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FOREWORD

Lauri Tabur

Editor-in-Chief

The 13th issue of the Estonian Academy of Security Sciences Proceedings follows the path the Editorial Board laid down a year ago. The Proceedings went through a significant quality improvement process, being upgraded to the research journal of international scale. Despite the roughened publishing rules and editorial policy, we are satisfied with the the volume of contributions received. Less than half of the initial contributions made it through the peer-reviewing and editorial process to the publication. This is a sign of the growing interest and importance in the scientific approach to the contemporary internal security issues.

The present issue of Proceedings is opened by a joint piece by Jako Vernik and Shvea Järvet comparing various approaches to set up voluntary maritime rescue motivators by state officials and by volunteers themselves. Volunteer participation in search and rescue operations at sea is a very topical issue in the field of internal security in Estonia. In 2012 the legal basis for volunteer marine rescue became effective, making the involvement of volunteers in marine rescue tasks possible. Still, the question of sustainability in the volunteering system remains in the air. The authors aim to compare the opinions of state officials and the volunteer marine rescue associations in relation to motivation with the basis of the systems sustainability. As they conclude, when describing volunteering and volunteer maritime rescue, state officials and volunteers were essentially of the same opinion. When going into more detail, nuances were revealed in the opinions of the reference groups. They also suggest that a wider and more general treatment of the topic by state officials and the

immediate and practical description of maritime rescue and its nuances by the volunteers are needed. In addition to the statutory legal frame, it is also desirable to create the conceptual foundations for the entire maritime rescue service, including volunteer maritime rescue.

The second contribution in the issue is by a group of authors led by the Assistant Professor of Estonian Academy of Security Sciences Indrek Saar. Their paper examines the effect of local public expenditures on crime during the period of 2007–2012 in Estonia. For that purpose, several spatial and non-spatial fixed effects panel regression models are estimated. The authors' disclose that one additional euro spent per inhabitant on public order and safety decreases the number of crimes per 1.000 of the population by 0.6–1 per cent. This result was robust over different model specifications and time frames. Therefore, the results indicate that spending choices made at a local level have affected crime rates. Municipalities and local authorities should not easily give up spending on public order and safety if crime reduction is considered as a priority in their local community. The Authors' also propose that local governments should not easily give up spending on public order and safety if crime reduction is considered as a priority in the local community. However, more research is needed to provide for more specific policy recommendations. In the Estonian context the estimate for the social cost of a crime is needed.

The article by Priit Suve arises from the previous findings that the police have always been seen as a mediator between the state and the people, at least in terms of safety. For that reason, knowledge of how people receive and perceive functions of police specified in the state regulations is inevitably important for both parts. It is also important for the police since they use this knowledge to improve their performance, which has significant impact on our lives. Thus, the question arises, how to get the information we need to understand what people really feel and how the public perceive the function of the police? Therefore, the necessity for providing an appropriate tool is evident. From the paper it can be concluded that the state policy and public opinion have similar understandings about police order maintenance function i.e. both perceive the police as the representative of the coercive power of the state, whose action can be characterised by one-way communication. Although both sources used in the article revealed the notion of order maintenance function, the public's expectations were significantly biased to a law enforcement

function. As the author states, it should be highlighted the bias to coerciveness, which is a contradictory characteristic to common policing strategies related to order maintenance function (e.g. community policing) and pushes the police closer to more reactive activities, which are inherent to law enforcement strategies of policing.

The fourth contribution to the Proceedings comes from a team of authors led by Anne Valk, the Head of the Centre of Law and Social Sciences at the Estonian Academy of Security Sciences. The aim of the authors is to investigate the insights into internal security disciplines lecturers' roles according to diverse stakeholders and the existence of controversial expectations regarding these roles. Lecturers have many roles to play in the education process, requiring diverse knowledge and skills. The research carried out by the team revealed that very often lecturers have to engage in diverse roles at the same time, making it difficult to switch between these roles and leading to a situation in which lecturers discard the roles they believe less in. The practical implications of this research mainly consider overcoming the controversial role insights. For instance, non-staff lecturers were required to take on a study planner role although the lecturers themselves did not see their role in it. The literature states that professional identity develops during mutual relationships. The results showed at the same time that non-staff lecturers do not have many opportunities to cooperate with permanent specialty lecturers who value more the study planning process. This implies that there is a lack of mutual relationships where non-staff lecturers can see the value of a study planner role.

The last article of our current issue of the Proceedings comes from our colleague from the Police Academy of Bukarest, Ileana Chersan. Her written piece on teaching contemporary Law Enforcement English vocabulary using alternative sources starts with a finding that teaching a language for special purposes involves the acquisition of linguistic competences as well as cross-cultural and professional communication skills. This is particularly visible in course books, which are used as the primary means of learning. They are guided by strict methodical rules, which commonly reject non-conventional sources and lexicon. She believes that acknowledging and carefully exploiting such sources in teaching professional varieties of the language may substantially support and enrich the learning context. Even though some non-conventional sources may be considered 'inappropriate' for teaching a specialised language, they

clearly show benefits worth investing in. As shown in the article, one significant advantage is that they reflect the rich lexical strata of Law Enforcement English (LEE). From official documents to police jargon, LEE displays a range of vocabulary and stylistic differences, which can only be found in what we called non-conventional or alternative sources to supplement the limited span of text books.

Unfortunately we were not able to cover the whole variety of contemporary internal security related issues in the present volume of the Proceedings. As the world of security is constantly changing and the number of challenges covered by scientific approaches is on the rise, we at the Academy will also keep monitoring the world and proposing solutions to the problems the partners in the security field might tackle. The Proceedings of the Academy will remain one of the main sources of information to partners not only in Estonia but also to partners around the Globe. Contemporary security threats don't recognise borders and so do we – looking for solutions around the world, making them available to all parties involved.



VOLUNTEER INVOLVEMENT IN MARITIME RESCUE CAPABILITIES:

COMPARATIVE APPROACH
TO VOLUNTEERING AND ITS MOTIVATORS

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Keywords: internal security, volunteers, maritime search and rescue,
citizens' initiatives, public-private partnerships,
comparative case study, qualitative study

INTRODUCTION

To ensure human security is a top priority, volunteer participation in search and rescue operations at sea is a very topical issue in the field of internal security. In Estonia, the state has, in its policy documents, expressed the desire to involve the third sector in guaranteeing security (see Security Policy, 2008; Security Policy, 2014). In 2012 the legal basis for volunteer marine rescue became effective. At the same time, marine accident statistics shows an increasing trend (see also Development Plan, 2013; Security Policy, 2014). Analysis of marine accident statistics reveals that between 2009–2013 the number of accidents at sea in Estonia's search and rescue area continues to increase (Development plan, 2013; Security Policy, 2014). In 2012, the country responded to 215 events, in 2013 to as many as 250, while volunteers participated in sea rescue only marginally (in 2012 – 23 rescue events; in 2013 – 31 rescue events) (data provided by the Security Policy, 2014).

In Estonia, the authority involving volunteer marine rescue in maritime rescue work is the Police and Border Guard Board – the agency responsible for the search and rescue. However, the network of volunteer marine rescue members is well established on the coast of Estonia and could respond to a wider range of marine accidents and participate in search and rescue (VAMEP, 2014; Guidance document, 2014). The importance of volunteer maritime rescue lies in their capability to ensure operational readiness. Previous research has shown that in volunteer involvement the reasons, assumptions and motivations for the emergence of volunteering should be considered (see Wilson, 2000; Shye, 2010; Penner, 2002; Rotolo and Wilson, 2006; Snyder and Omoto, 2008, Clary and Snyder, 1999; Clary et al. 1998, etc.). While people may have a number of incentives for volunteering, they may also be different to the people engaged professionally in the same activity (Clary and Snyder, 1999; Shyle, 2010). Uniform understanding of the motives for volunteer action is an important basis in the cooperation of the state and volunteers. Thus, this article searches for the answers to the research problem – *how to ensure better maritime rescue capability across the country with the assistance of volunteers*.

With the view to solving the research problem two research questions were set, to which the answer was sought in the course of the comparative case study:

- (1) What are the differences between the descriptions and understanding of volunteers and their motivation by state officials and volunteers?
- (2) How to ensure greater participation of voluntary maritime rescue associations in maritime rescue?

The purpose of the article is to compare the responses of state officials and the volunteer marine rescue associations. In the field of volunteering and on the basis thereof to make proposals for better volunteer participation in maritime rescue operations, in order to ensure a more effective response capability across the country. The article presents the general conceptual basis of the Estonian civic initiative and volunteering, as well as an in-depth overview of the study methodology, results and conclusions.

The article is based on the introduction of the Estonian volunteer marine rescue study results.¹ The research was conducted using a comparative case study strategy. Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data. The sample of expert interviews consisted of the state officials supervising volunteer maritime rescue at a national level and the members of the governing bodies of the Estonian volunteer maritime rescue associations. The data was analysed using open coding of interview transcripts, and qualitative content analysis with support of the programs *Excel* and *Freemind*.

CONCEPTUAL BASES OF THE ESTONIAN CIVIC INITIATIVE AND VOLUNTEERING

The main theoretical aspects

The studies of civic initiatives and volunteering often analyse the reasons, assumptions and motivations of volunteering (see Wilson, 2000; Shye, 2010; Penner, 2002; Rotolo and Wilson, 2006; Snyder and Omoto, 2008, Clary and Snyder, 1999; Clary, et al., 1998, etc.). In the case of volunteering theoretical treatments, it is pointed out in particular that

¹ This article was written on the basis of the Master's Thesis "Volunteer participation in the Estonian maritime rescue system," by Vernik (2014), defended in the Institute of Internal Security of the Estonian Academy of Security Sciences in 2014 (supervisors: L. Tabur and S. Järvet).

offering aid is non-mandatory and that consistent voluntary action is carried out for others (Snyder and Omoto, 2008). The aid is offered over a longer period of time to a person unknown to the helper (Penner, 2002; Snyder and Omoto, 2008) without receiving remuneration for it (Snyder and Omoto, 2008; Freeman, 1997). However, Wilson (2000) argues that volunteering is a prudent decision based on the costs and benefits which can be categorised as demographic assumptions (Shye, 2010). In addition, Shye (2010) points out the cause for utilisation of personal resources for the activities. Freeman (1997) also points out an aspect of volunteering as unpaid work and self-development.

Therefore one-off activities driven by the current situation or helping their families is not regarded as a voluntary activity (Civil Society..., 2011). Volunteer activities will take place also through organisations (Penner, 2002; Snyder and Omoto, 2008), and Penner (2002) believes that humans develop their own sense of identification as a volunteer through the organisation's goals. It has been found that when becoming a volunteer, an important point of consideration is the existence of their resources (Wilson, 2000; Shye, 2010) and the possibility of contributing their time (Rotolo and Wilson, 2006; Penner, 2002; Snyder and Omoto, 2008). According to the functional motivation theory presented by Snyder and Clary (1999) volunteers link themselves to voluntary work in order to achieve some personal goals. People carrying out the same voluntary activities may have different motivations, although these motivations may also be parallel. Snyder and Clary (1999) and Shye (2010) have also pointed out that the results of a volunteer's work depend heavily on the realisation of the motivation. Therefore, also in the context of the present study on volunteer maritime rescue, it is necessary to understand the motivation aspects of volunteers.

To understand the motivation of volunteers, Clary et al. (1998) developed six incentives which underlie volunteering: values, understanding, socialisation, career development, protection and self-esteem. The aspect of socialisation has been emphasized in his treatises by Wardell et al. (2000), arguing that some people use volunteering for socialising. Voluntary activities through an organisation allow for better social integration, i.e., integration with society rather than acting as an individual (Wilson, 2000). An organisation has many members dealing with the same voluntary activities and therefore social integration allows volunteers to feel like belonging to a group of people dealing with similar

interests. Voluntary work can be caused by just a willingness to help, which has been highlighted when defining a voluntary nature by Wilson (2000), Snyder and Omoto (2008) and Penner (2004) describing the cognitive need for helping as a generally accepted norm.

In addition, Clary and Snyder (1999) have introduced in their approaches a value-based concept. According to their approach the volunteers have various motives for doing this work, the dominant values being the understanding of the activities and the increase of self-esteem. Career development is highlighted less as a motivation of action, as Clary and Snyder (1999) argued. Rather than this, protection from the daily grind and the creation of new connections or need for socialisation is brought out. Personal motives of the action are also addressed by Konwerski and Nashman (2008), who point out that these are divided into three categories: altruistic, to improve the welfare of those in need of aid, selfish or egotistical behaviour, improving a caregiver's well-being and social responsibility. Social or societal obligation is mentioned in their surveys, increasingly, by Penner (2004) as a social need for helping, Shye (2010) as useful activities for a recipient of aid and the helper, and lastly Snyder and Omoto (2008) as activities based on the need to help. An understanding of the factors pushing volunteers to act is a key factor (Shye, 2010) and knowledge thereof helps in recruiting and staying in voluntary work over the longer term.

However, Shye (2010) argues that evaluating the motivators of voluntary activities on the basis of studies is rather general and he is critical, for example, towards the most common reason given for volunteering 'helping others', since it does not open the deeper content of the motivation. It is apparent that each individual has a particular personal interest or incentive (Clary and Snyder, 1999). An interest is a driving force behind activities and people operating for the same purpose may be driven by very different motivators or by several motivators at the same time. Commencing volunteer activities based on personal interest as a wish to help is highlighted by Penner (2002, 2004), by Snyder and Omoto (2008) and by Wilson (2000). Interestingly, Wilson (2000) contends that some people do voluntary work as compensation for what they do not get to do or what is prohibited in their principal job, by using their skills acquired at their salaried workplace. Snyder and Omoto (2008) have proposed on the basis of their approach a conceptual process model of volunteers, which can be used to recruit volunteers and create preconditions for

longer term activities given the human personality traits, motivation, background and current situation. Snyder and Omoto (2008) have defined aspects or functions characterising volunteer activities as a cause-based, deliberately free-will activity, which is based on the need to help others without fee or other compensation.

Comparing the approaches of Penner (2002) vs. Snyder and Omoto (2008), it appears that they consider volunteering through an organisation equally important. The approach of Snyder and Omoto (2008) lacks the aspect of longevity or continuity of the operation described by Penner (2002), but it specifically mentions that no fee or other compensation is expected for volunteering. From comparison of the above theories, it turns out however, that there is a straightforward similarity in addressing the volunteering. Shye (2010) concluded that it is higher-income persons that are more likely to be related to voluntary activities. Studies have also paid attention to how people perceive and acknowledge their activities as volunteering. For example, the study of Handy et al. (2000) revealed findings that those who do not expect benefits, only covering of costs, are more likely to consider themselves volunteers. Handy et al. (2000) also reached the result during the analysis that volunteers are motivated by public recognition much more than the fact that volunteering is associated with real costs and the recognition is just the important factor in peoples own perception as a volunteer. However, it is important to note that if the voluntary work would not yield any benefits even in the form of an experience, many volunteers would soon cease their activities (see Handy, et al., 2000). These aspects are important for consideration in voluntary involvement in activities. As a criticism, Mason (2013) claims that contribution of time and money to the voluntary work has been studied a lot, but still not enough experiments have been carried out to verify the behavioural models.

The main facilitating factors

There are several affecting or facilitating factors that have an impact on volunteer maritime rescuers. Demographic and personal characteristics, as well as social pressure or expectations could be mentioned here. Penner (2004) describes four influencers as the incentives of the initial decision of a voluntary action: demographic characteristics, personality traits, social pressure on volunteering and activators of volunteering. As demographic influencers, Penner (2004) considers a higher level of

learning and a higher income as revealed by a number of psychological and sociological researches, which is also confirmed by the findings of Shye (2010). However, Penner (2004) concludes that higher income and education may not be in direct connection with taking up voluntary activities. On the contrary, better educated people with a higher income can be considered freer in planning the time of their main job and therefore, there emerges a possibility for voluntary work. This view is also supported by the position of Rotolo and Wilson (2006) that the people who are able to plan their free time are more likely to volunteer.

Despite society's expectation for dealing with voluntary activities (Penner, 2004), Baines and Hardhill (2008) find that volunteering can often be a tool for coping with identity issues. Wardell et al. (2000) also argues that some older people do voluntary work to adapt to retirement. On the other hand Wardell et al. (2000) believe that for some young people volunteering is the threshold for future employment. The argument of Baines and Hardhill (2008) of coping with identity issues and Wardell's (2000) argument of socialisation could be supported by Wilson's (2000) observation that people with a part-time job are more engaged in voluntary activities than people in full-time work. Thus, in any case, the existence of free time is important in volunteering, be it due to the wish to help, more free time (Wilson, 2000), or a getaway from the feeling of neglect due to a lack of employment (see Baines and Hardhill, 2008). In the opinion of Rotolo and Wilson (2006), a separate group of can be considered the self-employed, as first, they are the masters of their time and second, they have an interest to find new acquaintances and clients.

Based on the foregoing and on the results of the study of Wardell et al. (2000), volunteering is a very individual activity. People become volunteers for a variety of reasons (Wardell, et al., 2000; Clary and Snyder, 1999), and it is necessary to provide volunteers different levels of training and coaching (Wardell, et al., 2000). Wardell et al. (2000) also argues that volunteers who had prepared to fulfil a task for a longer time or have experience from trainings and coaching found a different task unacceptable and even felt undervalued if such activities were offered to them. In the opinion of Wardell et al. (2000), training, tutoring or coaching established by a voluntary organisation for implementing the tasks becomes a stumbling block between the applicant and the organisation striving for professionalism. They also mention that volunteers have generally chosen for them an activity of their liking, in which they have

knowledge, skills and experience, but as a rule, the organisation wants to offer a higher level of service for which volunteers need to be trained and educated. Some interesting links between personality type and volunteering have been pointed out by researchers. Wilson (2012) argues that extrovert people are expected to cope more effectively in awkward situations in voluntary work. At the same time Wilson (2012) brings as the reason for this that more reserved people and people who, for example, suffer from social phobia do end up doing more voluntary work.

Public-private partnership approach

Schedler (2012) has argued that a public manager's decision-making processes involve, inter alia, cooperation with the private sector. Many of the cooperation processes depend on rational decisions, the common goals of which both parties must be able to understand. In achieving these goals through shared activities, the parties must communicate with each other. Due to the specific nature of the volunteer marine rescue service this consists of ensuring operational preparedness and response to disaster events. Continuous communication goes on at both the organisational and operational levels of the state as well as within affiliated organisations and associations. Geddes and Shand (2013) have argued that in the case of topics and resources being transferred from the public sector. Better priorities have been managed to be set as goals, but at the same time, the transfer of the public service to the private sector. The dominant managers of this service are still, however, professionals and large public sector organisations. However, Harrow (2001) in his organisation's study is sceptical about the results of the organisations generated in the classical society and believes that the results of public sector-funded organisations should carefully be reviewed. From which it can be concluded that controls which are aimed at the audits of achieving the results or effects must operate over the targeted use of the funds allocated by the public sector.

The arguments of Geddes and Shand (2013) are also supported by the reasoning of Cairns et al. (2005) that the goal of involvement in civic society is a creation of social capital, cohesion and inclusion in local life. With the emergence of community participation in democratic processes making public services better. Contractual foundations in the public-private sector partnership are brought out by Chowdury et al. (2011) who

argue that public-private partnership projects are held under contracts, the parties of which are financiers, the government, contractors, operators and customers. In addition to the grounds provided for by law, the state and the non-profit sector relationship must be based on trust. Anheier and Kendall (2002) point out that the trust is the relationship between social structures, which is not reducible to individual actions, but which also requires an organisational background and the reliability of which sociological studies demonstrate. The capability to take for granted the others' relevant motives and behaviours, which implies that their mutual objectives and activities should be viewed sympathetically and their merits should be discussed with each other.

The action of individuals should not affect the relationship of trust between organisations, though sometimes it can harm or benefit it and open new perspectives. For the state, the partners in the area of maritime rescue are non-profit organisations, which as Anheier and Kendall (2002) argued are less susceptible than companies to moral hazards. Due to their legal structure business people also find that volunteer associations are of the highest level of trustworthiness. According to Anheier and Kendall (2002), organisations protect both their members and the customers against bad experiences and offer a chance for an increase in reliability to emerge. Clifford et al. (2012) argued that, the state usually funds the third sector organisations dealing with provision of services to personally or socially disadvantaged people. This approach may be converted to that in need at sea and through this we can conclude that those who need assistance at sea are personally disadvantaged and the costs of their rescue should be covered by the state. In the case of the non-profit sector, it is important to bear in mind that the goal is not to generate profit. Schedler (2012) believes that in the early days of the theory of organisation, decision-making was based only on generating profit which, was soon called into question. Thus, decisions in the commercial sector are not only made from an economic profit view point, they are also based on other factors.

One should not have to be afraid to transfer maritime rescue capabilities over to volunteer maritime rescue. Although Gazley (2008) found that the functions awarded by the government with contracts to the non-profit organisation may lead to the privatisation of these services. According to Harrow (2001), there is such a danger if the supported organisations are chosen according to who are willing to change in accordance with the desired results on the purpose of obtaining the support.

Cairns et al. (2005) are of the opinion that in the enforcement of the state-led non-profit sector, it should be carefully monitored so that the sector does not lose its uniqueness and independence. Steven Rathgeb Smith (2003) found that in the case of the country's long-term direct funding of the non-profit sector. The intertwining of the state and non-profit organisations has taken place, and new government regulations will increase the enforcement of government policies. A study on non-profit organisations Vincent and Harrow (2005), which looked at funding, revealed that despite the short term nature of project funding, it was just a few organisations that worked on one project.

On the basis of the above it can be concluded that long-term direct funding has risks but also rewards. Due to the financing of non-profit organisations, they become more or less dependent on state policies, but also start to carry the same values and move in the same direction in their activities more and more. Thus, it can be concluded that in the cooperation of the state and private sector it is possible to set priorities for public policies and achieve the results according to the expectations of the society. In civic society participation in social processes or provision of services, one of the aims is the creation of cohesion and inclusion. Theoretical treatments outline that the public-private partnership projects can be carried out on a contractual basis where there can be a number of donors in addition to the state. An important part of the theoretical treatments together with the trust between the state and the third sector is also ensuring the uniqueness and the institutional independence of the non-profit sector, despite the contributions of the country or the wish to tilt it.

METHODOLOGY

The research was conducted using a comparative case study strategy. Volunteer maritime rescuers participating in the rescue operations is a new area where the authority involving volunteers and their activities is the state, through the Police and Border Guard Board. Volunteer Maritime Rescue is an activity organised by state officials under the law, and the key persons in the development of the field are the members of the governing bodies of the Estonian volunteer maritime rescue associations. Pursuant to the research problem, the views of experts from various fields were needed for comparative analysis.

Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data. Conducting the interviews was based on the treatment of Wengraf (2004) and the interviewing was aimed at getting input from the personal views of the interviewees (see Flick, 2011, p. 112; Creswell, 2009, p. 175). The sample was generated on the principle of focused sampling (Teddlie and Yu, 2007), and five state officials supervising maritime rescue (also referred to as SO) and five members of the governing bodies of the Estonian volunteer maritime rescue associations (also referred to as VT) were involved in the sample. Their views were compared and juxtaposed with the theoretical positions with the aim on the basis thereof to make proposals for better volunteer participation in maritime rescue operations, in order to ensure a better response capability across the country. After conducting the interviews, the audio recordings were transcribed verbatim (Wengraft, 2004, pp. 208-213), and the coding was based on the similarities in meanings (Wengraft, 2004, pp. 214-215; Silverman, 2005, p. 44). In the framework of the research, the interview results were coded by using open coding (Sarantakos, 2005, pp. 349-350; Saldana, 2009, p. 47) and in the analysis, thematic (Gomm 2008, pp. 224-251), i.e., qualitative content analysis was used, as the research questions are divided thematically (Wengraf, 2004, p. 63). The research questions related to the categories and codes generated from the data analysis of the interviews are given in Table 1.

For achieving answers to the research questions set under the case study the semi-structured interviews were conducted, with state officials supervising the area of voluntary maritime rescue and with the members of the governing bodies of volunteer maritime rescue associations. During the data analysis the views of state officials and volunteers were compared with each other and juxtaposed with the theoretical views. During the analysis of the interviews codes were formed from the most prevalent opinions and the similarity to different views were illustrated visually in tables. The codes provided in tables are under the reference group, who pointed this out the most, in case of a unanimous opinion, the opinion was presented visually in the center.

Table 1. Relationships of the research questions with the categories and codes generated from the data analysis of the interviews.

Research Question	The category emerged during the data analysis	Codes emerged under the category during the data analysis
<p>1. What are the differences between the description and understanding of volunteering and its motivators by state officials and volunteers?</p>	Approaches of volunteering	Volunteering, a force assisting the state, activities carried out for the benefit of the community, helping others, satisfying one's interest.
	Motivators of volunteering	Interest in the sea, wish to help, membership of an organisation, recognition, community activities, training, equipment, people are more at sea, covering costs, decrease in the capability of the state, quicker local help, the forces assisting the state.
<p>2. How to ensure greater participation of voluntary maritime rescue associations in maritime rescue?</p>	<p>3. Volunteer participation in maritime rescue work</p>	<p>The state finances, the umbrella organisation, organisation-based, independent association, financial support, provision for equipment, compensation for training, creation of preconditions, system organisation, uniform standards, better collaboration, improved communication, advocacy of volunteering, better preparedness, better training.</p>

RESULTS

The first research question: *What are the differences between the description and understanding of volunteering and its motivators by state officials and volunteers?* In the course of data analysis under the research, questions formed two categories: (i) treatment of volunteering and (ii) motivators of volunteering. The interviewees expressed that in the case of volunteer maritime rescue the force is assisting the country. Volunteers pointed out more in the interviews that their activities were performed for the benefit of the community, based on one's interest and on the wish to help. It appears that state officials see volunteering differently from the volunteers themselves. As state officials tended not to emphasize their opinion on the wish to help or the work done for the community, but only considered important the free will and provision of assistance to the state, not covering the concept more specifically.

Interviewees unanimously expressed their opinion of volunteering mostly as a *free will based activity*. The aspect of a free will based activity was mentioned almost equally both by state officials and volunteers. Voluntary activity has been outlined as being performed without coercion or fear of punishment also in previous theoretical overview (Penner, 2002; Snyder and Omoto, 2008). The volunteers characterised volunteering as follows: *"This is a person's free interest, desire and will, to contribute their time, resources, into a kind of citizens' initiative, which has probably some sort of value to the society"* (VT08, 2014), and the state officials were of the opinion that the activities are carried out *"/ ... / at the free time, from free will / ... /"* (RA06, 2014). Alternatively, a unanimous opinion argued that volunteering is a force assisting the country. Opinions revealed that the country considers volunteer maritime rescue as a force assisting maritime rescue, but the volunteers themselves consider it rather a significant independent rescue capability.

The biggest difference between the opinions of the reference groups was in terms of understanding of community activities and the actions resulting from the wish to help others. In both cases, the volunteers mentioned to a much greater extent the importance of community activities as well as helping others by volunteering. State officials did not mention this as a feature of general volunteering, but they did mention it a couple of times when describing volunteer maritime rescue. The coding results show that these two important characteristics are valued radically differently

by volunteers and state officials. In theory (see Penner, 2004; Shye, 2010; Shnyder and Omoto, 2008; Freeman, 1997) it is referenced that the wish to help or cognitive wish to help is an accepted ethical norm that is an important feature of volunteering. Thus, for the volunteers, the aspect of voluntary and communal activity is very important. The opinions presented in interviews suggest that for volunteers, the community-based activities are deciphered as social integration. As the previous study by Wardell (2000) pointed out, however his theory addresses communication with society as the motivator for outsiders. In the case of the study it was found, that socialising can also be seen as a guarantee of the security of the community or a wish to help. Volunteers believe that voluntary activities unite the community or a smaller group in society, while also being helpful.

Table 2. Opinions of public officials and volunteers comparing the approach towards volunteering with theoretical approaches.

Comparison of views	Answers of the experts - the categories and codes generated from the data analysis of the interviews		Previous theoretical approaches towards volunteering
	State Officials (SO) Reference group I	Volunteers (VT) Reference group II	
The unanimous opinion mentioned most often.	Volunteering		Volunteering (Penner 2002, Snyder and Omoto, 2008)
The unanimous opinion mentioned least often.	The force helping the country		Participation in public services (Geddes and Shand, 2013; Schedler, 2012)
A different opinion: VT's pointed out more. SO's rather tended not to emphasize.	Carried out for the benefit of the community		For a society, for the others (Penner, 2004; Shye, 2010, Snyder and Omoto, 2008; Freeman, 1997; Wardell, 2000)
A different opinion: VT's pointed out more. SO's rather tended not to emphasize.	Own interest		Interest (Snyder and Clary, 1999)

Thus, the approach of the volunteers is more in line with the previous theoretical considerations, but the approach of the state officials supervising the area is significantly narrower. In conclusion, it can be said that the respondents' opinions were mostly in line with the previous theoretical treatments. As a significant factor, the biggest difference between the reference-groups that can be brought out concerns the voluntary approach. It should also be taken into account that volunteers consider more importantly simply just their interest in volunteering. Planning as a long-term activity, using one's time for the benefit of others and the organisational context, characterise the voluntary approaches arising from the above theoretical positions, which have been previously expressed by Penner (2002) and Snyder and Omoto (2008), have not been mentioned in the treatment of volunteering. However, these keywords might be important for organisers of volunteer participation to ensure security.

The second category is comprised by the motivation of volunteers (see Table 3). The treatment of motivation in terms of this study is important because in previous studies the starting of the activity and the later consistent pursuit thereof depends on the motivation (Clary and Snyder, 1999), as well as the results of volunteering depending on the realisation of motivation (Clary and Snyder, 1999; Shye, 2010). Analysis of volunteer motivation factors revealed that in relation to volunteer maritime rescue, the wish to help was mentioned most often as the motivation to start. If the state officials mentioned helping others directly more often, the volunteers brought out the desire to help others arising from the experience of a personal need for help and knowledge of local circumstances when giving assistance. For instance, the volunteers described, *"Both myself and one guy from our team, have been in trouble and had to wait for a very long time until we got help"* (VT09, 2014). The last two features pointed to the fact that volunteers are willing and able, in their area of expertise, to provide faster and more competent assistance. The fact of that being pointed out in the answer characterises the importance of this. An on-site volunteers readiness and willingness to help is also confirmed by the interview stating *"We go to the sea anyway and feel that we have an obligation to help if anyone should get into trouble at sea. So, when you are trained and equipped, it is easier to do it than as a single person"* (VT02, 2014).

As another fairly unanimous opinion, the reference groups pointed out the interest of the volunteer maritime rescuers at sea. Respondents' views were also relatively consensual in terms of single questions. State officials believed that people start volunteering because it is "*An attractive maritime activity*" (SO06, 2014) and the volunteers pointed out that "*Certainly, many are looking for exciting action and thrills*" (VT02, 2014). The importance of community-based activities in terms of volunteer maritime rescue was mentioned as the third most important factor. At the same time, opinions regarding community-based activities as a motivational factor were divided similarly to when describing volunteering. Volunteers held community-based activities more importantly than state officials. The next point mentioned was volunteering as a force helping the state, though mostly when describing the need for volunteer maritime rescue. Supporting the state or reduction of the capacity of the state can be regarded as a motivator as the desire based on the needs of the volunteers to fill the capacity gap in their operating area. This was confirmed by and highlighted by volunteers stressing that "*The state, however, is still lean and will rather optimise its maritime rescue capability (clearly shrinking this capability), and then communities will have no choice but to get involved in the activities. Security is clearly a community issue, the lack of which is perceptible and which should naturally accompany a high-quality living environment.*" (VT10, 2014).

The volunteer positions reveal a substantive involvement in better operation and rational structure of maritime rescue. Belonging to the organisation, recognition, obtaining appropriate training, availability of functional and good equipment and covering of costs was highlighted. Especially, as motivations for a volunteer maritime rescuers, and here the reference groups where 'of the sea' views were unanimous. It is also important that covering the costs was the last thing to be mentioned and then only on a few occasions. The respondents were more of the opinion that belonging to an organisation and recognition is the motivation for voluntary maritime rescue. From the unanimous view of the reference groups, it can be concluded that well-trained volunteer maritime rescuers are important for the country that sees their security for the provision of the service.

Table 3. Opinions (categories and codes) of state officials and volunteers, comparatively on the motivation factors of the volunteer compared to the previous theoretical approaches.

Comparison of views	Answers of the experts - the categories and codes generated from the data analysis of the interviews		Previous theoretical approaches
	State officials (SO) Reference group I	Volunteers (VT) Reference group II	
The unanimous opinion: Mentioned most often. Predominantly pointed out. More pointed out by SO's.	Wish to help Local, faster aid Knowledge of local circumstances Personal experience Sense of mission Saving a human life		Wish to help; helping the others (Shye, 2010; Snyder and Omoto, 2008; Freeman, 1997)
The unanimous opinion: Mentioned the next most often. Predominantly pointed out. More pointed out by VT's.	Interest towards the sea An opportunity to engage Interest		Interest (Snyder and Clary, 1999)
A different opinion: VT's pointed out twice as much. SO's rather tended not to emphasize. Was mentioned more than average.	Community activities		Activity did for the society (for the others) (Penner, 2004; Shye, 2010, Snyder and Omoto, 2008; Freeman, 1997; Wardell, 2000)
The unanimous opinion that was mentioned more than average.	The force helping the country Shrinking capability of the state		Participation in public services (Geddes and Shand, 2013, Schedler, 2012)

The unanimous opinion that was mentioned at an average rate.	Belonging to an organisation	Belonging to an organisation (Penner, 2002; Snyder and Omoto, 2008)
	Recognition	Recognition (Baines and Hardhill, 2008)
	Training Better training	Creation of capability; practices, trainings; (Wardell et al., 2000)
The unanimous opinion that was mentioned less than average.	Equipment Better equipment	-
The unanimous opinion that was mentioned at a marginal rate.	People more at sea More going to the sea	Wish to help (Wilson, 2000; Snyder and Omoto, 2008; Penner, 2004)
The unanimous opinion that was mentioned at a very marginal rate.	Covering of the costs	Covering of the costs in participation in the public service (Handy et al., 2000; Chowdury, Chen, and Tiong, 2011)

Thus, it can be concluded that, in the case of Estonian volunteer maritime rescue, the state officials and volunteers agree that people are particularly engaged in the field due to the wish to help. Volunteer rescuers reflected more on local knowledge of their location and conditions, therefore having the opportunity to provide faster assistance. State officials were of the opinion that the volunteers were motivated more by general ethical standards. It can be

concluded that they did not consider action as the first regional responder as a motivating factor. The driving force of the volunteers can also be considered an interest for maritime activities, as opposed to which the state officials believed that in connection to the formation of volunteer maritime rescue in Estonia, more opportunities have emerged to go to sea. The aspect of community-centered activities mentioned by volunteers, and that of assisting the state mentioned by the state officials to a lesser extent. At the end of the list of motivators, the respondents finally mentioned belonging to an organisation, need for recognition, good training and equipment. However, the latter was mentioned less than the opportunity and need to provide help. One of the motivators, to a very small extent, was also considered covering the costs. It can be concluded that, prior to pointing out the motivator of covering the costs, the needs were described which by their nature are directly related to the cost.

Under the second research question of *how to ensure greater participation of volunteer maritime rescue associations in maritime rescue operations*, was formed a category of volunteer participation in the maritime rescue work (see Table 4). In the framework of the study, it was important to find out what assumptions are made by state officials and volunteers for the creation of mutual partnerships. As a result, this should improve the maritime rescue capability. During the interviews, opinions were collected about the improvement opportunities for state support of volunteer activities and improvement towards general volunteer participation in maritime rescue. Respondents broadly summarised here the common view that for the sake of the greater involvement of volunteer maritime rescue, uniform conditions must be created. Better cooperation and firmer readiness of volunteers was emphasized more by state officials. State officials saw voluntary activities in collaboration with more active participation in planning over the longer and shorter term “*Rough it out, talk clearly and justify. But it could be a contribution in which volunteers come in and speak their thoughts.*” (SO07, 2014). However, the interest of volunteers in planning can be characterised as follows: “*In the direction of the state would be those proposals that at the drawing up of those long-term plans and strategies, we should be very active but, frankly, also in case of those short term plans, the kind that involve completely tactical matters, / ... /*” (VT09, 2014). It is apparent from the above that the interests of the state and the volunteers in planning coincide, but apparently no timely mutual discussion has arisen regarding those shared views.

The state officials coordinating voluntary maritime rescue valued in their responses the readiness and stability of the volunteers. However, the volunteers confirmed that the commitments are met. State officials believed that *“/ ... / PBB should have a lot more confidence in the volunteers. / ... / Not too much supervision / ... /”* (SO06, 2014) and it is inspiring a sense of perspective that *“/ ... / in the course of the cooperation of the subsequent years it’s definitely going to be easier, the experience, trust, understanding, traditions will develop / ... /”* (RA07, 2014). Volunteers felt *“trust can only come through constant interaction or cooperation”* (VT02, 2014). As to mutual trust, the state officials were of the opinion that *“/ ... / It seems that the volunteers feel that the state does not think or does not consider them important enough and the state thinks that the volunteers do not consider them important enough.”* (RA04, 2014) This reflects the need for even more communication and understanding of the wishes and possibilities of the other party.

The reference groups were unanimous about organising better participation in volunteer maritime rescue and the need for state funding, under which was meant the purchase of equipment as well as covering training and operating costs. From the point of view of volunteers, the subject of money was addressed not as a primary matter, but based on needs. When describing the current situation covering the costs it was mentioned that *“It is impossible to actually work with this non-existent support. Expenses will be covered. However, that is all it is, the rest you have to pay from your pocket, essentially.”* (VT09, 2014). The system trimming could also be treated as the creation of preconditions, but in the author’s opinion, it is an important aspect worthy of special mention. As it was referred to in particular by the volunteers, not state officials who coordinate volunteer maritime rescue. Volunteers expressed the view that *“On the one hand it is a voluntary and autonomous system, on the other hand, however, it must be integrated into the state system, of course, as there is no whole, well, it’s kind of a sore, twitching and finding chaotic individual solutions”* (VT08, 2014), or that *“What the government could do is to try to review the entire maritime rescue system and trim it in to more systematic and structured way”* (VT02, 2014). To some extent the need to ensure the financial independence of the volunteer maritime rescue associations was pointed out.

Table 4. Opinions of state officials and volunteers comparatively on the factors of better involvement of volunteers compared to the previous theoretical approaches.

Comparison of views	Answers of the experts - the categories and codes generated from the data analysis of the interviews		Previous theoretical approaches of volunteering
	State officials (SO) Reference group I	Volunteers (VT) Reference group II	
The unanimous opinion: Mentioned most often. Predominantly pointed out.	Creating preconditions Better cooperation Better communication Deeming volunteering as important Better preparedness of volunteers Better training Trusting volunteers		Cooperation
The unanimous opinion.	State funding Acquisition of equipment Compensation for training		State contracts Cooperation
A different opinion pointed out more by VT's.	Trimming of the system		-
The unanimous opinion.	Independent maritime rescue society (financially)		Independence

In summary, it could be said that regarding the creation of common assumptions to improve the functioning of volunteer maritime rescue, the respondents were of a unanimous opinion. Going further in details, it emerged that state officials expect a greater readiness, stability, good cooperation and better training. From the side of the volunteer's mutual communication, volunteer recognition and trust were seen as a prerequisite for better co-operation. The particularly interesting opinion expressed by the volunteers for trimming the system characterises a broader way of thinking and understanding of the maritime rescue system and is a welcome civic initiative. In the respondents' view, an important part was the need for state funding about training and equipment, but this was also opposed to a small extent by the opinions that volunteer maritime rescue organisations must strive for financial independence in their daily activities.

CONCLUSIONS

In the case of volunteer maritime rescue, the current study was important to analyse both the theoretical foundations of volunteering, as well as the concept of civic society as voluntary maritime rescuers support the country. In the case of public-private partnerships, it was discussed that participation in fulfilling of the state duties or cognition of the cooperative relationship is in a significant place. In the field of maritime rescue the loyal partnership of volunteers with the state has an essential role to play, as it is vitally important for the state to be constantly secured by trustworthy voluntary maritime rescuers. By analysing theoretical positions of volunteering it can be inferred that the factors influencing or contributing to volunteering are many. These can be demographic features, personal characteristics, as well as social pressure. As observations have indicated, the volunteering of person's with higher income, higher education and who either have or can plan free time, and also coping with issues of identity is important.

On the basis of the opinions given as responses to the comparative interviews carried out in the framework of the case study it can be argued that volunteering is described by state officials based on the general principles and the theoretical positions, bringing out more the activities based on the wish to help. The opinion of leading figures in voluntary maritime rescue associations was more focused on increasing the security of the community and bringing an interest for the activity. However, the reference groups pointed out consistently and most of all, the wish to help as a main motivation to volunteers in maritime rescue. A unanimous opinion in terms of volunteering dominated, regarding activities performed out of free will. Also, the reference groups unanimously considered volunteer activities as supporting the country.

In the characterisation of volunteering, the decision of engaging in a longer term activity described in theoretical positions was not included. One might think that the existence of this variable was taken for granted. As the reference groups supervising volunteer maritime rescue know that in this area volunteers are set higher pre-conditions than the law level, which is why the area is not approached lightly or not having elaborated the perspectives. Out of the motivators for engaging in volunteer maritime rescue, state officials mentioned the wish to help, a sense of mission and desire for saving human lives mostly. Volunteers also considered the

possibility of providing local and faster help motivating because they are familiar with the local conditions and there is interest for both the sea and maritime rescue. Thus, it can be concluded that the broader and more ethical opinion of the motivation of volunteer maritime rescue is brought out by the state officials who also reflect a more general understanding. Volunteers' opinions rather reflected the everyday practical needs and description of real experiences.

In terms of opinions expressed about better involvement of volunteers, the reference groups were mostly unanimous regarding the creation of prerequisites in this area. It can be concluded that, although the law provides a clear framework and specific requirements for volunteer maritime rescue, it does not describe the manner in which the operation between the state and the volunteers should take place. The study suggests that the creation of conceptual foundations is of key importance in the coordination of future maritime rescue. In the study, it was the volunteers that pointed out the need to trim and organise the system and at various questions during the interviews, a similar approach was also revealed by the state officials.

In summary, when describing volunteering and volunteer maritime rescue, state officials and volunteers were essentially of the same opinion. When going into more details, nuances were revealed in the views of the reference groups, which suggest a wider and more general treatment of the topic by state officials and the immediate and practical description of maritime rescue and its nuances by the volunteers. In addition to the statutory legal frame, it is also desirable to create the conceptual foundations for the entire maritime rescue service, including volunteer maritime rescue.

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**CRIME REDUCING EFFECTS
OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT
SPENDING:**

CASE OF ESTONIA

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INTRODUCTION

Crime prevention can be considered as one of the most important functions of government in any country. Accordingly, several alternative international, national and regional strategies and policies have been developed and implemented to curb the level of crimes and other offences. However, due to the scarcity of public resources politicians must always optimize how many crimes they are willing to deter. At the political level it means that the decision-makers must allocate budgetary outlays across different programs and policies. Specifically, the aim of governments should be to finance the areas that generate the highest value to the society. However, what makes the decisions of resource allocation especially difficult is that the impact of public spending is difficult to predict. For example, effects of spending on crime prevention certainly depend on the efficiency within the criminal justice system and by many other factors such as economic or demographic conditions.

Therefore, to assess what the public actually gets in return from their tax payments is a challenging task. Regardless, in order to arrive at an efficient resource allocation, given the current state of capabilities and competences, the impact of spending is one of the most meaningful questions that need to be answered (see also discussion in Witte and Witt, 2001). Prior literature about the effects of public spending on crime prevention is scarce. One can find large bodies of literature on law enforcement and its impact on crime (see, among others, reviews by Eide, 2000 or Saar, 2013) or even surveys on public preferences in regard to public spending within the criminal justice system (Cohen et al., 2006). Several empirical studies have been carried out about the effect of public spending and its composition on certain welfare indicators like economic growth (see Temple, 1999; De Mello, 2002; Nijkamp and Poot, 2003; Colombier, 2011) or public health (Filmer and Pritchett, 1999). Specifically, the effect of public order and safety spending on crime rates has drawn the attention of only a small number of researchers. Rare exceptions are Kollias et al. (2013) and Yunker (2009). However, the additional need for such knowledge is obvious.

The present paper examines the effect of public spending on crime at the local level and in the Eastern European region, specifically in Estonia. In fact, crime prevention has been a highly prioritized area for Estonia's government in the 2000-s. Politicians have set a goal to reduce the level

of registered crime from the current 40.000 crimes per year, to lower than 38.000 by 2017 (Estonian Ministry of the Interior, 2014). Due to the centralized public budgeting system, crime-related policies set to achieve that goal are mostly financed and carried out centrally by the Estonian Ministry of the Interior and the Estonian Ministry of Justice. The direct involvement of local communities in that policy area has been marginal. Although the important role of local governments in ensuring public order and safety is acknowledged in strategic policy documents (Estonian Ministry of the Interior, 2014), their direct financial involvement is small, representing only 1-2 per cent of total public spending in that area (Saar et al., 2012). Even more, it seems to be diminishing further on. For example, the total amount spent by local authorities has decreased by 26 per cent from 6.8 million EUR to 5.0 million EUR during 2003–2013 (Statistics Estonia, 2014a). Accounting for 50 per cent inflation during that period (Statistics Estonia, 2014b) the real spending has decreased even more. Therefore, one might wonder what would be the impact of diminishing financial contribution by local governments on the level of crime.

One way to shed some light on that issue, the effectiveness of spending at the local level should be examined. For example, if it appears that local government spending affects the level of crime, this knowledge would give local politicians certainty that the budgetary outlays allocated to that area could really make a difference. Accordingly, as there are crime and spending data available for more than 200 municipalities over more than one year for Estonia, panel regression analysis is performed to reveal the existence and the strength of the effect under interest. Considering the smallness of Estonia's municipalities there could be spatial effects across different regions. To account for that possibility both non-spatial and spatial panel regression models are estimated. The time period under study is 2007–2012. Several confounding variables are also considered to control for demographic, economic and social conditions. The first section of the paper reviews the prior related literature and forms a conceptual framework for empirical analysis. The second section describes empirical methods used in the study, and third section presents the results of statistical analysis. Finally, the last two sections discuss the main results and draw conclusions.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES

The research on the effects of crime policy is largely rooted from Becker's (1968) theoretical model about rational criminal behavior. Becker provided a model for analyzing resource allocation for crime prevention from a welfare economics perspective. The key assumption in his framework was that while contemplating to commit a crime, individuals are rational and sense the punishments and the probability of detection as a cost. As a result, the increase in the detection rate should have crime deterring effects as committing a crime is not a rational choice for many potential offenders any more. It is generally acknowledged that in practice the criminal behavior might heavily depend on other factors such as psychological, environmental or genetic (e.g., see Portnoy et al., 2013; Vaske et al., 2011; Shcmideberg, 1947). However, it seems that Becker's approach according to which public policy could have short-run effects on criminal activity has had an appeal for researchers. Many subsequent scholars have tried to find the evidence for the existence of a deterrent effect of crime prevention policies. Based on the related literature, a conceptual framework was compiled for the present study (graphically in Figure 1). Factors of criminal activity have been classified into two main categories – political and non-political. The latter category includes socio-economic and demographic factors. For example, improved opportunities to find legal employment arising from economic conditions might reduce the aggregate level of crime.

At the same time, as the economic situation gets better, it also creates opportunities for illegal activities as more wealth is available (Cantor and Land, 1985). Similarly, demographic factors like a higher proportion of young males in the population or higher population density might predict higher criminal activity (Entorf and Spengler, 2000; Nolan III, 2004; Christens and Speer, 2005). What makes the relationship between crime and non-political factors especially complicated is that while the criminal activity itself depends on economic conditions, it also affects macroeconomic performance of an economy. In other words, the relationship between economic conditions and crime is bi-directional. For example, several authors have argued that the decrease in criminal activity could boost economic growth through the reduction of the social cost of crime, i.e., reducing premature mortality, accumulating social capital or enhancing property rights (see Barro, 1990; World Bank, 2006; Detotto and Otranto, 2010; Goulas and Zervoyianni, 2013).

The second category of factors concerns political influences that are assumed to work *via* crime deterrence. Specifically, if the detection rate increases, more potential offenders are deterred from committing crimes¹. In fact, there is a large body of empirical literature examining the effects of alternative measures on the risk of deterrence on criminal behavior. Due to reverse causality between policy-crime relationships, researchers have faced serious identification problems. This is also shown in Figure 1, as there is a feedback effect from criminal activity to government. Specifically, as concerns the effect of detection rates, it is difficult to ascertain whether higher detection rates curb crime or a higher level of crime brings along lower detection rates due to overloading the criminal justice system and decreasing effectiveness. In the case of police officers their numbers are often considered as an indirect measure for higher detection rates. The problem gets even more complicated as government may respond to changes in the crime rate by changing the police numbers. As a result, standard statistical approaches may fail to capture the true effect of the policy.

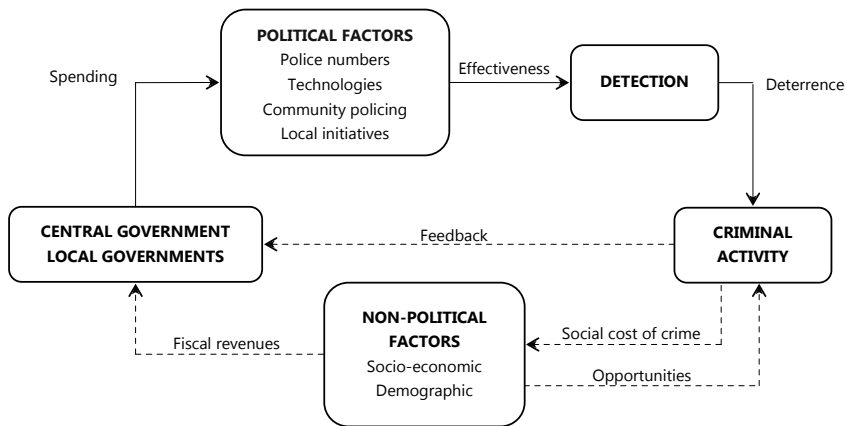


Figure 1. Public spending and its association with criminal activity.

Source: Compiled by the authors

¹ Another way to increase deterrence would be to change the harshness of penalties, but this is not the focus here and is excluded from the graph.

The most common ways to overcome these types of methodological problems is whether to apply an instrumental variable approach in the cases of cross-sectional or panel data and the Granger-causality approach in case of time series data. As a result, the existence of a deterrence effect has been rather convincingly disclosed by many researchers (Levitt, 1997; Levitt, 2002; Vollaard and Koning, 2009; Worrall and Kovandzic, 2010; see also review by Eide, 2000), even for Estonia (Raus and Timmusk, 2005; Lauridsen, 2009). One can also find other approaches taken in the literature in examining the police-crime relationship. For example, non-parametric evaluation of relative effectiveness within police systems across different decision units has been repeatedly performed in many countries (e.g., see Wu et al., 2010; Gorman and Rugiero, 2010; Drake and Simper, 2005). This approach enables the discovery of best practices in tackling crime.

While the intention of this section is not to list all potential political factors (see Figure 1), the factors that would present the association of criminal activity with public spending at local level are deliberately included, in order to lay the ground for empirical analysis. Specifically, one strategy of policing, that among other things requires engagement of the local community in preventing and detecting crimes, by neighborhood watch for instance, is community policing (Cordner, 1995). There is evidence that its application could enhance the effectiveness of police work (Connell et al., 2008). Even more, by assuming that criminal activity is lower in communities with stronger social ties (Warner and Rountree, 1997), any support given by local authorities to the initiatives that strengthen social connections could turn out to be crime reducing.

Moving further left from the box of political factors in the upper part of Figure 1, one faces the public spending flow arising from budgetary policy. Authors are aware of two papers considering the association of public spending particularly with crime. Both apply time series analysis. At first, Yunker (2012) estimated optimal national expenditures of drug law enforcement. By doing that he estimated the effect of drug enforcement expenditures on the arrest rate of drug violations in the U.S. during the period 1981–2007. All four alternative models estimated by the author, i.e., ordinary least squares, autoregressive ordinary least squares, two-stage least squares and autoregressive two-stage least squares, disclosed a negative relationship between spending and arrests. Kollias et al. (2012) employed a vector autoregressive model in Greece and, contrary

to Yunker (2012), did not find any significant relationship. They used data over the period of 1974–2004 for the total number of reported crime and regressed it on expenditures made by the Ministry of Public Order. It was concluded that the results might reflect unsuccessful anticrime policies and two main explanations behind it were proposed. The ineffectiveness of spending may arise at first from inefficiencies within the criminal justice system that may need serious restructuring. But the reason could also be that crime is more related with social conditions or unemployment and cannot be affected by spending on public order and safety.

Many more studies have been carried out to examine other effects arising from public spending or its composition. For example, several authors have analyzed the impact of spending on economic growth. Barro (1990), particularly, considers in his theoretical model public spending as an input into private production. Spending on public order and safety was assumed to enhance property rights and therefore stimulate economic growth. In the framework of this study, this involves the causal chain from spending to economic conditions *via* the deterrence effect (see Figure 1). In fact, Cullison (1993) reports empirical evidence that supports this idea at least to some extent. Glass (2009), on the other hand, shows that spending levels are rather caused by GDP growth than the other way around. This means that economic growth just generates more fiscal revenues that can be spent by the government. As a result, there could be more resources available and also higher demand for public safety in wealthier societies.

The contradictions in studies concerning the effects of public spending should not be surprising. It needs to be acknowledged that it is much more uncertain to predict the impact of spending compared with the impact of police forces or a certain program. While more police patrols on the street should have at least some impact on public security, additional spending could vary from being a complete waste to highly cost-effective depending on the quality of the public sector. There is also empirical evidence that large differences in the efficiency of public spending really exist (Rajkumar and Swaroop, 2008; Afonso et al., 2010). This difference could arise from many sources including different degrees of fiscal centralization. One could speculate that at the local level spending programs are more carefully planned and implemented. The ineffectiveness of spending made at the central level arises from the lack of stimulus to

allocate public resources in a way that would be in accordance with residents' preferences (Tiebout, 1956). Related empirical evidence supports this idea from many different aspects. For example, some recent studies have disclosed that the degree of fiscal centralization is associated with government quality (Kyriacou and Roca-Sagales, 2011), but also more specifically with terror attacks made by the local population targeting their home country (Dreher and Fischer, 2011) and even with infant-mortality rates (Jimenez-Rubio, 2011). In summary, although the effect of public spending has been the focus of many studies, to the best of the authors' knowledge, somewhat surprisingly there remains little evidence with regard to public order and safety spending and its effect whether on crime, economic growth or other parameters.

Regardless, at a political level decisions with regard to resource allocation are usually not related to choosing between alternative numbers of police patrols or some policing strategy. The micro-level decisions are usually left to public servants as politicians lack the required knowledge. Therefore, instead of examining the association of crimes with detection rates, police forces or the effectiveness of certain programs, for decision-makers at the political level it might be much more meaningful to know the impact of spending. For example, when spending does not have any effect, it is not reasonable to pump more public resources into crime prevention. It might be more efficient to fund other more efficient public areas or even cut taxes. Therefore, the knowledge about the effectiveness of public spending is critical.

EMPIRICS

Model building

In order to disclose the impact of public spending on crime in Estonia, several alternative panel regression models are estimated. The point of departure is a two-way fixed-effect panel regression with the following specification (Wooldridge, 2009):

$$C_{it} = \beta_1 x_{1it} + \dots + \beta_K x_{Kit} + \mu_i + \tau_t + u_{it} \quad (1)$$

In Eq. (1) $i = 1, \dots, N$ denotes municipality, $t = 1, \dots, T$ denotes time period, C_{it} is an observation on the crime per 1.000 population in i and t , x_{1it}, \dots, x_{Kit} are observations on K explanatory variables in i and t , μ_i is a time-invariant individual-specific effect, τ_t is a time-effect that is individual-invariant and u_{it} is an observation-specific well-behaved error term. The model is estimated with demeaned data *via* ordinary least square estimation (Croissant and Millo, 2008). Two specifications are fitted, with one-way (individual) fixed effects and two-way (individual and time) fixed effects.

Although the appropriateness of fixed effects specification is checked by running a traditional Hausman test, there are at least two reasons to prefer the fixed effects approach. At first, individual-specific effects deal with omitted variables arising from unobserved heterogeneity of municipalities that could cause bias in estimates. Time fixed effects are introduced to control unobserved variables that vary over time. For example, time effects account for changes in crime prevention activities carried out by the police or changes to laws and regulations. Probably an even bigger concern is the potential existence of reverse causality, although the aim of the paper is to find out how spending affects crime, spending itself probably at least to some degree depends on the crime. For example, in municipalities with higher crime rates local governments might tend to allocate more resources to deal with that problem. As a result the statistical model may disclose a positive relationship between crime and spending.

However, in this study, reverse causation rather exists across municipalities than over time. Specifically, local authorities usually are not able to respond to an increase in criminal activity with higher spending during the same year. They could do this in the next year at most. Even more, considering that the public order and safety function in Estonia is mainly the responsibility of criminal justice system. That is administered and financed by central government, it seems reasonable to assume that the response of local governments to changes in crime is probably rather rigid, slow and can be considered as exogenous to crime over a couple of years, at least. Even if there were some endogeneity over time, the estimated model would produce conservative estimates for spending coefficients as the reverse causality in this case would cause a bias towards zero.

As Estonia's municipalities are rather small it is highly likely that there is some degree of spatial dependence in crime across municipalities. For that reason spatial parameters are also introduced in the model. As a result, the model in stacked form becomes as follows (see Anselin et al., 2008; Millo and Piras, 2012):

$$C = \lambda(I_T \otimes W_N)C + (\iota_T \otimes I_N)\mu + (I_T \otimes \iota_N)\tau + X\beta + u \quad (2)$$

$$u = \rho(I_T \otimes W_N)u + \varepsilon \quad (3)$$

In Eq. (2) C is a $NT \times 1$ vector, ι_T is a $T \times 1$ vector of ones, \otimes is a Kronecker product², I_N is an identity matrix of dimension N , μ is a vector of time-invariant individual-specific effects, I_T is an identity matrix of dimension T , ι_N is a $N \times 1$ vector of ones, τ is a vector of individual-invariant time-specific effects, X is a $NT \times K$ matrix, β is a $K \times 1$ vector and u is a disturbance term.

² Unlike the usual matrix multiplication, the Kronecker product \otimes of two matrices, say, A and B , gives a block matrix, say, C (i.e. $A \otimes B = C$), and each block in C is equal to $C_{ij} = a_{ij}B$, where subscript i specifies the row position and subscript j identifies the position of the column. As a result, $A^{m \times n} \otimes B^{p \times q} = C^{mp \times nq}$, superscripts denoting the dimensions of matrixes, e.g. $C^{mp \times nq}$ has mp rows and nq columns. Therefore, fixed time effect component in (2) can be rewritten as follows: $(I_T^{T \times T} \otimes \iota_N^{N \times 1})_{T \times 1} = D^{NT \times T} \tau^{T \times 1} = G^{NT \times 1}$, where D and G are some resulting matrixes. As it is seen, the resulting matrix G is a simple $NT \times 1$ column vector with NT rows and 1 column. So, the Kronecker product is just a convenient way to express the components of panel regression model in stacked form.

Compared with the specification presented in (1), there is an additional term $\lambda(I_T \otimes W_N)C$ in Eq. (2). There is a spatial lag component arising from the assumption that there may be inherent spatial dependence in the dependent variable, i.e., in crime rate. What this means is that the level of crime in one region might depend on the level of crime in its neighborhood regions. In addition to the crime rate itself the lag component includes $N \times N$ matrix of spatial weights W with known constants whose diagonal elements are zero and a vector of spatial lag parameter λ .

However, if it is reasonable to assume that the included exogenous variables might still fail to fully explain spatial autocorrelation the estimated parameters would be biased. To correct that, the error term is specified as in Baltagi et al. (2003). Specifically, it is complemented by the term $\rho(I_T \otimes W_N)u$ as is seen in Eq. (3). It represents the spatial structure in the error term u where ρ is a vector of spatial error parameter. Finally, ε is an idiosyncratic error vector. Altogether six different spatial specifications are estimated. At first all variants of spatial dependence are modeled: spatial lag model, spatial error model and spatial mix model with both lag and error. Secondly, similarly to the non-spatial model above, for all spatial models individual effects as well as individual and time effects results are obtained. All spatial models are estimated via the maximum likelihood method in a transformed form in order to eliminate the fixed effects (for further details see Millo and Piras, 2012).

The data on crime rates in terms of the number of registered crimes in each municipality was obtained *via* personal communication with the Ministry of Justice (Ahven, 2013). The total numbers of crime for each municipality was converted to reflect the numbers of crime per 1.000 populations. The data from two different time frames were analyzed: 2007–2012 and 2011–2012. This enables the robustness of the result to be checked when the associations might change over time. Due to the limitations of the data with regard to confounding variables, the study includes 211 municipalities, representing 93 per cent of all Estonia's municipalities during the period of 2007–2012.

Explanatory notes

The main explanatory variable under interest in this study was crime-related public spending that is measured based on spending on public order and safety as defined in COFOG (Eurostat, 2011). The data on spending was taken from the online database of Statistics Estonia (2014a). For the analysis, spending variables were reflected as thousand euros per inhabitant. The figures were also deflated with the consumer price index (Statistics Estonia, 2014b) in order to account for inflation. It means that the effect of real spending was examined. It should be acknowledged that in addition to police activities that are probably most directly targeted to address criminal activity, the public order and safety function in COFOG also includes other areas such as fire protection, prisons and courts. For example, in Estonia during the study period roughly one quarter of spending made by local governments on public order and safety was allocated to fire protection (Statistics Estonia, 2014a). However, it must be noted that the aim of local authorities in this area was to strengthen local communities in general by allocating resources to volunteers involved in fire protection, rescue activities or neighborhood crime watch, etc. Therefore, spending in this area, even if the crime prevention is not directly targeted, should still considerably contribute to the general safety of a community and as a result curb criminal activity. In fact, one survey confirmed that fire-fighting is not the only task volunteer rescue squads are dealing with in Estonia (Praxis, 2012). They are also employed in arranging different sorts of prevention programs, including youth and club activities.

Based on the conceptual framework explained in section 1 and presented in Figure 1, several demographic and economic variables were also considered in the regression analysis. To account for factors that might reflect the opportunities to commit a crime as well as to find legal employment, real average income and the number of unemployed individuals (Töötukassa, 2014) per 1.000 populations are included. The real average income was computed by deflating nominal gross income (obtained from Statistics Estonia, 2013) by the consumer price index (Statistics Estonia, 2014b). In addition, population density, measured as population per square kilometers, and the proportion of young males, measured as aged 15–24 per 1.000 of the population, were accounted for. The data to compute population density, the proportion of young males as well as spending per inhabitant was taken from Statistics Estonia (2014c; 2014d).

While the crime rate and all confounding variables were logged for the regression analysis, public spending variable was not logged due to many zeros in data. It means that the obtained coefficient β for spending variable reflects $100 \times \beta$ percentage change in crime rate with respect to 1 unit (that is one thousand euros) change in explanatory variable. For all other variables the estimated coefficients measure elasticities, reflecting the percentage change in crime rate with respect to one percentage change in explanatory variable. For the spatial regression analysis the spatial coordinates of Estonia's municipalities were obtained from the Estonian Land Board (2013) in an ESRI shape file format. Based on the shape file, the distance-based spatial weights file in a GWT format was created in GeoDa software (version 0.9.5-i5). The minimum distance that assures that each municipality has at least one neighbor was computed and applied. The GWT file was imported to R statistical software (version 3.0.2) where the whole regression analysis was performed by employing `plm` (Croissant and Millo, 2008) and `splm` (Millo and Piras, 2012) packages, specifically `plm` and `spml` functions, respectively. The numerical results of non-spatial regression analysis were also confirmed in Gretl econometric software (version 1.9.14).

RESULTS

Summary statistics on variables used in the analysis are presented in Table 1. At first, one should note that when comparing the two time periods the mean values of variables are rather close. Only in the case of real income was it considerably lower in the latter period. This is due to the fact that there was a severe economic recession in 2008–2009 that also affected income and as a result it dragged down the average income as well. This can be also seen from differences in the standard deviations. In addition, the variation of variables between municipalities is much higher than within municipalities over time. Considering the large demographic and economic differences across municipalities this is not surprising. However, it is somewhat surprising that within-unit variation in the main variables of this study, i.e., the crime rate and public spending, it is not much lower than between-unit variation; in some cases they are even equal. Therefore, although under the fixed effects model between-unit variation is ignored, there is still much information left to obtain from the estimates under interest.

Table 1. Summary statistics of variables used in the analysis.

Variable	2007–2012				2011–2012			
	Mean	SD (total)	SD (within)	SD (betw)	Mean	SD (total)	SD (within)	SD (betw)
Real spending per inhabitant (thousand euros)	0.0016	0.0032	0.0024	0.0025	0.0015	0.0039	0.0032	0.0032
Crimes per 1,000	25.815	15.039	9.3701	12.391	24.170	14.287	6.2954	13.590
Unemployed per 1,000	32.097	19.967	17.992	11.368	34.161	14.573	6.6221	13.815
Real income (in euros)	592.71	77.478	24.896	74.214	579.09	70.546	10.972	70.201
Population density (per square km)	165.98	414.60	3.7834	415.40	165.42	414.97	1.3548	415.47
Young males per 1,000	138.12	50.596	30.717	42.191	138.33	54.440	15.608	53.370

Notes: SD denotes standard deviation, within denotes that standard deviation has been computed based on within-municipality variation, betw denotes that standard deviation has been computed based on between-municipality variation.

The results from fixed individual effects and fixed two-ways (that accounts for individual and time fixed effects) panel regression for 2007–2012 are represented in Table 2. The coefficient of spending variables under these models range from -5.84 to -7.21 and is in most cases statistically significant at least at the 10 per cent level. Only under fixed individual effects with spatial errors was the coefficient insignificant. However, even the value of that coefficient is more than one standard error away from zero (see Table 2). In general, the results imply that, holding other fixed factors, increasing spending on public order and safety by one euro per inhabitant decreases the number of crimes per 1.000 population by around 0.6-0.7 per cent. At an average spending level, i.e., at 1.6 euros per inhabitant (see Table 1); the disclosed relationship can be expressed as an elasticity coefficient of -0.010. That is, a 1 per cent increase in the level of spending will decrease the crime rate by 0.010 per cent.

Table 2. Regression models for the period 2007–2012.

Variable	Fixed individual effects				Fixed two-ways effects			
	Non-spatial	Spatial lag+error	Spatial lag	Spatial error	Non-spatial	Spatial lag+error	Spatial lag	Spatial error
Real spending	-7.21* (4.05)	-6.79** (3.25)	-6.38* (3.65)	-5.84 (3.66)	-6.65* (3.95)	-6.66** (3.29)	-6.25* (3.58)	-5.97* (3.58)
Unempl.	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.06*** (0.02)	-0.08*** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)
Population density	-0.86 (0.65)	-0.69 (0.43)	-0.81 (0.59)	-0.82 (0.63)	-2.52*** (0.72)	-1.97*** (0.53)	-2.30*** (0.65)	-2.31*** (0.67)
Real income	0.74** (0.29)	0.48** (0.19)	0.56** (0.27)	0.53* (0.29)	-	-	-	-
Young males	0.30*** (0.11)	0.22*** (0.07)	0.23** (0.10)	0.19* (0.11)	-	-	-	-
Rho	-	-0.52*** (0.07)	-	0.16*** (0.04)	-	-0.44*** (0.09)	-	0.11*** (0.04)
Lambda	-	0.55*** (0.05)	0.17*** (0.04)	-	-	0.47*** (0.06)	0.12*** (0.04)	-
Adj. R2	0.62	-	-	-	0.63	-	-	-

Notes: P-values of coefficients indicated by *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$, otherwise $p > 0.1$. Standard errors are shown in parentheses. Lambda is the spatial lag parameter and Rho is the spatial error parameter. Adj. R2 denotes the adjusted coefficient of determination.

As concerns the control variables, the number of unemployed individuals and population density were both found to be negatively associated with crime. Compared with the individual fixed effects model the introduction of fixed time effects considerably increased the magnitude of the population density coefficient, specifically from around -0.8 to below -2.0. It also makes this variable statistically significant at a 1 per cent level. In regard to unemployment the case is almost exactly the opposite. Introducing time effects makes the unemployment variable statistically insignificant, however, the coefficient itself is rather stable. Income and the proportion of young males were positively associated with the crime rate; however these two variables were excluded from the model with two-ways effects due to insignificance, coefficients being lower than their standard errors. All described models had significant spatial coefficients. A Hausman test confirmed the appropriateness of the fixed effects model ($p < 0.01$).

Table 3. Regression models for the period 2011–2012.

Variable	Fixed individual effects				Fixed two-ways effects			
	Non-spatial	Spatial lag+error	Spatial lag	Spatial error	Non-spatial	Spatial lag+error	Spatial lag	Spatial error
Real spending	-9.36 (5.67)	-7.51** (3.74)	-9.44** (3.98)	-9.61** (3.99)	-8.96 (5.67)	-7.50** (3.73)	-9.07** (3.98)	-9.27** (3.98)
Unempl.	0.17*** (0.10)	0.10* (0.05)	0.15** (0.07)	0.17** (0.07)	-	0.14 (0.11)	-	-
Population density	10.21*** (3.71)	8.07*** (2.17)	9.20*** (2.61)	9.55*** (2.67)	9.21** (3.94)	8.33*** (2.32)	8.30*** (2.76)	8.20*** (2.84)
Rho	-	-0.39*** (0.15)	-	0.07 (0.08)	-	-0.41*** (0.15)	-	0.09 (0.08)
Lambda	-	0.41*** (0.11)	0.11 (0.07)	-	-	0.43*** (0.11)	0.11 (0.07)	-
Adj. R2	0.037	-	-	-	0.02	-	-	-

Notes: P-values of coefficients indicated by *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$, otherwise $p > 0.1$. Standard errors are shown in parentheses. Lambda is the spatial lag parameter and Rho is the spatial error parameter. Adj. R2 denotes the adjusted coefficient of determination.

The results based on the years 2011–2012 are shown in Table 3. There are certain differences compared with the result described above. At first, the magnitude of the spending coefficient is somewhat higher in absolute value ranging up to -9.61. It means that increasing spending by one euro could decrease the number of crimes by almost 1 per cent. In terms of elasticity, the respective value is -0.012. In addition, except for the non-spatial model, the statistical significance of these two variables has improved from 10 per cent to 5 per cent. The effect of shortening the study period from 2007–2012 to 2011–2012 is even more drastic on control variables. While income and the proportion of young males were not significant and were excluded, also was the case for longer panel under the two-ways model. The signs of unemployment and population density variables have been reversed. Specifically, according to the results based on 2011–2012, more crimes are reported when the number of unemployed person or density of population increases. All coefficients of control variables are statistically significant, most of them even at the 1 per cent or 5 per cent level. Unlike the longer panel, spatial coefficients are significant only for the model with both spatial lag and error terms. As concerns the Hausman test, it confirmed the appropriateness of the fixed effects over random effects ($p < 0.01$).

DISCUSSION

This study examined how public spending on order and safety made by Estonia's local governments between 2007 and 2012 has affected the crime rate. A statistically significant effect on the level of crimes per 1.000 of population was revealed. In regard to the significance, signs or even the magnitude of the effect, the results tend to be quite robust over alternative model specifications and time frames. One concern could be that the magnitude of the effect disclosed in this study might seem rather modest. In terms of elasticity, it is approximately -0.01. It means that doubling spending level would cause a 1 per cent decrease in the level of crimes per 1.000 of population³. Considering that only a marginal proportion of public spending for public order and safety in Estonia is made at local level and that the absolute level of spending is only approximately 5 million euros, doubling that to 10 million euros does not sound utopic. A 1 per cent decrease in the crime rate, on the other hand, would mean roughly 400 crimes less. Recalling that the aim of Estonia's government was to reduce criminal activity by 2000 crimes by the end of 2017, the estimated effect does not seem so small any more. It must be acknowledged though, that the effectiveness of spending might vary at different levels of spending and as a result, the true effect from such a policy change is not easily predictable.

³ The logic is that if the elasticity coefficient is -0.01, it means that a 100 per cent increase in spending level causes a 1 per cent decrease in crime rate. The elasticity itself was computed in two steps. At first, assuming that real *per capita* spending changes by 1 euro at average spending levels, respective percentage change was calculated. Specifically, as the average *per capita* spending is 1.6 euros (see Table 1), 1 euro represents 62.5 per cent of average spending. Second, as elasticity is the ratio of percentage change in the crime rate to percentage change in the level of spending, it follows that the elasticity coefficient is $0.6 \text{ per cent} / 62.5 \text{ per cent} = 0.0096 \approx 0.01$, where 0.6 per cent is the lower bound of the estimated regression coefficient for the period 2007–2012 (see Table 2).

In order to better understand the economic implications of the estimated effect it should be converted into monetary values. Specifically, the results above refer that on average, for a municipality with 1.000 inhabitants, it takes roughly 7.000 euros to prevent one crime⁴. These expenditures could be considered as efficient ones if the local community would benefit more than that. There are no studies carried out in Estonia in that direction. Therefore, the benefits in monetary terms arising from crime prevention are unknown. The paper is also limited in bringing out the effect of spending on the total crime rate and does not reveal what types of crimes have actually been affected. However, estimates from U.S. studies could be enlightening in this respect. For example, McCollister et al. (2011) reviewed the estimates of prices during the period of 1993–2004 and showed that the cost of robbery ranges from 18,591 to 219,286 dollars and in the case of thefts from 344 to 1104 dollars. In the same paper the authors themselves estimate the costs at 42,310 and 3532 dollars, respectively. As in 2008 Estonia's GDP represented less than 50 per cent of the U.S.'s GDP and these figures in the Estonian context could be converted to much lower values, even a lower range of the cost of a robbery would still be above 10.000 euros. Therefore, local spending for public order and safety in Estonia might easily turn out to be socially efficient.

The estimates for spending effect in this study were obtained by controlling socio-economic and demographic conditions. Comparing the results from models of two different time periods, that is for 2007–2012 and 2011–2012, they are rather contradicting. For example, as expected, the population of young males is positively associated with crimes in 2007–2012. However, this variable turned out to be insignificant for the period 2011–2012. As concerns unemployment and population density, the contradiction was even more drastic. The fact that unemployment was found to have negative and income a positive association with crime, implies that in Estonia better economic conditions create

⁴ This is true because in average, 25 crimes per 1.000 population were committed during the study period (see Table 1). Since it was estimated that increasing *per capita* spending by one euro would decrease the crime rate per 1.000 of the population by at least 0.6 per cent, it follows that, in average, increasing spending by 7 euros per inhabitant (or 7.000 for the whole community of 1.000 individuals) decreases the level of crime approximately by 4 per cent, i.e., by 1 crime (out of 25). This statement, however, assumes that public spending excludes transfers because transfer spending is not a cost to the society as a whole (except for distortionary costs). Therefore, considering that there is at least a certain proportion in public order and safety spending that can be classified as transfer-type spending, from a social perspective it is even less costly to prevent one criminal act.

crime opportunities. However, further analysis for the period 2011–2012 showed that a negative relationship is not as robust as a positive and a statistically significant relationship at a 5 per cent significance level was revealed between unemployment and crime. This result is in accordance with prior estimates for Estonia. Specifically, Raus and Timmusk (2005) who showed with a cross-sectional ordinary least square estimation that crime levels in Estonia between 2003 and 2004 across municipalities was positively associated with the unemployment rate. Lauridsen (2009) also reported a positive association based on panel county level data for the period 2000 to 2005.

A similar reversal of the coefficient sign was observed for population density. Specifically, the period 2007–2012 the population density was negatively associated with crime but between 2011 and 2012 there was a positive relationship. Prior estimates for Estonia reported by Lauridsen (2009) are in line with the results from the longer panel. This may reflect the tendency of crime rates to grow in regions that people are moving away from. The opposite result from the shorter panel could reflect that more crimes are committed in the areas with growing populations. Prior studies on the association between population density and crime are inconsistent as well. For example, unlike in Estonia, Lauridsen (2009) found a positive association for Lithuania and Latvia. The complexity of the density-crime relationship and its dependence on the intrinsic characteristic of a specific area has also been discussed by Christens and Speer (2005). Mixed results across different time frames in this study could also imply that the association of crime with economic factors could vary over time. In Estonia's case, this may be the result of a rather volatile macroeconomic performance during the study period.

While the statistical significance and even the sign of coefficients of confounding variables under alternative models are somewhat puzzling, this was not the focus of this study and its clarification is left for future research. However, the study has several limitations concerning the estimated effect of spending. First, it should be noted that the present study did not account for the composition of expenditures that might matter if some types of spending are more effective. For example, local government could provide financial resources to neighborhood watch activities but if these activities would have occurred even without local government involvement, there is no spending effect or it is too small to be noticed statistically. In addition, ineffectiveness might not necessarily

arise from poor spending choices, but also from the inefficiency of the activities being financed. For example in the case of neighborhood watch there might be too few people involved or they are involved in a way that just does not deter offenders to offend. These kinds of details should be addressed by future research, whether through evaluation of the effectiveness of some specific programs, or by controlling the mentioned factors in a statistical analysis, if the required data is available.

Second, there might be statistical problems biasing the results. Specifically, a local government may respond to higher crimes with higher spending. As a result, it might cause an underestimation of the true effect. As was discussed in the section 2, it is reasonable to presume that this effect is small. The result also indicated no remarkable difference in spending effects between longer and shorter time frames. As it is unlikely that local authorities could respond to changes in crimes within two years, the authors' presumption seems to be true. On the other hand, one cannot completely rule out the possibility of an overestimation of the effect. When reduction in crime has a positive effect on fiscal revenues that would increase the level of public spending, including public order and safety spending, statistically this might bring about a negative relationship between spending and crime as was disclosed in this study. However, it is highly unlikely that this effect could be dominating. As crime prevention is not considered as the main function of local authorities in Estonia and consequently only a marginal share of budgets is spent on public order and safety. The decisions to allocate resources to this area are unlikely to be very responsive with respect to the overall level of budgets. Additionally, reduction of crimes by some amount in one community has hardly any significant effect on local government budgets.

In summary, the present study suggests that decisions with regard to public outlays on public order and safety at a local level do make a difference for crime rates in Estonia. What this means is that in order to decrease criminal activity in a specific region, local communities should reconsider their decisions to cut security-related spending. Even more, this could also concern finding a more efficient mix of local and central government involvement in crime prevention. This seems especially relevant when considering the high degree of fiscal centralisation in this area in Estonia. It does not mean that local governments could replace, at least to a great extent, the spending made by central government. It is

acknowledged that the outlays made at the local level in Estonia are not related to classic activities carried out by the criminal justice systems such as trialing or crime investigation. Additionally, due to economies of scale for a small country like Estonia, a relatively high degree of fiscal centralisation seems appropriate. However, the results of this study imply that there might be missed opportunities available at local level for efficiency gains in the crime prevention area.

CONCLUSIONS

Knowledge about the impact of public spending is a valuable input to the political decision-making process in order to arrive at an efficient allocation of public funds. For example, the fact that the involvement of local governments in financing public order and safety spending is low and has had a tendency to decrease over the last decade in Estonia, could indicate inefficient use of public resources. However, this is true only if local governments could effectively prevent crimes through using fiscal policy measures. In order to clarify this puzzle, this study provides the evidence in regard to the effects of spending patterns at a local level in Estonia. Specifically, examined was the empirical relationship between local governments spending on public order and safety with the crime rate per 1.000 of the population during the period 2007–2012.

Several spatial and non-spatial panel regression models were estimated. Statistically significant and negative associations between local spending and crime rates were revealed. The results were robust over different model specifications and indicated that increasing spending on public order and safety by one euro per inhabitant decreases the number of crimes per 1.000 of the population by around 0.6-0.7 per cent. Although one must always be careful in drawing conclusive statements on cause and effect relationships, the empirical results in this study imply that spending choices have affected the crime rates across municipalities in Estonia. What it also means in the Estonian context is that the observed decrease in the level of spending on public order and safety at a local level has increased the level of crime.

While the monetary value of benefits arising from crime reduction is unknown in Estonia, the spending effect that was revealed in this study

can be large enough to create social benefits that would exceed the value of spending. Therefore, local governments should not easily give up spending on public order and safety if crime reduction is considered as a priority in the local community. However, more research is needed to provide more specific policy recommendations. In the Estonian context the estimate for the social cost of a crime is needed. Also, future research should account for effects arising from the composition of spending.

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TWO PERSPECTIVES OF POLICE FUNCTIONS:

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS WITH THE EXAMPLE
OF ESTONIA'S SECURITY POLICY

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INTRODUCTION

The police have always been seen as a mediator between the state and the people, at least in terms of safety. For that reason, knowledge of how people receive and perceive functions of the police specified in the state regulations is inevitably important for both parts. It is also important for the police since they use this knowledge to improve their performance, which has a significant impact on our lives. Thus, the question arises, how to get the information we need to understand what people really feel and how the public perceive the functions of the police? Therefore, the necessity for providing an appropriate tool is evident. Thus, this article has two primary purposes. The first is to introduce to the police audience a text-analysing tool, which enables hidden meanings of a particular text to be revealed. The second purpose is to use this tool with the aim to find out how people perceive functions of the police outlined in Estonia's security policy.

Initially we need to admit that the police have radically changed over time. Democratic principles appeared as the central bedrock of modern policing, especially in developing countries. Changes in the police are related to government policies and reflect developments of a particular country. When we are considering an action in particular situations in the field of security it could be claimed that it is probably useless to follow the universal police (see Bayley, 2006). It could also be claimed that the development of the police is different in transition countries compared to some old democracies. For example, Estonia came through rapid changes during the last decades. Concerning the latter we have seen some significant transformations of the police (i) from a totalitarian force-oriented military organisation towards a service-oriented civil organisation, and (ii) in criminal situations from extremely violent to non-violent but with a wide variety of offences. (Estonian Cooperation Assembly, 2013; Alas et al., 2010; Lauristin and Vihalemm, 2009).

Security is the crucial factor for stable development of any country and the police are experts in this field. However, the action of police will vary according to the situation. The police's action-in-use are closely related to using different methods, which depends on numerous factors including priorities set by the state that are always compulsory for the police. Transition countries' battle for democracy may support double standards (Johns, 2003) that could be avoided by using two-way

accountability (Varga, 2013) between the state, including the police and the public. These features have a diverse impact on further developments of any particular country.

In this article it is argued that the vague and inconsistent character of the interaction between the state and the public is inherent to Estonia's policy making up to this day, at least by way of the example of security policy expressing the functions of the police. The content analysis has been chosen because I wanted to examine written sources. Each body of text is unique, this affords multiple interpretations, and needs to be treated accordingly. (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 87) The article is organised as follows. In the first chapter after the introduction I outline my reasons for applying the method, and expose the data of the research. In the second chapter I concentrate on the data analysis, and the last chapter is dedicated to the discussion and concluding remarks.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

There are some studies about implementation of different police strategies (see ref. Harcourt, 2004; Weisburd and Braga, 2006; Albrecht and Das, 2011), and also about changes in policing (see ref. Reiss, 1992; Shearing and Marks, 2011; Kraska, 2007), but there is still a lack of empirical knowledge about the police's dilemmas to chase conflicting goals at once. Police functions, which are clearly stated by the government and are not only important for policing but also a necessary precondition for successful interaction between the police and society. As famously stated by James Q. Wilson (1968, p. 408) 'organizations to which society gives tasks that cannot be performed to the satisfaction of society suffer not only certain frustrations but some fundamental administrative problems as well'. Therefore it is important to observe the relationship between the functions of the police stated by the government and expectations expressed by the society. The police action may diverge from the narrow focus of law enforcement to ambiguous questions about the quality of life. In the literature of policing, the problem is known as the debate between peacekeeping and law enforcement (Banton, 1964) or in other words, between order maintenance and law enforcement (Wilson, 1968).

To find out what the state's concept of police functions are, and how people perceive it I thoroughly analysed two different written sources. At first, the main guidelines of Estonia's security policy until 2015 (Riigikogu, 2008) approved by the Parliament of the Republic of Estonia, and provides directions in the field of security. Secondly, the articles published in Estonia's daily newspaper *Postimees* during 2013. The latter has the largest circulation in Estonia (Eesti Ajalehdede Liit, 2014), and thus reflects quite well the mainstream view of the society. The research assumes methodologically that saying things cannot exist without doing and being. The use of language is always connected to saying (*expression*), doing (*activity*) and being (*identity*). (Gee 2011, p. 2) In this article I use the term *discourse* as a social practice of some domains in a particular perspective. Concerning discourses, three main influences can be highlighted – situational, institutional, and political conditions influence and restrict discourses, as it may be contrary i.e. discourses may have an effect on discursive and non-discursive social and political processes and behavior (Weiss and Wodak, 2007, p. 22). Discourses appear throughout social interaction and different discourses may express a single piece of the physical world (Fairclough, 2004, pp. 19-20).

There are several modes for using the term “discourse analysis” since different scholars from different academic cultures use it in different ways. Text and discourse can be distinguished linguistically and rhetorically in a Central-European and German context. In English speaking countries a discourse may often be understood as a written text or talk. Discourse can also be distinguished from the level of abstraction, e.g. “a text” as a realisation of particular forms of abstract knowledge. The historical perspective of discourse linked with social-cognitive theories handles discourse as a form of knowledge and memory. (see Weiss and Wodak, 2007, p. 13) Hence, the discourse is a distinctive way of saying, being and doing (Gee, 2011, p. 30). The key to discourse is “recognition”.

If you set language, action, interaction, values, beliefs, symbols, objects, tools, and places in such a way that others recognise you as a particular type of *who* (identity) engaged to particular type of *what* (activity), then you have created a discourse (Gee, 2011, p. 35). Interpretation of a text is psychological and understood in a reader's head. Having sufficient contextual information and the ability to encode a text, we have a chance to understand the meaning of a text in a way that is implicit to the text and corresponds to something in the real world. Even more, the meaning of

a text is unitary and can be shared only with other competent readers. (Locke, 2004, p. 12) The questions relating to people like *cause* and *effect* relations might change the original meaning of “text”. We can use critical analysis as the special link to get closer to human behavior. Critical theories not only describe and explain, but also banish delusions that could be created. Even more, they create a possibility to enhance knowledge about my own needs and interests. The aim of critical analysis is to enlighten and release discourse from restrictions (see Wodak, 2001, pp. 9-10; Weiss and Wodak, 2007, p. 14). In this sense it means that data is explored from a certain distance and the focus is on the content.

It is axiomatic, that there are no single right solutions to handle CDA, but various different approaches to carry out. For this reason the CDA may appear to be eclectic and unsystematic, but it could be also viewed as a strength. Methodological and theoretical pluralism can be taken as a strength of CDA, which gives dynamics to the discipline. (Weiss and Wodak, 2007, p. 6) It would be beneficial to start defining discourse analysis with confirmation, what it is not. It is not just another approach to research, among others. It is also not a method or theory that can simply be used to handle social problems. CDA is a critical way of researching, it is critical to analyse “with an attitude”. (Dijk, 2001, p. 96) The discourse analysis thus contains questions of how language in a particular time and place is linked to seven core principles of discourse analysis i.e. at the same time with writing or talking we certainly construct the following seven different “realities”:

- (1) Significance – there are many different things, which have significance to almost everyone, but there are also cases when significance can be emphasized or diminished only through the use of language. Discourse analysis question: how the language is used to increase or decrease the significance of a subject (text)?
- (2) Activities – an activity or action can be understood as a socially recognised, culturally or institutionally supported endeavor to act in some specific way. Discourse analysis question: what kinds of intentional activities are used (in text)?
- (3) Identities – in self-expression a specific roll or identity is taken. Discourse analysis question: what kind of identity is ascribed to the others and what kind of identity to oneself?

(4) Relationship – use of language to express the relationship that we have, which we pursue to, in interaction with listeners, readers, other people or groups in communication. Language is used for the creation of social relationships. Discourse analysis question: to which relationship is it pursued?

(5) Politics – language is used to express a perspective of social good. Discourse analysis question: in which perspective is social good shown?

(6) Connections – language is used with a purpose to create connections or relevancy. Discourse analysis questions: how things (phenomenon) are connected or separated; how the relevance between those things is changed?

(7) Sign system and knowledge – there are a lot of different languages and different variations in languages and also communication tools that are not languages. Those different languages, variations of language and tools of communication can be viewed as different sign systems. Discourse analysis questions: which sign system is preferred, which are avoided and what are the different ways to get new knowledge?

(Gee, 2011, pp. 17-20)

To set a coherent view, the latter questions should be asked about following domains:

(1) Situated meaning – words and phrases obtaining particular meaning of context. Context meaning or utterance-meaning can be handled by discourse analysis. Contextual meaning is like a specific device of thinking, which guides us to certain type of questions. (Ibid. pp. 63-64, p. 73)

(2) Social languages – people use specific styles or variations of language for different purposes. (Ibid. p. 28)

(3) Figured worlds – a simplified imagination of the world, which is seen as normal or typical, i.e. a socially or culturally constructed interpretation of some domain that has particular characteristics and recognisable agents, where behavior is described as a specific mean and some outcomes are favorable. (Ibid. p. 71)

(4) Intertextuality – talking or writing connects us to other texts or certain type of texts. (Ibid. p. 29)

(5) Discourses – people create identities and focus their action not only through language, but also through other “things” which are not languages. (Ibid. p. 28)

(6) Conversations – when we talk or write then our words are not only connected to other texts (like stated in intertextuality), but also to other motives, topics and debates, which play important role in our self-expression. (Ibid. p. 29)

The research relies on written texts that simultaneously express different aspects of the world (physical, mental, material) and, at the same time link the social ties of agents to events, values, participations and desires, and also links different parts of a text with the context of situation. The method of CDA is chosen despite the fact that the analytical framework proposed by James Paul Gee is bulky and often only a part of it is used (Lemke, 2007, p. 130). I used this framework on a more general level to get a comprehensive view of the topic concerned, and tested it in full range. Some critical remarks should also be made. Firstly, the full range analysis of CDA is presented at a more general level. Secondly, equating to the knowledge revealed through daily newspaper the Postimees only with the opinion of all citizens is not completely representative and correct.

EMPIRICS

Contextualisation

Estonia has a population of 1,286,479 inhabitants (Statistikaamet, 2014) and a territory of 45,227 km², which is divided into 15 counties, 30 towns and 185 rural municipalities (Estonian Information System's Authority, 2014). As known, Estonia's sovereignty was re-established in 1991 after collapse of the U.S.S.R. Until this time, about half a century, the country was subjected to the Soviet regime. It is important to keep in mind the presumptive impact of the totalitarian regime, which held for a long period to understand the everyday actions of people living in Estonia. In a sense of security, the negative liberty (*liberty* from external restraint),

was the dominating way of action in the early 1990s. It could be roughly said that the criminal situation was characterised by high level of violent crime, but the situation has changed. The level of crimes decreased, and society became less violent (see Saar, 2004; Justiitsministeerium, 2013). A lot of interesting details about the criminal situation could be analysed, but in the context of current research it is enough to mention that the rise of quality of life as well as sense of security is evident (Saar, 2013, pp. 86-91).

Like the criminal situation has changed, Estonia's police have also settled in many ways. At least two important aspects should be noted in perspective of security matters. The first concerns the essence of policing i.e. in what particular way the police act in interactions with other agents in the field of security. In a broad sense, it concerns the principles of governance, which have changed during the transition period from totalitarian to the democratic way of policing – from the police *force* to the police *service*. The second feature related to police action-in-use, in terms of a learning organisation, comes from the organisation and concerns the design of the organisation. In the early 1990s when the government had just been formed and was at the beginning of the process, the growing legal system was ambiguous and mixed the previous principles of the Soviet legal system. The re-established police organisation started with small autonomous police authorities. In 2004 the reform of police came into force, and 17 small autonomous police prefectures were reformed into four regional police prefectures.

Data of the analysis

The functions of the police can be identified from various sources, and selection of sources depends on the purpose and many other factors. As argued above, the vague and inconsistent character of the interaction between the state and the public is inherent to Estonian policy making. There are at least two possible ways to prove this. The instrumental and positivist approach is to analyse the documents that describe and define the sphere of police, like particular laws and other legal regulations. Using this option is simple, but it lacks the ability to display police functions in the general context of the security sector, i.e. it would be too narrow of a focus. Trying to understand the details of police interaction with other agents regarding security issues, it would be sensible to use

indirect data, which has a better chance to expose the functions of the police. That may not be explicated, but are an immanent part of those interactions. So, the source we are looking for should have at least two characteristics; it should be high level enough to embrace the field of security, and it should have a general character that mirrors interactions in the field. For these reasons I looked for policy that conforms to these demands.

There are at least two general policy documents related to security issues in Estonia:

- (1) Main guidelines of Estonia's security policy until 2015 (Riigikogu, 2008), and
- (2) Guidelines for development of criminal policy until 2018 (Riigikogu, 2010).

In addition, I chose Postimees – the biggest daily newspaper in Estonia – as corpus for public opinion analyses during the selected period of 1 January 2013 to 31 December 2013 with the keyword “security”, and received 680 hits in total (see Table 1). Most of the observed articles contained topics which were not related to internal security problems, at least in the context of this article. One reason for that is hidden in the meaning of the word “security”, i.e. the Estonian word “security” often covers the meaning of safety and also the meaning of security that is inherent to different domains. Regarding the appropriate context of the article, I picked out 40 articles for analyse (ref. the code of article A2.47 can be interpreted as follows: “A” symbolizes the newspaper Postimees, “2” signifies February, and “47” signifies the number of the article in the total list of articles from February, 2013).

Table 1. Statistics from Postimees during the period January 1st to December 31st 2013.

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Articles in total with the catchword "security"	57	54	54	64	63	59	60	48	63	53	54	51
Articles chosen for the analyses	3	9	2	6	4	1	5	2	1	1	4	2
Average number of words in the chosen articles	495	462	546	599	338	415	775	693	466	939	420	563
Number of words in the chosen articles in total	1484	4154	1092	3594	1352	415	3875	1386	466	939	1679	1689

Source: the author; the newspaper Postimees in 2013.

Situated meaning

When the Parliament approves a policy, it is important to detect the precise way of utterance, because it may have further influence not only in the frames of Estonian Security Policy (ESP), but also in a wider sense i.e. it may have an influence on the everyday action of public servants, incl. policemen. In the sense of police action in interacting with other agents in the field of security, the ESP exposes superiority. The imperative style is a penetrating characteristic of the ESP, which appears in at least two ways:

(1) Although the ESP emphasizes co-operation as a general tool in developing security, the dichotomy between the government and the "others" is evident:

'p.1 The "Main Guidelines of Estonia's Security Policy Until 2015" specifies the standard principles, vision, directions and long-term effect-based objectives of the security policy. Principles *must be* adhered to, and objectives which *must be* facilitated by the public sector, non-profit sector and the private sector.'

'p.6.1 "Individual responsibility" individuals who have committed a public offence *must* first ward off the threat or make up for the

offence. *Officials must* consider how their resolutions and the measures they apply affect the sense of security and safety.’

[The author’s emphasis]

(2) Surveillance is a desirable form of police action that is supported by the image of the state being omniscient. The state knows what is good for its citizens without asking them. The latter characterizes one-way communication but not co-operation:

‘p.8.1 *The public will be notified* of the places and times where and when people at a risk of falling victim to assault, as well as the individuals’ opportunities to contribute to public security.’

‘p.8.2 *The visibility of the police* as the general law enforcement authority on patrol in public places will be enhanced and *quick response* by police guaranteed.’

[The author’s emphasis]

The clue to better understanding the context in which the ESP was prepared is coming from recent history. The only serious public order and security incident during the period from 1991 took place in April 2007, when displacement of the bronze statue honoring the victims of World War II from the Tallinn city center to the cemetery of the Estonian Defense Forces caused riots lasting two nights. The riots shocked everyone in Estonia, and had a significant influence on the police as well as on the government whose efficiency came into question.

Social languages

As noted by Gee (2011, p. 46) ‘social languages’ and ‘discourses’ are the terms for different things. Social languages express the role of language within a discourse – a discourse is always more than a language. At this point the ESP pervasively expresses the language inherent to government officials or lawyers, which is often associated with some degree of officials. The language-in-use also leads to a closer systematic, accurate, and reasoned state, which attempts to ensure security of its citizens, uses rhetoric of cooperation, and seeks to organise a citizens’ life in the field of security. In a manner that all agents should know who’s the boss. The

state (officials) knows what is best for citizens (e.g. where are unsafe places, what is the “right” way to act, etc.), and although everyone is responsible for his/her safety, there is always the state (e.g. the police) as a Big Brother who is watching you:

‘p. 4 The main guidelines of the *security policy* support implementation of *a modern and standard public order system* which is based on *the rule of law*.’

‘p. 8.3 *The analyse-based patrol work system* will be enhanced in the police authorities, so as to put the resources allocated to *law enforcement* into maximum use in ensuring *public security*.’

‘p. 8.4 *The number of offences* against the person will be reduced, while special attention will be paid to *reducing the number of manslaughters and murders* as well as offences against minors.’

[The author’s emphasis]

Official and legal style are the main characteristics of the social language of ESP. Focusing on *reducing numbers* is inherent to the bureaucratic style of state officials, which may cause manipulations of numbers, and place the police in a dilemma of whether to record the information or not. Separating manslaughter from murders refers strictly to lawyers, even more it leads to lawyers of specific legal systems.

Figured worlds

How can we think about the police in terms of policing? We can identify several different views about the police in different cultures, different governmental systems, different contexts of criminality, etc. The policy regulations express a future desirable vision of the police through the eyes of the state. At the same time, this view of police functions guides and constrains choices in choosing strategies and may also affect the expectations of the police from the side of the other agents in interaction:

‘p. 6.2 ... Public offences cannot be prevented or significantly reduced *by the executive power alone*. ...’

‘p. 8.2 The visibility of the police as the general law enforcement authority on *patrol in public places* will be enhanced and a *quick response to a police emergency* guaranteed.’

‘p. 11.1 The police authorities *will be equipped with an optimum amount of speed measuring equipment and evidential alcohol breathalysers.*

[The author’s emphasis]

Although the ESP emphasizes co-operation as a general approach in the field, the conception of the police as a whole carries the view of a watchman in terms of Wilson (1978).

Intertextuality

The large amount of texts (oral and written) used in everyday communication consist of words and terms that carry different meanings. More so, the different meanings of words can lead to some additional texts. In the context of security and police functions, the ESP holds a broad variety of intertextuality, and here we can give only some of the most evident examples directly related to the topic of security:

‘p.5.1 Security policy – development, improvement and implementation of *legal acts, development plans and activity plans* with the aim of *preventing threats to public order* and in case of a suspected threat, *ascertaining and eliminating them.*’

‘p.6.1 ... Each individual’s *own responsibility and obligation* to increase, by way of *law-abiding behavior*, the safety of the person and those closest to them and to raise their children to *be responsible members of the society* is a top priority. ...’

[The author’s emphasis]

The ESP thus can be characterised by a strong accent to (i) legal rules in a formal sense, but also; (ii) law-abiding behavior and personal responsibility. The policy regulation concentrates on the legality principle. In an instrumental sense it emphasizes the importance of formal legal rules such as laws and other regulations. In a sense of the ESP, the core of any law should be expressed through people’s actions and the legality principle should be the main axis of policing for the police, as well as for other agents in the field of security.

Discourses

As explained above, the central element of a discourse is recognition i.e. the discourse is always more than just any plain written text. In this section I am looking for an answer to the question what are the “other” things that make the policing recognisable, and also characterise the function of the police?:

‘p.6.4 Implementation of social and *circumstance-based preventive measures* for the purpose of ensuring security helps to reduce suffering and is *cheaper and more effective than dealing with the consequences*.’

‘p.8.1 *The public will be notified* of the places and times where and when people are at risk of falling victim to assault, as well as the individuals’ opportunities to contribute to public security.’

‘p.11.1 The police authorities *will be equipped* with an optimum amount of speed measuring ...’

‘p.15.2 *The ability of police authorities* to apprehend traders of stolen goods *will be improved* ...’

[The author’s emphasis]

Although the ESP has a broad view on police functions, the image of the police as the owner of the “right” information concerning security issues is evident. It should be noted repeatedly that the role of prevention is a penetrating characteristic of the ESP. The notion of a progressive, well equipped, and well-educated police force is obviously the desired state. When the purpose of the police could be defined as a democratic end-state satisfying the expectations of a contemporary society, the most desirable police actions can be characterised as coercive and surveillance oriented.

Conversations

Obviously there are various references to other texts, but in general a self-confident attitude of the state in handling prevention issues, a positivist view on security and policing are the dominant characteristics that should be emphasized:

‘p.5.10 Circumstance-based preventive measures – prevention of public offences by way of minimising opportunities and shaping the environment by *rendering public offences less profitable, more dangerous and more complicated.*’

‘p.6.5 ... *Public offences cannot, in perspective, be prevented or significantly reduced by applying single measures. ...*’

[The author’s emphasis]

Interpretation of the idea of prevention is a crucial factor for the police to untangle the essence of police functions. The ESP has an implicit view about prevention as the tool is capable of eradicating public offences. Determination of the prevention constrains choices for the methods of policing, positions the function of the state actors, incl. the police, and puts it into a broad perspective. In the context of the coercive power of the state, incl. the one-way communication constitutes a real challenge in determining a coherent strategy for the police.

Situated meaning

Descriptions of the police by the Postimees are mainly characterised through the action or desired action, where the police are often described as the embodiment of the executive power of the government with a significant degree of coercion:

A1.10 ‘When somebody is *in danger*, he/she calls the police. The child is an exception in the sense he/she cannot *assess the danger* and call the police.’

A1.55 ‘In case of straight violence the *police will take over* dealing with the pupil, ...’

A6.48 ‘Concerning drunk-drivers *the police will be resolute* during the holidays and *take the offenders into custody* to claim for arrest.’

A8.4 ‘... in the case of misusing the seat-belt there will be *harsh penalties* and the *surveillance will be more tight.*’

[The author’s emphasis]

The police have been placed into a context, where they can be used as a tool for some specific purposes (e.g. A1.10; A.1.55; A5.43; A6.48). The role of the police as an expert in security is also noted, but this was expressed mainly through the eyes of the police themselves i.e. the role of a security expert was pronounced through the articles written by the police or in interviews involving the police (e.g. A2.12; A7.10; A.8.2).

Social languages

The articles in Postimees contained quite a broad variety of social languages, which were mostly connected to the authors' background:

A3.24 *'I think that the killing of Varvara took place so-to-say accidentally, it was an unplanned crime.'*

A7.6 *'According to the Police and Border Guard Act the functions of the police are identification and anticipation of a threat endangering public order, ...'*

A12.35 *'In addition to ordinary [police] work, special measures are applied in schools, which are publicly called drug-operations or drug-raids.'*

[The authors' emphasis]

The Postimees captures a wide audience from numerous areas of social languages. I did not identify any clearly dominative social language in the selected area of research. A common feature of the articles was the author-specificity i.e. a lawyer mostly uses the legalistic style of language (e.g. A7.6), and civilians expresses in a manner of daily language (e.g. A3.24). There were also articles in which the author was trying to translate the language used inherent to him/her into everyday language (e.g. A12.35).

Figured worlds

Figured worlds cannot be right or wrong; those worlds are based on theories or models of our minds about what is "normal" or "typical" (Gee, 2011, p. 69). Three features should be highlighted in this section as

follows: (i) Contrary views about the scope of police function (e.g. A1.10; 1.55); (ii) Segregation of the field of security (e.g. A2.2), incl. the idea of the police as the monopoly on security questions (e.g. A11.19), and (iii) The police as a supervisor (e.g. A9.16):

A1.10 ‘When the police should be persuaded *to come to the children* needing help, it is evident that at least in some places and concerning some officials idea of child-protection is not quite clear.’

A2.2 ‘A *Children’s Authority* has to ensure mental and physical safety of the children, the pupil and the staff.’

A9.16 ‘A *police patrol* is not on the streets not only for surveillance, but also as an aid and a mentor to whom the people in traffic may address with questions.’

[The author’s emphasis]

The social language of the figured worlds expressed by different authors may also be different. In general, there is similar understanding about the main function of the police as a supervisor, and then the other functions i.e. aid, protection, etc. come after that.

Intertextuality

In the context of intertextuality the dichotomy between the state and the others, should be noted. In ensuring people’s well-being in terms of security issues, the state’s powerlessness to get direct contacts to every single person, is obvious:

A1.10 ‘*The state cannot ensure* day and night supervision to every juvenile by a policeman and a social worker. It is not thinkable.’

A2.12 ‘... it is important that the Russian community and especially young people could have *the possibility to ask for help and advice* in their native language.’

A7.43 ‘There are *some functions in society which must stay only with the state*. Because laws protect all of us, including criminals.’

[The author’s emphasis]

Discourses

Recognition is probably the word that characterises the essence of discourse most clearly, as explained above. The findings revealed perception about the police as professionals in security, specialised in specific field and holding the mandate of coercive power:

A3.24 ‘Rumors should not be listened to. As a public prosecutor, *I do not have any reproach* to crime scene sketches as well as to the work of crime scene investigators.’

A4.44 ‘More attention should be paid to the sexual abuse of children because sexual offences against children are diffused. Please quickly *inform the police* about the suspicious’ and known incidences ...’

A7.6 ‘Police *patrols responded to incidents and identified possible offenders*. People suspected in the committed crimes were *detained and delivered* to the police station.’

A12.35 ‘The *police action has been focused* on purpose to counteract access to drugs.’

[The author’s emphasis]

Fast response to incidences, coerciveness, surveillance, and a narrow specialisation on crime related problems are the recognisable features characterising the police by the Postimees during the observed period.

Conversations

Analysing the newspaper with the purpose of finding other motives or debates, revealed a punishing function of the police a hint of the police as a supervisor and bureaucrat was evident –

A2.12 ‘A web-constable, a policeman working on the Internet has *mainly the function of responding to incoming information and e-mails* sent by citizens ...’

A6.48 ‘There are more than enough reasons for *rigid and fast punishment* of hazardous drivers’

A7.43 ‘The *police interruption* in the beginning of the career of a thief *may spoil future desires for stealing*. There is no fear to get caught, when the police do not deal with them.’

[The author’s emphasis]

Bureaucracy and a linear link between the police action and the safer future could be emphasised. These keywords lead to the organisational design as well as to the methods of policing. When the bureaucratic mode of action characterises the police, it raises questions about the design of the police organisation. Similarly to the latter, the question about the style or strategy of policing comes into question i.e. what kind of strategy of policing could be characterised by such a direct link between the police action and security?

The police functions, generally speaking, can be split into two distinct traditions – law enforcement and order maintenance, which both characterise different directions in policing. The police organisation uses both functions. Preferences about police functions depend on different occasion’s e.g. criminal situation, design of the police organisation, governmental system of the state, etc. In the context of this research it is important to understand possible influences on police organisation, as well as on society when a gap appears between the established policy and the expectations of society. Therefore, it is necessary to monitor how the policy addresses the society in order to avoid feasible conflicts and to ensure success in implementation. Related to police functions, some similarities and differences were identified, which are discussed above, and summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Functions and images of the police.

	Main guidelines of Estonia's security policy until 2015	Newspaper Postimees
Situated meaning	The imperative mood of the state (including the police) as a penetrating characteristic appeared in at least two ways: (1) despite the emphasizing of co-operation as a general tool in developing security, the dichotomy between the state and "other" is evident; (2) surveillance as a preferable way of police action is supported by the image of the state being omniscient i.e. the state knows what is good for citizens without asking them.	Eclectic and mainly narrow view of police action through single cases, could be highlighted. The police as a fast-responding representative of the power of the state with expectations of strict behaviour was dominating.
Social languages	The language of the state officials or lawyers with some nuance of officialese was pervasive.	Social languages depend on authors background although not always. It cannot be identified as the dominative social language in the selected research area.
Figured worlds	The police as a watchman whose predominant and favouring action-in-use should be characterised by visibility, fast response to emergency calls and an active mood of interaction.	Three futures can be highlighted: 1) contrary views about the scope of police function expressed by authors from different spheres; 2) segregation of the field of security, including the idea of the police as the monopoly of security knowledge; 3) the police as a supervisor.
Intertextuality	The legality principle is dominating. Law-abiding behaviour as well as esteeming of legal acts is a preferred frame of mind.	Financial difficulties and/or neoliberal principles of governance are obvious subtexts. Responsibility of the security issues is biased from the state to citizens. Scanted recourses granted for security were emphasized.
Discourses	A progressive, well-equipped and educated police are desired by the state. Prevention and the police as the occupier of the "right" information are the contrary characteristics of police function.	Fast responses to emergency situations, coerciveness, surveillance and a narrow focus to crime-related problems are the recognisable features characterising the police's action-in-use.
Conversations	Penetrating interpretation of the idea(l) of prevention in a context of coercive power of the state including one way communication is the crucial factor for the police to untangle the essence of the function of policing.	The essence of punishment as a tool of policing, the role and impact of bureaucracy as well as supervision by the police in everyday life were the debates that arose from the analysis.

Source: the author; the Main guidelines of Estonia's security policy until 2015; the newspaper Postimees in 2013.

Appendix. Analysed articles from the newspaper Postimees in 2013.

Sequence	Code of the article			Date of the article	Caption	Word count
	A	1.	10			
1	A	1.	10	05.01.13	Juhtkiri: märkamine ja sekkumine ongi lastekaitse	415
2	A	1.	50	25.01.13	Töösurnade arv vähenes kolmandiku võrra	360
3	A	1.	55	29.01.13	Ministeerium: kooli juhtkonnal on mitmed olulised asjad tegemata jäetud	709
4	A	2.	2	01.02.13	Jürgen Rakaselg: teatud juhtudel võib õpetaja füüsilist jõudu kasutada	1013
5	A	2.	12	06.02.13	Veebikonstaablite rida sai täiendust	359
6	A	2.	21	11.02.13	Politsei võtab raskeveokid suurema tähelepanu alla	311
7	A	2.	27	12.02.13	Politsei: kõrtsi ees ei toimunud kaklus ning see ei väljunud kontrolli alt	346
8	A	2.	39	16.02.13	Eestit tabab noorte kurjategijate põud	399
9	A	2.	43	19.02.13	Kalle Laanet: PPA ühendamisel ei suudetud suurimat riski maandada	451
10	A	2.	50	26.02.13	Vastuseis Priit Kama kandidatuurile püsib	635
11	A	2.	51	26.02.13	Ühispoordumine: Vaher korraldas farsi ja üritab PPA-d politiseerida	250
12	A	2.	52	26.02.13	Endised siseministrid: Kama kaks	390
13	A	3.	11	12.03.13	Juhtkiri: vale tee, õige otsus	404
14	A	3.	24	18.03.13	Uurijad vajavad Varvara tapja leidmiseks veidi õnne	688
15	A	4.	1	01.04.13	Rait Maruste: seadus, mida euroopalik õigusemõistmine ootab	1077
16	A	4.	25	12.04.13	President: riik peab tagama kodanike turvalisuse internetis	298
17	A	4.	35	16.04.13	Ekspert: kindlasti arvestatakse ka Eesti spordiüritustel plahvatuse riskiga	365
18	A	4.	40	18.04.13	Ramon Loik: akadeemia kolimine, raha ja julgeolek	488

19	A	4.	44	19.04.13	Alar Tamm: aeg on astuda pedofiilia vastu konkreetseid samme	1084
20	A	4.	51	24.04.13	Kalev: ohutuse tagamine spordiüritustel tuleb luubi alla võtta	282
21	A	5.	25	14.04.13	Uwe Gnadenteich: jalgratturi kaootiline elu	380
22	A	5.	28	15.05.13	Lauristin: Eesti euroliidu turvalisimate riikide hulka!	307
23	A	5.	43	21.05.13	Tapetu naabrid mures ohutuse pärast	313
24	A	5.	58	29.05.13	Kriisikomisjon: suurürituste turvalisus tekitab muret	352
25	A	6.	48	20.06.13	Tõnu Kürsa: liikluses aitab avariid vältida autojuhi arukus	415
26	A	7.	6	03.07.13	Kalvi Almosen: avalik kord – kelle tagada?	1500
27	A	7.	9	03.07.13	Miilits: mul on põhjust olla nõrduinud	1061
28	A	7.	10	03.07.13	Aas: kriminaalpolitseist peab saama rahvusvaheliselt arvestatav partner	351
29	A	7.	43	24.07.13	Juhtkiri: kui politsei ei tegele, annab ta usalduse käest	401
30	A	7.	50	26.07.13	Politsei audit Lemme peksuööst: abijõud tulnuks kutsuda kiiremini	562
31	A	8.	4	02.08.13	Turvavõõta sõidu eest on tänavu trahvi saanud üle 6000 inimese	264
32	A	8.	18	13.08.13	Leon Glikman: trahviriik	1122
33	A	9.	16	06.09.13	Tõnu Kürsa: tagame üheskoos liiklejate turvalisuse	466
34	A	10.	8	04.10.13	Aivo Adamson: auto sõidab kraavi. Mitte vastupidi	939
35	A	11.	4	02.11.13	Kohus: turvaettevõtte vastutab	461
36	A	11.	19	14.11.13	Kristian Jaani: Bermuda kolmnurk	485
37	A	11.	21	14.11.13	Ginter: mõõdikute vältimiseks on kaks lahendust	397
38	A	11.	34	21.11.13	Juhtkiri: asi ei ole rahas, asi on turvalisuses	336
39	A	12.	35	18.12.13	Kui narkokoer tuleb kooli	625
40	A	12.	44	24.12.13	Politseinikke ja päästjaid ootab uuel aastal palgatõus	501

CONCLUSIONS

The research had two primary purposes – (i) to introduce a text analysing tool that enables hidden meanings of a particular text to be revealed, and (ii) to use this tool with the purpose to find out how people perceive functions of the police, that are outlined in Estonia's security policy. The study was based on two main sources of data: The Main guidelines of Estonia's security policy until 2015, and the newspaper articles from *Postimees*, published during 2013. The period under study and the sources chosen were in order to reveal the police functions that are defined by the state and to compare these functions with people's expectations.

One of the main findings was that the state policy and the public opinion have quite similar understandings about order maintenance function i.e. both perceive the police as the representative of the coercive power of the state, whose action can be characterised by one-way communication. Although both sources revealed the notion of order maintenance function, the public's expectations were significantly biased to law enforcement function. It should be highlighted that the bias to coerciveness, which is a contradictory characteristic to common policing strategies related to order maintenance function (e.g. community policing), and pushes the police closer to more reactive activities, that are inherent to law enforcement strategies of policing.

A legality principle with the acceptance of law-abiding behavior was characterised by the security policy. There was also low support for coercive action compared with public opinion. In some sense it could be understandable, especially from the public's point of view. When the policy expressed a more general view, the newspaper often reflected precise incidents and therefore had a more rigorous character. Similar understandings about the one-way information flow in security questions were probably one of the most surprising conclusions revealed.

The question about prevention was penetrating the line in both texts analysed. The policy interpreted prevention as an all-captured strategy in the field of security and although the public's opinion also emphasized the importance of prevention. It was seen from a different angle and revealed the question with special reference to situational prevention. The policy expressed expectations for social prevention. The gap can be illustrated by the example of people's expectations for more punitive behavior

of the police. Naturally, the punitive behavior should be focused on “bad people”, but the dominant expectation for heavy-handed policing was remarkable.

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INSIGHTS INTO THE PUBLIC DEFENCE SPECIALITY LECTURER'S ROLES:

INSTITUTIONS OF PROFESSIONAL HIGHER
EDUCATION AND THE CONTROVERSIAL
ROLE EXPECTATIONS IN DEVELOPING
THEIR PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

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INTRODUCTION

Most contemporary organisations operate in a dynamic environment with emerging technologies, new business models, shifting customer value requirements, and new competition (Cravens, et al., 2009). This also concerns the field of education. Changes influence the labor needs in organisations which, in turn, affects the educational demands. For that reason, it is crucial that the content of education is up-to-date and of a high quality. It poses high demands on the teaching staff who explicitly contribute to the relevant education (Brew and Boud, 1996). This article focuses on public defense lecturers in the institution of professional higher education, and their roles in contemporary working environments.

Much research has been done on university teaching from the perspective of teachers' approaches (see Samuelowicz and Bain, 1992; 2001; 2002; Kember, 1997; Biggs, 1999; Akerlind, 2003; Kember and Kwan, 2000) but this article strives for further and addresses the insights into the lecturers' roles according to diverse stakeholders. Firstly, it considers the standpoint of a society in general, incl. the previous research in the field and relevant regulations in Estonian education. Then, it looks at expectations of the organisations who are the future employers of students' i.e. internal security institutions such as the police, border guard and rescue. Thirdly, the managers of an educational institution are important stakeholders who directly pose expectations on lecturers' roles, based on their own viewpoints and internal regulations. Finally, the lecturers themselves shape an opinion on their roles as teaching staff.

The existence of several stakeholders may lead to diverse role expectations. When the expectations are controversial, they can have subversive impacts. For instance, it can affect the development of a professional identity. According to Pratt and Foreman (2000), the development of a professional identity starts with the question "Who am I?" and Ibarra (1999) explains that the development process involves the evaluation of external feedback. However, if the feedback is conflicting, it makes it difficult to answer to the aforementioned question and develop ones professional identity as a lecturer. Secondly the potential impacts of contradictory role expectations are a contributor to job stress and reduced satisfaction within the organisation as a whole (Kahn, et al., 1964, p. 65-71). Currently, it is not known which role expectations are posed to public defense specialty lecturers. For that reason, the aim of this article is to

research what are the insights of diverse stakeholders into the specialty lecturers' roles, and which controversial expectations come with these insights. It provides a starting point for future developments in overcoming the potential role conflicts.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The concept of role and role-expectations

The conception of a role is often used to explain the dual relation between self and society (Callero, 1994). Different authors highlight two main approaches, the traditional *functionalist* approach (Linton, 1936; Merton, 1957; Banton, 1965), which emphasizes the determined characteristics of social roles (e.g., acting a role) (Callero, 1994) and the *interactionist* approach (Mead, 1934; Turner, 1962; Ashforth, 2001, p. 4), which focuses on the creative freedom of an individual (e.g., designing a role) (Callero, 1994). The roles may also be seen as conceptual resources that enable access to social, cultural, and material capital in order to achieve one's own interests. Roles afford their holders an opportunity to create new positions and build social structures (Hilbert, 1981; Baker and Faulkner, 1991; Callero, 1994; Collier and Callero, 2005). Katz and Kahn (1966, p. 171) consider role as a set of requirements with which systems guide their members. In other words, a role provides a set of social expectations or normative behaviors, which are determined by requirements connected with the social situation, position, or status (Banton, 1965, p. 18; Simpson and Carroll, 2008).

Though Katz and Kahn (1966, p. 182; p. 186) connect role with the principles established by an organisation, they add that a person's own role cognition and motivation to meet the expectations of the organisation are important as well. As a result, this person either accepts the acquired role or not. Ashforth (2001, p. 4) goes further, suggesting that the content of a role is negotiable. Ashforth et al. (2000) also find that roles have certain *boundaries* and nature i.e. *role identity*. Taking a role relates to the *role expectations*, which consist of privileges, tasks, and obligations. These are peculiar to every holder of a social position and represent expected behaviors that are regarded in relation to those who possess other positions in social structures (Katz and Kahn, 1966, p. 175). Kyöstio (1968, p. 24) focused his research on lecturers' role expectations, seeing

expectations in a similar meaning with *attitudes*, *opinions*, and *conceptions*. The role holder creates the patterns of behavior according to the formal, informal and self-established role expectations. McKenna (2012, p. 329-330) describes three aspects of a work role: (i) expected (e.g. formally by job descriptions, informally by unwritten rules), (ii) perceived (i.e. self-established role expectations), and (iii) enacted role (actual behavior).

The role in professional identity and model of role perceptions

The aforementioned authors underlie much about role behavior. At the same time, roles also pass on the meaning formed in mutual relationships, which is an important factor in building identity. Role identity involves concrete goals, values, beliefs, norms, and behavioral styles. Role identity can also be used quite spontaneously by the members of an organisation being a reflection of a person's own practice and experiences (Simpson and Carroll, 2008). In Sarv's opinion (2013, p. 10-11), a certain part of an individual's identity is formed by his or her own professional identity, the development of which is connected with his or her professional roles. Which roles will be integrated into professional identity depends upon the interaction with the surrounding interest groups. Through this, an individual perceives his or her role expectations. In the center of identity formation is reflection, during which identity can be adopted. Or, if the symbols that have been inlaid by interaction are found not acceptable, they are expelled.

Professional identity is thus the individual's self-definition in carrying a certain professional role, and this can be also identified with *professional role identity* (Creim, et al., 2007). The development of an individual's role identity starts with stepping into a concrete role (Creim, et al., 2007) and asking the so-called basic question "Who am I?" (Kreiner, et al., 2006a; 2006b; Pratt, et al., 2000). Ibarra (1999) sees professional identity as an individual's determination credible with main *role-set* members, and corresponding with one's self-concept. Ibarra (1999) also claims that people adapt to new professional roles by experimenting with different images. This can be seen as an attempt to move towards a possible professional identity. These are temporary images that people apply to handle the gap between their current self-image and the vision they have about their new role. The first stages in the development process of

identity involve observing a role model, provisional self-experimenting, and evaluating the results based on internal standards and external feedback. Trede (2012) states that identity is established when persons are able to bring out the reasons for their activity and the development of professional identity is strongly connected with the study process at the workstation. Also Reid et al. (2008), who studied the development of professional identity among students, found that the base for this development is firstly the relation between learning experience and participation in professional work life during the studies.

Neale and Griffin (2006) present a model of role perceptions which involves role holders' conceptions of a certain role and a description how these conceptions influence a persons' professional behavior. They identify three components which are: *system requirements* (job descriptions, procedure manuals, and other manuals), pre-existing *role schemas* (which in role takers' opinions define certain role behavior in the broader society) and an individual's *self-concept* leading to a self-congruent behavior – salient qualities that guide cognition about the self at that time. The model suggests that a specific behaviour can involve one or more components, as shown in Table 1 (Neale and Griffin, 2006). Behaviours in position 1 incorporate all three components which all reflect similar beliefs that conflicting expectations do not exist. For example, „a police officer enforcing a law that she believes is typically enforced by police officers and that she personally believes in, that is required by the police to be enforced.“ (Neale and Griffin, 2006). To give an another example, behaviour in position 2 may be a police officer who has a definite image of his role in society (*role schema*). Who accepts the demands of the organisation (system requirements), but is not able to use a gun against another person even when the situation requires it, because it would be against his beliefs (contradiction with self-concept). As a third example, position 7 represents behaviours that are generally in accordance with the role schema, but these are not demanded by the organisation, and actions are not consistent with the self-concept. (Ibid.) The role schema expects a lecturer to do research work in addition to teaching, but the organisation does not demand this, nor does the individual feel a need for this.

Table 1. Position numbers of Behaviours within the Role Model (adopted from Neale and Griffin, 2006).

Nr.	Included Role Components
1	Self-concept; System requirements; Role schema
2	System requirements; Role schema
3	System requirements; Self-concept
4	Self-concept; Role schema
5	System requirements
6	Self-concept
7	Role schema

Lecturer's role-expectations and its controversies

A good teacher can be defined as someone who helps students in their learning process, and who contributes to this in a number of ways. The teacher's role goes well beyond information giving, with the teacher having many key roles to play in the education process (Harden and Crosby, 2000; Shuell, 1986). With reference to McKenna's (2012, p. 328-329) work role aspects (i.e. expected, perceived and enacted role), "expected role" of the lecturer includes formal organisational rules and procedures, whereas the informal expected role of the lecturer is linked to the general expectation to motivate students and help them to become "active learners". The "Perceived role" of a lecturer is closely connected to his or her beliefs on teaching/learning and could be teacher-centered (focus is on the content to be taught) or student-centered (emphasis on the learning process). The third aspect of the work role is the "enacted" role in which lecturers, who use a teacher-centered approach, are more likely to use activities to providing information, transmit structured knowledge, etc. Those who view teaching as facilitating conceptual change in their students, are more focused on student-lecturer communication, facilitating students' personal development and change. (see Samuelowicz

and Bain, 1992; 2001; 2002; Trigwell and Prosser, 1996; Kember, 1997; Trigwell, et al., 1999; Biggs, 1999; Kember and Kwan, 2000; Akerlind, 2003). Nevertheless, the activities of both orientations exist together and form an interactive role-set. Student-related factors such as change and learning strategies exist in line with teaching-related factors such as the curriculum, methods of teaching and assessing. (Biggs, 1999)

According to Harden and Crosby (2000), there are 12 roles of a good teacher in 6 activity areas (see Table 2). All the sub-roles affect one another and create the diverse role of a lecturer. In addition, Karm and Remmik (2013) state that research is expected from lecturers within a modern academic organisation.

Table 2. Roles of the lecturer (adopted from Harden and Crosby, 2000).

Role	Role expectations
Information provider • Classroom lecturer • Practical teacher	Passing on knowledge and information (classroom teacher). Selecting, organising and delivering relevant information and practical knowledge (practical teacher such as a police officer).
Resource developer • Resource material creator • Study guide producer	Assisting students in their learning process. Identifying the best resources available and directing students to use these materials. Producing clear and understandable written guidelines for the students.
Role model • On-the-job role model • Role model as a teacher	Representing the values, attitudes and behaviour of a certain profession (e.g., rescue officers) and transmitting them to students. As a leader, being passionate, organised, knowledgeable and accessible. (Richards, 2012)
Facilitator • Learning facilitator • Mentor	Encouraging and facilitating the students' self-learning activities and creating an atmosphere in which open discussion and exchange of knowledge can take place. As a mentor, helping to cope with academic demands and enhancing the students' academic success (Campbell and Campbell, 2000).
Assessor • Student assessor • Curriculum assessor	Having in-depth knowledge and understanding of the assessment field, providing accurate feedback on student's progress. Monitoring and evaluating the educational programmes to assess the effectiveness of the whole educational process. Recognises his/her own responsibility and being able to assess his/her performance.
Planner • The curriculum planner role • The course planner	Making a contribution to curriculum development and course planning. Knowing how to plan the course which achieves the desired learning outcomes.

The work role of a lecturer is very complex, comprising of different social and organisational expectations. Holding multiple roles is a normal phenomenon in society, which requires a continuous conformation of the activities in the frames of these roles (Marks and MacDermid, 1996). Marginson and Bui (2009) deal with multiple role expectations in connection with potential human cost. They find that when we present people with contradictory or exclusive role expectations (e.g., innovation and inspection) at the same time, it may cause role conflict and a decline in results. Several job stress studies of university teachers have indicated that there are certain aspects of a lecturer's job that cause them more stress such as an intense workload, uncertain tenure, temporary contracts, time pressure, working conditions, interpersonal communication, demanding requirements, and student misbehavior. (see Salami, 2011; Sliškovac and Seršić, 2011; Meng and Guo, 2012; Paton, 2013).

Role theory describes two aspects of role stress, role conflict and role ambiguity. *Role conflict* arises when a person feels that there are very different or contradictory expectations he or she must fulfil. This is the case when the role holder perceives that if he or she fulfils one set of expectations, he or she might fail in another set of expectations. *Role ambiguity* occurs due to the lack of clarity about the demands and requirements of the work role, insufficient or contradictory information from different role senders. (see Kahn, et al., 1964, p.55-94; Rizzo, et al., 1970; Siegall and Cummings, 1986; Peterson, et al., 1995; Valentine, et al., 2010; Lawrence and Kacmar, 2012; McKenna, 2012, p. 329) To avoid role conflict and ambiguity of teachers, it is critical to pursue the task clarity of the staff, especially for new teachers (Fatima and Rehman, 2012), who need to change their perceptions of a role when moving to another, which according to Niessen et al. (2010), may be difficult. In particular, they may be so emotionally attached to the past work role that it has a negative influence on the learning and fit with the new work role.

Moreover, organisations need to promote a teacher's self-development and understanding of learning, to avoid role conflict and ambiguity. (Akerlind, 2003) Role ambiguity and conflict should not last for too long because role stress might induce psychological defense mechanisms (Zurher, et al., 1966), which cause withdrawal, frustration, low work productivity, reduction in communication, as well as increased interpersonal conflict. The negative impacts of role stress can be mitigated by several organisational interventions such as developing conflict

management skills, empowerment, job redesign, induction and socialisation programs, etc. (see Kahn, et al., 1964, p.65-71; Rizzo, et al., 1970; Miles, 1976; Siegall and Cummings, 1986; Singh, et al., 1996; Onyemah, 2008; Valentine, et al., 2010; Lawrence and Kacmar, 2012; McKenna, 2012, p.330).

METHODOLOGY

This research applied a cross-sectional qualitative research design. The *multi-method* approach was used. Firstly, a literature study was conducted to analyse the role expectations of lecturers based on theoretical frameworks. Secondly, documentary analysis was conducted to investigate lecturer's role expectations in the Institution of Professional Higher Education and by society, in general. Face-to-face interviews were the third and the main method for gaining data. Nevertheless, this research used interviews, which were carried out for another larger study, to develop a specialty lecturers' career and rotation system in the field of Estonian internal security (Valk, et al., 2014). Because the latter gained, among others things in-depth data insights into specialty lecturer's roles, which were not analysed during that study, however the raw data was suitable for the purposes of this article.

The data allowed the possibility to delve into specific issues and understand the causes and people's views, which is an important aspect in conducting interviews (Flick, 2009, p. 152; Silverman, 2005, p. 95). A total of 52 semi-structured in-depth interviews with four different target groups were conducted in the framework of the study¹. Although the participation was voluntary, the majority of the experts gave their agreement. Multiple perspectives were applied in the study sample by conducting interviews with diverse stakeholders (see Table 3 for more detailed description):

- (1) *Specialty lecturers* working full-time in an institution of professional higher education in the field of internal security. The prerequisite for employment as a specialty lecturer is professional experience in the field of internal security and teaching of the specialty subjects in the field of study;

¹ Interviewers were Anne Valk, Mairit Kratovitš, Triin Roosve, Mari Käbi (Estonian Academy of Security Sciences (EASS) Center for Legal and Social Sciences), Shvea Järvet (EASS Institute for Internal Security), Elina Orumaa (EASS Personnel Development Department).

- (2) *Non-staff specialty lecturers*, who aside from their regular job in the internal security field, teach in the institution of professional higher education single specialty subject courses;
- (3) *Managers of specialty lecturers*, or directors of colleges as well as heads of chairs;
- (4) *Heads of the boards* of the field of internal security, whom the institution of professional education trains the workforce.

Table 3. Study sample.

Description		The nr of interviewees, N= 52
Interview target groups	Specialty lecturers	12
	Non-staff specialty lecturers	12
	Managers of specialty lecturers	14
	Heads of Boards	14
Gender	Male	35
	Female	17
Field of work	Police	25
	Border guard	7
	Rescue	15
	Ministry	2
	Personnel expert	3
Education	Higher education	17
	Master's degree	33
	Doctorate	2
Length of service in the field of internal security	1-10 years	8
	11-15 years	14
	16-20 years	14
	More than 21 years	16
Length of service as a lecturer	1- 2 years	14
	3-5 years	10
	6-10 years	12
	11 and more years	8
	None	8

Before conducting the interviews, the principles of interviewing were agreed upon by the interviewers. Also, pilot interviews with two representatives of each target group, together with 2-3 observers (later interviewers) took place. After the pilot interviews were carried out, discussions took place, specifying the research instrument and once again the

principles of the interviews were discussed. All the interviews carried out were transcribed by each person carrying out the study. When analysing the data, qualitative content analysis was performed by one person carrying out the study (Saldana, 2009, p. 47). With the software NVivo creating the categories and codes elucidated and revealed in the interview texts, in accordance with the research questions and linking the interview texts with socio-demographic data in the classification section (Bazeley, 2013, p. 131-150). The data was analysed based on Neale and Griffin (2006) Role Perceptions Model, introduced in the theoretical framework. The model introduced three role components as (i) self-concept, (ii) system requirements, and (iii) role schema. In this research, the self-concept consists of specialty and non-staff specialty lecturers'. Insights into the lecturer's roles based on the interviews; system requirements consist of managers opinions derived from the interviews and the organisational requirements derived from diverse documents (e.g. laws applicable to the organisation, organisational strategy, internal regulations); role schema consists of the perceptions of heads of the boards, results derived from documentary analysis and a theoretical view of lecturer's role expectations (e.g., Harden and Crosby (2000) roles for the *good teacher*).

RESULTS

The results of the study are represented according to the Neale and Griffin (2006) Role Perceptions Model (see Table 1). The results indicate the insights of study respondents, document analysis and theoretical perspectives into the specialty lecturers' role and the controversial role expectations.

Position 1

Several roles were perceived to be important for specialty lecturer's by all three role components, in this case by the organisation, lecturer themselves as well as broader society. Firstly, there is a consensus that a specialty lecturer's role is to be the **teacher of a professional subject in the field of internal security**. Respondents claimed that not only the mediation of internal security knowledge is important here, but also mastering the teaching methods and pedagogical skills:

“... If a person does not have the ability to transfer knowledge, they can be so smart that they glitter at night, but it is of no use.” (The Head of a Board).

The second important role of specialty lecturers is to be a **student supervisor**. However, there was a slight difference in opinion between the heads of the boards and other respondents. The heads of the boards emphasized that it is more important for lecturers to supervise the internships than to supervise the academic work. Inversely, other respondents put an emphasis on the supervision associated with academic work such as course papers and theses, only after that was the supervision of internships in the field of internal security mentioned. Thirdly, all target groups highlighted that a specialty lecturer's role is to **be an expert or a practitioner in the field of internal security**. Most participants stressed that a specialty lecturer should have a very good and up-to-date knowledge of internal security and use this knowledge for the benefit of internal security field development.

“... the most important would still be his professional experience in the job ... the person who has worked for the organisation for 15–20 years, those people have the price of gold to us ...” (Manager of Specialty Lecturer)

Nevertheless, respondents admitted in the study that working in an academic organisation, professional knowledge and skills quickly become obsolete, as lecturers' do not have everyday work practice in the internal security field. Finally, all respondents brought out the need for **constant self-development** and emphasized that specialty lecturers should be well-educated people with increased demand on education, intelligence, language skills, etc.

Position 2

The results of the study also pointed out these roles, which are demanded by the organisation and considered typical of role-holders, but are in conflict with some lecturers' self-image. Firstly, the theoretical propositions and organisational document analysis proposed that one role of a lecturer is to be a **researcher**. In contrast, the interviews revealed that many specialty lecturers have not embraced the role of a researcher. However, this standpoint was not claimed by all lecturers. The

respondents differed in teaching focus (practical vs theoretical). It was found that the researcher role is in conflict, in particular, with the self-image of the specialty lecturers who teach practical subjects. They do not understand how to reconcile the contradictory roles – internal security specialty expert or practitioner and a researcher. –

“... Then again, I do not understand how I can do this science. I still have not figured it out...” (Specialty Lecturer)

Secondly, the results show that an organisation and a society support a lecturers' role as a **study planner**, which contradicts with a number of non-staff lecturers, who do not perceive their role in it. One part of study planning is to think through the entire subject course and compose a study guide which consists of the topics covered, compulsory literature, evaluation methods, requirements, deadlines etc. However, non-staff specialty lecturers, who are experts working in the boards and come to conduct single specialist subject courses, see that this role should be fulfilled for them by the people working in the academic organisation.

“... There cannot be such an event that the academic assistant sends a blank page or a table and wants it to be filled out by a certain date. I cannot understand that...” (The Head of a Board; at the same time non-staff lecturer)

Thirdly, the organisation requires and society supports a lecturer's role as a **curriculum assessor**, representing self-analysis and evaluation. Nevertheless, the survey results showed that in many cases, the specialty lecturer does not understand the importance of the role. It is considered more as a requirement to get a salary raise, rather than an opportunity to analyse one's performance and make decisions towards further development.

Position 3

This part represents a role that is demanded by the organisation and matches with the specialty lecturer's self-concept, but is not typically expected from the role-holders generally. The study showed the role of

a specialty lecturer as a **uniform wearer**. A specialty lecturer wears the uniform of a police or a rescue officer when carrying out their main work on a daily basis. For example, the organisation requires that when giving lectures the specialty lecturer must wear the uniform correctly and properly. This requirement is consistent with the self-image of the uniform wearer, because he or she is accustomed to that when performing his or her practical work in the field of internal security. However, this role is not considered typical for the bearer of the lecturer role in academic organisations.

Position 4

One specialty lecturer's role was found, which is consistent with the self-concept and is believed to be typical of role-holders, but which is not demanded by the organisation – the role of a specialty lecturer as a **facilitator**. This role is consistent with the self-image of specialty lecturers who value it and are happy to bear this role. The theoretical propositions also propose a facilitator's role and also the heads of boards make it clear that there is a need to perform this role. The role of a facilitator is expected to provide substantial support and guidance to learners, teaching learning, formation of values, etc. The heads of several boards think this role could be jointly borne by non-staff and staff lecturers. Each course should have its own mentor from among the uniform bearers. The contradiction here is that substantial mentoring is not required by the organisation from the specialty lecturer and it is also not pointed out by the managers of specialty lecturers. –

“This is what the institution of higher education has not yet done, in order to involve the board through mentoring. Where every group would have their own tutor from the board who will communicate with them on a regular basis and as a so-called spiritual leader and teacher, who will explain things in various academic and non-academic forms.” (The Head of the board)

Position 5

This part represents the role, which is demanded by the organisation, but which is not considered as typical for role-holders and does not match

the self-concept. In particular, the organisation demands specialty lecturers to act as **universal person**, bearing different roles simultaneously and at the same high level. The specialty lecturer is expected to be a universal solution for all goals and equally good as a lecturer of formal education and continuous education. Contributing as a; researcher, supervisor of academic work and internships, internal security expert as well as a willing to cooperate in these respects, both nationally and internationally. As a rule, the lecturers admitted that they have embraced a couple of roles depending on their personality type and interests and they bear other roles reluctantly or discard them.

Position 6

The current position represents the role which matches the lecturers' self-image, but which is not demanded either from the organisation nor the role schema. It was found that specialty lecturers value the role of a **cooperation partner** in their own field. In particular, they consider an important role of a lecturer is to discuss and consult with other lecturers or practitioners in their topic or field of expertise. However, the results showed that when working at a higher education institution, they no longer have a community with whom to discuss professional issues in the field of internal security. Also the organisation does not directly require that. It creates confusion among the specialty lecturers who work in an academic organisation in which one must constantly pass on their professional knowledge, at the same time there are no colleagues of the field with whom to discuss and consult. Often, the network of specialty lecturer is rather formed of former co-workers, classmates from college and non-staff lecturers as specialty experts and not as other staff specialty lecturers.

Position 7

The results were not very strong regarding the position which is typically expected from role-holders, but not specifically demanded by the organisation and not consistent with the self-image. The survey revealed that as a rule, it is generally regarded that it is inherent for lecturers to be active **working group participants** in their area of specialty. While this practice is encouraged, it is not directly required from teaching staff

by the institution of higher education. It is also not required directly by heads of boards, although they express their sympathy to the fact that faculty members participate in professional work groups. Several specialty lecturers themselves bring out that, even though they are interested in the professional and specialised working groups. Unfortunately, they do not have the time to contribute to those and they feel that they often do not want to take that role. To conclude, the results of the research are summarised in Table 4.

Table 4. The research results.

Nr.	Included role components	Role of a specialty lecturer
1	A self-concept System requirements Role schema	Teacher of professional subjects in the field of internal security Student supervisor Expert or practitioner in the field of internal security Constant self-developer
2	System requirements Role schema	Researcher Study planner Curriculum assessor
3	System requirements Self-concept	Uniform wearer
4	Self-concept Role schema	Facilitator
5	System requirements	Universal person
6	Self-concept	Cooperation partner
7	Role schema	Working group participant

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the study was to investigate the insights into lecturers' roles according to diverse stakeholders and the existence of controversial expectations regarding these roles. Several implications can be made according to the research results. Firstly, it can be concluded that the role expectations of contemporary lecturers are far from solely being an information provider, a finding which is consistent with theoretical

propositions. However, the resulted roles complement the previous research with some new insights into the roles. Lecturers have many roles to play in the education process, requiring diverse knowledge and skills. The research revealed that very often lecturers have to engage in diverse roles at the same time, making it difficult to switch between these roles and leading to a situation in which lecturers discard the roles they believe less in.

However, it was explained that not all roles are seen to be important by stakeholders. In particular, the eight roles from position 2 to 7 imply that they are not considered important either by one or two role components. This finding calls for caution as it shows controversial expectations to specialty lecturers' roles, which according to the theoretical framework, can lead to role conflicts and ambiguity, affecting job performance, job stress, interpersonal relationships, withdrawal, etc. The controversies can also affect development of a professional identity as a lecturer. As the identity develops due to interaction with diverse stakeholders, the controversial role expectations make it more difficult to take on the necessary identity. The results showed that the controversies ensued often from the mismatches between self-concept and an organisation or society. It can characterise that the full professional identity of a lecturer has not yet been adopted by many study respondents, e.g. being a researcher and a curriculum assessor. This may be peculiar to specialty lecturers in the field of internal security. As lecturers have usually come from internal security authorities i.e. being practitioners and uniformed officers and they may be emotionally attached to that work role, it may also influence the fit with the new role.

Recalling the theory on student-centered *vs* teaching-centered roles, it was also found that all the target groups emphasized teaching and the roles related to teaching. Less was said about learning and the roles necessary to support the learning process. This refers that a lecturers' work relates to different target groups more than to being teacher or student-centered. The practical implications of the research, mainly consider overcoming the controversial role insights. For instance, non-staff lecturers were required to take on a study planner role although the lecturers themselves did not see their role in it. The literature states that professional identity develops during mutual relationships and the results showed at the same time, that non-staff lecturers do not have many opportunities to cooperate with permanent specialty lecturers, who value

more the study planning process. This implies that there is a lack of mutual relationships where non-staff lecturers can see the value of a study planner role. Therefore an increase in cooperation can be a solution to overcome the controversies in the “study planner” and “cooperation partner” roles. This can be emphasized more by the organisation and society. Although the educational institutions can derive several possible practical solutions to the contingencies, it raises a suggestion for future research to focus on possible empirically tested solutions to overcome the contradictory lecturer's role expectations.

Several research limitations need to be highlighted. First, the survey used interviews from another research carried out by the same authors as it provided highly relevant and rich material to be discussed in two articles. Even though the content of the interviews was suitable for achieving the aim of this article, the results might have been somewhat different if the interviews would have been conducted only for the aim of this research. This is because the interviews covered several topics and the interviewees might have put more emphasis on other topics than the ones which dealt namely with lecturer's roles. Nevertheless, as the research instrument was also constructed by the authors of the article, they confirm that the research questions raised can be answered. Another limitation is that multiple interviewers conducted the interviews allowing for some subjectivity and diversification in asking interview questions. This risk was lowered by several discussions on consistent interviewing styles and pilot interviews, where other interviewers also participated, before the actual interviews.

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TEACHING LAW ENFORCEMENT ENGLISH VOCABULARY WITH ALTERNATIVE SOURCES

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Keywords: law enforcement jargon, non-conventional sources,
integrated learning

INTRODUCTION

Teaching a language for special purposes involves the acquisition of linguistic competences as well as cross-cultural and professional communication skills (see Hutchinson and Waters, 1987). This is particularly visible in course books, which are used as the primary means of learning. They are guided by strict methodical rules, which commonly reject non-conventional sources and lexicon. Acknowledging and carefully exploiting such sources in teaching varieties of languages may substantially support and enrich the professional learning context.

There are several research hypotheses supporting this approach, illustrated here in the case of Law Enforcement English (LEE) as one of the newest sociolects. Firstly, a great stylistic diversity is acknowledged in LEE, according to recent research (see Chersan, 2010). Secondly, this diversity is reflected in various sources from formal codes and regulations to police jargon and criminal talk, whose availability and accessibility are a prerequisite for learning. While course books do some of the job, it is also true that non-conventional sources may expand the learning context. Finally, such resources, both linguistic and fictional, may set the base for integrated language learning (McDonough and Shaw, 1993). These issues will be approached and balanced against the previously mentioned conventional approach.

COURSE BOOKS AND ALTERNATIVE SOURCES

Course books, as the main didactic tools used by teachers, have some acknowledged advantages. They very often shape both the course syllabus and methodology using standardised and approved materials to also standardise teaching and learning. This maintains quality based on months or years of research, feedback and revision, foster paced learning and refer to past as well as future learning contents (O'Neill, 1982). Equally importantly, using course books has some potential advantages (e.g. Boyle and Chersan, 2009). They may be specifically designed or at least suitable for students' needs and may be provided in a diversity of learning resources (workbooks, CD-s). They are or should be practical – well presented, inexpensive, visually appealing, adapted to stimulate interaction and suitable for various teaching and learning styles (cf. Sheldon, 1988).

However course books may not always be teacher-friendly, as they may not reflect students' needs. They also should not be used to build the content of a language program, as they may contain inauthentic language to incorporate teaching points. They may also lack variety, flexibility and spontaneity. At the same time, commercially available course books are expensive, students sometimes refuse the statute of "captive learners" and teachers may feel deskilled (Cunningsworth, 1995). The described situation opens the door to a diversified approach towards language resources, namely adapting and supplementing course books. This is mainly to reflect changing needs of learners and society, but also to bring in authentic, unaltered language. To expose learners to real contexts of use, to involve learners in shaping their education, as well as to involve teachers creatively in research and design.

EMPIRICS AND FINDINGS

Law Enforcement English as a complex variety of English

Law Enforcement English is a newly acknowledged specialised lexicon (see Chersan, 2010). It shares the characteristics of other functional varieties of the language, and displays more complexity. As the most developed and marked trait of a specialised discourse is the lexicon (Gotti, 2003), I will briefly have a look at what makes LEE similar to other specialised lexicons. Firstly, it displays monoreferentiality (as in *ARV, stab vest, autopsy, blotter, inebriation, petty constable*); denotative function (*MET, interrogate suspects, involuntary manslaughter*); referential precision (*luminal, tracer, cuffs, truncheon*); and conciseness (*breathaliser, MET, PACE, GSR, juvenile*). However, LEE shows various lexical strata, which is less common for a specialised vocabulary. If we view styles as "varieties of language viewed from the point of view of formality" (Trudgill, 1995, p. 49), LEE is seen as a complex variety as it reflects specific police activities, viewed according to participants and contexts; practitioners, lay people, the media, social class and educational background and their relation with law and order. These findings are synthesized in Figure 1 below.

	Written documents	Spoken policing			Media		Victims/Witnesses discourse	Criminals' talk
		Briefings Interviews	Radio patrol	Informal talk	News Documentaries	Films Series		
Academic	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
Jargon	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Familiar	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
Colloquial	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
Slang	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
Clichés	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+

Figure 1. Lexical strata and source of LEE.

The following are some examples of lexical strata in LEE (cf. Crystal, 1990) colloquial language; *to feel someone's collar* (to arrest someone), *to be caught red-handed/on the job*, *to put someone inside* (send to prison), *to cook the books*, *in cold blood*, *in hot pursuit*, *cold turkey* (the unpleasant effects after ceasing to take drugs). Standard phrases such as the caution "You have the right to remain silent. But it may harm your defense if you do not mention when questioned something which you later rely on in court. Anything you do say may be given in evidence". Jargon such as; *to beat the streets*, *to conduct a crime scene examination*, *to do the fingerprints match*, *to do a high-risk vehicle stop*, *to make a positive ID on somebody*, *to put an APB on a suspect*, *to take into custody*, *to view an identification parade*. Codes and acronyms, incl. slang; *Black Maria* (police van), *pedigree man* (repeat offender), *dry bath* (skin search), *sleeping policeman* (speed bump), *five-finger discount* (shoplifting), *handshake* (bribe), *to play the piano* (to be fingerprinted), *lead poisoning* (killing by shooting).

A classic example of the variety of LEE is the list of police officer terms. Below (see Figure 2) is a selection of the terms associated with police officers, summing both social and diachronic varieties. From archaisms to neologisms and from slang to official nomenclature (compiled from Ayto, 2003; Partridge, 1996; Gooch and Williams, 2007; Kipfer, 2007; McArthur, 1991). This shows that oral forms of LEE are frequently

influenced by language dialects, which creates a colorful lexis and rich synonymy.

Bobby	Dick	Knocker-up	Police	Sowar
Bluebottle	Flat foot /	Knickers	Policewoman /	Shoofly
Bogey	Splayfoot	Lollipop lady	Matron	Speed cop
Border warren	Flattie	Mug	Police	Sheriff
Bow Street	Flat-footed	Mug john	lieutenant	Splay foot
Runner	Flat feet	Meter maid /	Paddy	Splay-foot
Body-guard	Fuzz	Lady	Portreeve	Trap
Beadle	Gendarme	Nark / narc	Posse comitatus	Tail
Bull	Guard	Patrolman	Plainclothesman	Thief taker
Busy	Grass /	Peace officer	Officer	Trooper
Constable	Grasshopper	Peeler	Old Bill	The Sweeney
Cop	Gumshoe	Peon	Rozzer	The force
Copper	Hawkshaw	Pig	Runner	The rank
Care-taker	Jemadar	Pointsman	Shamus	Warder
Detective	Jack	Police officer	Slop	Warden
Dogberry	Keeper	Policeman	Sentry	Watchman

Figure 2. Police officer terms (alphabetic order).

From the point of view of discourse, functional varieties may define specific genres, such as the law for Legal English. However, unlike in the domain of law, texts are not likely to be the main instrument and object of law enforcement. Below (see Figure 3) is a typical operational radio conversation, for a mere illustration of words used in context. Beyond the communications purpose and act of the speech in itself, the focus is on the technical police vocabulary, and its relevance as a sample of ciphred language. It's decoding into general English makes it more accessible to lay persons, but does not serve the principles of economy and precision that characterise technical languages.

The radio snippet is a concise conversation between a dispatcher and a police officer on duty about a new assignment, consisting of a description of a suspect, his charge, and circumstances involved. The participants share a common understanding of the codes (*code five* stands for 'wanted person'; *go ahead* is an acknowledgement; *copy* reflects understanding) and the specific choice of words (*disturbance* for 'violence'; *juveniles* for 'children'), usually neologisms which have not developed as much polysemy as their counterparts throughout time are used to avoid unnecessary confusion.

Genuine radio communication	'Translation' into General English
Dispatcher: Adam Twelve code five. Adam Twelve: Twelve, code five, go ahead.	Dispatcher: To police officer Adam (Nixon): We have a person with a warrant. Adam: Adam here. I understand we have a wanted person. Communicate.
D: I'm showing a warrant on your party, Doe, John, date of birth three five of sixty, showing physical as male, Caucasian, six foot, two-eighty, blond and blue, break—	D: I'm sending you the warrant on your person, John Doe, date of birth 3 May 1960, described as a white male, 6 feet tall (1.80m), weight 280 pounds (125 kg), blond hair, blue eyes...
AT: Go ahead.	A: Go ahead.
D: Out of Birmingham, failure to appear on domestic disturbance. Two juveniles involved. Thousand pounds bail, break—	D: He is from Birmingham, where he didn't appear in court when charged with domestic violence. Two children are involved. He posted a £1,000 bail...
AT: Copy. I'm on route.	A: I understand. I'm on my way (to get him).

Figure 3. Police talk 'translated' into General English.

(from <http://www.hodrw.com/cop1.htm>)

Non-conventional LEE sources

To support the vast array of diastatic varieties in LEE teaching, the following alternative sources have been identified: linguistic such as corpora, mind maps, concordances, timelines, thesauri, indexes, other dictionaries, subject-matter books, fictional literature such as (detective fiction), films, television, and games. The following explains and illustrates all these, and shows ways to exploit them in a teaching context.

Linguistic sources for LEE

Corpora are extensive sources for language learning. Generally defined as a collection of written or spoken utterances with applications in theoretical linguistics, lexicography, second language acquisition and translation, a corpus has many advantages as it contains authentic data, provides quantification, context, and is mostly unbiased. However, a ready-made corpus may not be representative or relevant for the language

teaching purpose, as it is always incomplete and sometimes not reliable, depending on the sources. Despite its drawbacks, corpora have many potential uses in the classroom. One example is the British National Corpus (see BNC: <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/>). Easily accessible and user-friendly, the BNC provides synchronic contexts of use for almost all the words, including the police-related ones. The snippet below is part of the first page of 50 findings out of 3.200 for the keyword *POLICE*:

A34 6 In Dresden, witnesses reported violent clashes between **police** and would-be emigrants desperate to board trains to the West.

A6V 420 They say that the **police** could stop the violence overnight if the Special Patrol Group was assigned to patrol the area, or if the Home Office made it sufficiently clear that this kind of activity must stop.

A95 504 Polish protesters hurled paint and petrol on a monument to Lenin in Krakow and set it on fire yesterday before clashing with **police**, who used force to break up the second anti-Soviet disturbance in a week.

AHN 1198 He is surrounded by **police**, reporters and photographers who move with him like bees in a swarm.

One possible teaching use for such contexts is asking students to go backwards, finding the key word from the series of contexts which share it, such as in the example of *HANDCUFFS* in the set below:

ABS 2422 They carry pistols, **handcuffs**, batons and gas-spray guns.

AKR 83 Ever since she brandished a pair of **handcuffs** during a debate on law and order at the Conservative Party conference in 1981, Mrs. Currie has demonstrated an irrepressible ability to draw attention to herself.

C85 693 ‘Thompson at your service,’ said the landlord coming to meet him with a welcoming smile which disappeared quickly as he saw Midnight — his glance sliding from the metal collar to the **handcuffs** and on to Jess’s flushed face.

CEM 2224 And he cannot leave the cell without **handcuffs** and shackles.

CLD 686 ‘I want to know the identity of a man, I want to reach him, I want to put him in **handcuffs** and read him a charge of First Degree murder.’

A further extension of this task may be tracing the pieces of equipment present in the same contexts (*pistols, batons, gas-spray guns, shackles*) and also raising awareness on the occurrence of such vocabulary in various genres (media, fiction, official release).

Concordances, as a collection of contexts of a particular key word, have many applications, especially linguistic ones, such as tagging parts of speech, frequency analysis, key words in context and co-occurrence analysis. In this case, the researcher is responsible for their own corpus, which they introduce in the corpus files sector. One such significant concordance program is AntConc (see http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/antconc_index.html). These are some of the findings on the word *CRIME*, selected from *Criminal investigations* (Evans, 2009):

1. Is in some way affected by **crime**. Taxes pay patrolmen, detectives.
2. For having committed such **a crime**, not only they suffer but so may their ...
3. Of the police to investigate **crime** with the purpose of putting the bad guys ...
4. Patience is a virtue in **crime** fighting because police officers and ...
5. Has to get away with every **crime** he or she commits.
6. Detective, this was an easy **crime** to solve.
7. Witnesses and searching the **crime** scene for obvious clues as to a criminal's ...
8. Have many different kinds of **crime** and criminals to investigate.

One type of task exploiting such controlled contexts is the popular „Find the missing word”, as in the set below. Students may be shown each line at a time, up to the point when they are able to identify the missing word (*INVESTIGATION*):

The fundamental axiom of crime scene _____.

By the sloppiness of the original _____. He found that the accused man.

The life cycle of maggots was able to aid the _____ of the murder of Isabel.

The kidnapping reached the Federal Bureau of _____ New York office.

Handwriting experts were drafted into the _____ headquarters in Mineola.

With the lack of clues, the murder _____ gradually ran out of steam.

Dictionaries and **thesauri** are another popular type of search. Thesauri are especially interested in the syntagmatic relation between words. There are several types of thesauri, both on paper and virtual; WordNet (see <http://wordnet.princeton.edu/>) is a model of its kind, in that it is a large lexical database of English. It contains nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs grouped into sets of cognitive synonyms, called synsets. These 117,000 synsets are interlinked by means of conceptual-semantic and lexical relations (super-subordinate relations). Here follows a short version of the WordNet description of *POLICE OFFICER*:

S: (n) policeman, **police officer**, officer (a member of a police force) “*it was an accident, officer*”

direct hyponym / full hyponym

- S: (n) bobby (an informal term for a British policeman)
- S: (n) bull, cop, copper, fuzz, pig (uncomplimentary terms for a policeman)
- S: (n) captain, police captain, police chief (a policeman in charge of a precinct)
 - S: (n) Chief Constable (the head of the police force in a county (or similar area))
- S: (n) constable, police constable (a police officer of the lowest rank)
- S: (n) detective, investigator, tec, police detective (a police officer who investigates crimes)
 - S: (n) dick, gumshoe, hawkshaw (someone who is a detective)
 - S: (n) plainclothesman (a detective who wears civilian clothes on duty)
 - S: (n) tracer (an investigator who is employed to find missing persons or missing goods)

- S: (n) gendarme (a French policeman)
- S: (n) inspector (a high ranking police officer) (...)

Antonyms can also be explored in thesauri as they can be a practical tool in language learning, they also facilitate acquisition by way of association. The set below was extracted from the Merriam-Webster online dictionary (see <http://www.merriam-webster.com>), and may be equally used during fill-in the gap tasks, memory charts or quizzes:

- (1) **Derivational antonyms:** legal – illegal, lawful – unlawful; arrestable offence – non-arrestable offence;
- (2) **Contradictory antonyms:** to press charges – to drop charges, minor offence – serious offence, on duty – off duty, arrest by warrant – arrest without warrant;
- (3) **Contrastive antonyms:** civil law – criminal law, break a law – observe a law, grant bail – deny bail, lenient law – severe law, original / genuine document – forged document.

The Oxford English Dictionary (see <http://www.oed.com/>) is a valuable resource for language learning, as it offers definitions from both general English as well as specialised varieties, along with their first attestation. Below is the example of *SQUAD*, which shows firstly the military denotation. The police-related one appears much later as an extension of the military one, then again through a specialisation to cater for the emergence of police and its need to name new realities:

1. Mil. a. A small number of men, a subdivision or section of a company, formed for drill or told off for some special purpose.
 4. c. A unit within a police force, organized to investigate or prevent a particular type of crime; freq. in ellipt. use for flying squad s.v. FLYING ppl. a. 4e (b). See also fraud, murder, riot, vice squad at first element.
- 1905 N.Y. Times 22 June 8/6 Commissioner McAdoo selected yesterday the men for the special squad which will arrest women in the streets.

- 1962 Daily Tel. 15 June 22/5 Three detectives, two of them drug squad officers, flew to Gibraltar from London yesterday to investigate the haul of illegal drugs found in the cruiser Belfast.

One example of use for such a rich resource for non-linguists is cross-checking the subject-matter knowledge with the dictionary information, for the dates of words or some of their meanings. The result may be a synoptic panel of contrastive situations, such as this ‘19th century weapon v. 20th century weapon’ schema (see Figure 4). Words in the definitions may be cross-referenced to increase contrast and recommend such maps as an effective presentation tools or mere learning products.

19th century WEAPON

edged	blunt	portable	non-portable	lethal	non-lethal	standard	specific
<i>sword</i>	<i>truncheon</i>	<i>truncheon</i>	–	<i>revolver</i>	<i>nightstick</i>	–	–
<i>cutlass</i>		<i>revolver</i>		<i>flintlock pistol</i>			

20th century WEAPON

edged	blunt	portable	non-portable	lethal	non-lethal	standard	specific
–	<i>baton</i>	<i>baton</i>	<i>explosives</i>	<i>pistol</i>	<i>baton</i>	<i>baton</i>	<i>explosives</i>
		<i>taser</i>	<i>water cannon</i>		<i>taser</i>	<i>taser</i>	<i>water cannon</i>
		<i>CS spray</i>			<i>CS spray</i>		<i>gas projector</i>
		<i>pistol</i>			<i>rubber bullets</i>		
		<i>rubber bullets</i>			<i>gas projector</i>		
		<i>gas projector</i>					

Figure 4. Lexical concepts 19th century WEAPON v. 20th century WEAPON.

The Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary is another valuable resource for language learners. A 3D search around a specified lexeme, in this case *POLICE*, reveals a spiderweb of semantically connected words, sharing one or more semes with the lexeme in question (*appeal, badge, arrest* etc.). A click on one of these findings, let’s say *ARREST*, reveals another web of semantically related lexemes (*station, guilty, crime* etc.) and so on.

police > appeal, badge, blotter, Interpol, body search, breathalyzer, (...) *arrest* > station, guilty, (...) *crime* > acquit, arson, aggravated, accomplice, bring charges (...) *alibi* > prove, commit (...) *evidence* > confirm, dismiss, affidavit, groundless, not proven (...) *caution* > warn, officially (...) *court* > appeal, adjourn, alimony, etc.

A practical application of this software is that it builds mind maps progressively in a way that fosters understanding of words by association. Any of such maps can be printed and students can further expand each end, to the point where there is no room left on the sheet. Maps can then be discussed and explained. The Internet provides various lists and glossaries of common police terms, acronyms, and jargon, selected geographically or globally. A table such as the one provided as Figure 5 (adapted from: <http://crime.about.com/od/glpolice>) clearly shows the abundance of minor word-formation processes in the LEE, such as clippings (*sarge*, *perp*, *vic*), blends (*auto burg*), semi-blends (*centerpunch*), acronyms (*CLETS*) and initialisms (*DUI*).

A.K.A	Cold Paper	Double-deuce	Mug	Sarge
A/O	Community	Gatt	Nickel	Search Clause
At Large	Adjustment	DUI or DWI	On the Box	Slammer
Auto Burg	Cop the Plate	Gate Out	PC Dec	Snitch
Back up	Cop	GOA	Perimeter	Super Court
Bail	CORI	Going Down	Perp	T-Bone
Beat	Crook	Hit	Plastic	Tag
Centerpunch	Cross	Hot Prowl	PO	Verbal
Chip	D.L.	I.R. Number	Porac	Vic
Cite Out	D.O.A.	ICAM	Precursors	Warrant
Clan Lab	D.O.B.	Lawyer Up	Priors	Weed
CLETS	Dime Bag	Line-Up	QOA	Went Down
Code - 1	Dirty	Lt	Rap Sheet	Whack
Code-33	Dope	Miranda	Run Out	X-Unit

Figure 5. The LEE jargon.

Such alphabetical lists and tables can be systematised either linguistically (as above) or contextually. For example, students may be shown a short video where they need to identify some of these lexemes and illustrate them in contexts of their own.

Finally, dictionaries of slang provide some assistance in understanding the language of criminals. As shown, the LEE covers the whole spectrum of linguistic varieties, perhaps being the most complex specialised language. A systematic approach to such resources (see Harabagiu, 2006) can reveal sets of criminal slang words and phrases, organised under headings such as crimes, criminals, police officers, crime tools, police divisions, drugs, relationship to the police and rhyming slang. Skimming the slang for crimes and offences we can trace phrases such as *beagling* (pickpocketing), *to cabbage* (to steal money), *to carve up* (to share dishonest gains), *to chisel* (cheat or swindle), *cobbling* (forgery of passports), *to cop* (to take bribe), *to cross* (to swindle), *dancing the stairs* (daylight stealing from unattended flats or offices), *fixit* (illegal selling of stolen cars that have been repainted and re-registered) and many more.

While **indexes** may be of arguable value to a lay person, a specialist will always find an ally in the list of recurrent words listed at the end of a book and their occurrence within the pages. If the index of a specialised book is scrutinised with an eye on the language use, the student will find a hidden glossary of relevant concepts, whose definitions are only revealed if he follows the lead to the treasure pages. The example below (see Chersan, 2012) also characterises that some items (*abduct*, *abuse*, *act*) that may be found in more contexts than others (*accident*, *affidavit*), and as such sources need to be carefully cross-checked for confirmation:

- *abduct*, (-ee, -ion, -or), 74, 80, 115, 212
- *abuse*, (-ive), 70, 74, 82
- *accessory*, 62, 70, 82
- *accident* (reconstruction), 211
- *accomplice*, 66, 86
- *accusation*, 66, 74
- *acquit*, 66
- *act*, 65, 70, 95, 100, 223
- *actual bodily harm*, 76
- *actus reus*, 77
- *Adam Tyler*, 122
- *affidavit*, 77
- *affray*, 127
- *AFIS*, 207
- *agent provocateur*, 97
- *aggravated* 66, 129

- aggressive police response, 102
- aka, 7

As noticed, indexes contain compounds (*actual bodily harm*, *agent provocateur*). Compounding is the largest source of new words in the general language, but also in LEE. It is used to name ‘officers’ (*Chief Inspector*), ‘units’ (*Flying Squad*), ‘equipment’ (*handcuffs*), ‘evidence’ (*fingerprints*, *tyre tracks*), ‘investigative methods’ (*counter terrorism*), ‘perpetrators’ (*serial killer*, *most wanted*), ‘offences’ (*manslaughter*, *attempted murder*, *grievous bodily harm*), etc. Although most of them are open or spaced, these structures display unity, recurrence, repeatability, stability and thus are standardised and representative of the law enforcement vocabulary. Other stable structures are particularly relevant for PE vocabulary such as phrasal verbs and their corresponding nouns: *tip-off* (information given to the police), *turn-off*, *pay off* (bribery), *hide-out*, *hold-up*, *stick-up* (armed robbery), *break-in*, *lock-up* (arrest room), *leg-ons* (handcuffs for the legs), *line-up* (identity parade).

Subject-matter books in English are also a valuable non-conventional resource for specialised language learning. One advantage is that they provide timelines of events. The history of the British police in a nutshell for example is seen below in a list of chronologically arranged events of historical importance (Emsley, 1996). In a learning context, each event can be expanded into a group project which involves research and presentations (see Figure 6).

1901 Fingerprint database	1965 Death Penalty ends
1902 Borstal opens for young offenders	1965 Race Relations Act
1903 WPSU founded - the Suffragettes	1971 Crown Courts
1907 Probation Service	1973 IRA Bombing of England begins
1910 Radio used to arrest Doctor Crippen	1975 Sex Discrimination Act
1914 Great War begins	1981 Inner-city riots
1917 Russian Revolution	1982 Borstals abolished
1926 General Strike	1984 Great Miners' Strike
1933 Great Depression	1985 Heyssel Football Disaster
1936 Open Prison - Wakefield	1990 Strangeways Riot
1948 Attendance Centres	

Figure 6. A timeline of British police history.

Specialised books also offer specific terms to use in unequivocal circumstances, such as commands to suspects or as a part of basic special police operations terminology. Commands such as: *Police, don't move / freeze! Stand still! (Lie) down! Face the wall! On your knees! Stay there / where you are! Turn around! Stop! Keep your hands at sight! Hands on the head! Spread your arms! Drop your weapon! Put your weapon down slowly! Step forward / Come to me!* Need thorough understanding and readiness before use. One possible task for students of the LEE may be asking them to translate such commands, matching them with their native languages' equivalent word. **Subject-matter books** often display conceptual divisions, which are brief systematised lists of terms related to a key concept (mind maps). Such is the case of 'Description of persons' (English and English, 1992, p. 276):

- Height: exact if known, otherwise approximate.
- Build: proportionate, stout, corpulent, heavy, thick set, thin, slim, well built, military bearing, erect, slouches, stoops.
- Complexion: fresh, ruddy, florid, pale, fair, sallow, blotchy, pimply, uses cosmetics.
- Face: round, oval, long, wrinkled, flabby, fat, thin, high cheek-bones; expression – vacant, scowling, pleasant.
- Hair: colour, turning grey, going bald, wavy, straight, curly, frizzy, parted, unparted, Brushed back, long, short, greased, unkempt, wears wig, bleached, dyed, sideburns.
- Hair on face: beard (shape and color), moustache (size, shape, color, waxed), dark chin, stubble.
- Head: large, small, narrow, square.
- Forehead: high, low, broad, narrow, wrinkled, bulging, receding.
- Eyebrows: color, thick, thin, bushy, plucked, pencilled, arched, meet in center, sparse. (...)

Such a tool can be used to build the composite image of suspects and missing persons. One popular task is browsing celebrities' mugbooks and describing a famous person who has had trouble with the police, or describing a fellow-student from a row of five to simulate witnessing an identity parade (line-up) conducted at a police station. Finally, specialised textbooks define supra-ordinate concepts at length, both in definitions *per se*, as well as in explanations attached to such definitions. If consulted consistently, such materials can provide useful contextualised language. For example, the contextual distribution of the key word *CONSTABLE* (selected from Brutton and Studdy, 1961) is built exclusively on phrases selected from definitions and their explanations, organised under the four headings (see Figure 7).

DUTIES	POWERS	SITUATIONS	PEOPLE
Pursue villains	Fine	Escape from gunman chase cars	Major
Issue a statement	Use powers	Have lawful justification for his conduct	Minister
Be a party to the appeal	Order a review	Witness the obstruction of justice	Solicitor
Go out on the beat Tell the jury	Warn (smb.) to stop	Give reasons for conducting a search	Witness
Recover bodies	Sign a certificate	Reasonably suspect	Policemen
Pursue a drive	Decide on specimen Procedures	Be obstructed in the execution of his duty	Guards
Execute (his duties)	Grant licence	Be discharged from duties / dismissed	Defendant
Undertake a review	Exercise a statutory power of arrest	Be in the force	Perpetrator
Carry out a test	Require a specimen of blood	Know whereabouts	Scene
Help victims	Order an inquiry		Justice Government Villain
Restrain a man	Propose a course of action		Administration

Figure 7. The contextual distribution of CONSTABLE.

Such information can be further systematised into sequences of events (Newburn, et al., 2007). For example, within the conceptual field of police powers and duties, the key word *ARREST* can display a progressive chain of events. This can develop into a ranking task, where students need to rearrange events in the precise order they occur, and then explain the method they used:

Identify a suspect > apprehend a suspect > restrain a suspect > handcuff a suspect > search a suspect > arrest a suspect > read the rights > escort a suspect to the police station > take the suspect into custody > detain a suspect.

From the same conceptual field of police powers and duties we can also develop scenarios, useful tools in signaling differences between procedures in two countries, by accessing the languages used to describe

them. Such is the case of the *stop and search power*, whose definition includes information about participants, processes, conditions and results (see <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1984>). A schema such as the one presented in Figure 8 (Chersan, 2012) provides reference to language items such as pieces of equipment (*breathalyzer, metal detector*), suspicious items (*drugs, weapons*), specific verbs (*detain, arrest, seize, record*) and adjectives (*unlawful, discriminatory*).

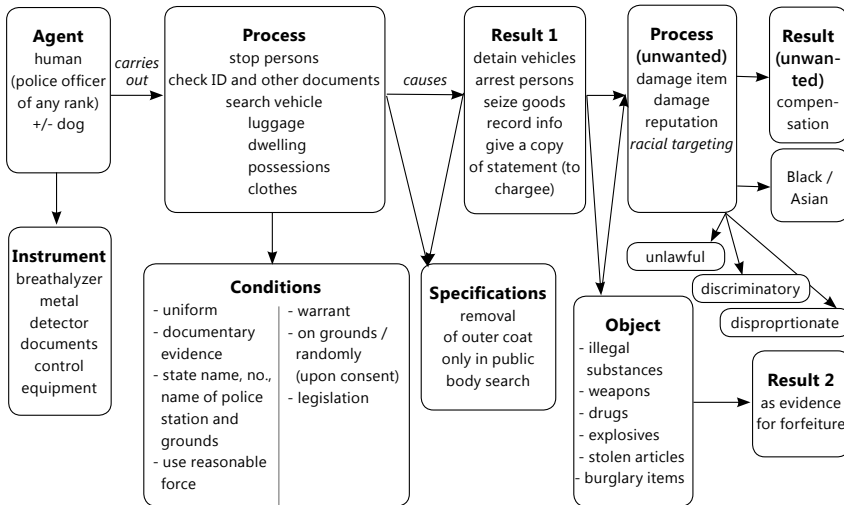


Figure 8. The 'stop and search' event (Pace, 1984).

The other way of exploiting the language in textbooks and perhaps the vocabulary built from all the linguistic sources described, is a picture description. The multitude of law enforcement pictures on the Internet, a click away from the typed keyword or phrase (*police, police operation, etc.*), will reveal topics such as 'riot control' or 'drug bust', whose professional description will involve the precise use of specialised terminology. All these 'linguistic' sources are unconventional, alternative materials to use in class, as they have not been customised into a manual. They are not unconventional to a teacher, as a teachers' work often involves searching for appropriate language for their class beyond the boundaries of a pre-defined English workbook. Being exposed to such valuable materials as an aid to specialised language learning, the students may gain more insight into authentic resources and also more confidence to exploit relevant English resources on their own.

LEE in the media and detective fiction

A very popular contemporary concept is that of bringing technology into the classroom. Obviously, the Internet and TV are abounding with police-related documentaries, news, films, series and games in English. Police fiction has also become increasingly popular when made into films. Including such resources into language learning has become impossible to omit. Two main advantages are noticeable firstly, fiction and the media tend to display all stylistic registers found in LEE, which are difficult to capture in conventional sources or linguistic ones considered independently. Secondly, such media are more engaging than textbooks for professionals as they present an unaltered slice of reality.

LEE in the media

Press releases, crime news and police ads are a rich source of law enforcement vocabulary. Their complexity is both rewarding and challenging, in that any snippet extracted from such media generates debate. What is really said is sometimes absconded by manipulation or persuasion techniques, often biased and sometimes encrypted. The denotations and connotations of words and sentences can be traced, if an historical approach to language is attempted. A notable feature of the English vocabulary is that the native register has a more emotive quality than the borrowed classical element, which is more referential (Bouillon and Busa, 2009). Thus the following excerpt from police talk is more Anglo-Saxon:

“Every vandalized window that can be put down to ‘frost damage’, every burgled shed that can be explained as ‘badger damage’, each smashed car wing-mirror that can be blamed on ‘stones being thrown up by speeding vehicles’ and every last theft of an unattended handbag which can be put down to having been ‘accidentally lost or misplaced’ will have been done by now.”

(adapted from <http://inspectorgadget.wordpress.com/>)

Whereas a more ‘scientific’ and institutional approach to the world of crime, such as the public warnings or cautions, uses more referential language as Local Community Information – Robbery Alert:

- (1) Be vigilant, watch out for unsolicited approaches from people you do not know.

(2) Be careful when engaging with strangers who wish to hug or dance with you.

(3) Please help us by keeping your mobile phone and other valuables safe.

(4) If you need emergency police assistance, call 999.

(adapted from

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/doctorow/362169824/>)

However, the distinction between referential and emotive is a matter of degree, as shown in the following piece of media coverage on crime, taken from *The Guardian*:

“Bruises on her neck provided some evidence of the liberties that her assailant(s) took with her, with her windpipe perhaps crushed while she may have helplessly looked into the face of her murderer through the layers of clear packing tape across her face, this as her killer choked the last breath out of her”.

(adapted from <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/11623311/>)

Despite its obvious linguistic appearance, this type of task is actually easy to master by students, so they can ‘read between the lines’ into deception and omission. This, along with the obvious informative nature of the media and its reports on current issues of interest, are clear benefits for teaching and learning LEE.

LEE in crime fiction

Crime fiction, the literary genre that fictionalises crimes, their detection, criminals and their motives has long been a source of entertainment but also a fresco of the times. In the 19th century law enforcement was portrayed as a compilation of real life police beats. One example is British novelist Charles Dickens and his *Inspector Bucket*. The writer knew London, its police and also criminals from his own observations. He even went on the beat with the police, patrolling the London streets. Dickens’ most intensive study was his observation of Inspector Charles Frederick Field who was his model for *Inspector Bucket* in *Bleak House*

published in 1853/4. Dickens trailed Inspector Field, watched his methods of investigation, how he searched for clues and questioned suspects, this is recorded in the following:

Every thief [...] cowers before him, like a schoolboy before his schoolmaster. All watch him [...] all seek to propitiate him [...] but, let Inspector Field have a mind to pick out one thief [...] let him produce that ghostly truncheon from his pocket, and say [...] 'My lad, I want you!' and all [...] shall be stricken with paralysis, and not a finger move against him, as he fits the handcuffs on!

(Dickens, 1853)

Fiction featured police in various detective stories in the 20th century. The evolution of locked room mysteries was one of the turning points in the history of crime fiction. The Sherlock Holmes mysteries of Arthur Conan Doyle are said to have been solely responsible for the immense popularity of this genre. Crime fiction developed several sub-genres, including detective fiction, such as the whodunnit, locked-room mystery, cozy, as well as contemporary contributions. Such as the historical whodunnit, the inverted detective story, the police procedural, the legal thriller, the spy novel, caper stories, the criminal novel and the psychological suspense, courtroom drama and hard-boiled fiction.

The *whodunit* or *whodunnit* (for “Who done [did] it?”) is a complex, plot-driven variety of the detective story. The reader or viewer is provided with clues from which the identity of the perpetrator of the crime may be deduced before the solution is revealed. The investigation is usually conducted by an eccentric amateur or semi-professional detective. It had its heyday during the “Golden Age” of detective fiction, between 1920 and 1950, when it was the main manner of crime writing. Many of the best-known writers of whodunits in this period were British, notably Agatha Christie, Nicholas Blake, Gladys Mitchell. Americans followed, some in the British tradition, some opting for an ‘American’ view. Below is an extract from one of Belgian detective Poirot’s famous monologues:

“Well, my friend, I saw there was just one chance. I was not sure then if Inglethorp was the criminal or not, but if he was I reasoned that he would not have the paper on him, but would have hidden it somewhere, and by enlisting the sympathy of the household I could effectually prevent his destroying it. He was already under

suspicion, and by making the matter public I secured the services of about ten amateur detectives, who would be watching him unceasingly, and being himself aware of their watchfulness he would not dare seek further to destroy the document. He was therefore forced to depart from the house, leaving it in the spill vase.”

(The Mysterious Affair at Styles, Agatha Christie, 1924)

Such texts exhibit a great historical value, as law enforcement realities can be reconstructed based on the evidence presented in the text, even if the primary intention was not to inform, but to create mystery and anticipation. By studying various excerpts from crime fiction written in the past two centuries, students can build a socio-historic background of law enforcement institutions and responsibilities, as shown below (from Chersan, 2012):

(1) The 19th century British police:

- Old features: local watch, lighting streetlights, calling out the time, watching for fires.
- New features: full-time occupation, keeping order (major disorders and street riots), detection and prevention of crime, moral control, arrest loiterers, crime control, surveillance of the poor.

(2) The 20th century British police:

- Technological advances – *fingerprinting* (1901), *DNA*; *radio* (1910); *regulate road traffic*.
- Public relations – recover stolen property, non-discrimination, rehabilitation, stop and search, patrol the streets.
- New crimes – investigate cybercrimes, money laundering, terrorism, embezzlement.
- Specialisation – constabularies, agencies, bureaus, squads, task forces, headquarters.

Police detection and investigation in films and series

Crime fiction and the film industry have gone hand in hand throughout the years. Many books have also been adapted into films. Towards the end of the 20th century, the *police procedural* gained the most popularity. As a type of detective fiction, it attempts to authentically depict the activities of a police force. As they investigate crimes and a number of police-related topics such as forensics, autopsies, the gathering of evidence, the use of search warrants and interrogations. John Creasy played an important role in the development of the procedural. *Inspector West Takes Charge* (1940) was the first of more than forty novels to feature Scotland Yard operations. Among the televised stories in the United States, pioneering police procedural *Dragnet* has authentic depictions of organisational structure, professional jargon, legal issues, etc. The *Columbo* TV Series popularised the inverted detective story format.

The plot mainly revolves around how the perpetrator, whose identity is known from the beginning, would finally be exposed and arrested. Other series include *Cagney and Lacey*, which revolved around two female NYPD detectives who led very different lives. *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* is a show about forensic scientists who investigate how and why a person has died, and if it is a murder or not by investigating not only *whodunit* but also *howdunit*. *The Sweeney* from the United Kingdom is a drama series focusing on the Flying Squad of the Metropolitan Police and their twenty-four hour a day seven day a week job of catching some of the most dangerous and violent criminals in London.

Developing language worksheets on such series may present several advantages. Students feel engaged and motivated, the visuals foster understanding and acquisition, the possibilities for using a video in class are limitless. The following tasks were designed for a 4th year Criminalistics class and are based on CSI – Las Vegas, DVD 1, episodes 1 and 2:

- (1) Matching parts of phrases (*autopsy findings, evidentiary clues, post-mortem X-rays, probable identification, scar tissue; close calls, blood spatter, medical examiner, step-by-step investigation, DNA results, felony hit-and-run, material evidence, defensive wounds*);
- (2) Category selection (select from the box below words and phrases connected to auditory effects, names of crimes, abbreviations, flooring. Some words do NOT fit any category.

[*dispatch, real pro, tiles, enhance sounds, reverse algorithm on tape, play by ear, rookie, first-degree murder, pebbles, felony hit-and-run, manslaughter, alter voice electronically, play reverse, jumper, point of disturbance, latents, low frequency buzz, isolate sounds, concrete*]);

(3) Provide a definition or a context (*get your story straight, play it blind, hold somebody in contempt, bypass security system, nothing to hold me on for, match to the naked ear, approved driver on your insurance, cross check partials against*);

(4) Find collocations (e.g. *death*; violent death, sudden death, death case, death scene, time of death, etc.).

Interactive Internet games

Growing even more in popularity are downloadable and online Internet games. Their purpose most often exceeds entertainment, as they veer towards critical thinking and the power of observation. One other purpose might be language acquisition or revision in a motivating context. Such is the case presented on <http://crimeandinvestigation.co.uk/shows/games/>, which features games such as: *Steven Seagal: Lawman*; *How safe is your house?*; *Solve the murder*; *The first 48 (hours)*; *Monkeys, Skulls & Crosses*. *Monkeys, Skulls & Crosses* is a game closely related to modern crime investigation. At the very beginning of the game, the player learns that a man has been found dead in a partially completed industrial unit. The player must then conduct an investigation to solve the crime and catch the culprit. For this he has to travel to different locations to gather clues, interview suspects and examine evidence at the police station, and collaborate with different teams of people about the case. The player explores the *Crime scene*, the *Autopsy room* but also an *Interrogation room* to talk to witnesses and suspects; the *Evidence lab* sends regular reports (ballistics, fingerprint matches), and the *Investigation board* organises findings and tasks. The *Research library* offers information about all these rooms and stages of a criminal investigation.

One of the most substantial benefits of such a game is that it involves language learning in an integrated way. The player needs to listen, read and write in English in order to carry out their task, thus becoming a student at the same time. The other practical and obvious advantage is that it

is made by specialists and fully accessible online. Although controlling the progression and results of the game may not be teacher-friendly, law enforcement related games are a useful aid to specialised language teaching, and also a valuable alternative resource for contemporary professional language learning.

CONCLUSIONS

Even though some non-conventional sources may be considered ‘inappropriate’ for teaching a specialized language, they clearly show benefits worth investing in. As shown, one significant advantage is that they reflect the rich lexical strata of the LEE. From official documents to police jargon or criminal parlour, the LEE displays a range of vocabulary and stylistic differences, which can only be found in what we called non-conventional or alternative sources to supplement the limited span of text books. The other main advantage is that such alternative sources foster integrated language learning via in-depth comprehension of a specialized vocabulary and culturally-embedded concepts.

Any specialized vocabulary is historically and conceptually related to the background of the subject matter to the emergence and development of the institution for which that language was a necessity. New concepts can be defined by approaching the core reality, the one that created them and engaged the use of words to express them. Finally, linguistic sources as corpora, concordances, indexes, dictionaries, thesauri and subject-matter books, and fictional as literature, films and games are useful tools in language learning. As they explore language from a different angle than ready-made textbooks, supplement their scope and foster integrated learning.

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