. Teille kerrotaan myös, että istunto tallennetaan. Jos edelleen olette halukas osallistumaan, teitä pyydetään allekirjoittamaan suostumuslomake, jossa todetaan, että osallistutte omasta vapaasta tahdostanne ja ilman painostusta.

Osallistujia, jotka ovat allekirjoittaneet suostumuslomakkeen, pyydetään sitten keskustelemaan tietyistä aiheista (lyhyt lista alla). Istunnon lopussa teillä on mahdollisuus esittää mitä tahansa kysymyksiä liittyen tutkimukseen ja siihen, miten teidän osallisuusaste on käytetään.

**Kustannukset ja korvaukset**
Valitettavasti emme voi tarjota teille mitään rahallista korvausta osallistumiseenne tähän työryhmään. Mahdolliset matkakustannukset kuitenkin korvataan jälkikäteen. Lisäksi istunnon aikana on tarjolla pullakahvit.

**Mitä minun täytyy tehdä?**
Tämän työryhmän osallistujana teitä pyydetään miettimään alla olevia aiheita ja olemaan valmiita ilmaisemaan mielipiteenne niistä.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q</th>
<th>A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Jos et olisi poliisi, mitä tekisit työskentesi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Minkälainen henkilö haluaa poliisiksi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mikä on poliisin tehtävä?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Mikä motivoi poliisia?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mikä on työssäsi haastavinta?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Miten oikeus parhaiten toteutuu?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Miten parantaisit poliisin käytänteitä Suomessa?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Mistä tiedät, että olet tehnyt työsi hyvin?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Miksi mielestäsi Suomen poliisi on menestynyt niin hyvin kansainvälisissä vertailuissa?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mitkä ovat osallistumisen mahdolliset haitat ja riskit?**
Lukuun ottamatta mahdollista häiriötä työpaiväänne, hyvin vähän haittaa tai riskiä osallistujille on odotettavissa. Kaikki riskit sille, että teidän osallistumisenne voitaisiin tunnistaa henkilökohtaisesti ovat minimaisia, koska kaikkien osallistujien tiedot käsitellään anonyymiästi. Istunnon äänitallennetun englanniksi ennen raportin kirjoittamista.

**Mitkä ovat osallistumisen mahdolliset hyödyt?**
Pyynnöstäanne olen käytettävissäni pitämään esitelmän tästä tutkimuksesta ja kyselytutkimuksen tuloksista työpaikallanne. Saatte myös PDF-kopion tohtorinväittöskirjasta, joka pohjautuu tähän tutkimukseen.
Pidetäänkö osallistumiseni tähän tutkimukseen luottamuksellisena?

Mitä tapahtuu, jos en halua jatkaa tutkimuksessa?
Jos haluatte keskeyttää osallistumisen työryhmään, voitte lähteä milloin tahansa.

Mitä, jos ilmaantuu ongelmia?
Jos teitä huolestuttaa mikä tahansa asia tässä tutkimuksessa, teidän pitäisi ottaa yhteyttä minuun, tutkijaan, s-posti: anthony.laird@myport.ac.uk, tai ohjaajaan Dr Sarah Charman, s-posti: sarah.charman@port.ac.uk. Me teemme parhaamme vastataksemme kysymyksiinne. Jos edelleen ette ole tyytyväisiä ja haluatte tehdä muodollisen valituksen, voitte ottaa yhteyttä opintojen johtajaan Dr Andrew Williams, s-posti: andy.williams@port.ac.uk.

Mitä tapahtuu tutkimuksen tuloksille?
Verkkokyselyn vastauksia ja työryhmien tuloksia verrataan Suomen poliisin työohjeisiin ja julkisiin asiakirjoihin. Kyselytutkimuksen lopulliset tulokset ovat osa tohtorinväitöskirjaani.

Kuka järjestää ja rahoittaa tutkimuksen?
Tutkimuksen sponsorina on Portsmouthin yliopisto Britanniassa. Tämä tarkoittaa sitä, että yliopisto takaa asianmukaisen valvonnan ja vakuutuksen. Tutkimuksesta ei odoteta rahallista voittoa tai hyötyä.

Kuka on tarkistanut tutkimuksen?
Portsmouthin yliopiston tutkimusta valvoo riippumaton ryhmä nimeltä Eettinen komitea. Heidän roolinsa on suojella teidän etujanne. The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Park Building King Henry I Street Portsmouth PO1 2DZ on hyväksynyt tämän tutkimuksen.

Lisätietoja tästä tutkimuksesta saa seuraavilta henkilöiltä:
Tutkija Anthony Laird
s-posti: anthony.laird@myport.ac.uk
Ohjaaja Dr Sarah Charman
s-posti: sarah.charman@port.ac.uk
Opintojen johtaja Dr Andrew Williams
s-posti: andy.williams@port.ac.uk

Loppulausunto
Haluaisin kiittää teitä etukäteen tämän dokumentin lukemisesta sekä kaikesta avusta ja tuesta, jota pystytte antamaan minulle tutkimusprojektissani. Jos päätätte osallistua tähän työryhmään, saatte kopion tästä tiedotteesta ja osallistujan suostumuslomakkeen kokoontumispäivänä.
Appendix 10

FORM UPR16

Research Ethics Review Checklist

Please include this completed form as an appendix to your thesis (see the Research Degrees Operational Handbook for more information)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postgraduate Research Student (PGRS) Information</th>
<th>Student ID: 680459</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PGRS Name:</strong></td>
<td>Anthony Laird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Department:</strong></td>
<td>ICJS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Supervisor:</strong></td>
<td>Dr Sarh Charman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Start Date:</strong></td>
<td>5.10.2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or progression date for Prof Doc students)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Study Mode and Route:</strong></td>
<td>Part-time ☒, Full-time ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MPhil ☐, MD ☐, PhD ☐, Professional Doctorate ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title of Thesis:</strong></td>
<td>(Procedural Justice?) An Examination of the Finnish Approach to Policing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thesis Word Count:</strong></td>
<td>53564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(excluding ancillary data)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If you are unsure about any of the following, please contact the local representative on your Faculty Ethics Committee for advice. Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the University’s Ethics Policy and any relevant University, academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study. Although the Ethics Committee may have given your study a favourable opinion, the final responsibility for the ethical conduct of this work lies with the researcher(s).

UKRIO Finished Research Checklist:
(If you would like to know more about the checklist, please see your Faculty or Departmental Ethics Committee rep or see the online version of the full checklist at: http://www.ukrio.org/what-we-do/code-of-practice-for-research/)

- a) Have all of your research and findings been reported accurately, honestly and within a reasonable time frame? YES ☒ NO

- b) Have all contributions to knowledge been acknowledged? YES ☒ NO

- c) Have you complied with all agreements relating to intellectual property, publication and authorship? YES ☒ NO

- d) Has your research data been retained in a secure and accessible form and will it remain so for the required duration? YES ☒ NO

- e) Does your research comply with all legal, ethical, and contractual requirements? YES ☒ NO

Candidate Statement:
I have considered the ethical dimensions of the above named research project, and have successfully obtained the necessary ethical approval(s)

FHSS 2018-070
| Ethical review number(s) from Faculty Ethics Committee (or from NRES/SCREC): | 
|---|---|
| If you have *not* submitted your work for ethical review, and/or you have answered 'No' to one or more of questions a) to e), please explain below why this is so: | 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signed (PGRS):</th>
<th>Date: 15.9.2020</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Signature" /></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>