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Communication and cultural difficulties between Greek / Greek-Cypriot migrants and the police in England

by

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Contents

Abstract

This research explores, whether culture influences the communication between Greek / Greek-Cypriot migrants and the police in England; and also whether the potential cultural diversity between the Greek/Greek-Cypriot migrants and the police in England will influence the migrants trust towards the police. Sixteen migrants, twelve Greek and four Greek-Cypriot, located in the South East of England were interviewed. The participants were mainly asked about their views on the police and their experiences during previous encounters with the police in the host country. The questions tried to explore potential communication difficulties that the migrants might have faced due to their lack of linguistic skills and their different culture. Also, participants were asked about their views on the police in the country of origin, in order to explore whether migrants' views on the police in the host country are influenced by the experiences they had in the country of origin. Both migrants who had previous encounters with the police and migrants who had not any encounters with the police in the host country were included. Semi-structured interviews were used for the data collection and the results obtained were analysed using content analysis. According to the results, the Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrants do not seem to face major difficulties when they interact with the police in England. The majority of the participants did not face any language difficulties and none of the participants faced any cultural difficulties. According to the participants, the police in England seem to understand and respect diversity. The participants were also satisfied with the police performance in England and their views on the police in the country of origin is not transferred to the host country after their migration.

1 Introduction

This dissertation is focused on the communication and cultural difficulties that the Greek/Greek-Cypriot migrants might face during an encounter with the police in England. As a result, the cultural diversity of the Greek/Greek-Cypriot migrants and the police in England will be analysed in order to understand the potential communication barriers that might rise during an encounter.

There are about two-hundred million people all over the world today that have left their countries in search of another home. Three per cent of the global population has migrated and about seven million of them are Greek (Georgiades, 2010). Greek migration dates back to 1450s, with the first Greeks migrating to west after the first Turkish attacks to Byzantine Empire (Kaloudis, 2006). Nowadays, many Greek and Greek-Cypriot people have migrated in various countries and some of them are located in England.

When people migrate to other countries, they interact with individuals of different cultures. The communication between people of different cultures might be challenging, as each interactant approaches the other with attitudes influenced by their own culture (Chen & Starosa, 2005). Also, sometimes migrants might not speak well the host county's language, which complicates the situation even more. These interactions may cause a cultural clash and bring problems in the communication between the interactants. The same communication difficulties can be observed when migrants interact with the police in the host country. The police's perspective on diversity and more specifically, the police attitudes towards ethnic minorities and migrants has been under academic scrutiny (Cockcroft, 2013; Rowe, 2012), as there are examples of police discrimination and stereotyping against migrants in different countries. (Antonopoulos et al., 2008; Cockcroft, 2013). Migrants' different culture and lack of linguistic skills, in one hand and the police's perspectives on cultural diversity might cause communication difficulties between the two.

The goal of this research is to explore whether culture and linguistic skills influence the communication between the Greek/Greek-Cypriot migrants and the police in England. Also, it will explore whether the potential cultural diversity between the Greek/Greek-Cypriot migrants and the police in England influences migrants' trust towards the police. To do this, migrants' and the police's culture, both in the host country and in the country of origin, will be analysed. Then, the results of the research will be displayed and discussed further.

2 Communication

In this chapter I will explore the concepts of communication, culture and language in order to better understand the way in which individuals communicate with each other, and understand how potential communication difficulties can rise between migrants and the police during inter-cultural and inter-linguistic communication. Communication is the interaction of one with another, as human beings highly depend on interactions with other human beings, either physically or mentally (Koprowska, 2008). Communication is something that exists even by its "absence", in the form of non-verbal communication. Individuals communicate through, speech, facial expressions, singing, eye contact, etc. (Koprowska, 2008). Such communications can be observed between migrants and the police in the host society, which might not always be successful (Herbst & Walker, 2001). This research is focused on potential miscommunications between Greek / Greek Cypriot migrants and the police, due to linguistic and cultural differences. Before exploring this issue, we must first review the concepts of communication, culture and language. Firstly, we will briefly discuss the origins of Greek and Greek Cypriot culture and language and the connection between the two nations, as an explanation as to why the two nations are used in the same research and why sometimes the two are considered as one.

2.1 Greek and Greek Cypriot cultures

Language for the Greek people is an anchor that keeps them connected to their ethnicity. From 'ancient times' the Greeks considered their language to be the most distinguished asset of their ethnicity. Any individual who spoke the language and shared common religious and living characteristics was considered a Greek, even if he or she did not have blood relations among the Greeks (Anson, 2009). Cypriot people also consider language very important as they speak the Greek language and also a dialect of it that is spoken exclusively in Cyprus (Papapavlou, 2001). From ancient times the Greek language and dialects of it were spoken in all Greek kingdoms and it was interwoven with nationality (Anson, 2009).

Apart from the language, Greeks and Greek Cypriots share many cultural characteristics, as the island of Cyprus was inhabited by Mycenaean Greeks around 1400 BC and the growth of their civilization continued to flourish after the decline of the Mycenaean empire in Greece (Sacks, Murray and Bunson, 1995; Hoffman, 1972). The Mycenaeans who migrated to Cyprus established a colony and brought with them all of their traditions

and ways of living, which extended to businesses (Hoffman, 1972). After the fourth century A.D., Christianity was introduced to the island population and became the religion of the Greek people on and off the island (Hoffman, 1972). Even though the island of Cyprus was also inhabited by others such as the Phoenicians and Arabs, and later it was occupied by the Turks (1573) and the English (1878), the fact that both Greeks and Greek Cypriots had maintained a common language and religion (Christianity) kept the two countries very close (Hoffman, 1972). According to Hoffman (1972), the Greek Cypriot people kept their bonds with Greece and maintained their Greek culture because of the common religion; as a result, the common language and culture were carried along (Hoffman, 1972).

In the modern history of Cyprus, the Greek Cypriots kept their Greek language and culture intact. The bonds between the two countries remained strong, especially after the independence of the island from Great Britain in 1960, when the Greek Cypriots wanted to be united with Greece (Mavratsas, 1997). However, after the Turkish invasion of the island (1974), the Greek Cypriot population slightly shifted its Greek nationality and developed a new one – Cypriotism (Mavratsas, 1997). The new nationality was very similar to the Greek one they used to have, attached to the Greek culture and adjacent politically to Greece, but they launched an independent policy, without ever denying their Greek origin (Mavratsas, 1997). The Greek Cypriot population continued to consider themselves as Greek Cypriots and the two countries tried to establish stronger bonds with each other (Mavratsas, 1997). Cyprus is an independent country today which hosts two different nationalities. The northern part of the island is inhabited by Turks and the southern part by Greeks. The two parts of the island are totally separate and travel is restricted (Briel, 2013). However, the Greek and Greek Cypriot governments have established a common defence strategy and the Greek state has declared its support and put Greek Cypriots under its military protection, in case of a future Turkish onslaught (Mavratsas, 1997). Today, Greeks and Greek Cypriots share the same culture and traditions in terms of family, religion, food habits, arts and of course language (Sacks, Murray and Bunson, 1995). Greeks and Greek Cypriots have established very strong political and military bonds (Mavratsas, 1997).

After a brief historical review of the cultural and political ties between the two countries, a deeper analysis of culture and language will follow in order to better understand the communication between Greek and Greek Cypriot migrants in the host country, and the

potential linguistic and cultural difficulties they might face during an encounter with the police.

2.2 Culture and Communication

In order to better understand the potential cultural and linguistic difficulties that Greek and Cypriot migrants face when they intend to get involved or actually get involved with the police in England, we first have to understand what linguistic and cultural differences are, in their very nature. In order to understand intercultural communication we must first explore the concepts of communication, culture and language at their core. Culture and language are two major components of communication and they are dependent on each other. Culture is a very important part of communication, wherein people share beliefs, experiences and values (MacDonald, 1991). Culture influences communication and language as whatever we say depends on how we see the world (Chen & Starosta, 2005). Communication is the process through which individuals exchange symbols, such as concepts, values, experiences, etc., with each other. This process of exchanging symbols helps us to understand the world and sort it into social and cultural groups (Chen & Starosta, 2005). It is necessary for human beings to communicate as we are social beings and we depend on others either physically or mentally (Koprowska, 2008). Even in cases where an individual avoids interaction, he or she is communicating that fact to the others around him or her (Koprowska, 2008). Chen and Starosta (2005) describe communication through four principal characteristics. They describe it as holistic, explaining that the individual can communicate with others only when he or she is related to others and to the whole community (Chen & Starosta, 2005). According to Koprowska (2008), communication depends on interactions and on relationships between the interactants. An individual's identity is determined by his or her interactions with others and becomes who he or she is, according to how others perceive him or her (Riley, 2007). Communication is also described as a social reality, which means that individuals agree to give certain meanings to different verbal behaviours, depending on the context of the interaction. As a result, the same phrase might have more than one different meaning, depending on the context within which it is said (Chen & Starsa, 2005). The context of the interaction can affect the communication itself and the relations of the interactants (Koprowska, 2008). The third characteristic is the developmental process, which indicates that communication is in a state of consecutive transformation that never stops.

Finally, it is described as an orderly process, which means that human communication can be predicted as it forms patterns (Chen & Starosta, 2005).

In order to better understand culture we need to explore the way in which culture works. There are different environmental contexts that an individual socialises in and gets influenced by, which make up his or her cultural background, such as education, religion and kinship. According to MacDonald (1991), our culture is our past experiences which shape our future selves, as they determine who we are going to be. Culture is also linked with human behaviour, as it determines who we are and how we interact. Even though each individual is different from others in relation to his/her behaviour, those who interact in the same environment tend to share the same major cultural characteristics (Chen & Starosta, 2005). Also, culture is not something stable but changes over time due to technological developments, environmental changes, and of course as it passes on from the previous generation to the next (Chen & Starosta, 2005). In addition, culture is something that is learned through the interaction of the individual with others; for instance, the interaction of a child with his or her parents at an early age, with friends, school, church, folk tales, and so on (Chen & Starosta, 2005).

As mentioned before, culture can be analysed by observing both an individual's way of living and also a group's way of living. The interactions of individuals within their group can influence an individual's perception of his or her group. According to Shteynberg (2010), individuals, for survival reasons, have developed the ability to tune their memories in order to protect themselves from common enemies and to certify the future of the group. Thus, humans are able to project memories that they did not experience themselves. Subsequently, individuals can have the same attitudes when they project a shared memory. Shteynberg (2010) supports the notion that culture is shared within a certain group of individuals and that the individuals tend to tune their own memories with those of the group, even when there is no communication among the group members. In other words, if the individual assumes that his group experiences a certain situation, the individual will tune his memories and attitudes to coordinate with those of the group (Shteynberg, 2010). Anderson (2006) supports the idea that people of the same community have an image in their minds about their community and the members of it, even though they have never met. According to Anderson (2006), all communities that are so big that their members cannot know each other are imagined, and their members are united under the imagined impression they have about their community. The bond

that is created between the individuals and their imagined community is strong enough that their members are willing to die for their imagined community/nation (Anderson, 2006). Such big communities include nations and sometimes ethnic minority communities in host countries, whose members could think and act with tuned memories and be united under the impression that they are members of a group, even though they do not know and have never met the other members. Memory tuning might be observed during an interaction between the police and the public. According to Benedict et. al (2000), the publics' perception about the police after an encounter can be influenced by stereotypical international perception towards the police. Even though a member of the public might not be aware of specific police attitudes in other parts of the world, however, he or she can tune their memories by understanding/placing themselves as members of the same group, the public, which interacts with another group, the law enforcement (Benedict et. al, 2000).

Communication and culture play very important roles in human behaviour and help individuals to better understand the world (Chen & Starosta, 2005). Through communication, people exchange symbols and interact with each other and share beliefs, experiences and values (MacDonald, 1991; Chen & Starosta, 2005). Through culture, individuals share common characteristics and memories which help them to better understand each other (Shteynberg, 2010). Also, they are able to shift their attitudes and ally them with those of their group, in certain situations in order to protect themselves from potential threat (Benedict et. al, 2000).

2.3 Intercultural communication

After introducing briefly the main characteristics of general communication and culture, we will try to explore more deeply the concepts of personal identity and multiculturalism, in order to point the potential communication struggles of migrants with the police. The difficulty of understanding and getting along with others who are culturally different from ourselves is a known social phenomenon. Many times, questions have arisen regarding national and immigrant identities. Scholars and governments have tried to analyse what is the identity of a nation and what the identity of a migrant, as to who they are and where their loyalty lies (Verkuyten, 2014).

Personal identity is created by our interaction with others around us. In other words, the individual knows who he or she is, according to the way in which he or she is perceived

by others. Others will reflect the individual's identity by according his or her different properties and categorising him or her in groups such as friend, colleague, waiter, etc. (Riley, 2007). There are two types of identity: personal awareness, which is the perception of the individual about himself; and social identity, which is how others around us see us (Riley, 2007).

The individual uses his own identity to recognise the similarities and differences between him/herself and others; in other words, to see if they share any common characteristics (Riley, 2007). According to Hobsbawn (1996), humans are multidimensional and can develop many identities at the same time. For instance, migrants or ethnic groups can identify themselves as both members of the host society and members of their country of origin (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016). When it comes to migrants, there are two issues that arise about their interactions; their identity and how they are perceived by others (Riley, 2007). When people of a certain culture come in contact with other cultures, they realise their differences through the collision of the two cultures and tend to be prejudiced against each other, which leads to miscommunication and frustration. This attitude derives from their tendency to keep their culture's unity and continuity (Chen & Starosta, 2005).

As previously discussed, individuals from the same environmental contexts tend to share common cultural characteristics; thus, they share common understandings when they interact with each other (Chen & Starosa, 2005). In cases where individuals from different cultures try to communicate, things get more complicated as each individual's attitudes, beliefs and behaviour are influenced by their own culture (Chen & Starosa, 2005). Such intercultural communications usually have an impact on each participant, as it requires an effort to understand someone who has different values, beliefs and attitudes. Each of the interactants is called to explore something unknown to them, without having the experience to do so (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin, 2009). The potential cultural clash between the interactants might lead to miscommunication or even conflict (Hammer & Rogan, 2002). Misunderstandings and conflict situations can be observed between migrant communities and the police as well. In order for the police to control and de-escalate such situation they have to possess the appropriate skills in order to understand the communities' needs/problems (Kumar, 2012), supress the potential conflict and avoid further escalation (Hammer & Rogan, 2002). The police attitude

towards migrant communities and the relations between the two will be further analysed in the following chapter.

When people migrate to other countries, they tend to carry with them their own culture (Lutz, 2011). In the new society, migrants need to go through the process of acculturation, which determines the way in which the individual responds to the new societal culture (Berry, 1997; Crisp & Turner, 2011). The migrant has four options: he or she will either assimilate into the new culture, feeling and behaving as he or she is part of it; refuse it and hold to his old culture; marginalise by rejecting both; or combine his or her old culture with the new one. The process of acculturation does not only apply to the migrants but it also applies to any person who lives in a multicultural society, including the indigenous people (Berry, 1997; Crisp & Turner, 2011). The combination of the two cultures - the culture of the home country and the culture of the host country- according to Fleischmann and Verkuyten (2016) - is an effective way for an individual to integrate into the society.

However, in order for that smooth integration of migrants to be achieved, Berry (1997) suggests that a host society must be more open to multiculturalism and diversity and avoid prejudice against migrants. Discrimination and prejudice are two common problems that migrants face during their acculturation into the new society. Many times migrants can be discriminated against due to their different culture and be perceived as a potential threat to the homogeneity of the society they live in (Egharevba and White, 2013; Antonopoulos et. al, 2008). In addition, immigrants can be considered, by the local population, as a threat to the host country's economy, either because their employment will entail fewer job opportunities for the locals (Antonopoulos et. al, 2008) or because their lack of linguistic skills will result in unemployment and abuse of financial resources (Egharevba and White, 2013). Furthermore, the arrival of migrants might be linked with rise of criminality by the police and they might be considered a menace the peace and order in the host country (Antonopoulos et. al, 2008). If discriminated against, migrants will not feel appreciated and part of the society, while when they are respected they develop positive feelings and they trust the host society (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016).

Acculturation can also be a cause of anxiety and stress for individuals, due to their inner battle between the old cultural values and way of living and the new ones. Through the

process of acculturation the migrant learns a new language, and through the language he learns the new cultural habits of the new society. Crisp and Turner (2011) support the notion that people who live in diverse societies, either as migrants or as natives, benefit from contact with other cultures. They explain that cultural diversity among a group of people, under the right conditions, debunks existing stereotypes within the group. Subsequently, the individuals in the group will become more flexible and able to establish positive interpersonal relations (Crisp & Turner, 2011). Yogeeswaran and Dasgupta (2014) state that, on a professional level, the more deeply the migrants are accepted by their native colleagues, the more motivated they become.

On the other hand, in cases where the migrant keeps his own culture and ethnic identity, the situation might become a bit complicated. When the migrant is attached to his old country's culture, he or she develops more self-esteem. Nesdale et al. (1997) support the notion that the positive self-esteem of migrants is related to their ethnic identity and that negative self-esteem is related to psychological distress. When the migrants identify themselves with their ethnic group, they feel that there are people whom they can trust, and who can help them in times of need. They also feel that they belong somewhere; thus, they develop self-esteem (Nesdale et al. 1997). However, the more the migrants try to maintain their own culture and ethnic identity, the more isolated and rejected they become by the host country, which might lead to discrimination against them by non-migrants. Consequently, the migrants will develop psychological distress (Nesdale et al. 1997). The migrants' attachment to their own culture, and as an extension to their language in the host society, can influence their perception towards the police. Their attachment to their language can be the cause of miscommunication between them and the police which can potentially escalate the situation to the worse. The less familiar the migrants are with the culture/language of the host country the more negative perceptions they have towards the police (Herbst & Walker, 2001).

When it comes to student migrants, the feeling of ethnic identity is not the same as with other type of migrants. According to Hamad and Lee (2013), student migrants go through the same acculturation processes as individuals who migrate for different reasons. After conducting research on students who had studied abroad for a long period, they found that the time spent abroad did not positively influence their adaptation to the new society or their willingness to communicate with the natives. However, Hamad and Lee (2013) found that the longer the period the students had spent abroad, the more detached from

their ethnic identity they became. Migrant students differ in terms of culture, financial status and social networks, and they try to find and establish their position in the host country – in other words, their social class – while keeping their bonds with the country of origin (Darvin & Norton, 2014). The social class of an individual is highly related to the individual's identity. The identity can change when there are changes in the individual's social and economic status. According to Norton (1997), identity is associated with the desire for recognition, affiliation, and for security and safety, which are all associated with the economic status of the individual and his access to resources. The access to more resources leads to more privileges. Privilege in life makes an individual see the world around him and plan his future in a different way (Norton, 1997). Thus, the identity of an individual might change during his life according to his or her way of living. Darvin and Norton (2014) state that class differences exist among migrant students and these class differences even influence students' learning. Apart from the economic dimension that has been put on social class, Darvin and Norton (2014) argue that social class is based on culture as well, identified by identity, consumption, behaviour, accent and even dress.

Intercultural communication affects both migrants and the local population in the host country. Both migrants and locals are called to communicate with individuals who may not share the same values, beliefs and attitudes (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin, 2009). The communication of the two can potentially lead to misunderstandings and conflicts, which also might be observed in communication attempts between migrants and the police in the host country (Hammer & Rogan, 2002). Even though migrants may have the choice to integrate into the new society, in case they feel discriminated, they will not feel part of the host society and they will distance themselves (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016). When migrants maintain their culture and language in the host society and reject the culture and language of the host country, they are more likely to be involved in miscommunication with the locals and the police. These miscommunication with the police can lead to conflicts and influence the migrants' views on the police negatively (Herbst & Walker, 2001).

2.4 Greek culture abroad

Greek migrants have spread to many countries, and a lot of them are located in Australia, the USA and England. These Greek and Cypriot migrants come from different parts of Greece and Cyprus and they share common cultural characteristics; however, they have

migrated in different time periods and for different reasons (Evergeti, 2006). There are also many Greek students who migrate to other countries, especially within the European Union (EU), in order to achieve higher education degrees. Greece is among the top countries in student migration in the world, with about 55,000 students going abroad in 2001 (Lianos et al., 2004). Greek migrants do not seem to integrate fully into their new environment as they tend to keep a lot of their cultural principles intact. However, they are not totally secluded in the new society as the partly assimilate into the new culture (Georgiades, 2010). According to a study on Greek migrants in the USA, Greek people keep their values of honour, ethnic pride, religion and strong family bonds in the country into which they migrate (Georgiades, 2010). They create social events such as ethnic and religion celebrations in order to keep their culture and traditions alive for the next generations, who do not have a strong bond with the homeland like their parents who were first-generation migrants (Evergeti, 2006). Religion is a very important element of the Greek culture and, according to Sasaki and Kim (2011), it can help individuals psychologically to accept a certain situation. By feeling that they are collaborating with God in order to overcome a difficulty, individuals start to feel more in control of their behaviour. Also, on a community level, religious communities can create a feeling of belonging for its members and also help them to overcome psychological and physical stress (Sasaki & Kim, 2011). Technological developments and media also play an important role in the communication of Greek immigrants. Satellite television and the internet help migrants to keep a better connection with their country of origin and their relatives there and also with other migrants abroad (Evergeti, 2006).

Greek culture is based on unity through family and friendship, ethnic pride, morality, honour, traditions, history and strong religious beliefs (Georgiades, 2010). Traditionally, the father the home is an authoritarian figure that and is considered the protectors and provider of the family, while the mother is the one who looks after the children and honours her husband. In Greek-Cypriot culture the bonds of family and the attitude of its members are the same as those in Greece (Georgiades, 2010; (Sacks, Murray and Bunson, 1995). Greek children abroad tend to live with their parents even after they become adults and they take care of their elders, as care homes are not an acceptable way of treating one's elders in Greek society (Georgiades, 2010). Evergeti (2006) mentions that even those who are distant from the ethnic society and are not part of the Greek communities tend to take care of their elders the same way. Also, they keep great bonds

with their relatives back in their country (Georgiades, 2010). There are cases in which Greek migrants send money to their relatives in Greece in order to help or even invest their money in Greece. Their dependency on the family and their strong connections with their country of origin sometimes cause their isolation in the new society (Georgiades, 2010). This attitude of strong bonds with their ethnic community can be explained through the idea of identity and belonging. In order to establish who they are, individuals have the need to be part of a group. Their participation in ethnic and religious communities fulfils their need to connect with others and to be part of a whole, to feel trust, loyalty and, familiarity. However, if this connection is not successful, individuals tend to feel lonely and isolated (Verkuyten, 2014).

Their isolation and lack of social integration in regard to culture and language can many times bring bigger problems to these migrants. They might be seen as outcasts, dangerous, or even be misinterpreted by others. Both culture and language play an important role in migrants' social integration, especially when they get involved with the police and generally the criminal justice system.

2.5 Language and communication

Language is a very powerful tool in human communication, as it is the means of communicating symbols and it relates to culture. Language, apart from helping individuals communicate with each other, also influences their thinking, attitudes and beliefs. Some scholars suggest that language is forming ideas and controls individuals' interactions. Also, they suggest that language reveals the individual's cultural background (Chen & Starosta, 2005). Language is deeply connected with culture and we cannot separate the two, as it is considered a form of personal and social identity and a way to communicate any kind of interest (Bianco, 2010).

There are many theories around language as to what it is and how it works. Language is seen as a natural kind that replicates naturally, as a tool that humans use to communicate, as a social fact and many more (Pateman, 1983). Like culture, language has a symbolic character as it uses symbols in order to communicate a real situation or feeling. It also has a structure and follows rules like grammar, which is different for each language. Another characteristic is the subjectivity of it. Each individual can give a different meaning to a word, according to his or her culture or own understanding.

In addition, language is not static, but it evolves through time according to the needs of its speakers (Chen & Starosta, 2005). According to Joseph (2004), language is used for communication, representation and expression. Communication - in order to communicate with other individuals, as humans are social beings. Representation - in order to understand the world and to be able to sort the things around us, with words, into categories, and finally, expression - in order to express feelings and emotions to other individuals and to other groups of people.

After the brief explanation of the characteristics and the purpose of language, the importance of language will be introduced, as it influences people's ways of thinking, identity and migrants' integration into new societies.

2.6 Language and thought

Language is linked with thinking, as many scholars agree that language helps in the shaping of our thoughts. Complicated concepts and generalisations are given through simple sentences or even single terms (Hymes, 1966). Drysdale (1960) states that the understanding of a language leads to the understanding of its speaker, as language is highly connected with the way the speaker thinks and his or her culture. By comparing American-Indian and European languages with English, he explains the way in which language influences our thinking and how one's culture and way of life influence language. For instance, in the English language present tenses can be used to describe a situation that is going to happen in the future, while other European languages – for instance, French – use the future tense to describe the same situation (Drysdale, 1960). Another example given by Boroditsky (2011) illustrates that even body language and memory are influenced by spoken language. For most European languages the future and the past are considered to be ahead and behind us, respectively. Thus, when an individual uses these two terms, his or her body may lean forward or backwards, giving movement to the concepts. However, in some languages the perceptions of the future and past are the opposite, and individuals might lean forward when they talk about the past and backwards for the future (Boroditsky, 2011). The previous example clearly connects language with culture and nonverbal communication.

Non-verbal communication includes body language, such as gestures, handshakes, kissing and facial expressions (Ephratt, 2011). It is a very important mean of communication as it constitutes two thirds of all communication (Otu, 2015). Otu (2015)

explores non-verbal communication between the public and law enforcement and, more specifically, the difficulties that might rise between interactants of different cultures. Even though, some non-verbal ways of communication, such as basic emotional facial expressions such as sadness, happiness or anger are common in many cultures, there are non-vernal expressions that differ from culture to culture (Otu, 2015). The interactions between law enforcement and the public in a multicultural society might be challenging in regards of intercultural non-verbal communication. Otu (2015) suggests that a simple gesture can be interpreted differently according to the receiver's cultural background and gives the example of physical contact in a multicultural society such as USA; Otu (2015) explains that physical contact can be interpreted by some people as inappropriate behaviour, however, it can be perceived as an indication of friendship by some others.

The way in which an individual speaks, according to his or her language, e.g. the tendency to live in the present, shows the way the speaker understands and views the world around him. Such differences between languages can be viewed in cognate languages, such as the European languages (Drysdale, 1960). Boroditsky (2011) also asserts that the way in which we speak shapes our thoughts, and vice versa. Bilingual individuals change the way in which they think every time they swap between languages (Boroditsky, 2011; Drysdale, 1960). Languages not only shape people's thoughts but also obstruct individuals from thinking differently (Drysdale, 1960). In order for an individual to be able to think in a different frame apart from the one that he has developed through his native language, he or she will need to be introduced to a new language (Drysdale, 1960). Now, the learning of a new language can work in two ways. Individuals can broaden their way of thinking through the new language, but at the same time they might lose a part of their own social identity, as they integrate into the new society (Kallifatides, 1993).

2.7 Language and identity

As we analysed in the previous section, identity is a very important aspect of an individual's life and it determines who he or she is. Now, language and identity are two concepts that are related to each other and complement each other. People who speak the same language tend to have the same thinking frame (Drysdale, 1960), but each one has developed his or her own personal language style (Quirk, 2000). Quirk (2000) argues that each individual's language is unique and it can be compared to our genetic code. Joseph (2004) shows how the way we speak identifies us, sometimes regardless of what

we actually say. The tone, the words and the accent, and any other personal characteristics an individual uses when he or she speaks, identify the individual to others. Even in cases when people do not have a visual image, a phrase that is heard is enough for them to identify the speaker and create an image of him or her in their minds (Joseph, 2004). The listener can imagine the social class of the speaker - for instance, the clothes he or she might wear - their education and what kind of person the speaker is, and he can also decide whether or not he likes him/her (Joseph, 2004). Apart from shared thinking, a common language also creates bonds between the people who speak it.

Usually, in our minds, a language is associated with a nation. However, before the formation of modern nations/countries, the concept of nation was paralleled with that of an ethnicity. After the 18th century, nations began to have a different meaning, such as the unity of a group of people rather than race (Quirk, 2000). People of different races speaking different languages could be members of the same nation. Countries with more than one official language show that people can live harmoniously under one nation even though they have different identities. In more detail, individuals tend to share an identity with those who speak the same language with them, as parts of the same group (Quirk, 2000; Hobsbawn, 1996). In the same sense, people who speak different languages do not share this identity, but they can share another; for instance, being members of the same nation, society etc. (Quirk, 2000).

2.8 Migrants and language

The language of the host country is a very important tool for the migrants, in order to communicate, integrate (Chen & Starosta, 2005), find a job (Adsera & Pytlikova, 2015) and even create new friendships (Westcott & Maggio, 2016). According to Adsera and Pytlikova (2015), the migrant's knowledge of the host country language and his or her ability to learn it quickly are two factors that influence an individual's decision to migrate to the respective country. Individuals who live in countries with higher levels of education tend to migrate to English speaking countries, as they might be more familiar with the language, as second languages (such as English) are taught in schools (Adsera & Pytlikova, 2015). In addition, many professionals know more than one language before migration, as these linguistic skills are very useful in a professional context. Adsera and Pytlikova (2015) also point out that apart from the knowledge of a language, the country of migration is chosen by the migrants according to the relationship between the host language and that of the destination country. In other words, if the language of

the country of origin is related to the language of the host country, it is easier for the migrant to learn it; thus, he or she will be more open to the possibility of migrating to the respective country (Adsera & Pytlikova, 2015).

Greek people who have migrated to other countries have been through the acculturation process in order to integrate into the respective society. Kallifatides (1993) explains the identity shift of a Greek migrant in Sweden, due to the process of learning another language. The individual's personal view about his own identity is shaken when he learns a new language and sometimes this crisis is not apprehended consciously. Pacini-Ketchabaw et al. (2001) give the example of students from migrant families and point out the negative outcome the acculturation process might have on students who have more than one culture and language.

Pacini-Ketchabaw et al. (2001)'s research was focused on students from Latin migrant families in Canada and their bad performance at school. Apart from the identity shift that these student migrants might go through due to the learning of a new language, other factors might also influence their performance, such as unemployment, economic problems, accommodation etc. These socioeconomic factors are highly linked with linguistic skills. According to Johansson and Sliwa (2014), there are three types of migrants: those who are considered poor and migrate due to economic difficulties in the country of origin; those who are considered privileged and whose migration is a personal choice rather than necessity; and finally, the middle class migrants, whose socioeconomic status is convenient for such movements, in order to further develop both financially and personally. Linguistic skills are an important factor that influences migrants' social and economic capital significantly in the host society, as it influences migrants' access to education, health and employment and even getting citizenship (Johansson & Sliwa, 2014).

Kallifatides (1993) also points out that the lack of linguistic skills in a society where an individual lives alone, without being part of an ethnic group, can lead to loneliness and depression. Language plays a very important role in the migrant's social life. Kallifatides (1993) also points out that migrants who move to non-English speaking countries feel more isolated when they do not speak the language, compared to those who migrate to English speaking societies, as English has become a sort of international language and relatively more people are familiar with it.

Pacini-Ketchabaw et al. (2001) conducted research on migrants who try to maintain their culture and native language in the host society and pass it on to the next generation. They showed how important it is for the migrant families to pass on their culture and first language to their children in order to maintain bonds with their country of origin. Rasinger (2009) asserts that the greater the number of migrants who are part of an ethnolinguistic group in the host society, the greater the chances of their language and culture being preserved among the group. However, Rasinger (2009) showed that even among migrants who try to preserve their language in the host society the willingness to integrate is quite high. The migrants are not isolated due to language, as they have the tendency to use the native language inside the home and the host country language outside. Also, the survival of a linguistic group in a host society is linked to the identity of the individuals, as the stronger a linguistic group is, the more bias their members are inside the group (Rasinger, 2009).

Studies have shown that some migrants' lack of linguistic skills influences their trust towards the police and causes miscommunications (Correia, 2010). However, there are contradictory studies which indicate the opposite. Indeed, in studies conducted in the USA on migrants who did not speak the host country's language, the findings indicated that the non-English speakers had a positive opinion about the police (Benedict et al., 2000). According to Benedict et al. (2000), migrants' positive views on police might be due to their integration into the host society.

Culture and language are very important components of communication. All human beings depend on interaction and communication as we are social beings (Koprowska, 2008) and we have developed communication skills in order to exchange ideas, experiences, beliefs and values (MacDonald, 1991). Although communication is something that comes naturally to us and we highly depend on it (Koprowska, 2008), there are times when communication can be challenging. In cases when people of different cultural backgrounds try to communicate, the situation might become complicated due to a clash of two cultures. Such cultural clashes can be observed between the police and migrant communities as well. The different beliefs and values of the interactants might bring confusion and miscommunication and even conflict between the migrants and the police, as both are influenced by their own culture (Hammer & Rogan, 2002; Riley, 2007). Culture can also shift an individual's attitude through

memory tuning (Benedict et. al, 2000), which may affect how the police and migrants view each other.

Apart from culture, language is also an important factor that influences communication, as it influences an individual's way of thinking (Drysdale, 1960; Boroditsky, 2011) and his/her identity (Joseph, 2004). For the migrants, the knowledge of the host country's language is an important factor that will determine, for instance, their acculturation (Chen & Starosta, 2005) into the new society, their occupation (Adsera & Pytlikova, 2015). In addition the lack of linguistic skills of migrants and their different culture can create miscommunications with the police during verbal or non-verbal communication (Otu, 2015; (Correia, 2010).

3 Migrants and the police

The relationship between the migrants and the police is a very complicated issue. The migrants' cultural differences and their lack of linguistic skills on one hand and, on the other hand, the police officers' culture along with unawareness of diversity are considered factors that create miscommunications between the two parties (Morant & Edwards, 2011). In this chapter, the police culture and the strategies that are followed with regard to ethnic minority groups and migrants by police officers, as well as the migrants' and police officers' perceptions of each other, will be discussed. Before analysing police culture in England, the police officers' attitudes towards migrants will be discussed, with examples from other European countries. Many scholars have dealt with police attitudes towards ethnic minority groups and migrants. These revealed that discrimination and stereotyping are two important factors that have existed in police forces when dealing with ethnic minorities (Rowe, 2012; Cockcroft, 2013). This is however, not solely a characteristic of English police forces. In Greece, for example, according to Antonopoulos et al. (2008), police detectives categorised migrants according to their ethnicity. Greek detectives stereotyped migrants using both negative and positive adjectives. Greece is a country that hosts many migrants from a plethora of countries and continents such as Europe, Asia and Africa (Antonopoulos et al., 2008).For instance, the detectives described Africans, Indians and Serbians positively as good people and hard-working, but Albanians as thieves and dangerous.

Another example is that of Germany, where the legislation of the country, some would say, hides discrimination. According to Bruce-Jones (2015), the law for equal treatment which includes race, which was introduced in Germany in 2006, does not have a clear explanation of indirect discrimination. In cases of police discrimination, Bruce-Jones (2015) states that the legislation does not fully protect the minorities, and refers to the application of this law, by giving the example of debateable cases of police's violation of people's rights. Bruce-Jones (2015) gives examples of police officers' unfair treatment of ethnic minority individuals, pointing out the limitations of the German law. Also, points out the attitudes and practices of the police force are often discriminatory against minority populations, without serious consequences being applied to the police (Bruce-Jones, 2015). The limited data collected of police practices on race, gender, mental health and migration status in Germany, obstruct any analysis on police practices on race discrimination (Bruce-Jones, 2015).

In England, the issue of police discrimination can be traced back to its inception during the Victorian era (Cockcroft, 2013). The Irish population in England at the time was viewed as criminal by the police and there were clashes between the two (Cockcroft, 2013). Apart from the police, the public's views on migrants were also prejudiced. Towards the end of the 19th century, the public's view of migrants was generally negative, as the locals and the police were showing concerns regarding sexual relations between local women and the migrants (Cockcroft, 2013). People believed these relations would cause a decay of morals; in addition, they were afraid of the migrant men exploiting white women (Cockcroft, 2013). Nowadays, police culture seems to have changed, as a result of the police's attempts to decrease racism inside and outside the force by providing training programmes for the officers (Rowe, 2012). According to Morant and Edwards (2011), who conducted a study of police perceptions towards migrants and the cooperation between them, police attitudes to migrants were described by officers as fair. The officers stated that they were trying to treat minority groups in the same manner as they treated locals. When asked about the new migrant communities they dealt with, the officers mentioned the communication problems they faced when interacting with recent migrants, due to the migrants' lack of communication skills and different cultural background (Morant & Edwards, 2011). However, officers also stated that they approached migrants while keeping in mind their cultural and linguistic differences and that their main aim was to assist them and make them understand the English law, rather than punishing them (Morant & Edwards, 2011).

In these brief examples, the different police attitudes and perceptions towards ethnic minorities and migrants are viewed. This differentiation in police attitudes and practices could be explained through the police culture and the police strategies that each country follows. This chapter will be focused on police culture and police models in England as the purpose of this research is to examine the potential communication difficulties between the migrants and the police in England. Also, there will be a brief analysis of the Greek and Cypriot police forces in order to better understand the policing practices that the Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrants have faced in their country of origin, before migrating to England. Finally, the similarities and differences between the Greek, Cypriot and English (Metropolitan) police forces will be discussed. In the following literature review both race minorities and migrants is analysed; however, the literature

on race is wider than that on migrants. The analysis is more focused on race, because it is an indication of how police officers deal with diversity.

3.1 Police culture in England

The organised police force was introduced to England in the 18th century by the Metropolitan Police Act 1829 (Brogden, 1987). The reasons behind the creation of the new (Metropolitan) police in the 1800s are vague; one explanation given is that the reformation of the police was based on the rioting in London; another asserts that it was due to a rise in criminality, due to the recent population increase of the urban areas. Another explanation is the attempt to manage the working class at the time, which was growing due to industrialisation (Brogden, 1987). Towards the end of the 1800s the Metropolitan police started to become more organised and homogenous, as earlier there had been different practices locally. Also, the use of homogenous blue uniforms gave the impression to the public of a disciplined unit, as it looked like a military uniform (Styles, 1987). The Metropolitan police force launched a new way of policing that was aimed at proactive policing, with patrols on the streets, in order to prevent criminal activities rather than to respond after an incident had occurred (Styles, 1987).

During the 1800s the new British (Metropolitan) police force was also introduced in the British colonies around the world. The police force in the British colonies was created in order to defend the colony and control the colony's population (Sinclair & Williams, 2007). The colonial officers were trained in a militaristic training style, in case they had to transact any military duties. The main cultural characteristic of the colonial police was to protect the state (Sinclair & Williams, 2007). During decolonisation after World War II, many colonial police officers were recruited back in the metropolis. The colonial officers were equipped with experience and could be employed by the Metropolitan police (Sinclair & Williams, 2007). At the time, the relocation of colonial officers was rejected as most of them were locals and of mixed race; people who would not be easily accepted by the white officers in England (Sinclair & Williams, 2007). Although Britain was undergoing a decolonisation process, the Police Overseas Service Act in 1945 allowed Britain to maintain some of its police forces in some colonies such as Cyprus (Sinclair & Williams, 2007). The colonial police in Cyprus remained on the island and new police officers were transferred from the Metropolitan police to Cyprus, in order to be used in emergency situations on the island. Hundreds of Metropolitan police officers were requested by the Colonial Office, especially high ranking officers who were

difficult to find in colonial police forces. These officers served for a period of time in Cyprus and later returned to England by 1960 (Sinclair & Williams, 2007). However, during this police staff transferral process, the Home Office expressed concerns in regard to officers' practices during their transposition on the island. The concerns were based on the different police practices in Cyprus compared to England and the adaptability of the officers to more standard/typical conditions of work upon their return to the metropolis (Sinclair & Williams, 2007).

The recruitment of white police officers in the Metropolitan police force and the lack of diversity in the force continued until the 1960s. During that period and the next decade, the issue of diversity and equality had been raised by the Royal Commission Act 1960 and the Sex Discrimination Act 1975, in order to minimise gender discrimination in the force (White & Escobar, 2008). Apart from the legislation, more attention was paid to the education and training standards of the new recruits. The Graduate Entry scheme and the Bramshill Scholarships were introduced in order to promote the recruitment of more educated personnel in the police; however, the recruitment of more educated individuals began in the 1980s, as a result of an increase in salaries (Reiner, 1992). In order to raise the quality of service and minimise discrimination in the police - both inside the force, among colleagues, and between the police and the public - new training programmes were added. In 2004, the Police Race and Diversity Learning and Development Programme was introduced, covering many areas such as race, sexual orientation, gender, age, religion, disability and so on, in order to eliminate discrimination in the force (White & Escobar, 2008).

Many scholars have focused on the police culture in England today, in order to understand officers' attitudes and their way of practice by examining officers' perceptions of their work and practices, and their perception of the public (Paoline et al., 2000). According to Paoline et al. (2000), police culture consists of common beliefs, values and attitudes that derive from the working environment. These norms and attitudes are a result of the difficulties the officers face in their work. These attitudes are passed on from one officer to another; for instance, during the new officers' training, as they are informed about police work by older officers (Paoline, 2003). Waddington (1999) asserts that culture is also transmitted through stories and anecdotes, which do not specifically guide an officer's behaviour; however, they indicate the attitudes of fellow officers. The narration of stories by officers relating past experiences in the field

make up the canteen culture (Waddington, 1999). The canteen culture is the interaction among officers whereby personal views are exchanged through jokes and stories. These stories are told in order to reproduce the excitement of past police work and prepare the new officers for related incidents (van Hulst, 2013).

The difficulties the officers face are danger and uncertainty. The feeling of danger exists in the officers' working lives, on an occupational level. This danger comes from the members of the public whom the officers serve; thus, their attitudes towards them are distant, as danger is always expected. Also, the feeling of danger causes them to be suspicious to everyone who is not one of their own (police officer) (Paoline, 2003). Uncertainty is another element that dominates officers on an organisational level as, apart from their duty to enforce the law, they also have to follow certain rules while doing it. If officers enforce the law without using the appropriate procedures, there will be negative consequences for them. Officers are asked to solve problems which later will be reviewed and the officers will be evaluated according to their efficiency, which causes them to feel uncertain (Paoline, 2003).

The difficulties that arise from both the organisational and occupational levels in police officers' working environment causes them stress and anxiety which, in turn, is expressed in isolation and group loyalty. As mentioned above, the officers face dangers in their work which come from the public; thus, they tend to isolate themselves from the public and socialise only with their own group, which is other police officers. This socialisation within their own group creates a stronger bond and loyalty among its members (Paoline, 2003).

3.1.1 Institutional racism

However, over the last decades police culture has changed considerably in regard to diversity acceptance and the establishment of good relations with the public. Police culture has changed with regard to the acceptance of diversity, both inside and outside the force. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, during British decolonisation the police force was dominated by white officers, as mixed race and foreigner officers from the colonies were not accepted by the Metropolitan police (Sinclair & Williams, 2007). Rowe (2012) describes the attempts of the British police to increase diversity and decrease racism within the force and states that, after the 1970s, the police tried to recruit more people from ethnic minority groups in order for the police force to reflect the

diverse society of Britain. The attitude of the police towards diversity/minority groups had started to change, in comparison to the older attitudes of the 1960s and earlier. This change became more visible especially after the murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993 and the subsequent Macpherson enquiry in 1999 (Rowe, 2012). Stephen Lawrence was a black Londoner who was murdered in 1993 in South-East London and his death was the result of a racist attack. The inadequate police investigation and attitude towards the incident was the factor that triggered the police reformation in the coming years, as the Lawrence case represented the issue of racial violence in England (Rowe, 2007). Macpherson, in his inquiry 1999, suggested that more attention should be paid to ethnic minority groups and also their recruitment in the police (Rowe, 2012). However, according to Cashmore (2002), people from ethnic minorities are still hesitant to join the police. Some officers from ethnic minorities who were interviewed by Cashmore, explained that some people in ethnic minorities view the police as an enemy and the younger members of the community are discouraged to pursue a carrier in the force. According to Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) officers interviewed by Souhami (2014), the officers faced racism by both white public and black minorities. One BME officer mentioned the inimical way he was treated by a black minority community because he was working for the police. The black officer said that community's attitude made him question as to where he socially belonged (Souhami, 2014).

Apart from the negative attitudes generated by the public, some police officers face difficulties inside the force as well. Even though police culture has changed significantly after the police reform following the Macpherson enquiry (Souhami, 2014), recent studies question the elimination of discrimination among fellow officers. Many measures were taken against discrimination inside and outside the force. Police officials were focusing on recording racist incidents through cameras in canteens, bugged police cars and special phone lines for reporting racist language (Souhami, 2014). These measures had a huge impact on canteen culture and managed to tackle racist language, however many police officers felt that the measures were very stressing as the officers had to be always very careful about the language they used (Souhami, 2014). Even though the racist language was eliminated among police officers, many minority community officers and assistant chief constables asserted that racism still exists in different forms. The officers talked about a transition from the obvious to a more secret form of racism (Holdaway & O'Neill, 2007). That form of secret racism cannot be clearly classified as

institutional but has a more vague form and it is very difficult to be detected (Holdaway & O'Neill, 2007). Souhami (2014) argues that even though there was an intention to tackle institutional racism in the police force after the Macpherson inquiry, there was not enough information about the different aspects of racism that should be covered and how different forms of racism can be detected.

As many changes occurred in the past decades, diversity within the force was rising during the mid-1990s, with 19 per cent minority group recruits and 8.8 per cent women (Ponsaers, 2001). This diversity in the police force suggests that the diverse police staff (minorities, women) come from different cultural backgrounds; thus, Ponsaers (2001) suggests that they are less likely to accept and assimilate into the existing police culture as it is.

3.1.2 Police training on diversity

Apart from the diversity inside the force, steps were also taken towards increasing diversity awareness outside the force. A big development in race and diversity in police culture is the training provided to police officers. During the 1970s police officers were prone to discrimination against minority groups. Reiner (2012) gives the example of unclear reasons for the big number of arrests made on black people at the time. In the early 1980s big cities in England experienced rioting incidents. The rioting in Brixton, South London, in 1981 was one of the most significant examples of police and ethnic minority clashes (O'Brien Castro1, 2015). A high number of African-Caribbeans were concentrated in the Brixton area and, according to O'Brien Castro1 (2015), the police operations in the area, which included a big number of stop-and-searches of black men, triggered the rioting. The black men who were stopped by the police claimed to have been harassed by officers previously (O'Brien Castro1, 2015). In the 1980s the urban areas in England were suffering from unemployment and poor services in education, health, transport and so forth, and the populations living in these areas were facing spatial or ethnic discrimination, as these neighbourhoods were known as notorious areas (O'Brien Castro, 2015). After the Brixton rioting, Lord Scarman's report on the events stated that the rioting was a reaction to police discrimination (O'Brien Castro, 2015). The Scarman report suggested that police committees should be introduced into police stations and that better police training should be provided; it also referred to community policing, all as strategies for police reforms (Cain & Sadigh, 1982). However, Reiner

(1992) claims that the police reforms triggered by the Scarman report were not able to prevent the 1985 riots in Tottenham.

After the 1970s police focused on officers' awareness of public diversity, and community and race relations, by providing training to officers (Rowe, 2012). Again, after the Macpherson report in 1999, even more attention was given to police training on ethnic minority groups of society (Rowe, 2012). The training that was provided to officers, such as the Community Race Relations training, was focused on community diversity and the impact that officers' attitudes and behaviour had on the minority groups (Rowe, 2012). In recent years, police relations with ethnic minority groups and diversity awareness remain an issue that concerns not only one country but it is a widespread phenomenon. In 2013, the European Union provided the Fundamental Rights-Based Police Training (FRBPT), which was adopted by England as well. The FRBPT encouraged police officers to understand the ethnic minority groups' needs in society, along with a better understanding of their language and historical background (Fundamental Rights-Based Police Training, 2013).

However, according to Cashmore (2002) the effectiveness of the recruitment of personnel from different cultural backgrounds and the effectiveness of diversity trainings are questioned by police officers. Many officers claimed that the recruitment of ethnic minority groups will not change the police culture. The officers also mentioned that the diversity training offered is not effective and some supported that they are a waste of time. Most of the officers based their opinion on the fact that this training focuses on police-public relations but it does not improve the relations among officers of diverse background (Cashmore, 2002).

Conversely, according to police officers interviewed by Morant and Edwards (2011), officers claimed that discrimination and prejudice towards ethnic minorities do not exist anymore. The officers stated that they have seen a change in the police attitudes towards ethnic minorities and (as an extension of that group) migrants over the years and that this change is ongoing. The officers also mentioned that they have not observed any prejudiced behaviour by their colleagues towards migrants (Morant & Edwards, 2011). On the contrary, officers stated that they were aware of the different cultural background of migrants and their different perceptions and expectations of the police. Even though the officers might not be aware of the police practices of each country, one stated that

they know that the migrants might be used to other police practices and expect different treatment from the police (Morant & Edwards, 2011).

In the two-year research conducted by Craig, Marnoch and Topping (2010), evidence suggests that the majority of both ethnic minorities and the police agree that the police invests on their relation and cooperation and try to come closer to the communities in order to better understand their needs. However, half of the minority participants believed that the officers did not have the right communicative skills. Also, both sides mentioned the communication challenges that they face due to different cultures (Craig, Marnoch and Topping, 2010).

The competency and values that should be followed by police officers according to the College of Policing are based on integrity, transparency, impartiality and public service. The officers' practices should be unprejudiced, fair and objective, their decision making should be rational and they should follow the police Code of Ethics always in favour of the public. The concept of fair policing is based on the idea of a service that shows respect and acts fair for everyone (Competency and Values Framework for policing, 2016). The practices and behaviours that should be followed by officers when dealing with people of diverse background are promoting the adaptation of a culture that accepts diversity and is open to different viewpoints. Most importantly, the framework that is promoted on diversity is based on fair treatment to everyone rather than equal (Competency and Values Framework for policing, 2016).

The change in the police culture towards race and diversity, both internally, among colleagues, and externally, when they deal with ethnic minorities and migrants, is noticeable. This change was achieved due to organisational efforts to eliminate prejudice and discrimination in the police force of such a multicultural society as England. However, apart from the police's perceptions towards migrants and the significant change of the police culture, there was also a change in the policing strategies in the force.

3.2 Police models in England

After the establishment of the Metropolitan police (1829), the "new" police had developed different police strategies/models. The models of policing used at the time were the state civilian, military and municipal police (Emsley, 2012). The state civilian force was a police model that was found in cities such as London and they were reporting

to the government. The military model was based on rural areas; they were armed and had military equipment. These officers were reporting to the war minister. Lastly, the municipal police was a local police force which was employed and operated under the local government (Emsley, 2012). During the 19th century, the main police models were the state civilian police operating in London and the municipal police operating in the rural areas (Emsley, 2012).

The models of police used in England were also applied in the British colonies (Brogden, 1987). There are a few policing models that became very popular within the police force in contemporary England, such as problem-oriented policing, community policing, intelligence-led and evidence-based policing. After the Macpherson report, greater focus was placed upon the relations between the police and the ethnic minority/migrant groups. The latter was accomplished by the application of a policing model; community policing. According to Ponsaers (2001), policing models are not originally created but they are usually an evolution of previous models or alternative suggestions to existing ones. Williamson (2005) suggests that community policing was a model that was created as a result of the shift from the authoritarian systems to liberal democracy. In England, this model was suggested on the same basis in the 1970s by the Chief Constable of Devon, who stated that the authoritarian policing model was not appropriate in a libertarian society (Williamson, 2005).

The community policing model was a radical addendum to the existing new models of the time, the Military-Bureaucratic and the Lawful Policing models. The last two models were focused on discipline and the elimination of corruption and the application of law, respectively (Ponsaers, 2001). In addition, their relations with the public were very formal and the officers' attitude was that everyone could be a criminal. This attitude of the officers included also their fellow officers; as a result, the public was afraid of the police and tried to avoid contact with them (Ponsaers, 2001). Community policing is a model focused on the relations and cooperation between the police and the community, in order to minimise criminality and the fear of crime and disorder (Kumar, 2012), and to increase the effectiveness of crime control and also improve the police service and legitimacy (Ponsaers, 2001). After the 1990s, community policing was viewed as an innovative policing approach that would change the existing approaches of policing, by solving problems in local communities with the help of the public (Schaefer Morabito, 2010). Many countries worldwide have adopted this policing model, including England,

the United States, Sweden, France, Japan and New Zealand (Kumar, 2012). The main aim of the officers in such a model is to understand the communities' problems and try to solve them in order to create a safer environment for the community, as the feeling of unsafety causes anxiety and negatively influences the quality of life in the society (Kumar, 2012). According to Reiner (2012), community policing was a whole philosophy that focuses on providing help and even playing the role of social services, which is divergent to the previous catholic crime-fighting role. Community policing is more focused on effective and legitimate policing with democratic proceedings rather than law enforcement. Law enforcement, in this model, is considered a tool which is used to bring positive results, rather than its core principle (Ponsaers, 2001). As mentioned above, community policing focuses on police-public relations by increasing the feeling of trust. The public's trust in the police and their confidence that the police would secure their community helps the police's work on crime control and prevention (Kumar, 2012). This mutual trust is based on the good communication of the two parties (Kumar, 2012). This model is based on cooperation and coproduction, as community members are viewed as partners by the police (Ponsaers, 2001). The police focus on understanding the community's problems rather than on crime control (Ponsaers, 2001).

According to Paoline et al. (2000), the importation of the community policing model in the police's work not only affects the relations of the two parties but also the police culture on both occupational and organisational levels. On an occupational level, the acquaintance of the officers with the people in the area in which they operate/ apply community policing and the repeated interactions with law-abiding people create a friendlier working environment and decrease the feeling of danger (Paoline et al., 2000). On an organisational level, the officers do not need to make use of their authority frequently, as the community's problems might be of a different nature (Paoline et al., 2000). Paoline et al. (2000) state that these interactions with the public will potentially change the police's perceptions of the public and their own position.

Another police model in England is problem-oriented policing, which was introduced in the late '70s (Cordner & Biebel, 2005; Porter, 2013). This policing strategy is focused on crime control, public protection, public order and fear reduction. Problem oriented policing is also focused on the situations that give rise to criminal activities and disorder rather than the crimes themselves. Law enforcement is viewed again as a tool that will help in the problem solving process rather than its core principal (Cordner & Biebel,

2005). Ponsaers (2001) argues that problem oriented policing is not an original model but a variation of the community policing strategy that was analysed above.

Another policing model is intelligence-led policing (ILP). This model is focused on the control of crime by analysing data and crime patterns and by applying problem-oriented strategies (James, 2003). The gathering of intelligence is not a new strategy to the English police, as it was already part of the crime control police strategies in the 1960s. In the following decades, intelligence offices were established within the force (James, 2003). ILP is a policing model that uses technology (IT) in order to analyse the information gathered (James, 2003). The information gathered is used to guide the investigations in the right direction, towards serious offenders and criminal groups (Bullock, 2013). Also, ILP shares this information with other police agencies. ILP is applied in different ways according to the needs of the respective police force (James, 2003). Bullock (2013) shows the collaboration of ILP with community policing. Community policing, as mentioned earlier, is based on building good relations between the police and the public. The community police force is focused on solving the problems reported by the community and encourages the community to participate in the community's safety by collaborating with the police (Bullock, 2013). The collaboration of the police and the community and the tactics of policing used by community officers generate a big amount of information gathered in the field. This information can be shared with ILP, which will analyse and use it as intelligence (Bullock, 2013). Bullock (2013) claims that most of the intelligence used in ILP is gathered by community officers' observations and cooperations with the community (Bullock, 2013).

Lastly, the Evidence-Based Policing (EBP) model will be briefly explained. According to Bullock and Tilley (2009), the evidence introduced in court is used to prove "beyond reasonable doubt" the occurrence of an offence and the identity of the offender. On the same basis, evidence-based policing focuses on finding evidence on the effectiveness of police practices (Sherman & Murray, 2015).

The different police models described show the different policing approaches adopted by the police in order to build better relations with the public (Kumar, 2012), to control crime and reduce fear (Cordner & Biebel, 2005), to detect crime patterns through intelligence (James, 2003) and finally to find evidence on the effectiveness of the police (Sherman & Murray, 2015). These examples of policing strategies indicate how the

police force works in England. One of the most important examples is that of community policing, which demonstrates the police force's attempts to understand the public's problems (Ponsaers, 2001) and increase the public's trust in the police (Kumar, 2012). These are the police practices that the migrants will encounter upon their migration to England. However, the police practices in the country of origin might differ.

3.3 Greek and Cypriot police

After displaying briefly the police culture and models in England, a brief analysis of the Greek /Hellenic police force will follow. Unfortunately, the literature on the Greek and Greek/Cypriot police force and more specifically the policing models is very limited. Most of the information displayed in this section is drawn from the official Hellenic Police and Cypriot Police sites and other European and international police organisations.

Historically the term "Police" in Greece has been interwoven with conservative, right-wing and anti-communist ideologies and generally it has been adjacent to the government or political clusters in power (Rigakos and Papanicolaou, 2003). In early 1900s the Chorofylake/Gendarmerie was created as a single police force of military character and later the Astynomia Poleon (City Police) joined the force in 1920s. The Chorofylake and Astynomia Poleon actively participated alongside the Greek army in Balkan wars, the First World War, the Metaxas' dictatorship (1936–1941), the Second World War, the Civil War (1946-1949) and finally the military Junta (1967-1974). During the last century, Greece has been through political instability after the First World War and it was not balanced until the end of the military Junta in 1974, when democracy was reinstated (Rigakos and Papanicolaou, 2003). During the period of political instability in the country, the public created a distaste towards the police, especially the communist party supporters who were decreed illicit by the Junta and therefore targeted by the police (Rigakos and Papanicolaou, 2003). Apart from the impact each lawful or undemocratic governments had on police forces, they also had an impact on the recruitment of individuals. For instance the officers recruited during the junta period were selected according to their political views, which means that the recruits' political views should be the same of the respective government. (Jones & Newburn, 2006). About a decade later, a new socialist government reformed the police force and created the Hellenic Police in 1984, an equitable force that would have the form of a social service (Rigakos and Papanicolaou, 2003).

The current Hellenic police force was established in 1984 when Astynomia Poleon and the gendarmerie police coalesced. The Greek police's aim is to maintain peace and order and the smooth social existence of the public, the prevention of crime, and the protection of the state and the democratic constitution (*Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως*, 1984; Astynomia.gr, 2016). The Hellenic police consists of officers with general duties who staff the police stations around the country and also of special officers who work in special departments; usually these people are scientists, such as biologists, chemists and so on (Astynomia.gr, 2016). The Greek police force consists of many different special departments such as the Forensic Science division, which consists of different departments (fingerprints, science laboratories, scientific investigations, internal operations department and more), Special Violence Crime Squad, which focuses on the prevention of terrorism, International Police Cooperation division, which focuses on communication and cooperation with police agencies in other countries and International and European organisations such as Interpol and Europol (Astynomia.gr, 2016). One of the most important divisions of the Greek police force is the division for intelligence management and analysis, which deals with serious crimes, organised crimes and terrorism (Astynomia.gr, 2016). This intelligence division consists of deferent departments spread all over the country. These local departments/offices are controlled by the local general police stations and are linked and operate according to the intelligence division; thus, all of the information/intelligence gathered by the local departments and the communities can be accessed by the intelligence division (Astynomia.gr, 2016). The intelligence division manages and analyses data that come from all police agencies around the country. The department focuses on the prevention and investigation of crimes and it also uses intelligence in order to support other police agencies (Astynomia.gr, 2016). The intelligence division has intelligence databases and it collects and shares information with other foreign, international and European agencies (Astynomia.gr, 2016).

Greek police recruits enter the police academies via national exams, which is the same entrance system used by all public universities in the country. Special duty police officers are recruited according to the needs of the respective special police unit and the qualifications of the recruit; for instance, subjects studied at university, familiarity with laboratory work, post-graduate studies (Astynomia.gr, 2016). The training of the police officers in Greece is based on the European standards of police training. Apart from the

Greek police academy that officers attend, they are also provided with training from the European Police College (CEPOL), which provides a variety of training programmes for police officers such as Community Policing Second Step seminar, Public Order and Crowd Management, Fighting against Drugs in the EU and European Police Education Systems (Enet.cepol.europa.eu, 2016). Although there is no information regarding the recruitment of minority groups in the police, there is a lot of information on female recruits. The Astynomia (2016) force displays the number of women officers in the force, which has reached 12.6%. According to the Greek police, women and men are treated equally in the force and also there are absolutely no limits to prevent women from choosing a career in the police force (Astynomia.gr, 2016).

Apart from the general/urban police force in Greece, there is also the municipal police, which consists of police officers employed by the local city councils (Thessaloniki.gr, 2016). In 1994, the municipal police was introduced under the Municipal and communal code (Rigakos & Papanicolaou, 2003). The municipal police officers are trained in the police schools for eight months; they are uniformed, carry a badge and an identification card and they work within the council borders by which they are employed and they are responsible for maintaining order in the respective council/town (Rigakos & Papanicolaou, 2003). However, these officers have specific jurisdictions by the law, which are restricted in comparison to urban police officers (Thessaloniki.gr, 2016). In recent years, the council police force has started some social programmes and educational interventions in order to better serve the citizens and create better relations with the public. The council police force's aim is to change the impersonal image of the police by coming closer to the public and also focus on the information of the public, for the prevention of crimes. The officers are trying to offer their services with consistency, respect for the citizens, equal treatment and indulgence (Thessaloniki.gr, 2016). The duties of the Municipal Police force is limited compared to the normal Hellenic Police, the municipal officers' duties include parking, pollution, sanitation and noise regulation, and smooth operation of recreation grounds such as theatres and cinemas (Rigakos & Papanicolaou, 2003). Municipal officers are authorised to conduct searches in both public and private premises but they do not have the power to arrest. (Rigakos & Papanicolaou, 2003).

Policing in Cyprus has its own cultural and historical specificities. The Cypriot Police and Cyprus Gendarmerie were established in 1960 and operated by a Greek Cypriot chief

for the urban areas and a Turkish Cypriot chief for the rural areas of the island. After the Turkish invasion the in 1974, the Cypriot police and the Gendarmerie were amalgamated and a new Cypriot Police was formed (Cypriot Police, 2006). The police in Cyprus follow similar standards to those of the Greek police. The main principles of the Cyprus police involve the fair, respectful and honest treatment of all citizens, regardless of race, colour, religion, sex and political beliefs (Police.gov.cy, 2016). The Cyprus police force promotes a sensitive and "humane" approach towards the public and its main aim is to maintain law and order, prevent criminal activities and also offer "services and assistance to the public" (Police.gov.cy, 2016). The departments of the Cyprus police force are similar to those in Greece. Even though there are not many details about the departments' operations, the structure of the departments and units are very similar to that in Greece. A few of the departments of the Cyprus police are the criminal investigation office, which deals with various crime types, the criminalistics department, which is the department of forensic science, and the research and development department, which deals with the duties of officers and information technology (Police.gov.cy, 2016).

Cypriot police is focused on the police-public relationships and have established a Citizen Charter in order to interact with the public and improve their performance. Also, a big part of the Cypriot police relates to community policing. Community policing in Cyprus was established in 2003 and its aim is to create better relations and trust between the public and the police and also encourage the cooperation of the two towards fighting crime (Cypriot Police, 2006). The community police duties in Cyprus include car, foot and bicycle patrols, focusing more on the last two, as it enhances proximity with citizens, making it is easier to report potential incidents (EUCPN, 2017). As implemented in other countries, the community policing model used by the Cypriot Police aims to make the police visible and more approachable to the public, decrease criminality and fear of crime among the citizens (EUCPN, 2017).

The police ethical code in Cyprus was adopted from the European code of police ethics in 2001 (Police.gov.cy, 2016). The Cyprus police force operates by respecting human rights and providing help to citizens. Also, Cypriot police officers try to create good relations with the public and collaborate with local authorities, other agencies and ethnic minority groups (Police.gov.cy, 2016). Under the code of police ethics within which Cypriot police operate are also the training of police officers, which follows democratic values and also tries to eliminate racism and xenophobia (Police.gov.cy, 2016). Police

officers in Cyprus are trained in the Police Academy of Cyprus, which was founded in 1990, and the training follows the European standards of police training (Police.gov.cy, 2016). Also, similarly to Greece and other European countries, police training programmes are provided by CEPOL. Cyprus Police Academy includes CEPOL offices in their facilities in order to ensure a better collaboration between the two academies (Police.gov.cy, 2016). In addition, police training programmes are provided by FRONTEX, which is a European Union agency that deals with "European border management"; it deals with cooperation with countries at the borders of the European Union (Frontex.europa.eu, 2016). FRONTEX has offices in countries with the biggest migration activity, such as Cyprus, Lithuania, Germany, Netherlands, Romania, Latvia and Poland (Frontex.europa.eu, 2016). The Cypriot police officers are trained to better control the borders of the country (Police.gov.cy, 2016).

3.4 Comparison of the Greek, Greek-Cypriot and English police forces.

Even though the literature on the police in Greece is very limited, one can recognise some similarities between Greece, Cyprus and England in terms of policing. The Municipal Police force of Greece is very similar to the community policing model that is used in England. The similarities are obvious in terms of creating better public-police relations (Kumar, 2012) and offering services rather than enforcing the law (Ponsaers, 2001). Although there might be some potential differences between the policing strategies in two countries, one could safely say that the model of policing used by the municipal police is very close to community policing used by police forces in the UK and Cyprus. However, the Greek Municipal police seems to differ from the Cypriot and English community policing as it lacks the same remits the as the Cypriot and UK forces. Rigakos and Papanicolaou (2003) point out the criticism the Municipal police faced about their usefulness. The criticism was focused on their duties, which were in actual fact limited to issuing parking tickets.

The operation of the intelligence division in Greece is very similar to the intelligence-led policing model that is used in England. As explained earlier, the information/intelligence in the English Intelligence model is gathered locally by the local intelligence departments and the communities (James, 2003), something that also applies in Greece. Also, the division structure in the two countries is very similar (James, 2003). However, even both police forces gather intelligence locally through the communities

(James, 2003) (Astynomia.gr, 2016), there is no literature suggesting any collaboration between the community police and the intelligence division, as there is in England.

Even though there is a huge gap in the literature around the police in both Greece and Cyprus, the available information on police structure and operation in the two countries suggests that the contemporary aims and principles of the two police forces follow the European standards of policing. However, the real practices and the culture of the police cannot be analysed properly as this area has not been under academic scrutiny. From the information available, the Greek and Cypriot police are cooperating with European Union policing organisations and academies in order to keep the operational standards and the officers' training standards on a high level, equivalent to those defined by the European Union. The cooperation of both the Greek and Cypriot police with foreign agencies/organisations (Astynomia.gr, 2016; Police.gov.cy, 2016) and the establishment of CEPOL offices in the Cypriot police academy (Police.gov.cy, 2016) are examples of the cooperation and interaction of these forces with the EU. The "friendly" and "humane" approach of the Cypriot and Greek police towards the public (Cyprus police, 2016; Astynomia.gr, 2016), which is officially stated by the two forces, could be considered as a similarity to the liberal approach of the English police (Emsley, 2012) during the last century. The similarity is more obvious between the community police model in England (Paoline et al., 2000) and community police in Cyprus, rather than the Municipal Police in Greece. The three policing strategies aim at creating better relations with the public and the local communities and focus on offering services instead of enforcing the law (Astynomia.gr, 2016; Ponsaers, 2001; Kumar, 2012).

The gradual evolution of the police culture in England from the establishment of the metropolitan police to date is very clear. However, the respective evolution of the police culture in Greece and Cyprus seems more recent, according to the sources available. The attempt to introduce diversity and appropriate trainings to the police force in England began in 1970s, while in Greece and Cyprus the police had a militaristic face till the late 1970s.

The different police models that have been developed over the years in the English police force were displayed, with more focus on community policing. Community policing was the biggest attempt of the English police to create better relations with the public (Kumar, 2012) and improve its legitimacy (Posnaers, 2001). In addition, the Greek and Cypriot

police practices and policing strategies were displayed, in order to better understand the police practices that the Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrants were familiar with before migrating. Unfortunately, the literature on the Greek and Cypriot police is very limited and a deeper analysis was not possible. The information gathered was collected from the official police sites of the Greek and Cypriot police and a few European organisations. The purpose of this chapter is to inform the reader of the cultural background and practices of the police in England, Greece and Cyprus, in order to understand the environment in which the migrants live when they migrate and the environment with which they are familiar from their country of origin, with regard to policing.

4 Methodology

A qualitative method was used for conducting this research and interviews were used for the collection of data. A qualitative approach was used as it focuses on the analysis of phenomena from the point of view of the actors (Lapan et al., 2012). Criminology is one of the applied social sciences and, according to Noaks and Wincup (2004), many theories have been developed around the social activity of individuals in criminology and, more specifically, around the nature and the "reaction to crime". Qualitative research methods are widely used by criminology researchers (Noaks & Wincup, 2004). In this research, phenomena were analysed and tested according to the viewpoint of Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrants in England. The aim of the qualitative research is to examine how people understand their environment and how they interpret it (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

The collection of data was achieved with the help of interviews, as in-depth information can be extracted through this type of data collection. Interviews allow interviewees to be free to express themselves and narrate their own experiences. Also, the interview is a method of data collection that can also give non-verbal and implicit information to the researcher (Hannabuss, 1996). This research tries to answer the research questions by asking migrants to narrate their own experiences and the potential cultural and communication difficulties they might have faced during an encounter with the police in the host society. Many criminology researchers have used interviews for the collection of data. An example is Egharevba and White (2013), who interviewed migrants in order to examine their perceptions and attitudes towards the police in Finland. Mutasa (2014) interviewed migrants in South Africa in order to explore the difficulties the migrants faced in the host country with employment, access to health services and police brutality, due to a lack of linguistic skills. Another example is the research of Merry et al. (2011), who interviewed migrant women in order to display an effective way of interviewing a sensitive population.

Both structured and semi-structured questions were used in the interviews. Structured questions are used when the researcher wants to receive standardised answers from the participants (Hannabuss, 1996). The structured questions in this research were used for the collection of basic information from the participants, such as age, ethnicity and date of migration. These questions were structured as they would not let the participants drift

away from the questions. The rest of the questions asked to the participants were semi-structured. These questions are designed in such a way that they extracted participants' personal views on a situation they have been through (McIntosh & Morse, 2015). Semi-structured questions are open-ended questions; thus, the participants' responses could differ from each other. However, their answers can be analysed together, as all of the participants answered exactly the same questions (McIntosh & Morse, 2015). The participants in this research were given the opportunity, with the semi-structured questions, to narrate their own experiences and answer the questions freely without being interrupted. However, in cases where the participants drifted away from the original question and were talking about subjects that were out of the scope of this research, interventions were made by the researcher. The researcher would use prompts to try to guide the participant and suggest a return to the original subject of discussion.

The interviews were approximately 30 minutes long and were separated into three different sections, each one focusing on a different theme. The first section of the interview schedule was introductory and consisted of 10 questions, starting with questions about the participant's personal information, such as nationality, age, occupation, time spent in the host country and the reason they migrated. This information would establish the participant's background and also would admit the participant into the interview smoothly. The following questions in the first section were focused on the participant's experiences in previous encounters with the police, both in the host country and the country of origin. These questions aimed to clarify whether the participant had had a previous encounter with the police and reveal the participant's perceptions towards the police, both in the country of origin and the host country. The second section of the interview schedule was focused on language, including questions such as whether the participant had had any communication difficulties due to language during an encounter with the police in England. The following questions were about potential misunderstandings between the migrants and the police due to language and migrants' satisfaction after their encounter with the police. A small subsection under the language section was created for participants who had not had an encounter with the police in the past, including questions such as whether the participants believe they might have difficulty in expressing themselves in a future encounter with the police. The last section of the interview schedule was focused on culture. The questions were about how familiar

the migrants were with the English culture and whether there were any miscommunications between them and the police due to cultural differences.

The data collected by the interviews were analysed using content analysis. Content analysis is a common technique in qualitative research and is based on text analysis deriving from a variety of sources such as interviews, focus groups, observations, books and articles (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This technique is used for the better understanding of phenomena (Stemler, 2001). In this research the phenomenon studied is miscommunication between migrants and the police. Content analysis is useful in analysing big amounts of data by using a "word frequency count" (Stemler, 2001). The words that are repeated in the texts are of great significance as they create a concept (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The researcher reads the data collected in order to have a general image of them and then he or she focuses on the words in the texts that stand out by creating certain concepts and thoughts (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). These words are coded according to their meaning or the concept they represent. The researcher makes a first analysis of the coded words and then he or she separates these words/codes into categories according to the relationships between the codes (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The words/codes under each category must be of similar meaning (Stemler, 2001). The researcher then tries to find different patterns and themes among the categories (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

The interviews were transcribed and analysed in topics. The interview schedule was already separated into three different sections; each one focused on a different theme. The data that derived from each interview section were analysed separately. First, the texts were read and words that were repeated and words of similar meaning were highlighted as a first identifying analysis. Then the highlighted words from each section were coded and grouped in different categories according to the meaning and concept the codes represented. However, it was noticed that some interviewees had used different or synonym words while they talked about the same thing. These words were grouped under the same category as they gave the same meaning. The categories created from each interview section were analysed together and different patterns were identified in the data. Then the categories from the three interview sections were looked at together, as the patterns identified in each section were cross-examined, and new themes were identified. The data analysis was done without the help of a computer software. The NVIVO computer software was considered for the data analysis, as it is useful in

organising and managing and coding qualitative data fast (Sotiriadou et al., 2014). However, the research sample was relatively small, as only sixteen interviews were obtained, so the NVIVO was not used.

Content analysis was an ideal data analysis method for this research; even though the number of interviews was not huge (16 interviews), the amount of the data collected from these interviews was big as each interview was several pages long, in text form. Content analysis decreased the amount of data, and the identification of patterns and themes was made relatively easy. In addition, this method provided an in-depth analysis of the data, as each interview was examined word by word. However, a lot of attention was paid to the word coding, especially on the interviews that were taken in English. The participants were not native speakers of the English language but of Greek; thus, in some cases more attention was needed in order to apply the correct coding to the words used by participants. However, the meaning or concept they tried to communicate was clear, as it was expressed following a way of thinking well known to the researcher, who is also a native Greek speaker.

4.1 Recruitment

The participants chosen for the research were of Greek and Greek-Cypriot origin. Sixteen individuals between the ages of nineteen and seventy-five were interviewed for this research. The participants were chosen according to their ethnicity, as they should be Greek or Greek-Cypriot, as well as their age, as all participants should be over the age of eighteen. Only adult participants were selected for the research as the adult participants would potentially have had more interactions with the police than minors; also, consent from parents and guardians would be needed for juvenile participants as they are a vulnerable group. Finally, participants were selected according to the time they had spent in the country of origin. Only first-generation migrants were included in the research and only those who had been living in the country of origin during their adult life. Second-generation migrants and those who had not spent any of their adult lives in Greece or Cyprus were not included in the research, simply because they would not be able to provide any relevant information, as they would probably not have any linguistic difficulties in the English language; they would not be very close to the Greek and Greek-Cypriot cultures and finally, they would lack experiences with the police in the country of origin. Especially second-generation migrants would be individuals who were born in the host country and they are not considered migrants. Twelve of the participants were

of Greek origin and four were of Greek-Cypriot origin. Ten of the participants were professionals, two were university students, three were retired and one was unemployed.

The interviews were done in both English and Greek, depending on the preference of the interviewee. The individuals who did not feel comfortable enough to speak in English or were not sure if they could express themselves thoroughly in English preferred to be interviewed in Greek. Two interview schedules were created, one in English and one in Greek, and the questions included were exactly the same. The interviews were conducted by the researcher without the help of a translator as the researcher is also a native Greek speaker. The data collected by the interviews conducted in Greek were translated and analysed in English. The interview schedule can be seen in Appendix A.

The participants were found through the Canterbury Christ Church University and the Greek-Cypriot church communities in the area of Kent. They were approached at the Canterbury Christ Church University, at the St Mark and Fotini Greek Orthodox Church in Folkestone, Kent, and at the Archangel Michael Greek Orthodox Church in Margate, Kent. The participants who were approached at Canterbury Christ Church University were found through social connections among fellow students and academic staff. They were contacted via email and meetings were arranged with those interested in participation. The participants who were approached at St Mark and Fotini Greek Orthodox Church were approached through a community's leading figure of the Greek/Cypriot community of Folkestone. The first contact was made to the leader of the community who introduced the researcher to the rest of the community during one of the community's gathering in the church facilities. The individuals who were interested in participation were informed about the nature of the research and further meetings were arranged for the interviews. Most of the individuals at St Mark and Fotini church live locally in the area of Folkestone. The Very Reverend at the Archangel Michael Orthodox Church in Margate was the first person contacted, who later introduced the researcher to individuals who usually attended the liturgy, and most of them were also members of the Greek/Cypriot community of Margate. Further meetings for the interviews were arranged with the individuals interested in participating in the research. The Greek/Cypriot community of Margate is bigger than the community of Folkestone and the Greek/Cypriot people who visited the church came from across the whole area of Kent.

Most of the interviews were done face to face at the church facilities and in public places, such as cafes in Folkestone and Margate. Six of the interviews were held via the Skype computer program, due to distance difficulties. Some of the participants were not able to arrange meetings in person; thus, Skype sessions were arranged on agreed dates and times. The interviews that were conducted through Skype were recorded in an audio form with a voice recorder that was connected to the computer system. Apart from the distance reduction, interviews held through telecommunications are also cost and time effective, as the researcher does not need to travel to other places in order to hold an interview (Vogl, 2013). However, this research did not exceed the area of Kent, England. Through Skype the participant and researcher can see each other, which creates a good communication, as they can exchange gestures and observe each other's reactions (Hamilton, 2014), as in a face to face interview. However, Skype interviews have some disadvantages, as both participant and researcher must have internet access and computer equipment such as cameras, in order to be able to see each other. Neither computer equipment nor internet access was a problem in any of the interviews contacted via Skype for this research. The internet connection and the high quality audio were always tested before the interviews and sample recordings were taken before the actual interviews to ensure the good quality of the data.

4.2 Ethical issues

In academic research there are ethical issues that must be considered for the protection of both the researcher and the participants. In order to ensure the protection of the participants and the researcher, an ethics list was submitted to the University's Ethics Committee for approval. The ethics list included information on the nature of the research and the subjects included. The research started only after the approval from the Ethics Committee was obtained. In addition, consent forms and information sheets were provided to the interviewees. The information sheets included a description of the nature of the research and the procedure the participants were asked to follow. The information sheets were describing the subject of the research by providing background information; they informed the participants of what they were required to do and displayed the procedure of the research. The participants were informed about the data protection, and the requirements for participation.

The private information of the participants and the data collected from the research are confidential and are stored safely by the researcher. For the protection of data and the

private sensitive information of participants, the university follows the Research and Data Protection Act 1998 (Canterbury Christ Church University, 2006). The researcher is the only person who can access the research data and in case the processing of data would be outside the premises of the university, any personal information would be removed to ensure the protection of data. Also, the personal information of participants will be removed from the data after the completion of the research and all data will be anonymous (Canterbury Christ Church University, 2006).

The participation requirements stated that all participants should be adults, of Greek or Greek-Cypriot origin and only first-generation migrants. In case there would be any participants that were victims of crimes, new ethics list would be submitted to the university's ethics committee. The participants were asked prior to the interviews, whether they are victims of crimes or part of vulnerable population. None of the participants included in this research were victims of crime or part of vulnerable group. Finally, they were provided with the researcher's contact information. The participants were advised to keep the information sheet for their records in case they wanted to use any of the information provided, in the future. The consent forms which the participants had to read and sign prior to the interview, included that the participants agreed to take part in the research voluntarily and they could withdraw any time without giving a reason. Another section of the consent form stated that the participants had read the information sheet and they had the chance to ask questions. Also, the participants were ensured that their personal information would be kept confidential and finally that the participants agreed for their quotes to be used in the research. The participants who were interviewed via Skype were sent the consent form and information sheet via email. The participants signed the consent forms and sent them back to the researcher via email. Both the consent form and the information sheet were translated in Greek for the participants who did not speak English. The consent form can be seen in Appendix B and the information sheet can be seen in the Appendix C.

4.3 Limitations

A few limitations were also considered in this research. The researcher's ethnicity was considered as one of the limitation. As mentioned above, the researcher is of Greek origin like the majority of the participants, which might influence her objectivity. The

researcher tried to avoid any kind of bias during the research and conduct this research, as objectively as possible.

Also, the fact that the participants knew the ethnicity of the research, could influence them negatively during the interviews, as the Greek/Greek-Cypriot community in the area is relatively small and participants' private information could leak. The participants were ensured that the information they will provide during the interviews and their private information would be kept confidential and would not be discussed with anyone. However, the researcher's ethnicity might have a positive influence to the research as well, as the participants might feel safer to speak to someone from their own ethnic group than an outsider, and they might reveal more in-depth information during the interviews.

5 Results

The first part of this analysis includes participants' background information such as age, ethnicity, occupation and reason and length of migration. This information will display the socioeconomic status of the participants, which later will be further used in the analysis and the discussion of this research. The number of participants in this research was sixteen; four Greek-Cypriots and twelve Greeks. The age range of the participants was between twenty-two and seventy-three. Half of the participants were over forty years old. Eleven of the participants had been in the host country for ten years or less and five had spent over 20 years in the host country. Most of the participants initially migrated in order to study or to find a job and three of them for family reasons. This information is displayed analytically in Table 1 in Appendix D.

5.1 Migrants' views on the police

When the participants were asked about the police in their country of origin, only two out of sixteen said they totally trusted the police in their country of origin. However, both of them mentioned that they were connected somehow with police officers; either they were friends with officers or they had relatives working in the police. Nine of the participants said they did not trust the police totally, only up to a point, and five said they did not trust the police at all. The main reasons for their lack of trust in police were negative past experiences. Half of the Greek participants mentioned that the reason of their negative view towards the police is due to the police's delayed responses when they called for help. One of the participants said,

I don't think they respond fast. I believe a family member would respond faster in an emergency. [P15]

Another said,

If you called the police, they would come after an hour. They were afraid. They wanted to come after the incident occurred. [P8]

Also, a few participants from both Greece and Cyprus saw the police in their country of origin as a corrupted force, and as a result, untrustworthy. Those who had not had an encounter with the police in the country of origin, formed their views according to their observations of police practices in their immediate environment. Two participants of

Greek origin mentioned that the reason for their lack of trust was because the police cannot do their job properly due to lack of resources.

The migrants' views on the police in the host country were mostly positive, as fifteen out of sixteen participants said they trusted the police. Nine out of ten participants who had had a previous encounter with the police in England stated that they were satisfied by how police handled them and their case. Even those who had not had a previous encounter with the police, had positive views and said they trusted the police in the host country.

Most of the participants described the police in the host country as friendly, professional, organised and typical. Both Greek and Greek-Cypriot participants were satisfied by the police in England and recognised the importance of professionalism. One of the participants, while describing an encounter with the police, stated,

They were very polite, they explained everything from the start. [P2]

Another said,

When I spoke with them they were professional and friendly to me. [P8]

One quarter of the participants also mentioned that they felt safer in England than in the host country due the number of police officers they saw on the streets. Two of them commented on the fact that police constables were not armed. They questioned the legitimacy of the officers based on the fact that they did not carry guns. However, they said that they trusted and were generally satisfied by the police. The two participants were both under 25 years of age; one was Greek and the other Greek-Cypriot. They stated,

It*'s not a police force, they don't even have guns on them.* [P6]

And

They seem like simple employees, not police officers. They do not carry guns, I am disappointed. [P11]

When they compared the two countries, the majority of the participants said that they trusted the police more and were more satisfied by the police in the host country than in

the country of origin. Only two participants of Greek-Cypriot origin stated they trusted the police equally in both countries. Both individuals were over the age of sixty and one of them was related to a police officer in the country of origin. Most of the Greek participants agreed that the police in the host country were more organised and more professional than in Greece. Even participants who had not had an encounter with the police in the host country, said that they trusted the police in England more than in the country of origin. A Cypriot participant stated,

I would trust the police here in a future encounter. I trust the police here more than in Cyprus. [P6]

A Greek participant said,

They are more professional here (England) and they do their job right. Here they are better on every level. [P13]

The participants also compared the practices of the police force in the host country and the country of origin by giving examples of both. The participants stated,

I do not trust the police in Greece. Their attitude is: who cares? Why should I solve the problem? Here [it] is different. When the English see something they want to help. [P8]

There is a big difference with Greece. They respond very fast here. There are many police cars, they close the roads and they secure the area very fast. They are much [more] organised. To us (Greeks) [this] seems excessive and time consuming, but it is how things should be. This does not happen in Greece; if you call them (police) for a burglary for instance, they will come an hour later. [P16]

In addition, two-thirds of the participants, expected the police's practices in the host country to be similar to those of the country of origin during their first years of migration. However, their views on the police changed during their stay and in some cases after their first interaction with the police in the host country. One third of the participants knew what to expect from the police in England; they had either visited the UK prior to their migration or they had friends and/or relatives living there already, who had informed them on the matter.

I was stopped by the police because I was talking on my mobile while driving… I did not expect to be stopped just because I was talking on the phone. Not that it is right, but in Greece it is very rare to be stopped because of that. I found it strange. [P2]

I expected them to be stricter. I expected to feel fear like in Cyprus. In Cyprus the police try to intimidate you. [P6]

5.2 Communication and cultural barriers

The majority of the participants said that they did not face any language difficulties during their encounter with the police in the host country. Those who did not have an encounter with police stated that language probably would not be a problem in a future encounter. Most of the individuals who had migrated to England either for studies or in order to find a job, spoke the language prior to their migration and they stated that were not hesitant to communicate with the police if needed; for instance, in order to report a crime or as witnesses. However, a few mentioned that they would have been a bit hesitant to have an encounter with the police a few years ago, when they were recent migrants, because their language skills would not have been on a very good level.

When I first came here I would have [had] a problem expressing myself and I would be worried to speak with the police. But not now. [P15]

Two of the migrants who had migrated for family reasons, stated that they did not speak the language, but they were willing to get involved with the police in the future as they believed that the police here would provide the necessary help, such as an interpreter, and there would be no misunderstandings. Only one individual who did not speak the language, had had an encounter with the police in the host country and stated that interpreters were provided from the start.

Five out of twelve Greek participants did not speak the language prior to their migration. The majority of the Greek participants had been in the host country for less than ten years and the reason for their migration was mainly due to work. However, all of the Greek-Cypriot participants spoke English very well prior to their migration and the majority had been in the host country for more than twenty years. They stated that in Cyprus, children learn the language at a young age and people are familiar with the English language and culture. One participant said,

As you know, Cyprus was an English colony and when I was young we had English families living near us and I used to speak with them a lot and play with their children. So, my English was quite good from a young age. [P12]

Most of the Greek participants were not familiar with the English culture prior to their migration. A majority mentioned that they had heard a few things about the English weather and that the English people are polite and more conservative than Greeks. Three participants mentioned their interactions with English tourists in Greece; however, they stated that these interactions were not enough for them to understand the English culture. The Greek-Cypriot participants were more familiar with the English culture prior to their migration as they spoke the language, most of them had visited the UK before or they had English friends and/or family members living there already. One participant stated,

We have family friends here (England), I did know a few things (about English culture). [P6]

I had a sister there and we wrote letters regularly. I was a bit familiar with their culture. [P12]

Both Greek and Greek-Cypriot individuals agreed that culture did not play any role, either negative or positive, during an encounter with the police in the host country. Both the participants who had an encounter with the police in the host country and those who had not, believed that their different culture would not bring any difficulties or misunderstandings between them and the police. The participants asserted that the police would do their job without being influenced by people's ethnicity and culture. One of the participants stated,

I don't think my different culture would bring any difficulties. England is a multicultural country. I haven't noticed anything like that. We tell them we are Greek and we are welcome. We are treated like English people. Even at work, I have never faced any discrimination or prejudiced behaviour. [P16]

And another,

I don't think it has anything to do with our way of living. I truly believe our ethnicity does not play any role. [P3]

When the participants asked if they believed that the police understood and respected the Greek way of life, most of the participants said that they did and a few gave relevant examples.

When we have the Epiphany (religious event) in Margate, high ranking police personnel attend the event and police close the roads. They protect us from the traffic. There is good communication between the community and the police. [P12]

When Greece won the Euro in 2004 they closed [the] main roads in London and there were celebrations. There is an understanding. [P5]

Many participants felt that the Greek community is quiet and does not stand out as people's behaviour is not much different from other communities. However, a few participants pointed out that there are small cultural differences between the Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrants in the host society.

[The] Greek-Cypriot community has [a] more conservative mentality. They maintained a certain way of living which has changed in their own country. It is not updated in the UK. Greeks feel less part of the community, more part of the EU project. [P5]

In summary, most of the participants did not face any language difficulties during their encounter with the police in the host country, and those who did not have an encounter with the police, did not believe language would bring any problem. The participants who originally migrated in order to find a job or to study in the host country, spoke the language prior to their migration. Especially, the Greek-Cypriot participants, mentioned that they were familiar with both the English language and culture due to the relation of the two countries, in particular they mentioned the colonisation of Cyprus by England.

The majority of the participant did not also face any cultural difficulties during their encounter with the police in the host country. In addition, all the participants both those with previous encounters with the police in England and those without, believed that their different culture would not influence their communication with the police.

Also, half of the participants stated that they trusted the police in their country of origin only up to a point and one quarter stated that they did not trust the police at all. The reasons for this lack of trust was mainly based on previous bad experiences with the police in the country of origin.

The majority of the participants said that they trust the police in the host society and their perceptions were created by positive past experiences with the police in the host country, or by their observations of the police practices.

6 Discussion

The findings of this research will be further discussed in this chapter. The migrants' views on the police both in the host country and in the country of origin can be explained via the police practices in each country. The majority of migrants described the police in the host country as professional, helpful and quick to respond, while in the country of origin, they mostly referred to the police's late responses to calls and some described the police as a corrupted force. The policing models used in the host country, and particularly the community policing model, aims to create better relations with the public, through police and community cooperation (Kumar, 2012). The community policing model seems to have an impact on Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrants' views of the police, as one quarter mentioned that the presence of police officers on the streets made them feel safe.

I feel secure when I see police on the streets. I heard of a crime committed in Canterbury and I was surprised. [P2]

The police practices and models used in Greece and Cyprus have some similarities with the police in England. For instance, the models used by Municipal police in Greece (Thessaloniki.gr, 2016) and the "humane" approach towards the public, adopted by the Cyprus police (Police.gov.cy, 2016), are similar to the community policing that is used in England. However, the literature on both Greek and Cypriot police is very limited and an objective view cannot be established. In this research, the migrants' views and attitudes towards the police in their own countries, indicate that the police practices in these countries are not equivalent to police practices in England, thus the participants tend to trust the police in England more than in their own countries.

From a cultural perspective, as analysed in the second chapter, the migrants tend to carry their own culture with them when they migrate (Lutz, 2011). Part of this culture is their past experiences which determine who they are, as they influence their interactions with others and their behaviour (MacDonald, 1991). Accordingly, Schneider (1999), suggests that the migrants' perceptions towards the police in the host country are influenced by the past experiences they had with the police in their country of origin. The findings of this research are contrary to those of Schneider (1999) because the majority (15 out of 16) of Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrants said that they trusted the police in the host

country, even though half of them did not trust the police totally, and one-third of them did not trust the police at all, in the country of origin.

No I did not trust the police in Greece, they are unprofessional. [P14]

Schneider (1999) gives the example of migrants who come from countries in which the police practices do not follow democratic proceedings. In these cases, migrants have a negative image of police, and they assume that the police in the host country follows the same practices. This distorted image the migrants have, about the police in the host country, leads to distrust and an unwillingness to get involved with the police in the host society (Schneider, 1999). Even though the previous example does not describe the policing practices in either of countries of the origin (Greece and Cyprus), it indicates the potentially inappropriate police practices in these countries. In this research, the migrants' lack of trust in the police in the country of origin was mainly based on previous bad experiences, however, the migrants did not seem to be negatively influenced or prejudiced against the police in the host country.

Some of the participants characterised the police forces in Greece and Cyprus as corrupted.

I trust police [in Greece] only up to a point, there is corruption. [P13]

*I don't trust the police in Cyprus totally. I s*ee corruption more than here [England]. [P6]

Corruption levels in Greece are quite high and it is a problem that concerns Greek society, as the country was found statistically the most corrupted in the European Union in 2010 (Antonopoulos & Tagarov, 2012). One aspect of this phenomenon is the police corruption and its connections to organised crime in the country. Antonopoulos & Tagarov (2012) argue that police corruption may exist on several police ranks with officers involved in oil and cigarette smuggling, drug trafficking and even human/sex trafficking. Greek police involvement in criminal activities can be observed both as individual incidents and as organised and systematic acts. The boundaries between police corruption and involvement in organised crime is drawn by a thin line and it is not easily visible (Antonopoulos & Tagarov, 2012). In Cyprus the levels of corruption in police and general public sectors are high and according to the public's opinion, corruption is

something they have to deal with in their daily lives. Most Cypriots believe that there is not law enforcement and not enough effort is put on the fight against corruption by politicians (Dewhurst, 2010). According to Cyprus Police Chief Zacharias Chrysostomou police corruption exists in various police ranks and it has affected police's effectiveness on fighting organised and serious crimes (Police Chief admits to corruption in Cyprus' law enforcement | News, 2016). Chief Zacharias Chrysostomou also mentioned the measures that should be taken in order to tackle police corruption and added that the reason corruption exists in the force are, the hiring criteria, the evaluation methods and the methods of prevention (Police Chief admits to corruption in Cyprus' law enforcement | News, 2016). Papakonstantis (2011), on his proposals for the Police reform in Greece, concluded to the same reasons corruption exists in the force as Chrysostomou. Police corruption is a known phenomenon in Greece and Cyprus that may have an effect on publics' opinion towards police. One of the reasons Greek and Greek/Cypriot migrants have negative views on police forces in their home countries, may have been due to the phenomenon of police corruption.

The negative views of migrants towards the police in the country of origin but not on the country of destination can be explained through the acculturation process. Upon their migration, individuals go through an acculturation process in which they will assimilate to the new culture, refuse it or combine it with their own (Berry, 1997; Crisp & Turner, 2011). According to their views on the police in the host country, the majority of Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrants seem to accept the culture of the host country in regard to policing. One of the participants stated,

I trust the police here. It is different from what I am used to but I respect what they offer. [P15]

Only two participants, who were under the age of twenty-five and both university students, questioned the police reliability in the host country, due to the fact that contrary to police practices in Greece and Cyprus, the police constables in England are unarmed.

I feel like everyone can be a police officer, they are very approachable. They seem like *simple employees, not officers. They don't even carry gu*ns. [P11]

The two participants' comments potentially indicate that they have brought their own culture into their host country. Darvin and Norton (2014), argue that student migrants

become more attached to their ethnic identity and the time they spend in the host country does not increases sufficiently their adaptation to the new society, which might explain their different views on the police in England.

The Greek police, contrary to the police in England, is an armed force. All police officers, special guards and border guards carry firearms and they have jurisdiction over the entire country. However the Greek police equipment, as in firearms, is not known to the public, as the Ministry of Public Order and Citizen Protection does not publishes these information in the government gazette (Papademetriou, 2014). The police in England have always been an unarmed force (Sinclair, 2012) and the majority of the officers are not interested in having firearm equipment on duty (BBC, 2012). This unarmed mode of operation has its bases on "policing by consent" as the forces power to deliver their duties depends on the public's approval rather than the states' force (Definition of policing by consent - GOV.UK, 2012). Historically, Greek police, had a para-militaristic character and was operating as a tool of the government (Rigakos and Papanicolaou, 2003); this is a very different approach to the idea of policing by consent. The different philosophies on policing between the two countries could be indicators of the different views migrants have on the police in the host country and the country of origin.

Apart from the effect that previous experiences might have on the culture and behaviour of an individual, this phenomenon can also be explained through the idea of common memories. As discussed in the second chapter, members of a group, can tune their memories in order to protect themselves from common enemies (Shteynberg, 2010). The individuals of a group can project memories from situations that other members of the group have experienced. Thus, members of the same group could potentially have the same attitudes when they share a memory (Shteynberg, 2010). Subsequently, the Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrants might develop a negative or positive attitude towards the police, even if they have never had an experience with the police themselves, but other members of their group/community have.

The relationship between the Greeks and Greek/Cypriots and the police in their countries of origin might have been negatively influenced due to police practices in the respective countries. Greeks view the Greek police with reservations, as upon its establishment, the force has been used as a tool of repression against civil rights and selected social groups by lawful and unlawful governments, until after the civil war and later its radical

reformation in 1984 (Papakonstantis, 2011). The past practices of the police in Greece might have influenced negatively public's opinions and, as an extension, Greek migrants, through memory tuning; even though most of them were not present when these practises occurred. In addition, memory tuning might have occurred in more recent situations. Police brutality on local population and migrants, use of excessive force and general abuse of human rights by the police are common situations both in Greece and Cyprus today (Zalaf and Wood, 2009; Trajanovska and Bozhinovski, 2013). In Greece, the criminal procedure following the arrest of migrants has been under scrutiny by organisations like Amnesty International and the Human Rights Watch, as many violations of human rights have been observed (Amnesty International, 2014; Trajanovska and Bozhinovski, 2013). There are reports of mistreatment of subjects in police stations, torture and unclear/suspicious proceedings on interrogations. Migrants are not the only subjects to these situations as Greek people have been many times subject to police mistreatment and brutality (Trajanovska and Bozhinovski, 2013). Many times Greeks have been mistreated by the police especially during demonstration due to economic crisis the country goes through lately (Trajanovska and Bozhinovski, 2013). The situation in Cyprus does not differ much, as many cases of police brutality have been observed. Police officers have been charged for mistreatment and torture in order to cause bodily harm and use of excessive force on both migrants and Greek/Cypriots (Pantelides, 2013; Cyprus Mail, 2016). These incidents of police brutality in both countries have potentially influenced the local population negatively and as an extension the local population who has migrated to other countries. The Greek and Greek/Cypriot migrants in England might have been expecting to face similar situations to those in their country of origin, in regard of police mistreatment. The different police practices they might have faced in the host country had a positive effect on their views on the local police.

Most of the Greek participants were not familiar with the English culture and almost half of them did not speak the language prior to their migration. The Greek-Cypriot participants were more familiar with the English culture and all of them spoke the language prior to their migration. One explanation could be that Cyprus was an English colony and England maintained a colonial police force on the island until 1960 (Sinclair & Williams, 2007). The Greek-Cypriot participants mentioned that they had relations with English people both in Cyprus and in England prior to their migration, which helped

them to both develop their linguistic skills and familiarise themselves with the English culture. The expected result would be for the Greek participants to face more cultural difficulties during an interaction with the police in the host country than the Greek-Cypriots. However, none of the participants believed that their different culture influenced either positively or negatively their interactions with the police. According to the participants, their different culture does not stand out much. This could be due to the fact that both Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrants migrated from European countries and their basic cultural characteristics do not differ much. According to Rudnev (2014), individuals who migrate from one European country to another, tend to assimilate into the new society, while they maintain some of their old values. In addition, most of the participants agreed that police officers in England acknowledge and respect the migrants' cultural differences. As analysed in the third chapter, the police culture and practice in England have developed greatly over the last decades with regard to diversity. Training programmes have been provided to police officers for the reduction of discrimination both inside and outside the force (White & Escobar, 2008). Morant & Edwards (2011), conducted a research on police views on migrants in England. The police officers stated that they face difficulties during their encounters with migrants and ethnic minorities due to cultural and language differences, however they claimed to treat migrants and ethnic minorities the same way they do with locals. The officers stated that they are aware of the cultural differences but they try to provide assistance to the migrants and minorities, instead of punishing them (Morant & Edwards, 2011).

In regard to language, two-thirds of the participants spoke the language of the host country prior to their migration and they chose to migrate either for work or for studies. As mentioned in the second chapter, Adsera and Pytlikova (2015), argue that migrants' decision to migrate partly depends on their knowledge of the host country's language. Also, people who migrate from countries in which the educational level is high, usually learn second languages at school. In addition, professionals, tend to speak more than one language, as they might be useful in their profession (Adsera & Pytlikova, 2015). The Greek participants were mainly recent migrants and they had migrated in order to work. The migration of Greek people, in particular highly educated Greek individuals, to other countries during the last eight years is mainly a result of the economic crisis in Greece, which caused a lack of employment opportunities (Lambrianidis & Vogiatzis, 2012).

Even though Greek and English cultures differ a lot, there does not seem to be many misunderstandings during communication, according to the research undertaken here. Greek culture is a high context culture which means that most information communicated are internal or in the physical context, while northern European cultures have a low context and the information transmitted are mostly based on verbal code (Hammer and Rogan, 2002; Point Park University Online, 2017). The different context in communication/culture does not seem to influence the communication between Greek and Greek/Cypriot migrants and the police in England.

Even though some of the Greek migrants did not speak the language prior to their migration, they chose to migrate, seeking a better future in the host country. This may indicate that most of the Greek participants migrated due to necessity rather than choice, which might explain some participants' lack of language skills. However, the participants who did not speak the language were willing to communicate with the police in a future encounter. This attitude further supports the finding that the migrants trust the police in the host country.

7 Conclusion

Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrants do not seem to face serious communication and cultural difficulties during their encounters with the police in England. Two thirds of the participants spoke the language prior to their migration, which might have made their communication with the police in the host country easier. The fact that the migrants spoke the language might have influenced their decision to migrate to England specifically. Those who did not speak the language believed that the police was prepared to assist the migrants in case the migrants had any linguistic difficulties. The Greek migrants interviewed were mostly professionals who believed that they would have better employment opportunities in the host country, due to economic crisis in Greece, while most of the Greek-Cypriots initially migrated for educational reason. The migration reasons of Greek participants indicates that their migration was based on necessity rather than choice. Which maybe explains the fact that only half of the Greek migrants spoke the language and they were not familiar with the English culture prior to their migration. On the other hand, the Greek-Cypriot migrants were more familiar with the English language and culture than the Greek migrants, probably due to the fact that Cyprus was an English colony and there were relations between the two countries. However, neither the Greek nor the Greek-Cypriot participants have faced any difficulties in communication with the police in England due to their different language or culture. Also, the participants who have not had an encounter with the police in the host country, were willing to interact with the police in the future if needed, without any hesitations due to potential lack of linguistic skills or cultural differences. The migrants supported that the police in the host country might not know the Greek and Greek/Cypriot culture but they respect cultural diversity.

The findings of this research indicate that both the communication of Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrants with the police and the migrants' trust towards the police in the host country, is not negatively influenced by culture. The migrants identified the differences of police practices between the country of origin and the host country and claimed to trust more the police in the host country due to their satisfaction of the police practices in that country. The high levels of corruption and the mistreatment of subjects by the police in both countries of origin have probably created a feeling of fear and distrust towards the police. Even though most of the participants have not personally been subjects to such incidents with the police in their country, they should have been

influenced by memory tuning, which would have shaped their views on the police generally. However, contrary to previous studies, migrants' views on the police in their counties of origin did not negatively influence their views on the police in the host country.

The police practices and behaviour towards the public and specifically diverse communities in the host country, seems to have a positive impact on Greek and Greek/Cypriot migrants. Most of the participants stated their views on the police in the host country by comparing them to their views on the police in the countries of origin. Most participants were expecting to face corruption and prejudiced behaviour by the police in the host country, something that would be similar to the police practices in the countries of origin. The participants seemed to recognise the difference in police cultures between their home and host countries and appreciate the police approach in the host country. Most participants claimed to be satisfied by the professionalism and unprejudiced behaviour shown by the police in the host country and also their respect towards the Greek-Cypriot culture. Even though, most of the participants were not familiar with the police practices in England and many of them expected to face police behaviour similar to their countries', they seemed to accept and appreciate the services offered by police in the host country.

Both Greek and Greek/Cypriot migrants seem to have accepted the both the national culture of the host country and the institutional culture of the English police. Even though, there are a lot of differences between the police practices in the respective countries, the migrants do not seem to be influenced negatively. One explanation could be the fact the both the host country and the countries of origin are European and therefore there are not major differences between them, However, even though both Greek and Greek/Cypriot cultures are European, they are high context cultures, which differ from the Northern European low context cultures (Hammer and Rogan, 2002; Point Park University Online, 2017). The different communication contexts appearing between the host country and the countries of origin does not seem to influence negatively the migrants.

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Appendix A

<u>Interview Schedule</u>

1. What is you nationality?

2. How old are you?

3. What is your occupation?

4. How long have you been in England?

5. What was the main reason you migrated?

6. Did you trust the police in your own country and why?

7. Have you ever had an encounter with the police in your country of origin?

7.1 And how?

8. Have you ever had an encounter with the police here in England?

8.1 When

8.2 And how?

9. How would you describe this experience?

<u>Language</u>

10. Have you ever faced any difficulties due to language, during your encounter with the police in England?

10.1 And could you describe them?

11. Where there any king of misunderstandings?

12. Did you need an interpreter?

12.1 Was the interpreter provided?

13. Where you satisfied by how the police dealt with you or your case?

13.1 What did you expect from this encounter?

For participants who had not had a previous encounter with the police in the host country.

14. Do you believe that there will be difficulties during an encounter with the police in the future, due to your linguistic skills?

15. Would you report a crime or help the police if asked (e.g. as witness), or would you avoid it, due to language difficulties?

16. Do you believe you might have a problem expressing yourself thoroughly?

Culture

17. What did you know about the English culture prior to your migration?

18. Do you believe that your different culture (eg. religion, family bonds, way of life) brought or may bring in the future, any difficulties in communication with the police in England?

19. Do you believe the police in your city/town understand the Greek/Greek-Cypriot way of life?

19.1 Do you believe they respect it?

20. Do you trust the police here?

20.1 And why?

21. Which one do you trust more, the police here or in your own country?

21.1 And why?

22. Have you had a different opinion about the police in England when you first migrated here?

22.1 What changed your views?

<u>Πρόγραμμα Συνέντευξης</u>

1. Τι εθνικότητας είστε;

2. Ποσό χρονών είστε;

3. Τι επαγγέλλεστε;

4. Πότε μεταναστεύσατε στην Αγγλία;

5. Ποιος ήταν ο κύριος λόγος της μετανάστευσης σας;

6. Εμπιστευόσασταν την αστυνομία στη χώρα σας και γιατί;

7. Έχετε έρθει ποτέ σε επαφή με την αστυνομία στη χώρα σας;

7.1 Και για ποιο λόγω;

8. Έχετε έρθει ποτέ σε επαφή με την αστυνομία στην Αγγλία;

8.1 Πότε;

8.2 Και τι είδους επαφή είχατε;

9. Πως θα περιγράφατε αυτή σας την εμπειρία με την αστυνομία;

<u>Γλώσσα</u>

10. Είχατε ποτέ αντιμετωπίσει δυσκολίες λόγω της γλώσσας, κατά τη διάρκεια τις επαφής σας με την αστυνομία στην Αγγλία;

10.1 Θα μπορούσατε να τις περιγράψετε;

11. Υπήρξαν παρεξηγήσεις λόγο τις γλώσσας;

12. Χρειαστήκατε διερμηνέα;

12.1 Σας παρασχέθηκε διερμηνέας;

13. Ήσασταν ευχαριστημένος/η από τον τρόπο που χειρίστηκε η αστυνομία εσάς και την υπόθεσή σας;

13.1 Τι περιμένατε από αυτήν την επαφή;

Για τους συμμετέχοντες που δεν είχαν έρθει σε απαθή με την αστυνομία στο παρελθόν;

14. Πιστεύετε ότι θα υπάρξουν δυσκολίες στην επικοινωνία σας με την αστυνομία λόγω της γλώσσας, στο μέλλον;

15. Θα αναφέρατε κάποιο έγκλημα ή θα βοηθούσατε την αστυνομία (πχ. ως μάρτυρας), ή θα το αποφεύγατε λόγω της γλώσσας;

16. Πιστεύετε ότι μπορείτε να εκφράσετε τον εαυτό σας εις βάθος;

Κουλτούρα

17. Τι γνωρίζατε για την Αγγλική κουλτούρα πριν μεταναστεύσετε;

18. Πιστεύτε ότι η διαφορετική σας κουλτούρα (πχ. θρησκεία, οικογενειακοί δεσμοί, τρόπος ζωής) έφεραν ή θα φέρον στο μέλλον δυσκολίες στην επικοινωνία σας με την αστυνομία στην Αγγλία;

19. Πιστεύετε ότι η αστυνομία στην πόλη που ζείτε καταλαβαίνει τον Ελληνικό και Ελληνοκυπριακό τρόπο ζωής;

19.1 Πιστεύτε ότι τον σέβονται;

20. Εμπιστεύεστε την αστυνομία εδώ;

20.1 Και γιατί;

21. Εμπιστεύεστε περισσότερο την αστυνομία εδώ η στη χώρα σας;

21.1 Και γιατί;

22. Είχατε διαφορετική άποψη για την αστυνομία στην Αγγλία όταν πρωτοήρθατε;

22.1 Τι άλλαξε την άποψή σας;

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: *Communication and cultural difficulties between Greek/Greek-Cypriot migrants and the police in England.*

Name of Researcher:

Contact details:

Address:

Tel:

Email:

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.	
3. I understand that any personal information that I provide to the researchers will be kept strictly confidential	
4. I agree to take part in the above study.	
5. I Agree my quotes to be used in this research.	

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____
Researcher   Date   Signature

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University

Φόρμα συγκατάθεσης

Τίτλος: *Communication and cultural difficulties between Greek/Greek-Cypriot migrants and the police in England.*

Όνομα Ερευνητή:

Πληροφορίες επικοινωνίας:

Οδός:

Τηλ.:

Email:

Αρχικά συμμετέχοντος

1. Επιβεβαιώνω ότι έχω διαβάσει και καταλάβει το δελτίο πληροφοριών και είχα την ευκαιρία να κάνω ερωτήσεις.	
2. Καταλαβαίνω ότι η συμμετοχή μου είναι εθελοντική και ότι είμαι ελεύθερος να αποσυρθώ οποιαδήποτε στιγμή, χωρίς να διευκρινίσω το λόγο.	
3. Καταλαβαίνω ότι τα προσωπικά δεδομένα που θα παραχωρήσω θα κρατηθούν απόρρητα.	
4. Δέχομαι να πάρω μέρος σε αυτήν την ερευνά.	
5. Δέχομαι να χρησιμοποιηθούν τα λόγια μου αυτούσια στην ερευνά.	

_____   _____   _____
Όνομα συμμετέχοντος   Ημερομηνία   Υπογραφή

_____   _____   _____
Ερευνητής   Ημερομηνία   Υπογραφή

Appendix C

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University

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Communication and cultural difficulties between Greek/Greek-Cypriot migrants and the police in England.

A research study is being conducted at Canterbury Christ Church University (CCCU) by Violeta Kapageorgiadou.

Background

According to previous studies, lack of linguistic skills and different cultural background of migrants causes communication difficulties between migrants and police. This research will focus on this issue and will try to explore these potential difficulties and see if they influence the relations between the police and Greek/Cypriot migrants. The research will explore questions such as if migrants have ever faced any communication problems with police due to their different cultural background or lack of linguistic skills, if migrants had any good or bad previous experiences with police and if communication played a role in these experiences, how police deals with them in cases of communication problems.

What will you be required to do?

Participants in this study will be required to complete a consent form and read the participant information sheet in order to be informed about the project they are participate in. Participants will be required to answer some questions made by the researcher during the interviews.

To participate in this research you must:

- Be first generation migrants.
- Be of Greek or Cypriot origin.
- Be over the age of 18.

Procedure

You will be asked to participate in a one to one interview. You will be provided with consent forms and information sheets prior to the interviews in order to be informed about the project and you participation. During the interview you will be asked questions regarding potential communication difficulties (linguistic and cultural) that might rise when consorting with the police. You are asked to answer the questions as clearly as possible and with honesty. You have the right to withdraw any time during your participation without giving a reason.

Feedback

The results of the research will be available at Canterbury Christ Church University.

Confidentiality

All data and personal information will be stored securely within CCCU premises in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and the University's own data protection requirements. Data can only be accessed by the researcher Violeta kapageorgiadou. After completion of the study, all data will be made anonymous (i.e. all personal information associated with the data will be removed).

Dissemination of results

The results of this research will be displayed in a form of a master Thesis and will be available at Christ church University.

Deciding whether to participate

If you have any questions or concerns about the nature, procedures or requirements for participation do not hesitate to contact me. Should you decide to participate, you will be free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason.

Any questions?

Please contact Violeta Kapageorgiadou at email: vk53@canterbury.ac.uk

Canterbury Christ Church University

Φυλλάδιο ενημέρωσης

Communication and cultural difficulties between Greek/Greek-Cypriot migrants and the police in England.

Η έρευνα διεξάγεται στο πανεπιστήμιο Canterbury Christ Church University (CCCU) από τη Violeta Kapageorgiadou.

Υπόβαθρο

Σύμφωνα με προηγούμενες έρευνες, η έλλειψη γλωσσικών ικανοτήτων και η διαφορετική κουλτούρα τον μεταναστών πολλές φορές δυσκολεύουν την επικοινωνία τους με την αστυνομία στη χώρα μετανάστευσης. Αυτή η έρευνα θα επικεντρωθεί στο συγκεκριμένο θέμα και θα προσπαθήσει να εξερευνήσει αυτές τις πιθανές δυσκόλευες.

Επίσης θα εξετάσει αν επηρεάζουν την σχέση μεταξύ αστυνομίας και Ελλήνων/Ελληνοκύπριων μεταναστών. Η έρευνα θα περιλαμβάνει ερωτήσεις όπως: αν ποτέ οι συμμετέχοντες αντιμετώπισαν δυσκολίες επικοινωνίας με την αστυνομία στην Αγγλία, λόγω γλώσσας η διαφορετικής κουλτούρας. Αν είχαν παλιότερες καλές η κακές εμπειρίες με την αστυνομία και αν οι γλωσσικές τους δεξιότητες και η διαφορετική κουλτούρα έπλεξαν ρολό. Επίσης, θα ερωτηθούν για το πως χειρίστηκε η αστυνομία αυτά τα προβλήματα επικοινωνίας.

Τι θα πρέπει να κάνετε;

Οι συμμετέχοντες σε αυτή την έρευνα θα πρέπει να συμπληρώσουν τη φόρμα συγκατάθεσης και να διαβάσουν το ενημερωτικό φυλλάδιο, ώστε να είναι ενημερωμένοι σχετικά με την έρευνα. Οι συμμετέχοντες θα πρέπει να απαντήσουν σε κάποιες ερωτήσεις που θα υποβάλει ο ερευνητής κατά τη διάρκεια τον συνεντεύξεων.

Για να συμμετέχετε θα πρέπει:

- Να είστε μετανάστης πρώτης γενιάς.
- Να έχετε ελληνική η ελληνοκυπριακή καταγωγή.
- Να είστε άνω τον 18.

Διαδικασίας

Η συνεντεύξεις θα είναι με τον ερευνητή, έναν προς ένα. Θα σα παρασχεθεί η φόρμα συγκατάθεσης και το ενημερωτικό φυλλάδιο πριν από τη συνέντευξη ώστε να είστε ενημερωμένοι για την διαδικασία και τη συμμέτοχη σας στην έρευνα. Ζητήστε να απαντήσετε τις ερωτήσεις που θα γίνουν από την ερευνητή όσο πιο καθαρά γίνεται και με ειλικρίνεια. Έχετε το δικαίωμα να αποσυρθείτε οποιαδήποτε στιγμή κατά τη διάρκεια της συμμετοχής σας χωρίς να πείτε το λόγο της απόφασής σας.

Αποτελέσματα

Η έρευνα θα είναι διαθέσιμη από το πανεπιστήμιο Canterbury Christ Church University.

Εχεμύθεια

Όλα τα δεδομένα και οι προσωπικές πληροφορίες των συμμετεχόντων θα αποθηκευτούν με ασφάλεια από την ερευνητή σύμφωνα με το Data Protection Act 1998 και την πολιτική προστασίας προσωπικών δεδομένων του πανεπιστημίου. Στα δεδομένα θα έχει πρόσβαση μόνο η ερευνητής Βιολέτα Καπαγεωργιάδου. Μετά την διεξαγωγή της έρευνας, όλα τα δεδομένα θα γίνουν ανώνυμα (κάθε είδους προσωπικό δεδομένο θα αφαιρεθεί.

Διάδοση αποτελεσμάτων

Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας θα εκταθούν σε μορφή διατριβής μεταπτυχιακού και θα είναι διαθέσιμα από το πανεπιστήμιο Canterbury Christ church University.

Απόφαση συμμέτοχης

Αν υπάρχον ερωτήσεις ή ανησυχίες σχετικά με τη φύση της έρευνας, τη διαδικασία ή τις προϋποθέσεις συμμετοχής, μη διστάσετε να επικοινωνήσετε με την ερευνητή. Εάν αποφασίσετε αν πάρετε μέρος, θα είστε ελεύθερος/η να αποσυρθείτε οποιαδήποτε στιγμή χωρίς να πείτε για το λόγο.

Έχετε ερωτήσεις;

Παρακαλώ επικοινωνήστε με τη Βιολέτα Καπαγεωργιάδου στο email: vk53@canterbury.ac.uk

Appendix D

	Greek	Greek-Cypriot	All
Participants	12	4	16
Age			
18-40	7	1	8
40-60	4	1	5
60 +	1	2	3

Occupational status			
University Student	1	1	2
Professionals	10	1	11
Retired	1	2	3
Unemployed	1	—	1
Length of migration			
1-10 years	11	1	12
10-20 years	1	—	1
20 + years	—	3	3
Reason for migration			
Seeking for job	7	—	7
Studies	2	3	5
Family reasons	3	1	4