

Religious literacy, Neutrality, and Islam: Exploring the approaches of the Finnish police forces to religious diversity

Research Master Thesis, Religious Studies
Specialization track of Religion, Conflict and Globalization
Marju-Riikka Komulainen
S3494020

(25862 words excl. Table of contents, Summary, Notes and Bibliography)

Submitted to:

Professor Marjo Buitelaar (1st supervisor)

Professor Brenda Bartelink (2nd assessor)

August 9th, 2022.

Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Groningen.

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Table of Contents | 2 |
| Summary | 3 |
| Chapter 1 : Introduction | 4 |
| 1.1. Background | 4 |
| 1.2. Why research religious diversity and the police? | 7 |
| 1.3. Why focus on Islam? | 10 |
| 1.4. Methodology | 13 |
| 1.4.1. Ethics and Data Management | 16 |
| 1.5. Structure of this thesis | 17 |
| Chapter 2: Literature review and conceptualization | 17 |
| 2.1. On headscarf controversies | 17 |
| 2.2. On the dynamics of secularism and Islam | 19 |
| 2.3. On stereotyping Muslims | 21 |
| 2.4. On religious literacy | 23 |
| 2.5. On freedom of religion | 25 |
| 2.6. Conceptual framework for this research | 28 |
| Chapter 3: Findings and Analysis | 29 |
| 3.1. Preemptive police work with religious minorities | 29 |
| 3.2. Religious diversity in police education | 36 |
| 3.2.1 Critique on the framework of religious literacy | 41 |
| 3.3. Diversity recruitment programs | 44 |
| 3.4. Views and approaches to the headscarf question | 48 |
| 3.4.1. Conceptualizing neutrality in the Finnish police forces | 50 |
| 3.4.2. Religious freedom in the Finnish police forces | 55 |
| 3.4.3. Religious literacy and the headscarf question | 58 |
| 3.5. Approaches to different minorities | 59 |
| Chapter 4: Conclusion | 64 |
| 4.1. On positionalities | 66 |
| 4.2. Limitations of this research | 67 |
| 4.3. Recommendations for further research | 68 |
| 5. Bibliography | 70 |

Summary

Religion in public institutions has developed into a substantial field of research in religious studies. One institution that has not been thoroughly examined is that of police forces, research lacking globally. However, the police make an important case to investigate due to the positionality of the institution: police officers operate as representatives of the state and its laws whilst connecting to citizens. This research aims to address this gap in literature through a research question of *“How do the Finnish police forces view and approach religious diversity, particularly the increasing presence of Islam in Finland?”*.

The focus of this research is on Islam because Muslims are the fastest growing religious minority in the still relatively homogeneous religious demographic of Finland. However, the diverse religion is colored with stereotypes, and negative attitudes towards Islam in Finland are notable. I suggest that the dominant attitudes to Islam in Finland might have implications to institutional approaches targeting Finnish Muslims.

Theoretically, this thesis focuses on the framework of religious literacy. Conceptually, I lean on academic discussions about the dynamics of secularism and Islam, and religious freedom. In this thesis, I argue that a holistic understanding of religions (religious literacy) in Finland should take into account the ways in which Finnish public spheres are informed by the country's Protestant history. I suggest that unacknowledged Protestant biases legitimize othering religious minorities through claims on neutrality.

This research is conducted with qualitative methods (literature research, in-depth interviews and a focus group interview), allowing a focus on policy and practice. Through this thesis I elaborate that in the Finnish police forces there is a disparity between the approaches to religious diversity in policy level and in practice, particularly when zooming into different localities.

(285 words)

Chapter 1 : Introduction

1.1. Background

In 2014, a Finnish Muslim woman applied to the Finnish police academy. Her application was rejected, as she said in the interview stage of her application procedure that she would not remove her hijab if she got selected into the police academy. The incident received media attention and triggered a broader discussion regarding religious symbolism in the Finnish police forces. The board of the Finnish police argued at the time that allowing the hijab as part of the police uniform would risk the reputation of the organization and its representatives as reliable and objective government officials. The board also argued their case from the grounds of conflicting interests, a notion that I have translated for the purposes of this thesis as follows:

There are religions that, according to the understanding of Western democracies, reject the idea of equality between sexes. In Finland, the police shall treat everyone equally regardless of their religious conviction or any other aspect of their identity. The status of women is safeguarded by the Finnish constitutional law. Additionally, in Finland the board of the police forces aims to increase the number of women in leadership positions. Due to these conflicting interests, a person who would publicly reveal their identification with a religion that rejects the equality between sexes would struggle in a work environment such as the police. These conflicting interests would hinder the organization and its appearance to the public.¹

So far, the regulation regarding police uniforms has not changed. The discussion about religious symbolism in the police forces was reopened in the Finnish parliament during 2019 and 2020 by the Minister of Interior, Maria Ohisalo.² However, no changes to the policy have been made yet. Ohisalo argued that the police forces should aim to be more inclusive for minorities such as Muslims. In her view that would increase trust between the police and broader society as the institution would better mirror the diversity of the society in which it is situated. Her arguments were supported by interviews with Muslim women who had informed her that the uniform is one of

¹ Kati Leskinen "Voisiko suomalainen poliisi näyttää tältä?" *Yle Uutiset*, April 3, 2014, accessed August 5, 2022
<https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-7145449>

² Petri Saarela "Sisäministeri Ohisalo haluaa poliisivoimat vähemmistöjä kiinnostavaksi – muslimihuivin yhdistämistä virkaasuun selvitetään" *Kansalainen*, December 8, 2019, accessed June 30, 2022
<https://www.kansalainen.fi/sisaministeriohisalo-haluaa-poliisivoimat-vahemmistoja-kiinnostavaksi-muslimihuivin-yhdistamista-virka-asuun-selvitetaan/>

the biggest obstacles for them to apply to the police forces. Ohisalo's suggestion is in line with a popular phenomenon in European public institutions: diversity recruitment programs that aim to make institutions "mirror" the demographic of the society in which the organizations operate.³

The political opposition to Ohisalo's suggestion argued that such talk about increasing trust between the police and the society implies that the Finnish police is not trustworthy as it is.⁴ Meanwhile, statistics show that the Finnish police is among one of the most trusted police institutions in Europe,⁵ even though Finland is among the countries that has the fewest police officers per capita in the EU.⁶ Ohisalo's political opposition maintained that the hijab is a symbol of oppression towards women, which should not be supported by a governmental institution such as the police. The loudest political opposition to Ohisalo's suggestion argued that integrating hijab-wearing Muslim women into the police forces would be a threat to the Finnish national security, as in their view visible religious symbolism (like veils) are signs of extremism and political Islam.⁷

When researching the approaches of the police forces to religious diversity further, it becomes evident that the challenges that the changes in the Finnish religious demographic, such as increased religious diversity, has brought to the police forces are not limited to religious symbolism on police officer's uniforms. Tuuli Korhonen argues in her final thesis from the Finnish police university of applied sciences (BA -level), that due to the increased multiculturalism in Finland, it would be crucial to increase the level of knowledge on non-Christian faiths among police officers so that they would be better prepared to encounter religious and cultural differences in their work fields.⁸ Moreover, Korhonen states that at the time of her thesis project, in 2020, very few existing final theses from the Finnish police university of applied sciences featured religion and those that did, were written exclusively on Islam and the possible tendencies to extremism and gender-based violence among Muslim minorities.

³ Malin Wieslander "Controversial diversity: diversity discourses and dilemmas among Swedish police recruits" *Policing and Society* 30 no. 8, April 30 (2019): 873-874, accessed June 20, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2019.1611818>

⁴ Jukka Rahkonen "Maria Ohisalo vaatii aktiivista muslimien rekrytoimista poliisiin riveihin – ehdottaa huntuja univormuihin", *Oikea Media*, December 8, 2019, accessed December 15, 2020 <https://www.oikeamedia.com/o1-126800>

⁵ Ministry of Interior "Police Barometer: Finns continue to have strong confidence in police" *Finnish Government*, July 15, 2020, accessed June 20, 2022

<https://valtioneuvosto.fi/en/-/1410869/police-barometer-finns-continue-to-have-strong-confidence-in-police>

⁶ Niall McCarthy "The EU's Most Heavily Policed Countries" *Statista*, January 3, 2019, accessed July 28, 2022

<https://www.statista.com/chart/16515/police-officers-per-100000-inhabitants-in-the-eu/>

⁷ Rahkonen "Maria Ohisalo vaatii aktiivista muslimien rekrytoimista poliisiin riveihin"

⁸ Tuuli Korhonen "Islam, hindulaisuus ja buddhalaisuus poliisin työn näkökulmasta: Uskonnolliseen yhteisöön kuuluvan henkilön kohtaaminen" *Poliisiammattikorkeakoulu* (2020):3-6, accessed February 1, 2022 <https://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:amk-202003043011>

Furthermore, a recent media hurdle relating to the Finnish police and Islam touches upon an incident that took place in 2017 when seven government officials (police officers and security guards) forcefully removed hijabs from two Muslim women. The officers justified their action by stating that the hijabs prevented them from taking identifiable pictures of the two women. The case is currently under review at the Finnish public prosecutor as the officers and guards are being prosecuted for assault.⁹ This case illustrates the argument made by Korhonen and shows that the possible challenges that religious diversity has brought to the Finnish police forces also encompasses the ways in which police officers encounter religious differences of the general public.

Thereby, I have formulated the research question “How do the Finnish police forces view and approach religious diversity, particularly the increasing presence of Islam in Finland?”. Through this question, I will address not only the approach of the Finnish police to the question of religious symbolism such as the headscarf as part of the police uniform, but also examine the approaches of the police forces to the increasing religious diversity in Finland on a broader level with an aim of providing a holistic overview of the existing policies and practices relating to religious diversity, Islam in particular. As the examples elaborated on in this introduction reveal, my initial hypothesis is that the views and approaches of Finnish police forces to Islam lean on dominant stereotypes about Islam, such as “Islam is a sexist religion”.

In my previous research conducted among Finnish Muslim women, it became clear to me that racism and religious discrimination cannot be neatly separated. The scope of this research does not touch upon racial/ethnic diversity per se, but merely focuses on the approaches of the Finnish police forces to religious diversity. However, it is noteworthy to recognize the role of ethnicity and race in this matter. For instance, police institutions in many parts of the world have been accused of racism¹⁰, especially in connection to the Black Lives Matter -movement focusing especially on police brutality towards Black people in the US.¹¹ Moreover, it has also been argued that anti-Islamic narratives are, in fact, racism even though the basis for hatred and discrimination

⁹ Risto Kunnas and Jatta Lapinkangas “Poliisit riisuivat väkisin musliminaisten huivit - syytteet pahoinpitelystä” *Iltaalehti*, June 19, 2022, accessed June 30, 2022 <https://www.iltalehti.fi/kotimaa/a/65756ffc-7bb7-48a9-9f67-36a005f87c64>

¹⁰ Wieslander “Controversial diversity”, 874.

¹¹ Open Access Government “Research finds that one in five US police have anti-Black bias” *Open Access Government*, April 21, 2021, accessed June 20, 2022 <https://www.openaccessgovernment.org/anti-black-bias/97383/>

may not be one's skin colour, but one's religiousness: Muslimness.¹² Therefore, I highlight at this point that I do not attempt to make any claims about the ethnicity of Finnish Muslims, nor discuss race/ethnicity as a key component in the approaches of the Finnish police forces to Islam. However, I recognize that Muslims are an internally diverse minority in Finland both religiously and ethnically and I do not deny that ethnicity could be an influencing factor in encounters between the police and the general public.

1.2. Why research religious diversity and the police?

Arrangements to religious diversity in public institutions is a well-established body of literature. Institutional contexts showcase adequately how different states react to increasing religious differences within their borders. Martínez-Ariño argues that literature on religious diversity in public institutions also shows how existing norms, such as taken-for-granted ideas of the secularity of the public sphere, are not only challenged but also reinforced through the presence and visibility of different world views and practices.¹³ One institution that has not been extensively examined in this sense is the police forces, research lacking both globally and locally in the context of this research, Finland. Existing literature concerning diversity in the police forces tends to focus on shortcomings of policing, particularly on (ethnic) profiling and under-policing or over-policing caused by such profiling, especially in the UK and US.¹⁴

While research on religious diversity and the police is limited, it is not non-existent. Malin Wieslander has researched attitudes towards religious diversity and diversity recruitment programs among Swedish police candidates. Her findings show that there is a clear polarization in the views about religious diversity among Swedish police candidates.¹⁵ For example, some police candidates articulated that one should not become too invested in religious differences in police work, as that would risk the objectiveness of the institution. Others claimed that understanding religious differences would make it easier for police officers to work with consideration and respect

¹² Ali Murat Yel "Islamophobia as Cultural Racism: The Case of Islamic Attire in Turkey" *Insight Turkey* 23 no. 2 (2021):170-172, accessed August 7, 2022

<https://www.insightturkey.com/articles/islamophobia-as-cultural-racism-the-case-of-islamic-attire-in-turkey>

¹³ Julia Martínez-Ariño and Anne-Laure Zwillig "Foreword" In *Religion and Prison: An Overview of Contemporary Europe*, edited by J. Martínez-Ariño and A. Zwillig (Cham: Springer, 2020): vii, accessed August 7, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-36834-0>.

¹⁴ Wieslander "Controversial diversity", 873-876.

¹⁵ Malin Sefton "Police Students' Talk about the Relevance of Religion in Policing: Teaching and Learning About Diversity at the Swedish National Police Academy" *Changing Societies – Values, Religions, and Education, A Selection of Papers From a Conference at Umeå University* (2009): 63-70, accessed June 20, 2022

https://www.academia.edu/75418152/Police_Students_Talk_About_the_Relevance_of_Religion_in_Policing_Teaching_and_Learning_About_Diversity_at_the_Swedish_National_Police_Academy

towards others. In addition, Wieslander distinguished a monocultural view from the statements of her interlocutors. This view highlighted “Us” (Swedish) as secular, and “Them” (migrants) as religious.¹⁶

In another article, Wieslander outlines three dominant discourses regarding diversity among Swedish police candidates.¹⁷ In the first discourse, police candidates saw diversity as inescapable and factual, as all people are different.¹⁸ In the second discourse diversity was viewed as a political goal and increasing diversity within the police forces was seen as a strategy for the police that would make the institution reflect the society in a more competent way. Police officers were seen as representatives of the society and diversity in police ranks was regarded as a way to achieve legitimacy among the public. Those articulating the second discourse did not only value diversity recruitment strategies of the police, but also viewed education regarding multiculturalism as an important tool for police officers.¹⁹ The third discourse articulated diversity as potential for similarity. The police candidates articulating the third discourse perceived Sweden as a society that embraces equality, and knowledge of diversity as irrelevant for police officers as ensuring equal treatment by the law was perceived more valuable. The central subject of the third discourse was the neutrality of the police. Police officers were not seen as representatives of the society, but as neutral and objective actors that affirm equality. In this discourse, Wieslander claims, removing visible signs of difference, such as one’s religious clothing, was regarded as assimilating to the police norms and fitting into the values of the police culture.²⁰ Furthermore, not everyone was perceived to be able to reach neutrality, particularly not people who are visibly linked to minority groups. Wieslander argues:

Boundaries were drawn to ‘the other’ when the norm was visualised through statements about ‘the state’, ‘society’, and ‘people’, and it was embodied in the form of the secular, ethnically Swedish, white, heterosexual male. This hegemonic position is made invisible, and it became a privilege to not have one’s neutrality questioned. This discourse showed similarities to the color-blind rhetoric of white privilege, in which status within the norm provides one with the opportunity of not needing to make one’s identity relevant [...].²¹

¹⁶ Sefton “Police Students’ Talk about the Relevance of Religion in Policing”, 65-68.

¹⁷ Wieslander “Controversial diversity”, 878-881.

¹⁸ Wieslander “Controversial diversity” 878-881.

¹⁹ Wieslander “Controversial diversity” 878-881.

²⁰ Wieslander “Controversial diversity” 878-881.

²¹ Wieslander “Controversial diversity”, 880.

Thus, Wieslander shows that the norm, the “neutral”, articulated by some of her interlocutors from the Swedish police was built around the image that excludes signs of religiosity. Those ascribing to this subject position were viewed as neutral, value-free and non-problematic for police work. Those not ascribing to this subject position were perceived as less neutral and possibly provocative in police work.²² Wieslander’s studies show that at least in Sweden, a uniform approach (and professional attitude) towards religious diversity has not been mediated to the Swedish police candidates through their education in the police academy. Moreover, her findings highlight that the demand for operating under a blanket of neutrality can lead to discriminatory views on what is regarded as neutral.

Although Wieslander’s findings are much more explicit than what can be derived from the argumentation of the board of the Finnish police forces, the argument from the board that was presented in the beginning of this thesis implicitly suggests that objectivity and neutrality is out of reach by hijab-wearing Muslim women. Wieslander’s discourse analysis among police candidates in Sweden and the argumentation of the board of the Finnish police forces echo empirical findings of Buitelaar from the Netherlands. Buitelaar argues that the general climate towards European Muslims influences the ways in which Muslims can present themselves to the public as the narrative surrounding them often questions their citizenship and permission to belong. For example, she found in her interviews with highly educated Moroccan-Dutch Muslims that due to the negative socio-political climate towards Islam in the Netherlands, her interlocutors felt that the Dutch society does not give them much flexibility in the way in which they want to present themselves, as Muslims or as Dutch citizens – this is either or.²³ Even though Buitelaar’s argument does not relate to police forces, the narrative of questioning one’s citizenship and permission to present one’s religious identity has clear connections to the conceptualization of neutrality in the police forces in Finland and as suggested by Wieslander, in the Swedish police forces, too.

I argue that the positionality of the police forces makes further research on the views and approaches to religious diversity and Islam in the police worthwhile. This is because the police represent the state to a larger extent than other public institutions such as hospitals and schools:

²² Wieslander “Controversial diversity”

²³ Marjo Buitelaar “The Legacy of Migration in The Life Stories of Highly Educated Moroccan-Dutch Women” in *The Maghreb-Europe Paradigm. Migration, Gender and Cultural Dialogue*, edited by M. En-Naji (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2019):76, accessed August 7, 2022
<https://research.rug.nl/en/publications/the-legacy-of-migration-in-the-life-stories-of-highly-educated-mo>

as law enforcement, police officers must simultaneously connect to citizens and represent the state and its laws as government officials. This positionality can have implications to the level of cultural sensitivity that can be displayed (as we see in the example about two Muslim women whose hijabs were removed forcefully), as well as to the professional attitudes among police officers. The examples discussed in this introduction also demonstrate that the positionality of the institution certainly has implications to the levels in which identity markers of individual officers can be presented because, as representatives of the state, the institution's neutrality and objectivity are articulated as a crucial elements for its successful operation and for its trustworthiness in the eyes of the public.

The Finnish police forces claim on their website to be “a part of society that should evolve with the society”²⁴, and one of the organization's main goals is to remove inequalities and prevent social exclusion.²⁵ However, these value statements seem disconnected from the practices of the institution when considering the discussion regarding religious symbolism as an allowed part for police uniforms: the arguments relating to “neutrality” and “objectivity” presented by the board of the Finnish police draws boundaries between what is acceptable religiosity in the institution and what is not. As a part of society that aims to evolve with society and as state representatives operating under a necessary blanket of neutrality, the police is a good point of reference to studies relating to state-level responses to increasing religious difference in the Finnish society, particularly to the increasing visibility of Islam in Finland.

1.3. Why focus on Islam?

The arguments presented by the board of the Finnish police forces regarding the hijab reveal clear preconceptions towards Muslims among the board of the Finnish police forces. Two preconceptions that shine through are:

- 1) a person wearing Islamic religious garments cannot be “neutral” or “objective” in the context of the Finnish police forces, and
- 2) Islam is a sexist religion, and the headscarf is a signifier of oppression towards women.²⁶

This understanding resonates with the broader socio-political climate towards Islam in Finland. Tuula Sakaranaho argued in 2010 that there is an increasing demand for understanding Islam in the Finnish context, as Finland scored highest in negative attitudes towards Islam in a survey that

²⁴ Poliisi.fi “About the police” *Poliisi*, January 26, 2021, accessed January 26, 2021 <https://poliisi.fi/en/about-the-police>

²⁵ Poliisi “About the police”

²⁶ Leskinen “Voisiko suomalainen poliisi näyttää tältä?”

was conducted among ten European countries.²⁷ She argues that since the media coverage given to Islam in Finland often emphasizes violence and fundamentalism, such results are not surprising.²⁸ One could argue that the negative attitudes towards Islam in Finland grew even louder several years after the survey, as hate crime statistics published by the Finnish police university of applied sciences show a clear spike in crimes motivated by religious difference, crimes particularly targeting Muslims, following the 2015 forced migration flow from Syria.²⁹ Moreover, in 2018 Pew research centre found that 62% of Finns perceive Islam as incompatible with Finnish culture.³⁰

In a more recent study, Sakaranaho, Aarrevaara and Konttori argue that in Finnish political discourses and public institutions religious minorities are often met with a stance that takes religion as the main explanatory factor for the behavior of religious minorities, ignoring other dimensions of one's identity. This is particularly the case with Muslims, as views on the diverse religion are colored with stereotypes that lead to overlooking other influential factors in the lives and worldviews of its adherents. This, Sakaranaho et al. argue, leads to not recognizing foreign religious issues, such as ideas of family and sexuality.³¹ One could argue that emphasizing views on the "oppressive nature" of Islamic veiling practices is an example of not recognizing foreign religious issues, particularly ideas of family and sexuality. For instance, one argument about the headscarf is that veiling allows Muslim women to participate in life outside of the home whilst still maintaining traditional rules on modesty and intersex mixing.³² However, this argument is quite generalizing, as Diane Moore argues that although claims about Muslim women's role and attire are often supported with theological arguments, in reality these theologies are interpreted and appropriated in various ways.³³ Besides theological claims, Scott states that veiling practices can

²⁷ Tuula Sakaranaho "Finnish Studies on Islam: Themes and Approaches" *Temenos* 46 no. 2. (2010): 234-335, accessed February 2, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.33356/temenos.4517>

²⁸ Sakaranaho "Finnish Studies on Islam", 235.

²⁹ Jenita Rauta "Poliisin tietoon tullut viharikollisuus Suomessa 2022" *Poliisiammattikorkeakoulu* (2021):10, accessed August 5, 2022 <https://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe2021110253250>

³⁰ Aleksi Teivainen "Most Finns view that Islam is incompatible with Finnish culture and values, finds survey" *Helsinki Times*, May 31, 2018, accessed August 5, 2022 <https://www.helsinkitimes.fi/finland/finland-news/domestic/15575-most-finns-view-that-islam-is-incompatible-with-finnish-culture-and-values-finds-survey.html>

³¹ Tuula Sakaranaho, Timo Aarrevaara and Johanna Konttori "Introduction : Setting the Stage" In *The challenges of religious literacy: the case of Finland*, edited by T. Sakaranaho, T. Aarrevaara and J. Konttori (Springer: Cham, 2020): 1-2, accessed February 02, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-47576-5>

³² Lila Abu-Lughod "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections of Cultural Relativism and Its Others" *American Anthropologist* 104 no. 3 (2002):785, accessed August 7, 2022 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3567256>

³³ Diane Moore "Diminishing religious literacy: methodological assumptions and analytical frameworks for promoting the public understanding of religion" In *Religious Literacy in Policy and Practice*, edited by A. Dinham and M. Francis (Bristol University Press, 2015): 28, accessed August 7, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.46692/9781447316671>

be a manifestation of autonomy and agency, as well as mean adhering to community and family rules - even both at once.³⁴ Hence, how individuals experience the veiling practices is not univocal nor simply addressed. Thus, it is fair to say that the official statement given by the board of the Finnish police in 2014 in regards to veiling practices, which argued that they are a symbol of adhering to a religion that refutes gender equality,³⁵ is uncritically promoting a stereotype that the headscarf signals oppression towards women.

It is noteworthy that Finland's religious landscape is still relatively homogeneous compared to other European countries with higher levels of diversity: in the beginning of 2022, a wide majority of the population (66,5 %) were members of the Christian Lutheran Church of Finland.³⁶ The Lutheran Church holds a status of a national church together with the Christian Orthodox church.³⁷ The Christian Orthodox Church is a national church due to its historical significance in the country.³⁸ According to a table published in the website of the Finnish Orthodox church in 2021, the overall number of registered members was in the beginning of that year 58.311, which makes approximately 1-2 % of the population.³⁹ However, finding reliable information of its membership is challenging as the numbers vary between statistics. The same issue holds when searching for reliable information regarding the number of Muslims in Finland - the numbers vary between sources. According to statistics presented in 2017 by the Pew Research Centre, the Muslim population in Finland consisted at the time 2,7% of the population.⁴⁰ If these numbers match the reality, the number of Finnish Muslims has already surpassed the number of members in the second national church, Christian Orthodox church. In addition, according to Pew Research Center, the number of Finnish Muslims is expected to quintuple by the year 2050.⁴¹ Meanwhile, the membership in the Lutheran church in particular has been steadily decreasing during the past

³⁴ Joan Scott, *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton University Press, 2007): 139, accessed August 5, 2022

<https://doi-org.proxy-ub.rug.nl/10.1515/9781400827893>

³⁵ Leskinen "Voisiko suomalainen poliisi näyttää tältä?"

³⁶ Evl.fi "Kirkon Jäsenyys" *Suomen Evankelis-Luterilainen Kirkko*, accessed August 5, 2022

<https://evl.fi/tietoa-kirkosta/tilastotietoa/jasenet>

³⁷ Tuula Sakaranaho, *Religious freedom, multiculturalism, Islam : cross-reading Finland and Ireland* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006): 30-36, accessed August 7, 2022 <https://doi-org.proxy-ub.rug.nl/10.1163/9789047410669>

³⁸ Sakaranaho "Religious freedom, multiculturalism, Islam", 33.

³⁹ Ort.fi "Tilastotietoja Suomen ortodoksisen kirkon väestöstä vuodelta 2021" *Suomen Ortodoksinen Kirkko*, accessed August 6, 2022 <https://www.ort.fi/sites/default/files/2022-01/Tilasto%202021.pdf>

⁴⁰ Pew Research Center "Muslims make up 4.9% of Europe's population in 2016" *Pew Research Center*, November 22, 2017, accessed August 6, 2022

https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/pf_11-29-17_muslims-update-20/

⁴¹ Pew Research Center "Europe's Growing Muslim Population" *Pew Research Center: Religion & Public Life*, November 29, 2017, accessed June 30, 2022 <https://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/>

decade.⁴² Hence, one could argue that the long tradition of Christianity in Finland is slowly changing. Furthermore, although the statistics show that Finland is clearly a majority Christian country, the church membership can be described to be a customary practice and the number of registered Christians is not mirrored in religious adherence or regular church participation.⁴³ Despite the high adherence to Christianity according to statistics, Finnish public spheres have been argued to be characterized by a secular ethos.⁴⁴

I argue, in line with Sakaranaho's argument made in 2010, that due to the evidently negative attitudes towards Islam in Finland it is crucial to increase knowledge about Islam in the Finnish context.⁴⁵ Moreover, it is important to examine how Islam is viewed and approached in the level of a government institution like the police forces whose officers are public authority figures, and whose work requires connecting with all dimensions of the society, including minorities.

1.4. Methodology

This research consists of three methodological components: literature research, a focus group interview (online), and semi-structured in-depth interviews (online). In addition to the aforementioned methods, my initial research plan included the component of field observations. However, the circumstances of my research mandated the results. I had agreed upon a field observation in a diversity recruitment event, but because one of the key participants had Covid during the planning of the event, the event was postponed.

Thus, this project is carried out through three qualitative research methods. Qualitative methods were selected as suitable for this research as they allow an understanding of complex processes and influences behind them. Qualitative methods support an interpretive analysis which allows the researcher to grasp meanings that the research participants give to their views and experiences.⁴⁶ Interpretive approach seeks to recognize issues from the perspective of the research participants.⁴⁷

⁴²Tuomas Äystö et al. "Miksi suomalaiset eroavat evankelisluterilaisesta kirkosta?" *Yhteiskuntapolitiikka* 82 no. 2 (2022): 219, accessed August 6, 2022

https://www.julkari.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/144238/YP2202_%c3%84yst%c3%b6ym.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

⁴³ Sakaranaho "Religious freedom, multiculturalism, Islam", 33.

⁴⁴ Inkeri Rissanen, Martin Ubani and Tuula Sakaranaho "Challenges of Religious Literacy in Education: Islam and the Governance of Religious Diversity in Multi-faith Schools" In *The challenges of religious literacy: the case of Finland*, edited by T. Sakaranaho, T. Aarrevaara and J. Konttori (Springer: Cham, 2020): 39-42, accessed August 7, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.46692/9781447316671>

⁴⁵Sakaranaho "Finnish Studies on Islam", 235.

⁴⁶ Monique Hennink, Inge Hutter and Ajay Bailey, *Qualitative Research Methods* (London: SAGE Publications, 2010): 20.

⁴⁷ Hennink et al. "Qualitative Research Methods", 20.

Alongside researching relevant academic literature, this research includes a component of literature research conducted on documents produced by the Finnish police forces. Most importantly, that includes the preemptive work strategy of the Finnish police forces for the years 2019 and 2023. Other documents researched for this thesis are project reports and statistics published by the Finnish police university of applied sciences, such as a project report relating to diversity recruitment in the Finnish police forces; annual hate crime report based on the alarm system of the Finnish police; and the official website of the Finnish police forces. Bowen argues that literature sources can be potential sources for empirical data about the context that the researcher is investigating. According to Bowen, documents can aid in producing a thick description of the researched phenomena.⁴⁸ In this research, the literature sources were used to get a better idea of the context of the Finnish police forces and their approaches to religious diversity on a policy level. This was helpful particularly for the process of formulating interview guides for my other methods of empirical data collection: individual and focus group interviews.

The interviews carried out for this research were conducted with three sampling groups, using the recruitment tactic of snowballing. Snowballing means connecting to research participants through previous research participants and it is considered a suitable recruitment tactic to reach interlocutors with specific characteristics and experiences.⁴⁹ Applying snowballing as a tactic was suitable for this research because of the difficult entry to the research field: a governmental institution that requires confidentiality from its officers. Snowballing was possible to me through a gatekeeper in the Finnish police forces through whom I connected with my first interlocutors. After my first interviews, I asked each research participant for possible contacts for further interviews.

In-depth interviews as a data collection method was selected for this research as interviews allow the researcher to grasp individual experiences and understand the context in which people operate.⁵⁰ As one of the aims for this research is to investigate *practices* alongside policies to achieve a holistic understanding on the views and approaches of the Finnish police forces to religious diversity and Islam, collecting data through in-depth interviews allowed me to

⁴⁸ Glenn A. Bowen "Document analysis as a Qualitative Research method" *Qualitative Research Journal* 9 no. 2 (2009):27-29, accessed June 30, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.3316/ORJ0902027>

⁴⁹ Hennink et al. "Qualitative Research Methods", 100.

⁵⁰ Hennink et al. "Qualitative Research Methods", 110.

investigate how people with different positions in the organization view and experience the practices in place.

One of the interviews was conducted with a group of three interviewees, allowing me to conduct a semi-structured focus group interview. This was suggested by my research participants. Usually, focus group interviews as a data collection method are conducted in larger groups that consist of six to eight research participants.⁵¹ However, I accepted the invitation to conduct a group interview, as group groups allow the researcher to grasp a range of views about a topic in one data collection instance. They also allow the researcher to observe how an issue is discussed amongst the research participants.⁵² This proved to be an extremely valuable component for this research, because I was able to record conversations between my interviewees, in which they contributed to each other's statements and elaborated on similar experiences from their work fields.

The sampling for my interviews was divided into three groups. The first sample group consists of members in the board of the Finnish police forces with whom I had individual in-depth interviews. I managed to interview two members of the board, with whom the interviews lasted for 1,5 hours and 2 hours. The second sampling group refers to my research participants that participated in the focus group interview, which was conducted with three police officers who are experienced in work conducted with religious minorities. All of my research participants in the focus group interview work in the preemptive side of the police department located in the most diverse region of Finland, the capital area. The focus group interview lasted for 2 hours. The third sampling group consists of three police officers with no particular involvement in minority related initiatives. The representatives in the third sampling group were interviewed individually and each interview lasted approximately 30 to 45 minutes. Thus, this research utilizes data collected from 8 representatives of the Finnish police forces. Interviews with each group were guided by an interview guide that was designed particularly for that sampling group.

In terms of analysis, the data gathered through individual interviews and the focus group interview were coded manually by utilizing inductive and deductive codes. Inductive codes mean that the codes are derived from the collected data. Deductive codes mean codes derived from my

⁵¹ Hennink et al. "Qualitative Research Methods", 152.

⁵² Hennink et al. "Qualitative Research Methods", 138.

conceptual framework and interview guide.⁵³ Furthermore, the collected data was analyzed by using the method of triangulation. In this case, the data gathered through literature research, in-depth interviews, and the focus group interview was analyzed interconnectedly. Triangulation as an analysis method is considered to allow a holistic view with minimal biases, in contrast to research that utilizes only one method of data production.⁵⁴ In this case, triangulation allowed me to reflect differences in views arising from the positionalities of my research participants in the Finnish police forces, leading to an extensive overview of the institution's approaches to religious diversity. In addition, triangulation allowed me to reflect on the difference between policy (as presented in documents) and practices (as experienced by my interlocutors in different parts of the organization).

In terms of my own positionality, it is noteworthy that my gatekeeper in the Finnish police forces is a close relative of mine and two of my research participants were aware of this connection. I believe that this personal connection has benefitted me, as the aforementioned research participants were able to connect me with further participants. Moreover, as police officers are bound by professional confidentiality, my first interlocutors were able to confirm to the next ones that I am not after data that goes beyond this confidentiality, such as detailed information on specific cases that the police are involved in. However, I recognize that my interlocutors who were aware of my connection to my gatekeeper might have been influenced by this connection, consciously or unconsciously. To minimize this, I ensured to my best capability to all of my research participants that my data will be kept anonymous. In addition, I believe that possible biases in this sense were also minimized by the fact that none of my interlocutors work in close contact with my gatekeeper, but are located in different police departments.

1.4.1. Ethics and Data Management

Each interview was recorded with verbal consent of my research participants. The verbal consent was repeated on recording. Before asking for consent, my interlocutors were informed of the aims of this project, as well as of the ways in which I aim to ensure the privacy and security of my interlocutors. The interviews were transcribed manually, including the consent of the interlocutors. To secure the privacy of my research participants, the interview recordings were made anonymous, including the names and specific locations of my interlocutors. The interview

⁵³ Hennink et al. "Qualitative Research Methods", 218.

⁵⁴ Helen Noble and Roberta Heale "Triangulation in research, with examples" *Evidence-Based Nursing* 22 no. 3 (2019): 67-68, accessed February 02, 2022 <https://ebn.bmj.com/content/22/3/67>

recordings and transcripts have been stored throughout this project in my personal Google drive, in a password secured folder. The data produced for this project is not suitable for reuse in other projects, as my research participants have only consented for this specific research.

1.5. Structure of this thesis

This thesis is divided into five chapters: 1) Introduction, 2) Literature review and Conceptualization, 3) Findings and discussion, and 4) Conclusion. The following chapter outlines five thematic discussions relevant for this research that are based on academic literature. The literature review demonstrates the interconnectedness of the themes chosen for the literature overview, and refers back to the introduction vignette focusing on the headscarf in the Finnish police force. The literature review is concluded with a section that outlines the conceptual framework utilized for the analysis of my research data. The third chapter discusses the findings of my qualitative research, whilst tying the data into broader academic discussions presented in the previous chapter. Finally, I will address my initial research question in the concluding chapter by summarizing my main arguments and findings. The concluding chapter also includes a reflection on positionalities, both mine and my interlocutors, as well as discussions on the limitations of this research and recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2: Literature review and conceptualization

2.1. On headscarf controversies

Contestations about Islamic veiling practices are by no means unique to the case of the Finnish police forces. Several European governments have introduced laws and policies regarding Islamic veils to work places and to public institutions. Sociologist Nilüfer Göle argues that the visibility of Islam in Europe has inspired resentment and fear, which has led to laws and policies that aim to exclude Islamic expressions from the public sphere.⁵⁵ Some laws, such as those in place in the

⁵⁵ Nilüfer Göle "Decentering Europe, Recentering Islam" *New Literary History* 43 no. 4 (1012): 666, accessed August 5, 2022 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23358662>

Netherlands and Belgium are formulated from the grounds of security and identifiability, only banning full-face coverings in the public sphere. Other laws focus on religious symbolism as an umbrella category that includes Islamic veils, stating that all religious symbolism should be banned from public institutions due to governmental secularism, such as in France where all notable religious symbolism is banned from public institutions due to *laïcité*, French principle of separation of religion and the state.⁵⁶ Scott has researched the headscarf ban in France, and argues that laws made from the grounds of secularism of the state are occasionally targeting particularly Muslims, even though they often refer to religious symbolism as an umbrella category.⁵⁷ Similarly, the discourses of security and safety have also been used as means to limit particularly Islamic practices in European public institutions, such as in prisons.⁵⁸ Thus, although the limitations to religious symbolism are formulated to target the category as a whole - be it from the grounds of secularism or security – Muslims are often affected most by such laws and policies, occasionally on purpose.

The institutional policies and laws targeting the veil have strong connections to dominant stereotypes about Islam. Scott argues that there is a strong consensus in Western nations that Islam opposes gender equality and modern secular values.⁵⁹ She explains that in France, the Islamic veil became “the ultimate symbol of Islam’s resistance to modernity”.⁶⁰ According to Scott, in the context of the French headscarf ban, those who did not adhere to the French ideas of organizing the relations between sexes by not adhering to the clothing etiquette of secular France became inferior and seen as “not fully French”.⁶¹ On a similar note, Jennifer Selby claims that veiling prohibitions in France and Quebec reveal programmatic accounts of women’s sexuality, while bans on Islamic (full face) coverings are defended through notions of women’s rights. Selby’s analysis reveals that in the context of veiling controversies “Muslim sexuality” is portrayed as unnatural and oppressive, yet laws banning veiling practices have overtly sexualised women.⁶² Similar argument has been made by Scott, as she explains that even though French feminists had been critical over sexualization of women, the narrative shifted in the context of the headscarf

⁵⁶ BBC News “The Islamic veil across Europe” *BBC News*, May 31, 2018, accessed June 30, 2022
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-13038095>

⁵⁷ Scott “The Politics of the Veil”, 1-2.

⁵⁸ Martínez-Ariño and Zwilling “Religion and Prison”, vii.

⁵⁹ Scott “The Politics of the Veil” 3-5.

⁶⁰ Scott “The politics of the Veil”, 2.

⁶¹ Scott “The Politics of the Veil”, 156.

⁶² Jennifer A. Selby “Un/veiling Women’s Bodies: Secularism and Sexuality in Full-face Veil Prohibitions in France and Quebec” *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses* 43 no. 3 (2014): 451-454, accessed August 6, 2022
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0008429814526150>

debate and women's emancipation became to be seen through the visibility of the female body.⁶³ In addition, Kumar argues that the idea that Muslim women must be liberated from their veil often results to portraying Muslim women as voiceless victims, as headscarf debates rarely include voices of Muslim women who could construct a countering narrative as autonomous individuals.⁶⁴ Through these examples we see that in many cases, the headscarf is often perceived through the same rhetoric that was presented by the board of the Finnish police forces in the opening vignette of this thesis: the headscarf is a symbol of Islam's opposition to gender equality.⁶⁵

2.2. On the dynamics of secularism and Islam

Bans on religious symbolism are part of a larger narrative on how nation-states respond to religious diversity. Göle argues that there is a difficulty in acknowledging the religious rights of Muslims in Europe. In Göle's view, Islam is used in Europe as a mirror through which "European" identity can be constructed, whilst simultaneously stigmatizing and othering European Muslims by highlighting differences.⁶⁶ Additionally, Göle argues that Muslims belong to Europe in various ways, as historical inhabitants and as newcomers through migration. However, the presence of Islam and the belonging of Muslims in Europe is a subject of tension.⁶⁷ According to her this is because Islam's presence has challenged taken-for-granted ideas of time and space in European settings: the visibility of Islam challenges the conceptions of modernity (time) and secularity of public sphere (space). Göle argues:

In entering into the foreground of the contemporary European world, Islam unsettles modern secular narratives and organizations of temporality. Time is not the same at all moments in all societies; there are differences in the ways societies and their members represent and experience time. The Islamic presence in secular mundane life is a reminder of the immutable and the sacred.⁶⁸

Hence, in Göle's view disputes over Islamic practices in European public spheres is a result of challenges that the visibility of Islam causes to collective ideas of temporality and modernity: public spheres in contemporary Europe are largely regarded as secular, and modernity is envisioned through lack of visible symbols of religiousness.

⁶³ Scott "The Politics of the Veil", 156.

⁶⁴ Deepa Kumar, *Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire* (Chicago, Ill. : Haymarket Books, 2012): 45.

⁶⁵ Leskinen "Voisiko suomalainen poliisi näyttää tältä?"

⁶⁶ Göle "Decentering Europe, Recentering Islam", 668.

⁶⁷ Göle "Decentering Europe, Recentering Islam", 665.

⁶⁸ Göle "Decentering Europe, Recentering Islam", 670.

Furthermore, in many instances, state's secularism and state's neutrality are used almost synonymously. For example, Fadil explains that in Belgium, state's secularism consists of a juridical principle of separation that limits the state's interventions to the operation of religious organizations, but also of a juridical principle of neutrality, which reflects the commitment of the state to remain separate from religious expressions.⁶⁹ The latter in particular is utilized in disputes over religious (Islamic) practices of individuals in public spheres not only in Belgium, but as demonstrated in the previous section, in other countries as well.

Thus, it is evident that visibly Islamic practices challenge the collective held idea that religion is a private matter and therefore, Islamic practices are occasionally a subject of policies and laws particularly in labor environments and public institutions. Basing his argument on Koopmans et al., Koenig states that religious minorities can attempt to institutionalize marginalized religions through claims for exemption, meaning for instance requests for religious expressions in the public spheres. However, exemption claims coming from religious minorities often lead to controversies as they challenge the secular state authority.⁷⁰ He claims:

In highly centralized states with an expansively defined public sphere, even the least demanding religious exemption claim, such as the claims by school girls to wear their headscarves in public schools, may be perceived as threats to the boundary between the public and the private.⁷¹

Thus, nation-states might consider requests to religious practice as threatening to historically rooted arrangements.⁷² Katri Karhunen, a Finnish religious studies scholar, argues that although Finland should look into how other European countries "deal" with disputes arising from religious diversity, such as veiling controversies, it is important to keep in mind the differences in the historical and cultural contexts of each country. In Finland, she states, religiousness is not removed from the public sphere in the same way as it is, for instance, in France where all notable religious symbolism in public institutions are banned due to *laïcité*. Karhunen claims what might

⁶⁹ Nadia Fadil "Performing the salat [Islamic prayers] at work: Secular and pious Muslims negotiate the contours of the public in Belgium" *Ethnicities* 13 no. 6 (2013): 732, accessed August 6, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796812471129>

⁷⁰ Matthias Koenig "How Nation States Respond to Religious Diversity" In *International Migration and the Governance of Religious Diversity*, edited by P. Bramadat and M. Koenig (Mc-Gill Queen's University Press: Montreal and Kingston 2009): 301.

⁷¹ Koenig "How Nation States Respond to Religious Diversity", 301.

⁷² Koenig "How Nation States Respond to Religious Diversity", 315.

be more influential in the Finnish context is the implications of the high adherence to Lutheranism to Finnish culture.⁷³

In my discussion of the headscarf debate of Finnish police forces, it becomes clear that neutrality of the institution and the objectivity of its officers are some of the main issues with religious symbolism in the police forces. Taking into consideration the fact that approximately 70% of Finnish population are registered Christians, being “neutral” does not necessarily mean being “a-religious”. Rather, it seems that neutrality is not attributed to all religious identities the same way in the context of the Finnish police forces. One could argue, then, that in Finland neutrality is particularly asked from minorities whose religious expressions and visibility of religious adherence challenge taken-for-granted ideas on what kind of religiousness is permitted in the Finnish public sphere.

Similarly, Rissanen, Ubani and Sakaranaho argue that in the context of the Finnish public school culture Islam is often perceived as essentially religious, whereas Protestantism is perceived as cultural and as an important identity marker by those mandating what is permissible in the school grounds (municipalities and educators).⁷⁴ Rissanen et al. point out that naturalization of Protestant conceptions of religion is still prevalent in Finnish society. Protestant biases influence the interpretations of religion and secularity as by neutralizing Protestant expressions of religiosity, they are seen as permissible in secular institutions.⁷⁵ They argue that overemphasizing the religiousness of Islam and being “religion-blind” to religiousness of Protestantism is a consequence of religious illiteracy,⁷⁶ meaning not being knowledgeable on contemporary manifestations of religions. One could question if the conceptualization of neutrality in the Finnish police forces is not only influenced by the idea that religion does not visibly belong to the public sphere, or if Protestant biases have an impact on the ways in which “neutrality” is understood in the Finnish police.

2.3. On stereotyping Muslims

To understand the contemporary dynamic in which Islam is continuously pitted against secularism, modern values and gender equality, it is important to look at the background of why Islam is

⁷³ Katri Karhunen “Uskonnollinen pukeutuminen osana työasua Suomessa : tapausesimerkinä musliminaiset ja huivi terveysalan työpaikoilla” *Spiritualiteetti 2020-luvun Suomessa* (2022): 65, accessed August 6, 2022 <http://hdl.handle.net/10138/341755>

⁷⁴ Rissanen et al. “Challenges of Religious Literacy in Education”, 44-46.

⁷⁵ Rissanen et al. “Challenges of Religious Literacy in Education”, 47-48.

⁷⁶ Rissanen et al. “Challenges of Religious Literacy in Education”, 47-48.

viewed this way. Such ideas have far longer roots than the events of 9/11, although Islamophobia in Europe and in the US certainly grew louder after the well-known Al-Qaeda attack on the World Trade Center.⁷⁷ Basing her analysis on Edward Said's foundational work, Deepa Kumar has researched the roots of five stereotypes about Islam that are still used in contemporary North-Western societies to differentiate and often discriminate against Muslims. The stereotypes enlisted by Kumar were initially devised by orientalist scholars for the purposes of "enlightened colonialism".⁷⁸

Orientalist scholars saw Muslims largely through Islam and its classical texts.⁷⁹ Kumar argues that such scholarship gave rise to a narrative which presented, for instance, Muslim women as "severely subjugated, oppressed and little more than slaves".⁸⁰ In reality, they were mostly European men writing about the oppression of foreign women, who had no access to Muslim women who could verify their assumptions. Suffice to say that these arguments benefitted colonial powers who then had a great reason to swoop into rescue.⁸¹ This narrative also served the 19th century American imperialism which took the shape of "modernization theory". The goal of American imperialism was to ensure liberty and democracy in former colonies.⁸² A century after the imperialist missions, the same narrative was used by George Bush in American "war on terror".⁸³ Bush used the subjugation of women as one of the reasons for the US invasion of Afghanistan. The sincerity of Bush's concerns about women's liberties can be questioned, as he did not strive for women's emancipation in the US, and rather served to diminish women's liberties such as safe access to reproductive health care. Nevertheless, the narratives that Muslim women are oppressed, and that Islam is a sexist religion were utilized in his action plan towards Afghanistan.⁸⁴

Kumar shows that through the missions of European colonialism and American imperialism the thoughts of orientalist scholars have contributed to the problematic stereotyping of Muslims that is still taking place in the 20th century.⁸⁵ She argues that many of the orientalist stereotypes have become part "common sense" in such a persisting way that they are rarely

⁷⁷ Kumar "Islamophobia and the Politics of the Empire", 41-42.

⁷⁸ Kumar "Islamophobia and the Politics of the Empire", 26-29.

⁷⁹ Kumar "Islamophobia and the Politics of the Empire", 29-30.

⁸⁰ Kumar "Islamophobia and the Politics of the Empire", 44.

⁸¹ Kumar "Islamophobia and the Politics of the Empire", 44.

⁸² Kumar "Islamophobia and the Politics of the Empire", 33-39.

⁸³ Kumar "Islamophobia and the Politics of the Empire", 44-46.

⁸⁴ Kumar "Islamophobia and the Politics of the Empire", 44-46.

⁸⁵ Kumar "Islamophobia and the Politics of the Empire", 41-42.

questioned. Following the events of 9/11, politicians and media have played a part in promoting Islamophobia through the same rhetoric that was presented by orientalist thinkers.⁸⁶ The five main stereotypes regarding Muslims discussed by Kumar are the following: Islam is a monolithic religion; Islam is an inherently violent religion; Muslims are incapable of self-rule; Islam is a uniquely sexist religion; and Muslims are incapable of reasoning and rationality.⁸⁷

Echoes of the stereotypes enlisted by Kumar can be spotted in public media, political discourses, and in policy making in Europe frequently. One example of such an “echo” is the way in which headscarf has become a symbol of the preconception that Islam is a uniquely sexist religion. We see how efforts to ban the headscarf are initiated and set to motion and claims arising from the stereotypes enlisted by Kumar are used to support such bans. We see this also in the quotation from the board of the Finnish police’s argument regarding the headscarf. The statement highlights different understandings in gender equality, hence calling attention to the allegedly sexist nature of Islam. Furthermore, the political opposition to the headscarf adaption in Finland promoted another stereotype enlisted by Kumar, Islam is an inherently violent religion, by arguing that headscarf wearing Muslim women as police officers would be a threat to the Finnish public security.

2.4. On religious literacy

Theoretically, this study observes the researched phenomena, the views and approaches of the Finnish police forces to religious diversity and particularly to Islam through the lens of religious literacy. Religious literacy is used here to examine if the approaches towards Islam in the Finnish police forces are carried out through a holistic, informed stance on religions (religious literacy) or an uninformed one that is leaning on stereotypes (religiously illiteracy). The five stereotypes discussed by Kumar are used here to analyze whether stereotypes held as “common sense” are influencing the perception of Islam within the Finnish police forces. The analytical lens of religious literacy is understood here as defined by Sakaranaho, Aarrevaara and Konttori, who base their definition on Diane Moore’s framework on religious literacy.⁸⁸ Sakaranaho et al. define religious literacy as an ability to discern and analyze the intersections of religion with social, political as well as cultural lives of people. A religiously literate person has:

⁸⁶ Kumar “Islamophobia and the Politics of the Empire”, 42.

⁸⁷ Kumar “Islamophobia and the Politics of the Empire”, 41-59.

⁸⁸ Sakaranaho et al. “Introduction : Setting the Stage”, 3-4.

- 1) a basic understanding of the beliefs, practices and manifestations of religions that are shaped by social, historical and cultural contexts;
- 2) a basic understanding of the history and texts of a religion, and;
- 3) the ability to analyze religious connotations and dimensions in social, political and cultural expressions.⁸⁹

Sakaranaho et al. argue that against the odds of secularization theory, which assumes that the relevance of religions would diminish in the public sphere over time and accomplishments of modern science and industries, religion has not disappeared from the public sphere.⁹⁰ Rather, issues arising from religious diversity are met with awkward ignorance that is an aftermath of religious illiteracy. Religious illiteracy is apparent in cases where religion is perceived as the main explanation for behaviors of ethnic and religious minorities, leading to stereotyping of religious groups. Sakaranaho et al. argue that in plural societies, the approaches to religious diversity should be based on an informed stance of religious literacy.⁹¹ They argue that in Finland Islam in particular is often met with religious illiteracy, as stereotypes about Islam are largely taken for granted and Muslims are perceived as a monolith group, neglecting the multiplicity of strands and interpretations in Islam and other social, cultural and historical aspects shaping belief and expression of contemporary Muslims.⁹²

Dinham and Francis argue that religious illiteracy also contributes to what is perceived as neutral. They highlight the importance of religious literacy in contemporary Western states by arguing the following:

Media reporting and public discourse also tend to assume that we live in a somewhat secular age, and this vague idea of secularity is frequently equated with neutrality. [...] Secularity itself arises from a distinctive world view, and is, in any case, far more nuanced and contested than common treatments would suggest. The conversation about religion is impeded by the paucity of the conversation about the secular.⁹³

⁸⁹ Sakaranaho et al. "Introduction : Setting the Stage", 3-4.

⁹⁰ Sakaranaho et al. "Introduction : Setting the Stage", 1-2.

⁹¹ Sakaranaho et al. "Introduction : Setting the Stage", 1-2.

⁹² Sakaranaho et al. "Introduction : Setting the Stage", 2.

⁹³ Adam Dinham and Matthew Francis "Religious literacy: contesting an idea and practice" In *Religious Literacy in Policy and Practice* edited by A. Dinham and M. Francis (Cambridge University Press, 2022): 4, accessed August 6, 2022

<https://doi.org/10.46692/9781447316671>

Dinham and Francis claim that public discourses are fuelled with assumptions that the West is secular and religions cause war and oppression towards women and sexual minorities. Furthermore, they state that the idea that religion is private and the public sphere is secular makes little sense, as the world has never been either religious or secular, but complexly both.⁹⁴ According to Dinham and Francis the private and the public, the religion and the secular, are undeniably bound up in laws, identities, beliefs and practices as well as in physical landscapes.⁹⁵ They state that acknowledging the shortsightedness of this type of binary thinking that is often taken for granted is the beginning of religious literacy: “Clarity about the category of religion and belief is the beginning of religious literacy – it requires a willingness to recognise it as relevant.”⁹⁶ On a similar note, Moore argues that an important step towards religious literacy is to provide people with resources for recognizing, comprehending and analyzing how religions intersect with contemporary lives and human affairs.⁹⁷ In addition, Dinham and Francis highlight that religious literacy is not a fixed framework, but a holistic understanding of religion is context specific and takes into account special features of each locality.⁹⁸

2.5. On freedom of religion

In light of the headscarf discussion present in the Finnish police forces, one could ask “how about freedom of religion and expression?”. If the level of religious literacy and/or illiteracy influences the ways in which foreign religious issues are met in Finland, as argued by Sakaranaho et al.⁹⁹ one might ask “what about law?”. It would be logical to assume that in cases where an institution or a workplace limits certain religious expressions or practices, for instance, one could lean on the state law guaranteeing religious freedom. Thus, conceptually this study also relates to freedom of religion and its problems, a well-established field of research that connects with the overall topic of this thesis.

Finnish constitutional law safeguards a positive form of freedom of religion, hence the right to believe, express and practice a religion of one’s choosing. The law also safeguards a

⁹⁴ Dinham and Francis “Religious literacy: contesting an idea and practice”, 5-6.

⁹⁵ Dinham and Francis “Religious literacy: contesting an idea and practice”, 11.

⁹⁶ Dinham and Francis “Religious literacy: contesting an idea and practice”, 11.

⁹⁷ Moore “Diminishing religious literacy: methodological assumptions”, 27.

⁹⁸ Adam Dinham and Matthew Francis “Religious Literacies: The Future” In *Religious Literacy in Policy and Practice*, edited by A. Dinham and M. Francis (Cambridge University Press, 2022): 257-258, accessed August 7, 2022

<https://doi.org/10.46692/9781447316671>

⁹⁹ Sakaranaho et al. “Introduction : Setting the stage”, 2.

negative form of freedom of religion, meaning the right to not believe or practice religion.¹⁰⁰ However, the European Council decided in 1950 that on occasions when religious conviction or practices threaten mutual security, health, morals, or freedoms and rights of others, religious freedom can be met with certain limitations. This is also expressed in the UN treaty on civil and political rights.¹⁰¹ Therefore, freedom of religion is not absolute even though it shall guide policymakers in principle when deciding for regulations on religious practice. In Finland, conflicts arising from religious expressions are solved with a case-by-case approach. For example, the practice of ritual slaughter shows how other laws (animal rights) might clash with religious freedoms and therefore, an evaluation is necessary.¹⁰² Furthermore, the European Court of Justice ruled in 2017 that bans on religious symbolism are permissible in labor environments on the basis of neutrality of the workplace. However, the court maintained that banning only large visible religious symbols is not justified but can be considered to be discrimination, as the ban should then cover all forms of religious symbolism.¹⁰³ Thus, even if religious freedom is safeguarded by law, it does not mean absolute freedom for religious practice. The same can be observed in the headscarf discussions taking place in several countries, as they always involve an interpretation of laws on religion. In this vein, one might ask what are the grounds from which religious freedom is restricted from police officers in the uniform regulations?

The third focus of the freedom of religion legislation in Finland, alongside positive and negative forms of religious freedom, focuses on equal treatment of individuals and groups: everyone shall be treated equally, despite their religious conviction or belief.¹⁰⁴ In practice there are several shortcomings in Finland in this matter, both at the state level as well as in the practices of public institutions. At the state level, examples of such shortcomings can be summarized by pointing out the privileged position of national churches. For instance, the bishop of the Lutheran Church receives their salaries from the Finnish government, and the national churches are the only religious institutions with a permission to collect church tax.¹⁰⁵ These

¹⁰⁰ Uskonnonvapaus.fi “Mitä uskonnonvapaus on?” *Uskonnonvapaus.fi*, January 12, 2022, accessed August 6, 2022 <https://uskonnonvapaus.fi/artikkelit/mita.html>

¹⁰¹ Uskonnonvapaus.fi “Uskonnon ja omantunnon vapaus kansainvälisissä sopimuksissa” *Uskonnonvapaus.fi*, February 2, 2018, accessed June 30, 2022 <https://uskonnonvapaus.fi/artikkelit/sopimukset.html>

¹⁰² Uskonnonvapaus.fi “Rituaaliteurastus” *Uskonnonvapaus.fi*, February 2, 2018, accessed June 30, 2022 <https://uskonnonvapaus.fi/hakusanat/rituaaliteurastus.html>

¹⁰³ Vishwanath Petkar “European Court of Justice rules headscarves can be banned at work” *Jurist: Legal News and Commentary*, July 17, 2017, accessed August 8, 2022.

<https://www.jurist.org/news/2021/07/european-court-of-justice-rules-headscarves-can-be-banned-at-work/>

¹⁰⁴ Uskonnonvapaus.fi “Mitä uskonnonvapaus on?”

¹⁰⁵ Uskonnonvapaus.fi “Vakaumusten tasa-arvo” *Uskonnonvapaus.fi*, January 11, 2022, accessed August 6, 2022 <https://uskonnonvapaus.fi/hakusanat/tasa-arvo.html>

arrangements are historically rooted, yet they clash with the equal treatment of religious groups. In the context of public institutions, Rissanen et al. found that in Finnish schools, the ethos of secular normativity leads to emphasizing the irrelevance of Muslim identities. They observe that educators might make distinctions between religion and culture in a strategic way by interpreting certain behaviors as cultural or religious and legitimizing and denying them as such. This moves some (foreign) religious expressions outside the scope of religious freedom, as they are conceptualized as cultural.¹⁰⁶ As mentioned before, this conceptualization also has implications for the ways in which Protestant religious expressions are legitimized, as they are often claimed to be cultural, and thus, permissible in “secular” institutions.¹⁰⁷ One could also argue that the ways in which freedom of religion is implemented is also a source for religious illiteracy, as it certainly has an impact on what is permissible in public spaces and through that, on what is viewed as “normal”.

The framework of religious freedom is widely problematized by scholars of religion. Hurd argues that whereas freedom of religion is paraded as fundamentally important for modern societies, its vagueness is rarely realized.¹⁰⁸ In another contribution, Hurd argues that one significant contributor to the vagueness of laws on religious freedom is the instability of the category of religion.¹⁰⁹ An example of this instability is the discourse of two faces of faith outlined by Hurd, according to which governments shall empower peaceful religions whilst marginalizing their “possibly extremist” rivals.¹¹⁰ On a similar note, Sullivan claims that for a government to enforce laws about religious freedom, they must first define religion.¹¹¹ Same can be argued to apply for policies regulating religions in public institutions, as the examples from Finnish schools provided by Rissanen et al. signal.¹¹² Sullivan’s analysis focuses on American jurisprudence, but her comment made on laws regarding religious freedom in the US is also relevant for this study:

[...] when the government gets into the business of defining religion, it gets into the business of establishing religion. The result is necessarily discriminatory. To define is to

¹⁰⁶ Rissanen et al. “Challenges of Religious Literacy in Education”, 44-46.

¹⁰⁷ Rissanen et al. “Challenges of Religious Literacy in Education”, 47-48.

¹⁰⁸ Elizabeth S. Hurd, *The International Politics of Religious Freedom* (IIC Quarterly : Winter-Spring, 2014): 225-227, accessed August 7, 2022 https://faculty.wcas.northwestern.edu/esh291/Elizabeth_Shakman_Hurd/publications_files/15_IIC_Hurd.pdf

¹⁰⁹ Elizabeth S. Hurd, *Beyond Religious Freedom: New Global Politics of Religion* (Princeton University Press, 2015): 110-111, accessed August 6, 2022 <https://doi-org.proxy-ub.rug.nl/10.1515/9781400873814>

¹¹⁰ Hurd “Beyond Religious Freedom”, 22-24.

¹¹¹ Winnifred F. Sullivan, *The Impossibility of Religious Freedom* (Princeton University Press, 2005): 1, accessed August 6, 2022 <https://doi-org.proxy-ub.rug.nl/10.23943/9781400890330>

¹¹² Rissanen et al. “Challenges of Religious Literacy in Education”, 44-48.

exclude, and to exclude is to discriminate.¹¹³

What is meant by both Hurd and Sullivan is that conceptualization of religion - as for instance in this research, the conceptualization of Islam - has consequences to the ways in which freedom of religion applies to different groups. Whereas the Finnish police forces or the Finnish state have not attempted to define religion in the light of the headscarf discussion relating to police uniforms, the board of the Finnish police forces have suggested that to be “neutral”, one must be free from clear signifiers of (foreign) religious identity. This understanding, however, is very much tied to the secular ethos of the country’s public sphere, which clearly has implications to the ways in which religion is defined: as a private matter. Furthermore, we see that in the argument of the board of the Finnish police forces and in the arguments made by right-wing politicians, Islam was alledged to be a violent and sexist religion, conceptualizing Islam on the bad side of two faces of faith discourse described by Hurd.

2.6. Conceptual framework for this research

Thus far I have presented five thematic discussions: on headscarf controversies; on dynamics of religious diversity and secularism; on stereotyping Muslims; on religious literacy; and on freedom of religion. My discussion demonstrates that these are interwoven themes. I began my literature review with a brief discussion on headscarf controversies. Whereas the headscarf discussion within the Finnish police forces is not the only focus of this thesis it is a great example that demonstrates the interconnectedness of the concepts presented in the literature review. The literature review shows academic discussions that relate to the research phenomenon in the center of this thesis: views and approaches of the Finnish police forces to religious diversity, particularly to Islam in Finland.

Theoretically, I will observe if the views and approaches of the Finnish police forces are informed with religious literacy, meaning a holistic perspective on religions, or religious illiteracy, a perspective leaning on stereotypes. To distinguish dominant stereotypes regarding Islam from the narratives of my interlocutors I will use Kumar’s list of five orientalist stereotypes about Islam. Hence, in my analysis I will use the framework of religious literacy in combination with Kumar’s orientalist stereotypes on Islam.

¹¹³ Sullivan “The Impossibility of Religious Freedom”, 100-101.

Although religious literacy is my theoretical focus, conceptually I will lean on my discussions regarding dynamics of secularism and Islam as well as the problematics of religious freedom. This is particularly when looking at how concepts such as Religion, Secularism, Neutrality, Religious Freedom, and Islam are present in my research data. Throughout the opening parts of my thesis I have demonstrated that particularly in countries that are constitutionally secular, or countries in which the public sphere is characterized by a "secular ethos" such concepts are sometimes defined in ways that legitimize (domestic) and deny (foreign) religious expressions in institutional settings or public spheres. Therefore, incorporating the analytical lenses of dynamics of secularism, Islam and freedom of religion into my discussion allows me to gain a holistic understanding of the views and approaches of the Finnish police forces to Islam. Focusing on the aforementioned concepts enables an analytical focus also on the country's overall "ethos" that mandates how religious diversity and Islam are approached in institutional settings, like in the Police forces.

Chapter 3: Findings and Analysis

3.1. Preemptive police work with religious minorities

In my interviews with representatives of the Finnish police I learned that the most work conducted with religious minorities is part of preemptive police work. Preemptive police work encompasses measures taken by the police to safeguard overall safety in the society before issues arise and escalate.¹¹⁴ The goals for preemptive police work with minorities encompasses building trustful relationships between all parts of the local demographic, including various religious and ethnic groups.¹¹⁵ According to my interlocutors from the preemptive side, this is done through grass-roots initiatives such as visiting local prayer rooms, mosques, synagogues, non-profit organizations and so on, with the purpose of having open discussions about what is important in the current time and how the police can be of assistance. According to my interlocutors from the preemptive side of the capital area, a large part of their work is conducted with Muslim communities as Muslims are numerically the most notable religious minority in the area. According to my interlocutors that are in

¹¹⁴ Sisäministeriö "ENSKA: Poliisin ennalta estävän työn strategia 2019-2023" *Sisäministeriö* (2019): 10, accessed August 6, 2022 <http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-324-242-5>

¹¹⁵ Sisäministeriö "ENSKA: Poliisin ennalta estävän työn strategia", 26-27.

the board of the Finnish police and interlocutors that work in the preemptive side, it is important that local minorities feel that the police is approachable to them, particularly to people with a migration background from places where the police might not operate with similar principles, such as affirming mutual safety and social inclusion. The preemptive side also aims to provide security to different minority groups, particularly to those that face religious hatred both globally and locally.¹¹⁶ This can mean, for instance, security around religious services, which is particularly provided to Jewish communities in the capital area.

My interlocutors explained that the attitudes of their police colleagues were condescending towards the preemptive police work agenda, namely when some of my interlocutors working in the preemptive side were initiating collaboration between the police and local prayer rooms over a decade ago. “Why would you go to a prayer room, to hug people? To eat dates and drink tea?” portrays the attitudes back then, as such questions were something that my interlocutors had faced. Since then, the attitudes regarding collaboration with religious minorities have changed in the Finnish police forces, particularly in the most diverse capital area. Now, connecting with religious groups is prescribed as a formal policy in the Finnish police force’s nationwide preemptive work strategy for the years of 2019 to 2023, a strategy providing the official instructions for preemptive work in all 11 police departments in Finland.¹¹⁷

My interlocutors working in the preemptive side stated that the ties they have made with local minorities during the past 10+ years have been beneficial for the whole police department in the capital area. The appreciation towards the preemptive work group is noticeable particularly if the police receive useful information through them, such as notifications for upcoming demonstrations that might require police supervision. The trust built through preemptive measures, and the expertise in approaching religious and cultural diversity that my interlocutors from the preemptive side have gained shines through especially where the police are approached by a client with an issue that might not be easily understood through a secular-normative perspective, but requires cultural sensitivity. As my interlocutor explained in the focus group interview through an example about preemptive work:

I just got an email from a client, they are an Iraqi couple, and their relationship has been inflamed for months. But they cannot divorce because of the shame that is attached to it, the feeling of shame is too great. If we would look at that from a Finnish perspective and

¹¹⁶ Sisäministeriö “ENSKA: Poliisin ennalta estävän työn strategia”, 26.

¹¹⁷ Sisäministeriö “ENSKA: Poliisin ennalta estävän työn strategia”, 26-27.

treat them *equally*, we would say “what the problem seems to be, just get a divorce!”. But you can’t say that. You have to understand that the feeling of shame can be so great, and that your relatives might treat you horribly after a divorce that it’s just not an option. We were able to calm down the situation in such a way that the woman lives in their mutual apartment alone. But now the man emailed me that he is practically homeless because they cannot stay in the same house, but they also cannot afford to pay for two houses. So in this kind of situation you simply cannot think in a black and white way. Now I will contact the social services and we will see together if we can arrange different housing for the woman, that would be the best option. So, you always need to see the big picture, all the feelings and... all the moving parts that might be behind the scene.

To this example, my other research participant in the focus group interview continued:

And this is a difficult equation because the culture here is very individualistic. And when a person from a more collective culture comes here it is actually absurd to say “when in Finland!” because it throws a person completely to the opposite direction from what they are used to, they can be completely lost. It doesn’t work like that.

These examples show that the preemptive side’s goal to make themselves approachable to minorities is bearing fruit, since the couple in that example has approached the police with a sensitive family matter that is informed by different cultural values. Furthermore, my interlocutors demonstrate cultural sensitivity by elaborating on how different ideas of family influence choices of individuals.

The official preemptive strategy states that connecting with local minorities in each region at a grass-root level would also increase security in the whole society, and affirm equality and social inclusion.¹¹⁸ In the example shared by my interlocutor we see that affirming equality does not mean treating everyone the same. In contrast to the perspective presented by my interlocutors from the preemptive side, Wieslander found in her discourse analysis conducted among Swedish police students that police were seen as a neutral actor who affirms equality (which was viewed as something that Sweden has already achieved through laws), and knowledge on cultures or religions as irrelevant in this matter, a luxury problem.¹¹⁹ My interlocutors from the preemptive side clearly have an opposing view to Wieslander’s findings regarding views

¹¹⁸ Sisäministeriö “ENSKA: Poliisin ennalta estävän työn strategia”, 26-27.

¹¹⁹ Wieslander “Controversial Diversity”, 880.

that saw cultural knowledge as irrelevant for affirming equality. For instance, one of my interlocutors from the preemptive side elaborated:

What equality is in everyday life and in police work? A lot of times people hide behind the “I treat everyone the same way and I talk to everyone the same way and offer services to everyone, so I have operated correctly and affirmed equality”. But it would be important to understand people, and their differences and different positions in our society. That way we could realize that we might need to help someone a little bit more, so that everyone would be in the same line. Even though equality has been on the table for a long, long time in the Finnish police, still we might not understand what affirming equality means and people get confused, or are against “special treatment”, or things are seen easily as such. So I think increasing mutual understanding is crucial for building equality.

My research participants from the preemptive side seem to have an uniform view on what “affirming equality” as a police officer means: making sure that everyone has the same opportunities despite differences. Yet, the previous quotation also shows that this may not be a uniform view within the Finnish police forces, but “hiding behind treating everyone the same” can also take place among police officers. For instance, “treating everyone the same” was a recurring idea presented by my interlocutors who do not work in close collaboration with religious minorities. In their view, religious differences do not play a big role in their everyday work. These differences in my data can be interpreted to demonstrate similarities with Wieslander’s findings from Sweden: Alongside the aforementioned view on equality, some of Wieslander’s interlocutors viewed knowledge on cultural and religious differences as essential for efficient police work as such knowledge would allow police officers to approach the general public with respect.¹²⁰

The preemptive work strategy also states that whereas collaboration between the dominant religious institution, Finnish Lutheran Church, and the police is already in the structures of the police forces and upheld by annual seminars and conferences, connecting with minority religious groups for gaining understanding on religious matters is important for the police, too.¹²¹ It is written in the strategy that Muslim organizations/prayer rooms instruct their members in more than purely theological matters, which makes it relevant for the police to collaborate with these organizations. Obtaining theological knowledge on Islam through the preemptive measures is written in the strategy to be important because in a multicultural society it is increasingly difficult for the police to recognize when behavior is based on religion or culture. However, it is essential for the police to recognize these differences to be able to safeguard legal rights like freedom of

¹²⁰ Wieslander “Controversial Diversity”, 878-880.

¹²¹ Sisäministeriö “ENSKA: Poliisin ennalta estävän työn strategia”, 28.

religion. The preemptive work strategy states that the importance of theological knowledge and connections to local religious groups is highlighted in cases when one's behavior is argued to be religious.¹²² It can be argued that the preemptive strategy demonstrates that the value of religious literacy is not only recognized by those who work in close collaboration with religious minorities, but is also taken into account at the policy level.

Although the preemptive work strategy clearly pays attention to the importance of connecting with local minorities and views overall knowledge on religions as important for police work, my interlocutors from the preemptive side subsequently stated that work with minorities is not fully integrated into the structures of the police forces, but that it is rather inconsistent. Knowledge within the police forces on preemptive work and all that it encompasses is also inconsistent: according to my interlocutors from the preemptive side not everyone in the Finnish police forces understand why the police aims to connect with minorities and to what end, even though condescending attitudes towards the preemptive work are no longer explicit. What also contributes to the inconsistency of the approaches to religious diversity according to my interlocutors in the preemptive side, is that the attention to diversity comes in waves that are connected to the socio-political climate in the country: what is seen as important one year is not necessarily regarded as important the following year. According to my interlocutors there have been efforts throughout the past decades to increase police collaboration with minority groups and increase knowledge on religious differences in the police forces, but these efforts have not properly caught on in practice. It is, however, clear by now - also in the upper levels of management such as in the board - that building trust with minorities cannot be achieved with short-term projects, but they need to be made into official approaches that will eventually become structural approaches. As explained by interlocutors in the focus group interview:

At some point these topics are picked up. I remember already, I think it was more than ten years ago there was this educator [...] giving workshops to police officers about cultural knowledge. So there have been efforts to bring these matters forward, but for one reason or another it has never gotten into permanent structures.

On a similar note my other interlocutor in the focus group interview stated:

From my perspective some things come in trends. If we see that one thing is hitting headlines and gets politicized then in the police we sort of go "okay we have to catch up with this right away", but then it passes by and sort of gets forgotten.

¹²² Sisäministeriö "ENSKA: Poliisin ennalta estävän työn strategia", 28.

In addition to the socio-political climate, making the approaches to religious diversity “structural” in the Finnish police forces is influenced by challenges posed by the Finnish social demographic. My interlocutors from the board of the Finnish police forces and from the preemptive side explained that whereas it is relevant in the most diverse areas of Finland to collaborate with local prayer rooms, this is not viewed as important in less diverse regions. This also became evident when I asked from my interlocutors who are not actively participating in minority related initiatives if connecting with local religious minorities is important for their work, they explained that it is not relevant in their environment. For instance, one of my interlocutors working in a northern region explained that the nearest prayer room is in the neighboring town which has its own police station. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, my interlocutors not working in the preemptive side do not view religious diversity as influential for their daily work, nor as something that the police would ever ask about in encounters with the general public.

In this vein, one of my interlocutors working in the preemptive side in the capital area stated that minorities present in the northern and eastern parts of the country are predominantly “traditional” minorities such as Russian migrants, Romas (an ethnic minority), or Sami people in Lapland. Although the preemptive work strategy also encompasses building connections with traditional minorities¹²³, too, one of my interlocutors from the preemptive side of the capital area explained that it is not only about the will of the police that determines how the grass-root efforts with minorities play out: not all groups view it as relevant for them to start actively collaborating with the police. According to my interlocutors from the preemptive side, it was not self-evident in the capital area, either, that they would be accepted for visits in the prayer rooms and mosques - it took time to build enough trust for that and finally get invited in. Furthermore, the initial conversations were about mundane matters such as the weather, but now - after over a decade of collaboration - familiar police officers from the preemptive side might get an invitation from an imam to a prayer room to discuss current matters, such as issues with youth that concerned parents have pointed out (examples used were increased usage of laughing gas among Muslim youth and concerns among parents regarding social alienation of their children).

Overall, in terms of collaborating with Muslims, we see that it is part of formal policy but the policies do not tell much about what happens in practice, particularly if we look at the nation as a whole and the local practices present in each police station. The collaboration with local Muslim organizations seems to have developed the furthest in the capital area of the nation.

¹²³ Sisäministeriö “ENSKA: Poliisin ennalta estävän työn strategia”, 27.

Elsewhere, these approaches are developed to varying degrees depending on the presence of diversity in the area. The preemptive efforts both in the levels of policy and practice reveal that the value of religious literacy has been recognized at an institutional level and the strategy for preemptive work can be interpreted as a measure for acquiring religious literacy through grass-root efforts and communication with local religious minorities. However, in practice the task for obtaining knowledge on religions is left largely on the shoulders of those working in the preemptive side of each police department, and on the minorities in the role of educators.

One could argue that advancing religious literacy and, for instance, having basic knowledge on Islam, is only a concern for a minority of Finnish police officers, namely those who are in regular contact with religious groups due to the preemptive initiatives that they are involved in. This can be argued to be a problematic approach to obtaining religious literacy at an institutional level, as in practice it is not only the selected few police officers that have regular contact with minorities, even if my interlocutors outside of the preemptive side did not view religious differences as influential for their work environments. For instance, in the introduction of this thesis I elaborated on the challenges that the increasing religious diversity has brought to the Finnish police forces through an example that focused on police officers forcefully removing hijabs from two Muslim women.¹²⁴ It does not require an extensive understanding on Islam to see how the incident can be interpreted as a violation of the religious freedom of the two women whose hijabs were removed. This incident shows how acquiring basic knowledge on religions and on the general meaning behind the most visible practices of Islam and other religions, could be beneficial for all of the institution and its officers - not only for those in close collaboration with religious minorities through the preemptive side.

It can be argued based on this section that religious literacy and cultural sensitivity are not viewed by police officers in all parts of the organization as important in the same ways as by my interlocutors working in the preemptive side, all of whom perceived understanding cultural and religious differences as crucial for police work in multicultural settings. The following section builds on this argument regarding religious literacy in the Finnish police forces - that acquiring it is not an institution wide approach - by focusing on the ways in which the Finnish police forces educate police officers to expand their knowledge of religious diversity and prepare police students to operate in a religiously diverse setting.

¹²⁴ Kunnas and Lapinkangas "Poliisit riisuivat väkisin musliminaisten huivit".

3.2. Religious diversity in police education

In terms of instructions offered to police officers in the preemptive side for the collaboration with minority groups, my interlocutors from the preemptive side of the capital area explained that there is no formal instruction for such initiatives. This, however, was perceived in a positive way by my respondents in the focus group interview:

There is no instruction. So it's a bit that you get to know the people and you also learn about your work that way. I have openly admitted in the prayer rooms that I am there to offer police services, but I am also there as a student, to learn what is important to my clients and what is needed from me. And I don't think there is even a need to put instructions for this. Because we are an organization that always goes on the basis of law and our way of thinking is always "what does the law say", but people are different so you can't really say that Muslims are like this, Hindus are like that, and some other group behaves like this... I think the work is a bit that you have to see everything at an individual level.

Hence, the preemptive work group does not get training for collaborating with minorities, which can be interpreted to be closely tied to the way in which the Finnish police forces aim to acquire religious literacy: through the preemptive measures themselves. During this research project, I also had several email exchanges with a contact person from the Finnish police university of applied sciences, as I requested permission to conduct field observations in relation to educational practices focusing on religious diversity. However, I learned that the police education in Finland does not include modules that are directly about religions or religious diversity. In relation to that, a member of the board of the Finnish police explained to me that although the police education does not touch upon religious diversity in the form of a course module, it does not mean that there is no education on (religious) diversity: the police education consists of several parts that take into consideration the social landscape in which police officials operate, including cultural and religious influences on that landscape. My interlocutor from the board of the Finnish police forces elaborated:

We have the longest police education in Europe and even still, our students have full days so that we could include everything in it. So if we talk about something, we always see it in a broad perspective [...] and many topics have also been streamlined in our police education. So it is not like we have a module for religions and we discuss religions for a couple of days in a classroom, but everything... everything is included into different

practical entitles. [...] On top of that, there is a course on cultural encounters. There is also a module for self reflection, where police candidates need to evaluate their own prejudices. So it has been taken into consideration in police education.

Although the members of the board of the Finnish police forces did not see a need for increased attention to religious differences in the police education, those working with religious minorities had an opposing view: all of them elaborated that there is a need for increased education on how one should approach foreign religious or cultural issues as a police officer. Similarly, two out of three of my interlocutors who do not actively participate in collaboration with religious minorities perceived increased education on religions important for the whole institution, even though they did not experience religion as an influential factor in their own work environment. According to my interlocutors with no particular experience in working with religious minorities, education on religious diversity should especially be provided to police officers whose formal police education took place some decades ago when the Finnish religious landscape was less diverse. Particularly, they stated that it would be good to increase basic knowledge on Islam in the police, as that could break prejudices towards Muslims that some police officers might have. In this vein, one of my interlocutors with no particular experience in working with religious minorities stated that she graduated in 2005 and back then the formal police education did not touch upon religious differences at all. Thus, the majority of my interlocutors (excluding board members) perceived increased attention to religious diversity already in the police education as something that should be pursued.

However, a problem acknowledged by my interlocutors who work in the preemptive side was that it is challenging to formulate education that would cover everything that is relevant for police work in a religiously diverse setting. My interlocutors who actively collaborate with religious minorities elaborated that having a course module that outlines the religious diversity in Finland and the possible special features of each religion would be counterproductive and increase stereotyping, polarization, and possible prejudices. Therefore, my interlocutors from the preemptive side experienced that it would be more valuable to increase encounters and discussions with representatives of minority groups as part of the education in a somewhat similar way as the preemptive side works - by having open conversations with members of minority groups. These encounters would, according to my interlocutors from the preemptive side, help police officers to adapt a position of cultural sensitivity as well as understand what equality and

affirming equality means in practice. As one of my interlocutors from the preemptive side explained:

I would not necessarily support education [on religious diversity] in such a way that there is a teacher who has worked 10 years as a teacher in the police academy, and they are teaching that “Islam is this, Muslims behave like this, and Muslim culture is like this”, or any education that would cut corners. But if we could increase encounters with minorities, for example there could be a person telling their own experiences, because it is sometimes so difficult for us to understand that minorities are not in an equal position here, or that the police treat minorities differently. But if there was someone from that group, with those experiences, sharing how they perceive encounters with the police, I think that would increase interest, understanding, humane interactions, compassion, and everything that would work positively for us in the long run.

What was viewed as the most important goal for police education on religious diversity is, according to my interlocutors from the preemptive side, acknowledging that one’s worldview or cultural background can influence situations that police officers encounter. Some examples brought to my attention that highlight the need for this kind of cultural understanding were especially about the different understandings of familial relationships, and of the concept of honor as a possible source of conflict. As one of my interlocutors working in the preemptive side shared:

It would be good if we recognized that the understanding of family can be much broader than what we here consider it...As an example, a father I know through the preemptive work, who had lived [...] I think 17 years in Finland, approached me. He had a 15 year old daughter who was dating a boy that their relatives in the father’s country of origin, in the Middle-East, did not approve of. One day the father approached and asked what I can do to help him, because his family is pressuring him to do something to his daughter in the name of the family’s honor. He didn’t even have strong ties to his country of origin anymore [...] but the heat was coming from there. It wasn’t his nuclear family either, so the ties... the tentacles can be so long. So the threat of violence becomes concrete here but the influences can be elsewhere.

As another interlocutor from the preemptive side explained in relation to the previous example, the complexity of situations can be easily overlooked by the police if one does not have an understanding of cultural and religious differences, particularly in issues within families. According to her, following purely the path of formal law does not always suit the situation and in some cases, placing lawsuits solely based on what kind of criminal offenses are visible can worsen the situations. Ignoring the cultural or religious influences behind a case might lead to not reading the situation correctly. The consequences might be that the police would only remove the

most evident offender, letting other contributors slip away. Or, the police might not realize who the actual victim or perpetrator is in the case, as we see in the example shared by my interlocutor about the father who was being pressured by his extended family to resort to violence against his daughter, due to which he turned to the police instead of carrying out his family's demands. Another example of the complexity of family cases that was shared with me touched upon the tradition of dower (money paid by the husband to the bride's family/bride)¹²⁵ among Finnish Muslims, which in my interlocutor's view makes it difficult for the police to understand dynamics between couples. My interlocutors explained that for instance, women's shelters are not hesitant to place formal lawsuits if conflicts between couples lead to separation. However, because the Finnish formal law does not recognize the institution of dower, placing lawsuits can have social and financial consequences beyond the formal sanction, even to both parties involved. Thus, my interlocutors from the preemptive side considered cultural knowledge and knowledge on religions important for seeing behind the immediate situations. This would mean keeping in mind that there can be influences behind each scene that are invisible at the first sight - particularly to observers coming from a secular-normative, individualistic culture.

The framework of religious literacy, as defined by Sakaranaho et al. highlights the importance of understanding how belief and practice are informed by cultural, social, political and historical conditions.¹²⁶ What can be derived from my findings is that it is not considered essential for police officials in Finland to know *how* belief or practice might be shaped by such conditions, but it is important to recognize that this is the case. This view was brought forward by my interlocutors in the board of the Finnish police forces and by those working in the preemptive side. My interlocutors in both groups expressed caution to regard anything as a "Muslim problem", but highlighted that issues such as honor related crimes do not only show among Muslim minorities but other groups, too. This is in line with an argument made by criminologist Mohammed Mazher Idriss, who states that although honor related crimes touch particularly upon South Asian and Middle Eastern women, honor as a source of conflict or violence is not confined to Muslim societies, but should rather be viewed as an international women's rights issue.¹²⁷ Similarly, as mentioned, my interlocutors from the preemptive side highlighted that education on religious differences should not further contribute to stereotyping Muslims. The cautions in expressing

¹²⁵ Jamal J. Nasir, *The Islamic Law of Personal Status: Third Revised and Updated Version* (Leiden: Brill, 2009): 83, accessed August 6, 2022 <https://doi-org.proxy-ub.rug.nl/10.1163/9789004182196>

¹²⁶ Sakaranaho et al. "Introduction : Setting the Stage", 3-4.

¹²⁷ Mohammad Mazer Idriss "Honour, violence, women and Islam - an Introduction" In *Honour, Violence, Women and Islam*, edited by M. Idriss and T. Abbas (Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2010): 4, accessed August 6, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203846988>

issues as “Muslim problems” shows understanding that Islam is occasionally viewed as a monolith religion. Kumar argues that the stereotype of Islam being a monolith religion has its roots on colonial understanding that the Muslims can be understood solely based on classical Islamic texts. Kumar claims that this stereotype, the homogeneity of Islam, is still often left unquestioned and that the stereotype functions as a basis for other stereotypes about Muslims. According to Kumar, only by ignoring cultural influences on Islam, one can generalize Muslims and Islam as violent, sexist, irrational and so forth.¹²⁸ In this sense it can be argued that my interlocutors particularly from the preemptive side avoid a common pitfall of religious illiteracy: regarding religion as the main explanatory factor in the behavior of people whilst ignoring the other possible contributors to one’s identity and practice.¹²⁹

However, the argument that the Finnish police forces do not regard Islam as a monolith religion cannot be generalized to cover the whole institution. My interlocutors who do not actively participate in minority related initiatives did reveal some generalizing and stereotyping tendencies by, for example, elaborating on the value of gender equality as opposing to Islam and domestic violence as a recurring problem among Muslim minorities. Moreover, all of my interlocutors who do not actively participate in minority related initiatives emphasized that dynamics between men and women “in Islam” is something that police officers should be aware of, as female police officers might not be taken seriously by Muslim men when the police operates in contact to Muslims. This shows that a stereotypes outlined by Kumar, namely “Islam is a uniquely sexist religion” and “Islam is a monolith religion” are somewhat taken for granted by my interlocutors with no extensive experience in working with Finnish Muslims. Meanwhile, research shows that gender based violence towards women in Finland is alarming at an European level, as every other woman beyond the age of 15 has encountered physical or sexual violence.¹³⁰ In addition, misogynistic attitudes are prevalent among the general population.¹³¹ This signals that gender inequality in Finland is certainly not an issue confined to Finnish Muslims. In this sense having increased education focusing on religious diversity could break stereotypes and silence over gender based violence in Finland by debunking thoughts that sexism and domestic violence is a problem that occurs uniquely among Muslims. However, two out of three of my research participants who do not work in minority related initiatives expressed that their own knowledge on

¹²⁸ Kumar “Islamophobia and the Politics of the Empire”, 42.

¹²⁹ Sakaranaho et al. “Introduction : Setting the Stage”, 2.

¹³⁰ Salla Kivelä “The Documentation of family violence in healthcare and the associations of violence in health care” *Tampere University Dissertations 197* (2020):19, accessed August 6, 2022 <https://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-03-1407-1>

¹³¹ Tahira Sequeira “Is Finland really a safe place for women?” *Helsinki Times*, May 2, 2021 accessed August 6, 2022 <https://www.helsinkitimes.fi/finland/finland-news/domestic/19120-is-finland-really-a-safe-place-for-women.html>

Islam is scarce. Therefore, expressing a view that gender based violence is common among Muslims, and that Islam is a sexist religion is not entirely surprising, because as Sakaranaho et al. argue, political discourses and public media in Finland do not shy away from using expressions that emphasize the violence and fundamentalism of Muslims¹³² and, as Kumar suggests, the stereotype that Islam is a sexist religion (alongside other dominant stereotypes on Islam) has been promoted, for instance through politics, for centuries.¹³³

3.2.1 Critique on the framework of religious literacy

I argue that obtaining religious literacy poses a notable challenge for the Finnish police forces: how to educate future police officers on religious diversity in a way that does not increase stereotypes and “cut corners” by ignoring the internal diversity of religions? This challenge has also been noted by Dinham and Francis, as they state that bringing religious literacy from the level of concept into practice is difficult.¹³⁴ The suggested solution for this question, as preferred by my interlocutors working in the preemptive side, would utilize connections with minorities as the source for police education on religious diversity. However, it can be questioned if it is the minority’s task to educate the majority population on themselves. Such an approach, that utilizes voices of stigmatized people for education, has especially received negative attention in discussions relating to racial injustice and white privilege. For instance, it has been argued that white educators should vocally present themselves as allies in educational settings and take on education relating to racism. Moreover, leaving education on racial matters only to educators of color can be interpreted to be a form of racial oppression, as the class encounters and student feedback and/or attitudes can leave the educator exhausted - especially if the audience is not receptive.¹³⁵ For instance, Kali Holloway’s argument in public column is critical towards making people of color take the lead in education focusing on racial justice:

The problem with those teachable moments is that the same people always end up doing all the teaching. In matters of race (and sex, disability, gender and sexuality, but let’s stick to race right now), the marginalized are tasked with being educators. That is, people of color (POC), are expected to be patient and polite racial and cultural ambassadors who provide white people new to this whole “thinking critically about race” thing with a “way in.” The role entails charitably and unselfishly engaging questions, assertions and doubts from

¹³² Sakaranaho “Finnish Studies on Islam”, 235.

¹³³ Kumar “Islamophobia and the Politics of the Empire”, 41-42.

¹³⁴ Dinham and Francis “Religious Literacies : The Future”, 268-270.

¹³⁵ Laura Smith et al. “White Professors Teaching About Racism:Challenges and Rewards” *The Counseling Psychologist* 45 no. 5 (2017):651-653, accessed August 6, 2022 <https://www.apa.org/education-career/ce/white-professors-racism.pdf>

white people who've previously done precious little thinking about racism and privilege, but often have quite a bit to say on the topic.¹³⁶

Holloway's argument could be applied here as well especially since, as demonstrated in the introduction of this thesis, the general attitudes towards Islam in Finland are negative and because as pointed out in the introduction, Islamophobia can be argued to be a form of racism. Thus, utilizing encounters with Muslims in police education could result in similar problems that literature on education in racial matters suggests, such as exhaustion of the educators whose realities the education touches upon and whose religiosity is commonly - even historically as shown by Kumar¹³⁷ - coloured with negative stereotypes that are largely taken for granted and utilized in anti-Islam narratives.

Furthermore, it can be argued that having encounters with minorities as the main source for police education focusing on religious diversity would not solve the problem of "cutting corners", especially if the education touches upon theological matters and expressions derived from scripture that are interpretive and vary between denominations, cultures, imams, and even between adherents of one interpretive tradition. Moore argues that although practitioners and religious leaders are occasionally considered as experts of their tradition, it is problematic to utilize their expertise in education, as their experiences are based on a certain interpretive reading.¹³⁸ In Moore's view, having religious leaders or practitioners in the role of an expert would be suitable only if they also have education about their tradition from a non-sectarian perspective. Otherwise their expert knowledge does not cover the diversity of views that are represented in one religion.¹³⁹ For instance, she points out, debates about Islamic veiling practices occasionally circulate around the question of "what Islam teaches" about proper attire on women. In truth, Moore argues, a variety of theological interpretations lead to different practices. Additionally, different communities might have similar practices, but base them on different theological justifications.¹⁴⁰ Thus, acquiring especially theological knowledge through encounters in police education can heavily depend on who is invited to educate. This is an important remark because the preemptive work strategy states that the police forces should acquire theological knowledge

¹³⁶ Kali Holloway "Black people are not here to teach you: What so many white Americans just can't grasp" *Salon*, April 14, 2015, accessed August 6, 2022 https://www.salon.com/2015/04/14/black_people_are_not_here_to_teach_you_what_so_many_white_americans_just_cant_grasp_partner/

¹³⁷ Kumar "Islamophobia and the Politics of the Empire", 25-41.

¹³⁸ Moore "Diminishing religious literacy", 27-28.

¹³⁹ Moore "Diminishing religious literacy", 28.

¹⁴⁰ Moore "Diminishing religious literacy", 28.

through collaboration with Muslim organizations to be able to safeguard rights like freedom of religion.¹⁴¹ However, it is crucial that police officers are aware of these differences in interpretation and recognize the internal diversity of Islam that exists at theological level as well as in practice.

I argue that a key dilemma with religious literacy is highlighted in this discussion. Although Sakaranaho et al. argue that religious literacy is crucial for governing religious diversity¹⁴², it seems to be impossible to realize in practice without simplifying matters. This is because textbook-type education would not adequately reflect reality, and would, according to my interlocutors who work with religious minorities, backfire easily and increase prejudices and stereotypes. Although encounters as a source of education certainly seems like a better solution than “instruction books” on religious diversity and on different religions, I argue that the encounters approach, too, can end up giving a one-sided look into Islam (and other religions). This dilemma comes to life especially if theological knowledge is utilized to legitimize and deny practices as religious or cultural, which is explained in the preemptive work strategy as one of the main reasons for considering theological knowledge as valuable for police officers.¹⁴³

Although the preemptive work strategy highlights the importance of having theological knowledge on Islam, this was not highlighted by my interlocutors in any sampling group as a crucial matter for the police. Rather, my interlocutors - especially those who are working with religious minorities - hope for an education that would allow police officials to adopt a position of cultural sensitivity and acknowledge inequalities in the Finnish society. This idea is in line with what Sakaranaho et al. suggest on what would be the outcome if religious literacy was developed among government authorities: sensitivity and recognition to religious matters.¹⁴⁴ Thus, there is a clear disparity between what kind of knowledge on religions is viewed as important for police officers in the level of policy, and what kind of knowledge was articulated as important by my interlocutors who work with religious minorities. This, in my view, demonstrates the challenge in conceptualizing religious literacy in a way that it would be accessible in practice, and in a way that education on religions would meet both needs of police officers: to be able to safeguard religious freedoms, as well as understand the internal diversity in religions and different contributors to the behavior of individuals aside from “official” doctrines that are presented in theologies.

¹⁴¹ Sisäministeriö “ENSKA: Poliisin ennalta estävän työn strategia”, 28.

¹⁴² Sakaranaho et al. “Introduction : Setting the Stage”, 2.

¹⁴³ Sakaranaho et al. “Introduction : Setting the Stage”, 2-3.

¹⁴⁴ Sakaranaho et al. “Introduction : Setting the Stage”, 2-3.

In summary, the Finnish police forces have certainly “woken up” to the reality of religious diversity during the past decade, and the most notable example of this is the preemptive measures and grass-root collaboration with religious minorities. However, the same cannot be said about police education, as most of my research participants do not perceive the existing education on religious diversity as adequate. However, this opinion is not shared by those in the board of the Finnish police forces, as in my interviews with board members it was rather emphasized that the education takes religious differences into account in a sufficient manner. This disparity can, perhaps, be explained by looking at the different positionalities of my interlocutors in the institution: those in the board, who have a focus largely on policy making instead of on work in the field, might be more alienated from the realities in the field, such as from what my interlocutors in the preemptive side encounter in their work with religious minorities. In addition, the board members might not be aware of the fact that even police officers who do not engage actively in minority related initiatives might perceive the education on religious differences as insufficient for the needs of contemporary Finnish society.

Education and approaches to the religious diversity of the general public are not the only challenges that the increased religious diversity in Finland has brought to the Finnish police forces. Alongside education on religious diversity and preemptive measures, a topic that was extensively covered in my interviews is that of diversity recruitment programs. The following section focuses on the why’s and how’s of diversity recruitment in the Finnish police forces. This theme is also closely connected to the question of religious symbolism in the police forces which will be discussed in detail afterward.

3.3. Diversity recruitment programs

The Finnish police forces have aimed to increase their internal diversity already for over a decade.¹⁴⁵ However, the diversity recruitment initiatives in the Finnish police forces have not reached the desired outcome, and the police university of applied sciences receives only a small number of applications from representatives of ethnic and linguistic minorities during their application periods. Moreover, those representatives of minorities that do apply, do not necessarily get accepted. According to a project report published by the police university of applied sciences in 2021, notable challenges for diversity recruitment in the Finnish police forces are: language

¹⁴⁵ Marko Juutinen and Jenita Rauta “Monimuotoisen rekrytoinnin esteet ja edistäminen” *Poliisiammattikorkeakoulu* (2021):3, accessed August 7, 2022 <https://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe2021052531528>

barriers, as one must have excellent written and spoken Finnish skills as well as basic skills on the second official language, Swedish; lack of knowledge among minorities about police work and the position of police officers in the Finnish society; fear for possible racist attitudes within the police organization; and finally, un-matching norms, such as police forces not accommodating religious differences.¹⁴⁶ The report also states that increasing diversity in the Finnish police forces is crucial for serving all parts of the Finnish population equally.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, the authors of the report, Juutinen and Rauta, suggest that evident lack of police candidates from different linguistic and ethnic backgrounds might be a sign of structural inequality in the Finnish society, as the results can be interpreted to indicate that not all members of the society have the same opportunities for applying and getting accepted to the Finnish police forces.¹⁴⁸

According to my interlocutors who also focus on diversity recruitment through their work in the preemptive side, the new action plan for diversity recruitment addresses the challenges enlisted in the report written in 2021. The current plan utilizes collaboration with religious minorities. This is considered to allow the Finnish police forces and the police university of applied sciences to understand how the situation with diversity recruitment can be improved. A practical example about this kind of collaboration that was shared with me by my interlocutors from the preemptive side was a meeting that was planned (but got canceled as one of their key participants had Covid at the time) with imams of mosques in the capital area. The plan for the meeting was to discuss future opportunities for the police to meet with local Muslim youth and talk about police work whilst hearing from Muslims what kind of issues might prevent them from applying to the police university of applied sciences.

In my focus group interview with police officers from the preemptive side it was explained that it would be important to increase diversity within the police forces so that the police could visibly signal that everyone has equal access to the police both in terms of future employment and receiving services from the police organization as a customer. This would require increased representation of minorities in the police ranks. The police was also considered as an important organization to have internal diversity, as police officers are visible in the streets. Having representation in the police forces would visibly signify social inclusion in the whole society. As

¹⁴⁶ Juutinen and Rauta "Monimuotoisen rekrytoinnin esteet ja edistäminen", 9-10.

¹⁴⁷ Juutinen and Rauta "Monimuotoisen rekrytoinnin esteet ja edistäminen", 4.

¹⁴⁸ Polamk.fi "Selvitys: Poliisikoulutuksen monimuotoisuutta edistetään tiiviillä yhteistyöllä koulujen kanssa"

Poliisiammattikorkeakoulu June 2, 2021, accessed August 7, 2022

<https://polamk.fi/-/selvitys-poliisikoulutuksen-monimuotoisuutta-edistetaan-tiiviilla-yhteistyolla-koulujen-kanssa>

explained by my interlocutors who work in the preemptive side:

I think it's crucial to recruit police officers from different backgrounds so we could generate a feeling to minorities that "I genuinely have opportunities, and my children have opportunities here", even if it is not their dream profession, but at least that the feeling would be there, so it's not like "this doesn't apply to us, we are outsiders here", but that everyone gets the feeling of "us" as equals in this society, with same opportunities to succeed and get accepted. So if we could create this as the basis, maybe then someone would see it as their goal.

To this, my other interlocutor in the focus group discussion responded:

And, of course, that everyone could experience that the police exist for them. If our ranks appear as... completely white and as an homogeneous group, why would someone from a different background - ethnic, cultural, sexual or religious, [...] if they see that in that group there is no one that I can relate to, who would view and experience the world like I would, you wouldn't think that that is a group that I can join, would you? Or even, if I am in trouble, then only as a last resort I can contact the police... Maybe to native Finns the police is the first option, but if we consider minorities they might rather turn to their own community where they feel understood, and they might perceive the police as representatives of a "pure Finnish society" where everyone is made after the same mold. So if our minorities could see some diversity in the police, maybe they would also approach the police when needed.

Thus, those that work with religious minorities through preemptive measures view increasing representation of diversity in the police forces as important because that would contribute to social inclusion and aid the police forces to gain trust and legitimacy with minorities in a way that the police is perceived as approachable to everyone. This is similar to the reasoning behind diversity recruitment that Wieslander found in her research carried out among Swedish police candidates. Some of the police candidates in Wieslander's research perceived increasing diversity as important because it would increase legitimacy for the institution and make the police a role model of a fair and representative authority.¹⁴⁹

My interlocutor working on the diversity recruitment programs shared a practical example on why making the police forces religiously diverse is important. My interlocutor had arranged a tour in the police university of applied sciences with a group of Somali girls and girls from different Middle-Eastern countries. The girls were put together by an NGO that had contacted my

¹⁴⁹ Wieslander "Controversial Diversity", 879-880.

interlocutor, as they had expressed a mutual interest to learn more about their future possibilities of working for the Finnish police forces. The purpose of the tour was to introduce the girls to police education and work. My interlocutor had asked a police candidate with an Afghani background to join them on the tour, having in mind that she might have a better perspective on studying there and becoming a police officer in Finland as a representative of a religious and ethnic minority. My interlocutor from the preemptive side explained that despite her experience in working with religious minorities as a police officer, she would have not been able to answer questions that the girls on the tour wanted answers to. A question she used to exemplify this point was about Ramadan, as the girls had been curious on how Ramadan affects studying in the police academy, since education involves a heavy physical component. According to my interlocutor, the student guide had explained that Ramadan is a natural part of her student life in the police academy, just like it would be in other fields of study. My interlocutor retrospectively reacted to this example in our interview as follows:

And I thought, exactly! Firstly, I would have not even taken that into consideration in my tour at all. Secondly, I am not capable of answering those questions adequately, because it is not part of my life. It just showed me how important it is to have someone to relate to, someone who you can ask these things, or who might have the same questions. These might be much bigger things that I can even realize. I would not have been able to achieve that kind of connection on that tour.

Overall, internal diversity in the police is viewed as important by my interlocutors in all three sampling groups. Particularly according to my interlocutors who work on the preemptive side, increased representation would allow minorities like Muslims to feel belonging to the Finnish society as a whole, and realize opportunities in Finland. However, my interlocutors working in the preemptive side expressed that similarly as the preemptive work, diversity recruitment is not in the structures of the organization. The current action plan, which focuses on collaborating with minorities to work together towards a diverse police organization, is considered as a step towards getting the approaches to diversity recruitment into permanent components of the organization, as by far the attempts to increase diversity have been only short term projects. The members of the board of the Finnish police forces that I interviewed were largely of the same opinion on diversity recruitment that my interlocutors working with religious minorities: increasing diversity in the police would help the police to gain trust and legitimacy in the society.

However, my interlocutors with no particular experience in working with religious minorities saw increasing diversity in the police ranks important, too, but for a different reason. The common rationale expressed in this sampling group was that a diverse police organization would better answer the needs of a diverse population by, for instance, allowing sending Muslim police officers to Muslim customers, Russian police officers to Russian customers and so forth. Furthermore, having diversity in the police was perceived to be the same thing as having religious, cultural and linguistic expertise in the police forces. Whereas this is understandable in a linguistic sense, it is not an unproblematic way of thinking when it comes to matching police officers with the general public based on their religiosity or cultural background. Wieslander's discourse analysis also detected this as a recurring theme among some of the Swedish police candidates, and she claims that those that expressed "matching" of police officers with minorities being a fruit of diversity recruitment often perceived minorities as internally homogeneous groups within which all individuals think and behave alike.¹⁵⁰ Thus, there are clear differences in the ways in which my interlocutors in different sampling groups articulated the need for increasing diversity in the Finnish police forces although all my participants recognized that it is something that is important in the current time.

The differences in views on diversity recruitment between my three groups of interlocutors were particularly highlighted when discussing one of the factors that possibly hinders the diversity recruitment especially in terms of recruiting religious minorities like Muslims: the visibility of religious symbolism in the police forces. As mentioned in the beginning of this section, one obstacle standing in the way for Muslims to apply and get into the Finnish police forces is norm based, as the institution can be perceived as not accommodating towards religious practices.¹⁵¹ Hence, veiling controversies regarding the police forces are closely connected to the diversity recruitment of the Finnish police forces. Thereby, the following section focuses on the headscarf question in relation to the Finnish police uniform.

3.4. Views and approaches to the headscarf question

According to my interlocutors who are working in the preemptive side, the uniform regulation is an issue that is brought forward every time by Muslim youth in the recruitment events of the police forces. The current uniform regulation puts my interlocutors from the preemptive side in an

¹⁵⁰ Wieslander "Controversial Diversity", 879.

¹⁵¹ Juutinen and Rauta "Monimuotoisen rekrytoinnin esteet ja edistäminen", 9-10.

awkward position as the goal for the recruitment events is to show to minority youth that the police is open to everyone - despite their religious adherence or ethnic background. However, my interlocutors have to respond in the events to questions regarding regulations on the police uniform that can be regarded as exclusive and discriminatory towards Muslims.

When I asked my interlocutors from the preemptive side, how they respond to the questions about the headscarf regulation asked by Muslim youth in the recruitment events, they stated that they always highlight that not everyone in the Finnish police forces work in the field in a uniform, but there are many positions in the police organization that people can apply to and work in their civil clothes. This was something subsequently mentioned by my interlocutors in all three sampling groups, and is clearly seen as a sign of institutional openness towards religious differences. However, one could argue that working behind the scenes of the police organization is quite different from being a figure of public authority in the streets, representing the government and its laws. Koenig argues that exemption claims coming from minorities, such as requests to wear a religious garment in the public or work place, can be considered to be pleas for recognition for one's religious identity and citizenship.¹⁵² Similarly, one could argue that having the possibility to incorporate hijab into an government regulated uniform would visibly signify state-level acknowledgement of Muslim identities as part of the Finnish society.

It is noteworthy that incorporating religious symbolism into the police uniform was not perceived only negatively by my interlocutors. The members of the board that were interviewed for this research saw the headscarf as something that could be both, a connecting factor between the police officer and the general public, and a cause of awkward confrontations that could be perceived negatively by the customers of the police. The latter was also used as the main reason against the headscarf by my interlocutors with no particular experience in working with religious minorities, as the headscarf was viewed as possibly provocative in police work. Examples of these awkward confrontations that were elaborated by my interlocutors encompass encounters with Islamophobic representatives of the general public, and possible conflicts arising from visits to the homes of other religious minorities. As a benefit, however, the headscarf was perceived by my interlocutors in all three sampling groups as something that could possibly help an officer to connect with people with an Islamic background, or diaspora background in general. This shows that the police forces do recognize that visibility of religious difference could also provide the organization with legitimacy. Yet, even in the discussions about the positive effects of the

¹⁵² Koenig "How Nation States Respond to Religious Diversity", 300-301.

headscarf in the police forces the tendency particularly among board members and police officers who do not work in minority related initiatives was to quickly return to possible issues that such adjustment to the uniform could bring.

3.4.1. Conceptualizing neutrality in the Finnish police forces

All of my interlocutors, especially those in the board of the Finnish police forces and those working in the preemptive side, highlighted that the uniform regulations are what they are *now*, but interested applicants should not be discouraged by the situation, as it lives and evolves. The evolution of the situation is not only tied to the organization of the police forces and their board, as the Finnish police forces are ultimately regulated by the Finnish law, which is adjusted by the Finnish parliament.¹⁵³ However, the board of the Finnish police forces have outlined their views on the headscarf debate and communicated them to the Finnish parliament and the public in connection with the headscarf discussion that took place in 2014. Back then, the police forces expressed reluctance to allow the headscarf as a component of the official police uniform, and as mentioned, particularly for reasons of institutional objectivity/neutrality, and gender equality.¹⁵⁴

The value of neutrality in the Finnish police forces is also perceived as something that protects the identity of the police officer by giving them an identity of the organization. Once a person puts on the uniform that signals only neutrality of an official, all possible insults and attacks are aimed at the government official, not at the person or features of their identity. This, however, is a reductionist way of viewing identity as something that can be put aside for the working hours. For instance, Daniel Cuypers has analyzed European headscarf controversies from a legislative perspective. He pays special attention to the division of public and private spheres that is often utilized in headscarf debates. Cuypers argues that the idea that one's private life does not belong to work environments does not consider an individual from a holistic perspective and is a reductionist view on identity, as a person becomes to be seen as pure "workforce".¹⁵⁵

I asked about the headscarf and religious symbolism in my interviews with my interlocutors in all three sampling groups. Particularly in the interviews conducted with the members of the board of the Finnish police forces, the values of neutrality and objectivity were described as far

¹⁵³ Karhunen "Uskonnollinen pukeutuminen osana työasua Suomessa", 66.

¹⁵⁴ Leskinen "Voisiko suomalainen poliisi näyttää tältä?"

¹⁵⁵ Daniel Cuypers "Religion, Discrimination, the head scarf and labour law" *ERA Forum: Journal of the Academy of European Law* 19, no 3 (2019): 418, accessed August 5, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12027-019-00548-y>

greater for the institution than one's constitutional rights, such as freedom of religion. As explained to me by a board member and an expert on Finnish jurisprudence:

Being a government official does not come without conditions, it is sort of a burden that is trusted upon you. Caring for your position also means living according to the conditions and restrictions that your title "official" places upon you. It can also mean restrictions to your constitutional rights. [...] For example, you would still have the same freedom of speech legally, but police officers have a responsibility to a certain code of conduct. So, you cannot go to the market and shout out your outdated views on migration because that would harm the organization. And when it comes to religious clothing, being in the position of a police official means inhabiting and showcasing the values of neutrality and objectivity - no other ideology. You can believe what you want, but it cannot be visible in the ways in which you are an official.

The juridical difference between a regular workplace and being a government official, according to my interlocutors who are members in the board of the Finnish police forces, comes evident in one practicality: consent. As a police officer, you consent to your position and to the restrictions that it places upon you. To exemplify the restrictions that police officers are bound by, another representative of the board of the Finnish police forces explained to me that in order to address discriminatory views and practices in the police forces, police officers can get dismissed for simply being members in "wrong" social media groups:

We have a clear line, and we subsequently remind our officers about it, that we have an absolute zero tolerance to any kind of racist content. Actually, this year - or during the past year - we had to dismiss a total of five police officers because of their attitudes towards minorities. And it can be something as small as being in the wrong chat room, even if they are not active participants there, but just being a member there...We don't accept anything like that.

Hence, freedom of religion is not the only constitutional right that can be restricted from police officers from the grounds of neutrality - freedom of speech and expression are also restricted due to the professional code of conduct that applies also to one's free time. Similar restrictions, particularly those placed on freedom of expression, were critiqued by Swedish police candidates in Wieslander's study, as diversity recruitment policies were claimed to be "window-dressing policies", and the Swedish police was viewed by some of the police candidates as an institution that does not embrace diversity in reality because expressing certain views and

opinions is practically banned from Swedish police officers¹⁵⁶ - in the same way that they are banned from Finnish police officers.

Furthermore, according to interviewed board members, allowing one symbol that is not part of the official uniform code could increase demand to allow others, too. This could go as far as requests to wear ideological symbols that signify discriminatory views. An example of this that was shared with me by a board member is about the concept of “the thin blue line”, a symbol originating from the US which signifies the police forces as the line that keeps the society from turning into a violent chaos. After a Finnish police officer was killed in a shooting in 2016, patches with an army green Finnish flag with a thin blue line running in the middle of it spread among Finnish police officers. The symbol, however, has been utilized in the context of the Black Lives Matter -movement in the US by its counter force, Blue Lives Matter. Therefore, it has also acquired a globally recognized racist connotation.¹⁵⁷ My interlocutor explained that changing the dress code to allow one symbol that signifies something else than neutrality could put pressure on the police to allow others, too. Moreover, my interlocutor claimed, symbols can obtain different meanings and trigger different reactions among the general public. Leaning on the principle of neutrality, the thin blue line patches got banned from police uniforms, although the initial purpose for the thin blue line patches in Finland was to collect money for family members of deceased or injured police officers.

The restrictions placed on certain constitutional rights of police officers, and the case of the thin blue line patches exemplify how the values of neutrality and objectivity are carried out in practice in the Finnish police forces. These are considered to be absolute values that cannot be derived from - not even in order to become more inclusive towards minorities. However, one of the police officers working on the preemptive side stated that the concept of “neutrality” is not unbiased, and could be reimagined to be representative of the society as a whole, including Muslims and other religious minorities. My interlocutors from the preemptive side elaborated on how in their view the headscarf could be incorporated into the police uniform whilst still upholding values of neutrality and objectivity: a neutral headscarf could be a simple headgear that covers one’s hair and neck, in a same manner that it has been incorporated to the police uniform in

¹⁵⁶ Wieslander “Controversial Diversity”, 880.

¹⁵⁷Janelle Griffith “Police chief bans 'Thin Blue Line' imagery, says it's been 'co-opted' by extremists” *NBC News*, January 29,2021, accessed August 7, 2022 <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/police-chief-bans-thin-blue-line-imagery-says-it-s-n1256217>

Sweden.¹⁵⁸ In this sense, those who are working in close collaboration with Finnish Muslims are again expressing a different view than my other interlocutors. My interlocutors in other sampling groups (board members and police officers who do not work with religious minorities) rather elaborated on issues from different European countries where the headscarf has been incorporated to the police uniform. Yet, these issues were articulated in a vague manner, without sharing concrete examples of problems occurring in the field. In addition, pointing out that Finland has a relatively small Muslim population allowed a “we don’t need it here” way of thinking, which highlights how the headscarf in the Finnish police forces would be a different case from that in Sweden because the Finnish Muslim population is notably smaller.

As I suggested in the introduction of this thesis, as Wieslander has similarly analyzed in the context of the Swedish police forces, conceptualizing neutrality can be a discriminatory practice. For instance, Wieslander distinguished a monocultural view from her interviews with Swedish police candidates, a view that highlighted “Us” vs. “Them” composition, us (Swedish) being perceived as secular and them (migrants) as religious.¹⁵⁹ In another paper, Wieslander distinguished a discourse on diversity in which the central subject was neutrality of the police and not everyone was perceived as capable of reaching a neutral status.¹⁶⁰ A Finnish scholar of religious studies, Katri Karhunen, gave her statement to the Finnish news media in relation to the 2014 headscarf debate and stated that for instance in England, religious symbolism in the police forces mirrors the religious diversity of the public and therefore is a neutral representation of the society as a whole despite visible religious differences.¹⁶¹ Although my interlocutors in all of the three sampling groups articulated that traditionally religion is not emphasized in Finland and therefore religious expressions do not fit into the category of neutrality, my interlocutors from the preemptive side recognized that neutrality is culturally mandated. As an example in relation to this discussion, my interlocutor working in the preemptive side shared:

I don’t know if my colleagues believe in anything or not, it’s not part of our culture to discuss these things. As an example, I heard of this police student with a minority background. I asked this staff member from the police academy if they know her as I

¹⁵⁸ Sveriges Radio “Police Allow Religious Headgear as Part of Uniform” *SverigesRadio* March 9, 2009, accessed August 7, 2022 <https://sverigesradio.se/artikel/812430>

¹⁵⁹ Sefton “Police Students’ Talk about the Relevance of Religion in Policing”, 65-68.

¹⁶⁰ Wieslander “Controversial Diversity”, 880.

¹⁶¹ Julia Saario “Sisäministeriö selvittää: Pitäisikö huivi sallia osaksi poliisin virka-asua? “Ruotsissa poliisi on saanut käyttää jo vuosia”” *Mtv Uutiset*, July 13, 2020, accessed August 7, 2020

<https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/sisaministerio-selvittaa-pitaisiko-huivi-sallia-osaksi-poliisin-virka-asua-ruotsissa-poliisi-on-saan-ut-kayttaa-jo-vuosia/7870460#gs.nj9luy>

wanted to get in contact with her because of a recruitment project that I am working on. This staff member said that she didn't know her, but then checked her Instagram. It was a private Instagram, but it had a text in English saying "God is great" or something along those lines. And because the girl is likely a Muslim, the staff member was not sure how to react... And I told her that it's probably a bit more common in her culture to bring up one's faith, in a similar way as I could write something about happiness into my social media. [...] But this shows that what we see as "normal" in our society and what not, then the reaction is... I am sorry to even put these words together but a "Muslim terrorist", if someone is a Muslim and then brings up god.

This quotation demonstrates that Muslim's expressions of religiousness in particular are considered strange and seen occasionally through dominant stereotypes about Islam: violence and fundamentalism. This is in line with what Buitelaar has found in the Netherlands, as she argues that the public resentment towards Dutch Muslims influences the ways in which Muslims in the Netherlands feel that they can present themselves to the public.¹⁶² Furthermore, this quotation illustrates the argument of Dinham and Francis, that in contemporary Western countries neutrality is often equated with secularism¹⁶³, as my interlocutor reflects on "what is normal" in the Finnish society.

As mentioned in the literature review, Dinham and Francis argue that religious literacy is context specific, and takes into account the special features of each setting. For instance, in a case study presented in Dinham and Francis' edited volume, Prothero and Kerby argue that in the US, religious literacy would include an understanding of the nuanced ways in which Christian theologies inform American contemporary culture.¹⁶⁴ On a similar note, Rissanen et al. argue that in Finland, Protestant conceptions of religion are still prevalent and influence how the concept of secularity is understood and applied.¹⁶⁵ A case that in my view exemplifies perfectly the argument made by Rissanen et al., that Protestant religious expressions influence the ways in which Finnish secularism is constructed, is a traditional Christian hymn that is sung in schools of all levels in June, as it signifies the beginning of summer. The tradition of the hymn has been discussed in the Ministry of Education, as it was questioned if the hymn violates religious freedom of those who do not wish to participate in a Christian tradition, particularly in public (secular) schools. However, it

¹⁶² Buitelaar, "The Legacy of Migration", 76.

¹⁶³ Dinham and Francis "Religious literacy: contesting an idea and practice", 4.

¹⁶⁴ Stephen Prothero and Lauren R. Kerby "The irony of religious illiteracy in the USA" In *Religious Literacy in Policy and Practice*, edited by A. Dinham and M. Francis (Cambridge University Press, 2022): 64-74, accessed August 7, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.46692/9781447316671>

¹⁶⁵ Rissanen et al. "Challenges of Religious Literacy in Education", 47-49.

was ruled that the hymn is a cultural tradition integral to Finnish summer festivities.¹⁶⁶ Hence, it can be questioned if religion truly is a private matter in Finland. Further examples of this are the facts that the country has two national churches¹⁶⁷, the country's flag has a cross on it that represents the historical significance of Christianity in the country¹⁶⁸, and even the presidential celebration of independence day involves a religious dimension, as the highest government authorities participate in an ecumenical, televised Christian mass.¹⁶⁹

These examples demonstrate the Protestant-secular biases that have implications to the ways in which Finnish secularism is constructed. Furthermore, these show how concepts like "neutral" are understood and applied in the context of public institutions, as the aforementioned traditions are seen as cultural rather than religious and therefore, as neutral and acceptable. My data suggests that my interlocutors certainly view Finland as secular, an idea articulated through statements such as "we don't show religion here". In this sense, then, the headscarf is seen as essentially religious and thus "un-neutral" if worn by a police officer. Thus, religious literacy in Finland should include an understanding of the ways in which Finnish Protestantism is embedded in Finnish public spheres. Such an understanding could also diminish the idea that religious expressions are something foreign to Finnish culture and Finnish public spaces: un-neutral.

3.4.2. Religious freedom in the Finnish police forces

The protestant-secular biases do not only mandate how neutrality is conceptualized, but also have implications to how religious freedom is interpreted in the Finnish police forces. For instance, none of my research participants perceived the current restriction on police uniforms as problematic for religious freedom as there are no limitations on belief, it only cannot be visible externally. However, this conceptualization of religion does not take into account that for many people practice is integral to religious belief - favoring a secular-normative understanding of religiousness.

¹⁶⁶ Jessika Aro "Suvirren laulaminen kouluissa uuteen harkintaan" *Yle Uutiset*, March 24, 2014, accessed June 30, 2022 <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-7152153>

¹⁶⁷ Sakaranaho "Religious freedom, multiculturalism, Islam", 30-36.

¹⁶⁸ Angelina E. Theodorou "64 countries have religious symbols on their national flags" *Pew Research Center*, November 25, 2014, accessed August 7, 2022

<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/11/25/64-countries-have-religious-symbols-on-their-national-flags/>

¹⁶⁹ Helsingin Suomalainen Klubi "Itsenäisyyspäivän perinteet vakiintuivat jo itsenäisyyden alkuvuosina" *Helsingin Suomalainen Klubi*, accessed June 30, 2022 <http://itsenaisyys100.fi/itsenaisyyspaivan-perinteet-vakiintuivat-jo-itsenaisyysden-alkuvuosina/>

As mentioned in the literature review of this thesis, the main shortcoming of the framework of religious freedom lies in the key problem of defining religion - a task that even scholars of religion find difficult as “religion” is an unstable and socially constructed category.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, defining religion at the policy level involves power to control and legitimize people’s practices and identities through the framework of religious freedom. Sullivan argues that defining religion for the purposes of implementing laws about religion is discriminatory by necessity, as defining religion in such an all-encompassing way that all religious identities could make claims to religious freedom is practically impossible. In Finland, the official categorization of religion is in the hands of the Ministry of Education, a body through which groups can apply to be recognized as religious institutions in the eyes of the law.¹⁷¹ This means that the Ministry of Education also holds power over a group’s claims to religious freedom in institutional settings. Although this research does not touch upon the processes of defining religion for the purposes of implementing laws, my research findings show how understanding of religion and religious freedom in the Finnish police forces is informed by Protestant and secular biases, as the discussion on neutrality has already shown.

Although conceptualization of “neutrality” certainly seems to be the most influential factor in terms of religious freedom in the Finnish police forces, how the freedom of religion framework is understood plays a role in the matter, too. As I mentioned in the literature review of this thesis, in Finland freedom of religion is threefold: positive religious freedom meaning the right to believe and practice a religion of any kind, negative religious freedom meaning the right to not believe or practice a religion of any kind, and a law safeguarding equal treatment of different religious groups.¹⁷² The previous section demonstrates some of the problems with the first clause, positive form of religious freedom, as conceptualizing neutrality in the Finnish police forces already shows that one’s right to practice a religion is not absolute but can be restricted, for instance, in a labor environment. The second clause, negative form of religious freedom and its implementation, comes with certain challenges as well. This argument is illustrated in the following quotation from my interview with a board member:

So we understand religious freedom as freedom *of* religion, and freedom *from* religion... The latter one, we usually see in the Nordic countries that are very secularized and where one's worldview does not play a big role in everyday life... and then with Islam we see that

¹⁷⁰ James Beckford, *Social Theory and Religion* (Cambridge: University Press, 2003):15-19, accessed August 7, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511520754.003>

¹⁷¹ Teemu Taira “Religion as a Discursive Technique: The Politics of Classifying Wicca” *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 25 no. 3 (2010): 380-381, accessed August 7, 2022 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13537903.2010.516546>

¹⁷² Uskonnonvapaus.fi “Mitä uskonnonvapaus on?”

it tries to push through into our different sectors... so as an organization we approach it like OK, there are Muslims in the country and that is OK, but everything else should fit in here too. And the disputes [about religious practice]... I find it strange that they are always about Islam, because there are other worldviews too that should be accommodated the same way.

It is, however, questionable if religious garments on others suffices as a violation of religious freedom of those not practicing that religion - particularly in a country where Protestant religious practices and connotations are often visible (albeit unacknowledged as religious) in public spheres. Thus, what counts as religion - and a violation of religious freedom - is a complex matter that is informed by religious literacy/illiteracy. For instance, hinting that Islamic practices in public spheres, even those that only touch upon the individual practicing them (like veiling) are perceived as opposing to the freedom *from* religion of those who do not adhere to Islam signals unacknowledgement towards the Protestant religious expressions that are prevalent in Finnish public spheres and could be interpreted to be ways in which Christian religiousness “pushes through” to different sectors. The quotation also shows how secularism of Finland is taken for granted by highlighting that religions do not typically play a role in people’s everyday lives in Finland.

In summary, the most relevant notion regarding religious freedom that the headscarf discussion in the Finnish police forces demonstrates is that religious freedom is not absolute, but can be restricted in certain settings and through different conceptualizations of practices. The restrictions on religious freedom are justified through the same rhetoric as restrictions of freedom of expression, as necessary measures to safeguard the neutrality of the organization. However, it can be argued that viewing the uniform restrictions as something that do not go against the first clause of the Finnish religious freedom framework is a sign of religious illiteracy, as it demonstrates how religion is ultimately perceived as something internal, and not as something that must necessarily be visible externally through, for instance, religious garments.

It can also be argued that such an interpretation of religiousness reproduces ideas that visible religiosity is not neutral and thus, reproduces religious illiteracy. According to Dinham and Francis, religious illiteracy begins with recognizing that binary thinking about religion as private and public as secular is inadequate.¹⁷³ Yet, interpreting restrictions on religious symbolism as unproblematic to religious freedom framework because internal belief is not restricted pushes

¹⁷³ Dinham and Francis “Religious literacy: contesting an idea and practice”, 4-5.

(foreign) religious expressions towards the private, maintaining an idea that visible religiousness is un-neutral in Finnish public spheres. On a similar note, Karhunen argues that discussions about religious symbolism in Finnish public institutions are not only about the symbol itself, but rather touch upon the question of how religion is permitted to be visible in everyday life, and how representatives of different religions are permitted to live in the Finnish society.¹⁷⁴

3.4.3. Religious literacy and the headscarf question

Another interesting finding in terms of the headscarf question was that the rhetoric of the oppressive nature of the headscarf was brought forward by only one of my interlocutors, a board member who stated that it is not clear-cut for the police to allow a symbol to be a part of their uniform that is occasionally forced upon women. Whereas this is a very similar argument as presented by the board in 2014, it seems that the view is not as black and white as the statement issued to the media then signaled. In 2014, the board's statement labeled the headscarf as a symbol that signifies the rejection of gender equality in Islam.¹⁷⁵ Now, only one of my interlocutors elaborated on the oppressiveness of the hijab, which seemed in 2014 to be among the main arguments against the headscarf as a part of the police uniform. My interlocutor highlighted the cultural influences behind veiling practices while articulating the possible oppressiveness of veil, stating that since it is forced upon women in some occasions, the police must be critical over accepting the symbol in their uniform. Hence, the argument offered by the board of the Finnish police forces in 2014, that heavily relied on a stereotype of sexism of Islam is not extensively present in my research findings.

Whereas the veil is undoubtedly occasionally forced upon women, it is certainly a step towards religious literacy that the Finnish police forces recognize that the veil is not the ultimate signal of subjugation of Muslim women. Lila Abu-Lughod claims that targeting the oppression of Muslim women and promoting the idea that Muslim women are in need of liberation from veiling practices should not be easily accepted because from an anthropological perspective “people wear the appropriate form of dress for their social communities and are guided by socially shared standards, religious beliefs, and moral ideas”.¹⁷⁶ According to my data, the Finnish police forces have shifted the narrative in relation to the headscarf away from the “oppression” argument, whilst basing their view now much more elaborately on the neutrality of the institution as the main

¹⁷⁴ Karhunen “ Uskonnollinen pukeutuminen osana työasua Suomessa” 74-75.

¹⁷⁵ Leskinen “Voisiko suomalainen poliisi näyttää tältä?”

¹⁷⁶ Abu-Lughod “Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving?”, 785.

reason against the headscarf in police uniforms. Although the neutrality argument has its own problems in terms of religious literacy, this finding can be considered to demonstrate a positive development towards religious literacy among the Finnish police forces and a step away from promoting a problematic orientalist stereotype on Islam enlisted by Kumar, that it is an inherently sexist religion.¹⁷⁷ It can be questioned if this shift in narrative is due to changes made at an European level between the current time and 2014, as in 2017 the European court of justice ruled that bans on religious symbolism based on neutrality of the workplace are not discriminatory if they touch upon all religious symbolism equally.¹⁷⁸

Overall, as I have suggested, the conceptualization of neutrality, and what religiousness is altogether, happens in a framework where the binary division of religion (private) and the secular (public) is largely taken for granted. Although the sexism argument against the headscarf is very marginally present in my data, it is evident that conceptualizing neutrality, which is now used as the main rationale behind the uniform regulation, happens against a background in which Islam is perceived predominantly negatively and stereotypes about Islam are regularly present in public and political discourses.¹⁷⁹ The following section explores the possible influences of such background to the approaches of the Finnish police forces further, beyond the headscarf discussion.

3.5. Approaches to different minorities

According to my interlocutors working in the preemptive side, not all religious minorities are treated equally by the police, even when affirming equality is considered as one of the police organizations main tasks. My research participants from the preemptive side explained that the Jewish community there receives notably better service from the police department of the capital area than Muslim communities, especially in terms of measures taken to safeguard religious practices. According to my interlocutors, Jewish religious services are always protected by the police, whereas this is not the case with religious services of Muslims, neither in bigger mosques nor in smaller prayer rooms. According to my interlocutors from the preemptive side, Muslims in the capital area have expressed a wish to receive protective services from hate crimes targeting

¹⁷⁷ Kumar "Islamophobia and the Politics of the Empire", 44.

¹⁷⁸ Petkar "European Court of Justice rules headscarves can be banned at work"

¹⁷⁹ Sakaranaho "Finnish Studies on Islam", 235.

their physical spaces, and requested protection for religious services - similar services that the Jewish community already receives.

Taking into consideration the hate crime statistics that state that Islam as a motivation for hate crimes spiked drastically in between the years of 2015 and 2020,¹⁸⁰ Muslims requesting protection by the police for religious spaces and practice is not done without a reason. The following quotation shows how my interlocutor from the preemptive side responded when I asked from the participants in the focus group interview, if the approaches to Islam differ from approaches to other minority religions in the Finnish police forces:

There is a long tradition behind the services offered to Jewish communities. Helsinki's police department and the Jewish congregation has even written a collaboration agreement a long time ago, which ensures protection for Jewish religious services and spaces. I do not want to express an opinion about what is wrong or right, but the Jewish community in Helsinki gets excellent service from the police... Whatever event they have, there will be a police car to secure it, patrolling in the street in front of the synagogue to ensure that nothing can happen. But there is no way that this service is extended to our prayer rooms. This is just an example to show that our minorities are definitely not in equal positions.

To further elaborate on this, and to my question if Muslims in the capital area have expressed a need to have security around religious services, my other interlocutor participating in the focus group interview continued:

If we think, for example, after the hate crime attack in New-Zealand [mass shooting in Christchurch mosque, 2019]¹⁸¹, we didn't do anything to protect our Muslim communities in practice, only something on paper but it never became concrete. [...] Representatives of our biggest prayer rooms have brought this up as necessary, and we have had conversations about it with them. It might be that some tax money was spent to increase the camera surveillance around Friday prayers since then, but definitely no security services to the same extent as the Jewish community receives.

To rationalize this disparity, my interlocutors suggested that it could be because of practical issues why Muslim communities have not received the security services from the police that they have asked for: Muslims population is internally far more diverse and bigger than the Jewish population in Finland. Furthermore, due to the different nature of religious practice, meaning

¹⁸⁰ Rauta "Poliisin tietoon tullut viharikollisuus Suomessa 2022", 10.

¹⁸¹ Reuters "Christchurch mosque attack suspect pleads not guilty, trial set for next year" *NBC News*, June 14, 2019, accessed June 30, 2022. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/christchurch-mosque-attack-suspect-pleads-not-guilty-trial-set-next-n1017466>

frequent daily prayers, it is convenient to have a prayer room in the neighborhood to avoid commuting to the other side of the city for a prayer. Therefore, it would be difficult for the police to divide resources to secure each prayer room during each service.

The fact that such services are offered to one religious minority but not to others (despite their wishes) can be argued to demonstrate one of the shortcomings of the religious freedom framework in Finnish public institutions. As mentioned, the third clause of the Finnish religious freedom framework ensures equal treatment of religious groups in the eyes of the law.¹⁸² The Finnish police force is the main law enforcement in the country. Therefore, it can be argued that even the main law enforcement body in Finland struggles to fulfill the laws on religious freedom.

My interlocutors from the preemptive side also speculated that the unequal treatment could have its reasons also in the socio-economical differences between the Finnish Jews and Muslims, as members of the Jewish congregation were described to be “well off” in the Finnish society. Whereas it is not important for this thesis to focus on the socio-economic differences between Finnish Jews and Muslims, it is important to question if the unequal treatment has its roots in the different ways in which the two religious minorities are and have been embedded in the Finnish society and perceived by the mainstream population. This is especially important to investigate, because based on the hate crime statistics, it is evident that negative attitudes towards Islam trigger more hateful acts than attitudes towards Judaism.¹⁸³ Similarly, a board member who is responsible for communicating hate crime statistics from Finland in European level, elaborated on hate crimes targeting Jewish people in Finland as follows:

Although anti-Semitism is clearly a big problem elsewhere in the world, and we as police also receive heat in regards to that - we should increase education to tackle it and so fort - it doesn't show the same way in Finland. I have asked representatives of our Jewish congregations if they seriously report all the hate crimes to the police, and they always say “yes, we do”. So, anti-Semitism in Finland is extremely marginal. [...] This could be because Jews as a minority here are very integrated into our society and sort of “invisible”, numerically very small, too. And they do not clearly stand out, we don't even have practicing Orthodox Jews here, I think.

¹⁸² Uskonnonvapaus.fi “Mitä on uskonnonvapaus?”

¹⁸³ Rauta “Poliisin tietoon tullut viharikollisuus Suomessa 2022”, 43-45.

Taking into consideration the “marginal” threat for violence that Finnish Jewish communities face, in comparison to the evident threat facing Muslim communities, the approaches of the Finnish police forces to religious diversity can be argued to be unequal and perhaps outdated.

Historically speaking, Eastern European Jewish communities have resided in Finland since the 1800's.¹⁸⁴ Currently, the Jewish population in Finland consists of approximately 1500 people.¹⁸⁵ Ismo Söderling, a Finnish scholar of population policy, states that in the 18th century Finnish politicians and government officials had evidently negative attitudes towards the Jewish arrivals, and Jews were deported from the country lightly.¹⁸⁶ The hatred towards Judaism that was prevalent in Finland in the 1800's received media attention in Sweden and in the US, after which efforts to calm down the situation were initiated by the Finnish government. For instance, the Jewish community was given two pieces of land for the purpose of building the first synagogues in the country. In sharp contrast to the negative attitudes that welcomed the first Finnish Jews, first Finnish Muslims were welcomed in much better terms.¹⁸⁷ Söderling explains that in the late 1800's and early 1900's, the first Turkish Tatar Muslims arrived in Finland. By the year 1910, the Finnish Muslim population was over 400 people. According to Söderling, political-, cultural-, and academic interest in the first Finnish Muslim population eased their arrival and therefore, Tatar Muslims did not face similar treatment during their first years in Finland that the first Finnish Jews did.¹⁸⁸ Thus, although anti-Semitism is not currently prevalent in the Finnish society, historically this has not always been the case.

Söderling argues that both, Jewish and Tatar Muslims are currently relatively invisible minorities in Finland, both of whom have assimilated to the mainstream Finnish society during the past century.¹⁸⁹ However, during the past two decades the overall number of Muslims has notably increased in Finland and Finnish Muslims are no longer a small, invisible minority. Meanwhile, Islamophobia in Finland has clearly grown louder. In addition, Uriya Shavit argues, “The mainstreams of Western societies have come to consider anti-Semitism a complete taboo.”¹⁹⁰ Shavit claims that comparing Islamophobia with anti-Semitism is a compelling way to address the

¹⁸⁴ Ismo Söderling “Juutalaiset ja Tataarit Suomen näkymättöminä vähemmistöinä” *Siirtolaisuus:Migration* 44 no. 2 (2018): 22, accessed August 5, 2022 <https://siirtolaisuus-migration.journal.fi/article/view/89579>

¹⁸⁵ Söderling “Juutalaiset ja Tataarit Suomen näkymättöminä vähemmistöinä”, 22.

¹⁸⁶ Söderling “Juutalaiset ja Tataarit Suomen näkymättöminä vähemmistöinä”, 22-23.

¹⁸⁷ Söderling “Juutalaiset ja Tataarit Suomen näkymättöminä vähemmistöinä”, 23.

¹⁸⁸ Söderling “Juutalaiset ja Tataarit Suomen näkymättöminä vähemmistöinä”, 23.

¹⁸⁹ Söderling “Juutalaiset ja Tataarit Suomen näkymättöminä vähemmistöinä”, 25.

¹⁹⁰ Uriya Shavit “Muslims are the New Jews” in the West: Reflections on Contemporary Parallelisms” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 36 no. 1 (2016): 4, accessed August 7, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2016.1147155>

seriousness of Islamophobia and urge European governments to treat anti-Muslim racism with intolerance.¹⁹¹ Along the same lines, Schiffer and Wagner argue in their informatively entitled article *Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia - new enemies, old patterns*, that finding parallels between Islamophobia and anti-Semitism does not mean to equate them, but rather such a comparison could aid in combatting anti-Muslim racism. According to them, Islamophobia/anti-Muslim racism is the most destructive form of racism in contemporary Europe.¹⁹²

In a similar vein, although anti-Islam narratives are openly presented in political discussions and right-wing media in Finland, reading anti-Semitic statements in news or hearing them being presented in the parliament would certainly stand out in a different way, as it is not as “everyday” as Islamophobic remarks in Finland are. It can be questioned if the different approaches of the Finnish police forces to Judaism and Islam are informed by discourses in which Muslims are often seen as violators rather than victims, as a security threat rather than as people facing a security threat - despite clear statistical evidences on negative attitudes and hate crimes aimed at Finnish Muslims. Kumar argues that the stereotype of Islam as violent generalizes a handful of extremist to cover the whole religion, a way of thinking that particularly spiked after 9/11.¹⁹³ Furthermore, as mentioned in my discussion on religious freedom framework that was presented in the literature review of this thesis, Hurd argues, in line with the discourse “two faces of faith”, that whereas government officials tend to empower peaceful religions, they also tend to marginalize religions that are perceived in a negative light.¹⁹⁴ Albeit my data on the security services offered to Jewish and Muslim communities in the capital area is limited, it can be suggested, that the security practices of the Finnish police forces that are offered to the Jewish communities but denied from Muslims might be a sign of “marginalizing” a negatively viewed religion and “empowerig” a peaceful one. Furthermore, it can be suggested that the security services are also dependent on the ways in which different groups have assimilated to the Finnish society, as Jewish communities are clearly regarded as “well integrated” by my interlocutors.

The purpose of this section is to expose the existing unequal treatment of religious minorities that is apparent in the approaches of the Finnish police forces to different religious minorities. It is not to portray anti-Semitism as an irrelevant topic in the Finnish society, nor

¹⁹¹ Shavit “Muslims are the New Jews”, 4.

¹⁹² Sabine Schiffer and Constantin Wagner “Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia – new enemies, old patterns” *Race & Class* 52 no. 3 (2011): 78-80, accessed August 7, 2022 <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0306396810389927>

¹⁹³ Kumar “Islamophobia and the Politics of the Empire”, 52-53.

¹⁹⁴ Hurd “Beyond Religious Freedom”, 22-24.

downplay the need for security that the Jewish community receives. It is to call attention to the ways in which stereotypes about Muslims, such as the alleged violence of Islam, might influence the ways in which requests and needs of Muslims are taken seriously in an institutional level, such as the need for security. Further, it is to call attention to the ways in which public and political discourses about Islam influence institutional approaches to Muslims. In this vein, even though the intentions of the preemptive work strategy is to affirm social inclusion and build trustful relationships between the police and local Muslims, it can be questioned if the practice of visiting mosques and prayer rooms is experienced as such, as police visits to religious spaces of Muslims could also be experienced as surveillance, for instance. This is particularly the case because the general attitudes towards Islam in Finland are negative and in political discussions, Islam is often dealt through lenses of violence, fundamentalism,¹⁹⁵ and as shown throughout this thesis, sexism and security threats. However, to formulate this argument further, an in-depth research on the experiences in the receiving end of police services is necessary.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

The previous chapter focused on providing an overview of the views and approaches of the Finnish police forces to religious diversity and Islam, whilst connecting my findings with broader academic discussions. I have presented several arguments arising from my analysis. Briefly summarized, my five main findings are the following: First, the preemptive measures are the main approach to religious diversity in the Finnish police forces. The preemptive side is also the main avenue through which the Finnish police forces aim to obtain knowledge on religious and cultural matters. Yet, as I have shown, this is not an approach that involves the whole institution but rather only some police officers in each police department. Second, most of my interlocutors viewed the police education on religious diversity inadequate. Increased attention to religious differences was particularly viewed as important by those who work in close collaboration with religious minorities, and by those who perceived their knowledge on religions as insufficient, even though religious differences were not perceived influential in their daily work. Those in the board of the Finnish police forces, who mainly contribute to the policies of the organization had an opposing view, and saw the police education on religious differences as adequate. I have suggested that formulating

¹⁹⁵ Sakaranaho "Finnish Studies on Islam", 235.

education on religious diversity in the police forces highlights a key shortcoming of the religious literacy framework: the challenge of bringing a concept into practice. Third, I have shown that diversifying the police ranks in Finland is viewed positively by my interlocutors in all three sampling groups. Increased diversity in the police forces was considered to increase the legitimacy of the police, and demonstrate social inclusion and equality. Police officers who do not collaborate with religious minorities in their daily work perceived “matching” police officers as the main gain from diversity recruitment. However, the diversity recruitment programs in Finland have not reached the desired outcome. Fourth, I have shown that the headscarf question is largely approached through the lens of “neutrality”, a concept that is equated with the idea that traditionally religion is a private matter in Finland and that Finland is a secular country. Furthermore, the regulations on religious symbolism are not perceived by my interlocutors as violations towards religious freedom, as the regulation does not touch upon one’s permission to believe. Yet, this view, too, is a secular-normative understanding of religiousness. I have argued that envisioning the “neutral” through statements such as “religion is not visible here” neglects the multiple ways in which religion *is* traditionally visible in Finnish public spheres. Finally, I have suggested that the evidently negative attitudes towards Islam in Finland might have unacknowledged influences to the ways in which Finnish police forces approach different religious minorities. I have suggested this through a short analysis on security services that are offered to Jewish communities by the police, but denied from Muslims.

To return to my initial research question “How do the Finnish police forces view and approach religious diversity, particularly the increasing presence of Islam in Finland?” I suggest that it is crucial to take into consideration that the views and approaches of the Finnish police forces are not monolith in practice, even though policy documents might suggest so. It seems that acquiring religious literacy in the Finnish police forces is a process only at its beginning, and advanced largely by the preemptive side alone. Furthermore, it is evident that the views and approaches of the Finnish police forces to religious diversity and Islam are informed by the Protestant history of Finland and secular normativity. This has crucial implications to the ways in which categories like “neutrality” are conceptualized, which influences the ways in which people are permitted to present their identities in public institutions.

Dinham and Francis have argued that religious literacy is context specific.¹⁹⁶ I argue - similarly as Rissanen et al. have argued¹⁹⁷ - that religious literacy in Finland requires a dimension that pays attention to traditional Finnish expressions of religiousness. I suggest that this could allow one to see that in Finland, religion is not traditionally regarded as a private matter, and perhaps increase tolerance towards “foreign” religious expressions and broaden understandings of neutrality. This realization would be important in the Finnish police forces, as the institution's approaches to religious diversity of its officers (police as a workplace) is largely based on upholding the value of neutrality. In addition, it is noteworthy that the approaches of the Finnish police forces to religious diversity and Islam are formulated in a societal context in which Muslims face negative attitudes. As I have suggested, this setting might have unrecognized consequences to institutional approaches to Islam, perhaps even in the ways in which the police forces approach religious diversity of the general public, as my findings show that the police forces do not treat different minority groups in the same ways.

In conclusion, I claim that the ways in which the Finnish police forces conceptualize neutrality and approach religious diversity within the institution is a prime example of Dinham and Francis' argument that neutrality is often equated with secularism in North-Western countries.¹⁹⁸ I suggest that becoming mindful of the ways in which religion intersects with Finnish public spheres could contribute to social inclusion and equality in Finland, because the misinterpretation that religion is not traditionally part of Finnish public life legitimizes othering religious minorities, whose religious identity is visible, through claims on neutrality. Although religion might be a private matter in Finland at an individual level, or experienced as such by my interlocutors, I have shown that it is certainly not so at the societal level.

4.1. On positionalities

In my discussion about education on religious diversity, I elaborated on how my interlocutors hoped for education that would open one's eyes to cultural influences behind scenes that police officers enter into. Examples used were mainly about broad versus nuclear conceptions of family, and honor related crimes. Throughout my interviews with those working in the preemptive side, it became clear that both themes were perceived as relevant for my research topic, although neither family structures nor honor were embedded into my interview guides. Yet, both concepts were

¹⁹⁶ Dinham and Francis “Religious literacy: contesting an idea and practice”, 11.

¹⁹⁷ Rissanen et al. “Challenges of Religious Literacy in Education”, 49-50.

¹⁹⁸ Dinham and Francis “Religious literacy: contesting an idea and practice”, 4.

subsequently used in my inductive coding, meaning codes arising from my data. Despite my interlocutors from the preemptive side expressing caution towards labelling honor related crimes as “Muslim problems”, also making it explicit that cases of gender based violence among the majority population could perhaps also be understood as honor related, the focus on honor violence in the examples on why religio-cultural knowledge is important for police officers surprised me. This, of course, has a lot to do with a police officer's job description and positionality in the Finnish society which is largely about addressing issues like violence.

My findings from the Finnish police forces show that honor related violence is an important topic when it comes to the views and approaches of the Finnish police forces to Islam. This, in my view, is a point that can be reflected through consideration of different positionalities, both mine and my research participants. In terms of my positionality, this demonstrates that qualitative research is open ended, and that as an outsider, knowing beforehand what the research participants view as important for my topic is challenging - no matter how thoroughly policy documents are researched when formulating interview guides. I retrospectively recognize that this “blind-spot” reveals that I had not considered the positionality of my research participants fully: whereas my questions focused on what I thought was relevant - preemptive work, education, the headscarf and diversity recruitment - what my research participants view relevant for my topic is strongly informed by what they encounter in the field, what kind of issues are brought to their desk, and what they have learned in contact with Finnish Muslims.

Furthermore, with a concept such as “negative stereotypes” embedded into my research design, when formulating my interview guides I perhaps overlooked themes that could somehow further contribute to negative stereotyping of Finnish Muslims as “violent” “sexist” “irrational” and so forth. However, because honor related violence turned out to be a theme that was subsequently present in my data it is certainly important to address the topic as it appears. As Idriss suggests, albeit honor related violence cannot be labeled as a problem that is confined to Muslims, and the concept of honor is part of all societies, it is nevertheless a real problem that touches upon Muslim women particularly from South-Asia and Middle East.¹⁹⁹ This discussion reveals that inductive codes can reveal personal bias in research that the researcher may not be conscious of.

¹⁹⁹ Idriss “Honour, violence, women and Islam - an Introduction” 4.

4.2. Limitations of this research

This research was carried out through three qualitative methods: document analysis, in-depth interviews and a group discussion. As the purpose of this research was to examine the views and approaches of the Finnish police forces to religious diversity in the levels of policy and practice, having field observations as part of the methodology would have contributed to this research extensively. This is because what people do in reality is very different from what people say that they do. Therefore, observing the practices would have allowed a deeper analysis on “what really happens”, beyond the level of what my interlocutors shared with me.

Furthermore, to be able to present a more generalizable overview of the views and approaches of the Finnish police forces to religious diversity and Islam, it would be crucial to obtain more qualitative data on the topic. This is particularly because of the regional differences in the religious demographic of Finland that has an influence on the ways in which different police departments approach religious diversity. Thus, more data would allow one to make stronger arguments on the ways in which approaches to religious diversity differ in the levels of policy and practice, whilst paying attention to the different positionalities of police officers in the nation-wide institution. As reflected throughout my analysis, there are differences between the views on religious diversity between my three sampling groups. In this sense, what stands out the most from my data is the cultural sensitivity and religious literacy displayed by my interlocutors from the preemptive side, in comparison to my interlocutors in other sampling groups. This is not to say that the rest of the police organization have negative views on Islam, but rather, this demonstrates that some actors in the Finnish police forces are more alienated from the realities of Finnish Muslims than those that work in the preemptive side. In this sense, I regard my narrow sampling as a limitation, as in order to discuss the discrepancies in views between different positionalities further, it would be crucial to obtain enough data to have generalizable results.

In addition, it is also possible that my interlocutors from the preemptive side all expressed similar views on religious diversity and Islam because of the nature of the interview, which was a focus group discussion. It could be that my interlocutors in the focus group did not feel that there was room to negotiate views, although I attempted to facilitate a conversation in which differing views can be expressed. However, because all of them are colleagues amongst each other, I cannot say what their mutual dynamic is like. Therefore, even though focus group interviews allow

gathering a large amount of data in one instance, the method has its limitations, too, especially if the participants know each other beforehand.

4.3. Recommendations for further research

As mentioned in the limitations section, a holistic understanding of the views and approaches of the Finnish police forces to religious diversity and Islam would require applying the method of field observations. This is not only because that would allow one to see “what really happens”, but also because that would allow one to get an account on how the approaches to religious diversity are experienced at the receiving end. I suggest that further research focusing on the police and religious diversity should not be limited only in the accounts of the representatives of the institution, but also of the recipients of the institution’s services, which in this case would mean Finnish Muslims. This is because, as I have suggested, the practices of the Finnish police forces such as visiting prayer rooms and mosques might be perceived differently by Muslims, for instance, as surveillance.

In addition, as suggested in the limitations section, more data on the topic would allow generalization on the ways in which different positionalities in the police forces informs views and approaches to religious diversity and Islam. I suggest that further research on this topic would be particularly fruitful for formulating policies in the Finnish police forces to challenges arising from the changes in the Finnish religious landscape. For instance, my research shows that those in the board of the Finnish police forces hold different views in the matter of police education on religious diversity than my interlocutors whose work is in the field. Further research on this disparity could aid in policy making, and in formulating sufficient education for police officers by shedding light to issues evident at the grass-root levels of the organization.

Furthermore, as I suggested in the chapter about police education on religious diversity, the religious literacy framework has a crucial shortcoming: how to advance holistic knowledge on religions in a way that does not simplify matters, nor place the task of education on minorities? I recommend that further research that is theoretically leaning on the framework of religious literacy should adopt a critical eye on the processes that aim to advance religious literacy. Further research on this topic would allow conceptualization of religious literacy in a way that it does not

only signal an ideal, but a sufficient method for context specific education about religions and religious diversity in contemporary settings.

5. Bibliography

Primary sources:

Interviews with representatives of the Finnish police forces, Interviewed by Marju-Riikka Komulainen in April, May, June and July 2022.

Coded interview transcripts available to thesis supervisors, board of examiners or an ethics board upon request.

Juutinen, Marko and Jenita Rauta "Monimuotoisen rekrytoinnin esteet ja edistäminen" *Poliisiammattikorkeakoulu*, 2021. Accessed August 5, 2022 <https://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe2021052531528>

Poliisi.fi "Poliisi: Police of Finland" *Poliisi*. Accessed August 5, 2022 <https://poliisi.fi/en/frontpage>

Rauta, Jenita "Poliisin tietoon tullut viharikollisuus Suomessa 2022" *Poliisiammattikorkeakoulu*, 2021. Accessed August 5, 2022 <https://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe2021110253250>

Sisäministeriö "Enska: Poliisin ennalta estävän työn strategia 2019-2023" *Sisäministeriö*, 2019. Accessed August 5, 2022 <http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-324-242-5>

Secondary sources:

Abu-Lughod, Lila "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections of Cultural Relativism and Its Others" *American Anthropologist* 104 no. 3 (2002): 783-790. Accessed August 7, 2022 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3567256>

Aro, Jessika "Suvvirren laulaminen kouluissa uuteen harkintaan" *Yle Uutiset*, March 24, 2014. Accessed June 30, 2022 <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-7152153>

BBC News "The Islamic veil across Europe" *BBC News*, May 31, 2018. Accessed June 30, 2022 <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-13038095>

Beckford, James. *Social Theory and Religion* (Cambridge: University Press, 2003) Accessed August 7, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511520754.003>

Bowen, Glenn A. "Document analysis as a Qualitative Research method" *Qualitative Research Journal* 9 no. 2 (2009): 27-40. Accessed June 30, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027>

Buitelaar, Marjo "The Legacy of Migration in The Life Stories of Highly Educated Moroccan-Dutch Women" in *The Maghreb-Europe Paradigm. Migration, Gender and Cultural Dialogue*, edited by M. En-Naji (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019): 63-83. Accessed August 8, 2022 <https://research.rug.nl/en/publications/the-legacy-of-migration-in-the-life-stories-of-highly-educate-d-mo>

Cuyper, Daniel "Religion, Discrimination, the head scarf and labour law" *ERA Forum: Journal of the Academy of European Law* 19, no 3. (2019):415–448. Accessed August 5, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12027-019-00548-y>

Groffirth, Janelle "Police chief bans 'Thin Blue Line' imagery, says it's been 'co-opted' by extremists" *NBC News*, January 29, 2021. Accessed August 7, 2022 <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/police-chief-bans-thin-blue-line-imagery-says-it-s-n1256217>

Dinham, Adam and Matthew Francis "Religious Literacies: The Future" In *Religious Literacy in Policy and Practice*, edited by A. Dinham and M. Francis (Cambridge University Press, 2022): 257-270. Accessed August 6, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.46692/9781447316671>

Dinham, Adam and Matthew Francis "Religious literacy: contesting an idea and practice" In *Religious Literacy in Policy and Practice*, edited by A. Dinham and M. Francis (Cambridge University Press, 2022): 3-26. Accessed August 6, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.46692/9781447316671>

Evl.fi "Kirkon Jäsenyys" *Suomen Evankelis-Luterilainen Kirkko*. Accessed August 5, 2022 <https://evl.fi/tietoa-kirkosta/tilastotietoa/jasenet>

Fadil, Nadia "Performing the salat [Islamic prayers] at work: Secular and pious Muslims negotiate the contours of the public in Belgium" *Ethnicities* 13 no. 6 (2013): 729-750. Accessed August 6, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796812471129>

Göle, Nilüfer "Decentering Europe, Recentring Islam" *New Literary History* 43 no. 4 (2012): 665-685. Accessed August 5, 2022 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23358662>

Helsingin Suomalainen Klubi "Itsenäisyyspäivän perinteet vakiintuivat jo itsenäisyyden alkuvuosina" *Helsingin Suomalainen Klubi*. Accessed June 30, 2022 <http://itsenaisyyys100.fi/itsenaisyySPAivan-perinteet-vakiintuivat-jo-itsenaisyyden-alkuvuosina/>

Hennink, Monique., Inge Hutter and Ajay Bailey. *Qualitative Research Methods* (London: SAGE Publications, 2010)

Holloway, Kali "Black people are not here to teach you: What so many white Americans just can't grasp" *Salon*, April 14, 2015. Accessed August 6, 2022 https://www.salon.com/2015/04/14/black_people_are_not_here_to_teach_you_what_so_many_w_hite_americans_just_cant_grasp_partner/

Hurd, Elizabeth S. *Beyond Religious Freedom: New Global Politics of Religion* (Princeton University Press, 2015)
Accessed August 6, 2022 <https://doi-org.proxy-ub.rug.nl/10.1515/9781400873814>

Hurd, Elizabeth S. *The International Politics of Religious Freedom* (IIC Quarterly : Winter-Spring, 2014)
Accessed August 7, 2022 https://faculty.wcas.northwestern.edu/esh291/Elizabeth_Shakman_Hurd/publications_files/15_IIC_Hurd.pdf

Idriss, Mohammad Mazer "Honour, violence, women and Islam - an Introduction" In *Honour, Violence, Women and Islam*, edited by M. Idriss and T. Abbas (Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2010): 1-16. Accessed August 6, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203846988>

Karhunen, Katri "Uskonnollinen pukeutuminen osana työasua Suomessa : tapausesimerkkinä musliminaiset ja huivi terveystaloyöpaikoilla" *Spiritualiteetti 2020-luvun Suomessa* (2022): 61-83. Accessed August 6, 2022 <http://hdl.handle.net/10138/341755>

Kivelä, Salla "The Documentation of family violence in healthcare and the associations of violence in health care" *Tampere University Dissertations* 197 (2020).
Accessed August 6, 2022 <https://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-03-1407-1>

Koenig, Matthias "How Nation States Respond to Religious Diversity" In *International Migration and the Governance of Religious Diversity*, edited by P. Bramadat and M. Koenig (Mc-Gill Queen's University Press: Montreal and Kingston 2009): 293-323.

Korhonen, Tuuli "Islam, hindulaisuus ja buddhalaisuus poliisin työn näkökulmasta: Uskonnolliseen yhteisöön kuuluvan henkilön kohtaaminen" *Poliisiammattikorkeakoulu* (2020). Accessed February 1, 2022 <https://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:amk-202003043011>

Kumar, Deepa. *Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire* (Chicago, Ill. : Haymarket Books, 2012)

Kunnas, Risto and Jatta Lapinkangas "Poliisit riisuivat väkisin musliminaisten huivit - syytteet pahoinpitelystä" *Iltalehti*, June 19, 2022. Accessed June 30, 2022 <https://www.iltalehti.fi/kotimaa/a/65756ffc-7bb7-48a9-9f67-36a005f87c64>

Leskinen, Kati "Voisiko suomalainen poliisi näyttää tältä?" *Yle Uutiset*, April 3, 2014. Accessed August 5, 2022 <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-7145449>

Martínez-Ariño, Julia and Anne-Laure Zwilling “Foreword” In *Religion and Prison: An Overview of Contemporary Europe*, edited by J. Martínez-Ariño and A. Zwilling (Springer Nature Switzerland, 2020)

Accessed August 7, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-36834-0>

McCarthy, Niall “The EU’s Most Heavily Policed Countries” *Statista*, January 3, 2019.

Accessed July 28, 2022.

<https://www.statista.com/chart/16515/police-officers-per-100000-inhabitants-in-the-eu/>

Ministry of Interior “Police Barometer: Finns continue to have strong confidence in police” *Finnish Government*, July 15, 2020. Accessed June 20, 2022

<https://valtioneuvosto.fi/en/-/1410869/police-barometer-finns-continue-to-have-strong-confidence-in-police>

Moore, Diane “Diminishing religious literacy: methodological assumptions and analytical frameworks for promoting the public understanding of religion” In *Religious Literacy in Policy and Practice*, edited by A. Dinham and M. Francis (Bristol University Press, 2015): 23-38. Accessed August 6, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.46692/9781447316671>

Nasir, Jamal J. “The Islamic Law of Personal Status: Third Revised and Updated Version” (Leiden: Brill, 2009)

Accessed August 6, 2022 <https://doi-org.proxy-ub.rug.nl/10.1163/9789004182196>

Noble, Helen and Roberta Heale “Triangulation in research, with examples” *Evidence-Based Nursing* 22 no. 3 (2019): 67-68. Accessed February 02, 2022 <https://ebn.bmj.com/content/22/3/67>

Open Access Government “Research finds that one in five US police have anti-Black bias” *Open Access Government*, April 21, 2021. Accessed June 20, 2022

<https://www.openaccessgovernment.org/anti-black-bias/97383/>

Ort.fi “Tilastotietoja Suomen ortodoksisen kirkon väestöstä vuodelta 2021” *Suomen Ortodoksinen Kirkko*. Accessed August 6, 2022 <https://www.ort.fi/sites/default/files/2022-01/Tilasto%202021.pdf>

Petkar, Vishwanath “European Court of Justice rules headscarves can be banned at work” *Jurist: Legal News and Commentary*, July 17, 2017. Accessed August 8, 2022

<https://www.jurist.org/news/2021/07/european-court-of-justice-rules-headscarves-can-be-banned-at-work/>

Pew Research Center “Europe’s Growing Muslim Population” *Pew Research Center: Religion & Public Life*, November 29, 2017. Accessed June 30, 2022

<https://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/>

Pew Research Center “Muslims make up 4.9% of Europe’s population in 2016” *Pew Research Center*, November 22, 2017. Accessed August 6, 2022

https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/pf_11-29-17_muslims-update-20/

Polamk.fi “Selvitys: Poliisikoulutuksen monimuotoisuutta edistetään tiiviillä yhteistyöllä koulujen kanssa” *Poliisiammattikorkeakoulu*, June 2, 2021. Accessed August 7, 2022

<https://polamk.fi/-/selvitys-poliisikoulutuksen-monimuotoisuutta-edistetaan-tiiviilla-yhteistyolla-koulujen-kanssa>

Prothero, Stephen and Lauren R. Kerby “The irony of religious illiteracy in the USA” In *Religious Literacy in Policy and Practice*, edited by A. Dinham and M. Francis (Cambridge University Press, 2022): 55-75. Accessed August 7, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.46692/9781447316671>

Rahkonen, Jukka “Maria Ohisalo vaatii aktiivista muslimien rekrytoimista poliisin riveihin – ehdottaa huntuja univormuihin” *Oikea Media*, December 8, 2019. Accessed December 15, 2022 <https://www.oikeamedia.com/o1-126800>

Reuters “Christchurch mosque attack suspect pleads not guilty, trial set for next year” *NBC News*, June 14, 2019. Accessed June 30, 2022 <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/christchurch-mosque-attack-suspect-pleads-not-guilty-trial-set-next-n1017466>

Rissanen, Inkeri., Martin Ubani and Tuula Sakaranaho “Challenges of Religious Literacy in Education: Islam and the Governance of Religious Diversity in Multi-faith Schools” In *The challenges of religious literacy: the case of Finland*, edited by T. Sakaranaho, T. Aarrevaara and J. Konttori (Springer: Cham, 2020):39-55. Accessed August 7, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-47576-5>

Saarela, Petri “Sisäministeri Ohisalo haluaa poliisivoimat vähemmistöjä kiinnostavaksi – muslimihuivin yhdistämistä virkaasuun selvitetään” *Kansalainen*, December 8, 2019. Accessed June 30, 2022 <https://www.kansalainen.fi/sisaministeriohisalo-haluaa-poliisivoimat-vahemmistoja-kiinnostavaksi-muslimihuivin-yhdistamista-virka-asuun-selvitetaan/>

Saario, Julia “Sisäministeriö selvittää: Pitäisikö huivi sallia osaksi poliisin virka-asua? “Ruotsissa poliisi on saanut käyttää jo vuosia” *Mtv Uutiset*, July 13, 2020. Accessed August 7, 2020 <https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/sisaministerio-selvittaa-pitaisiko-huivi-sallia-osaksi-poliisin-virka-asua-ruotsissa-poliisi-on-saanut-kayttaa-jo-vuosia/7870460#gs.nj9luy>

Sakaranaho, Tuula., Timo Aarrevaara and Johanna Konttori “Introduction : Setting the Stage” In *The challenges of religious literacy: the case of Finland*, edited by T. Sakaranaho, T. Aarrevaara and J. Konttori (Springer: Cham, 2020): 1-9. Accessed February 02, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-47576-5>

Sakaranaho, Tuula. *Religious freedom, multiculturalism, Islam : cross-reading Finland and Ireland* (Leiden; Boston: Brill,2006)

Sakaranaho, Tuula “Finnish Studies on Islam: Themes and Approaches” *Temenos* 46 no. 2. (2010): 214-249. Accessed February 2, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.33356/temenos.4517>

Schiffer, Sabine and Constantin Wagner “Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia – new enemies, old patterns” *Race & Class* 52 no. 3 (2011): 77-84. Accessed August 7, 2022. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/030639681038992>

Scott, Joan W. *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton University Press, 2007)
Accessed August 5, 2022 <https://doi-org.proxy-ub.rug.nl/10.1515/9781400827893>

Sefton, Malin “Police Students’ Talk about the Relevance of Religion in Policing: Teaching and Learning About Diversity at the Swedish National Police Academy” *Changing Societies – Values, Religions, and Education, A Selection of Papers From a Conference at Umeå University* (2009): 63-70. Accessed June 20, 2022
https://www.academia.edu/75418152/Police_Students_Talk_About_the_Relevance_of_Religion_in_Policing_Teaching_and_Learning_About_Diversity_at_the_Swedish_National_Police_Academy

Selby, Jennifer A. “Un/veiling Women’s Bodies: Secularism and Sexuality in Full-face Veil Prohibitions in France and Quebec” *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses* 43 no. 3 (2014): 439-466. Accessed August 6, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0008429814526150>

Sequeira, Tahira “Is Finland really a safe place for women?” *Helsinki Times*, May 2, 2021.
Accessed August 6, 2022
<https://www.helsinkitimes.fi/finland/finland-news/domestic/19120-is-finland-really-a-safe-place-for-women.html>

Shavit, Uriya “Muslims are the New Jews” in the West: Reflections on Contemporary Parallelisms” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 36 no. 1 (2016)1-15. Accessed August 7, 2022.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2016.1147155>

Smith, Laura., Susan Kashubeck-West, Gregory Payton, and Eve Adams “White Professors Teaching About Racism:Challenges and Rewards” *The Counseling Psychologist* 45 no. 5 (2017):651-668.
Accessed August 6, 2022 <https://www.apa.org/education-career/ce/white-professors-racism.pdf>

Södering, Ismo “Juutalaiset ja Tataarit Suomen näkymättöminä vähemmistöinä” *Siirtolaisuus: Migration* 44 no. 2 (2018): 22-26. Accessed August 5, 2022
<https://siirtolaisuus-migration.journal.fi/article/view/89579>

Sullivan, Winnifred F. *The Impossibility of Religious Freedom* (Princeton University Press, 2005)
Accessed August 6, 2022 <https://doi-org.proxy-ub.rug.nl/10.23943/9781400890330>

Sveriges Radio “Police Allow Religious Headgear as Part of Uniform” *Sveriges Radio*, March 9, 2009. Accessed August 7, 2022 <https://sverigesradio.se/artikel/812430>

Taira, Teemu "Religion as a Discursive Technique: The Politics of Classifying Wicca" *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 25 no. 3 (2010):379-394. Accessed August 7, 2022
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13537903.2010.516546>

Teivainen, Aleksi "Most Finns view that Islam is incompatible with Finnish culture and values, finds survey" *Helsinki Times*, May 31, 2018. Accessed August 5, 2022
<https://www.helsinkitimes.fi/finland/finland-news/domestic/15575-most-finns-view-that-islam-is-incompatible-with-finnish-culture-and-values-finds-survey.html>

Theodorou, Angelina "64 countries have religious symbols on their national flags" *Pew Research Center*, November 25, 2014. Accessed August 7, 2022
<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/11/25/64-countries-have-religious-symbols-on-their-national-flags/>

Uskonnonvapaus.fi "Mitä uskonnonvapaus on?" *Uskonnonvapaus.fi*, January 12, 2022. Accessed August 6, 2022. <https://uskonnonvapaus.fi/artikkelit/mita.html>

Uskonnonvapaus.fi "Rituaaliteurastus" *Uskonnonvapaus.fi*, February 2, 2018. Accessed June 30, 2022. <https://uskonnonvapaus.fi/hakusanat/rituaaliteurastus.html>

Uskonnonvapaus.fi "Uskonnon ja omantunnon vapaus kansainvälisissä sopimuksissa" *Uskonnonvapaus.fi*, February 2, 2018. Accessed June 30, 2022.
<https://uskonnonvapaus.fi/artikkelit/sopimukset.html>

Uskonnonvapaus.fi "Vakaumusten tasa-arvo" *Uskonnonvapaus.fi*, January 11, 2022. Accessed August 6, 2022 <https://uskonnonvapaus.fi/hakusanat/tasa-arvo.html>

Wieslander, Malin "Controversial diversity: diversity discourses and dilemmas among Swedish police recruits" *Policing and Society* 30 no. 8, April 30 (2019): 873-884. Accessed June 20, 2022.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2019.1611818>

Yel, Ali Murat "Islamophobia as Cultural Racism: The Case of Islamic Attire in Turkey" *Insight Turkey* 23 no. 2 (2021): 169-189. Accessed August 7, 2022
<https://www.insightturkey.com/articles/islamophobia-as-cultural-racism-the-case-of-islamic-attire-in-turkey>

Äystö, Tuomas., Aki Koivula, Anna Wessman, Jere Kyyrö and Titus Hjelm "Miksi suomalaiset eroavat evankelisluterilaisesta kirkosta?" *Yhteiskuntapolitiikka* 82 no. 2 (2022): 129-140. Accessed August 6, 2022
https://www.julkari.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/144238/YP2202_%c3%84yst%c3%b6ym.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y