

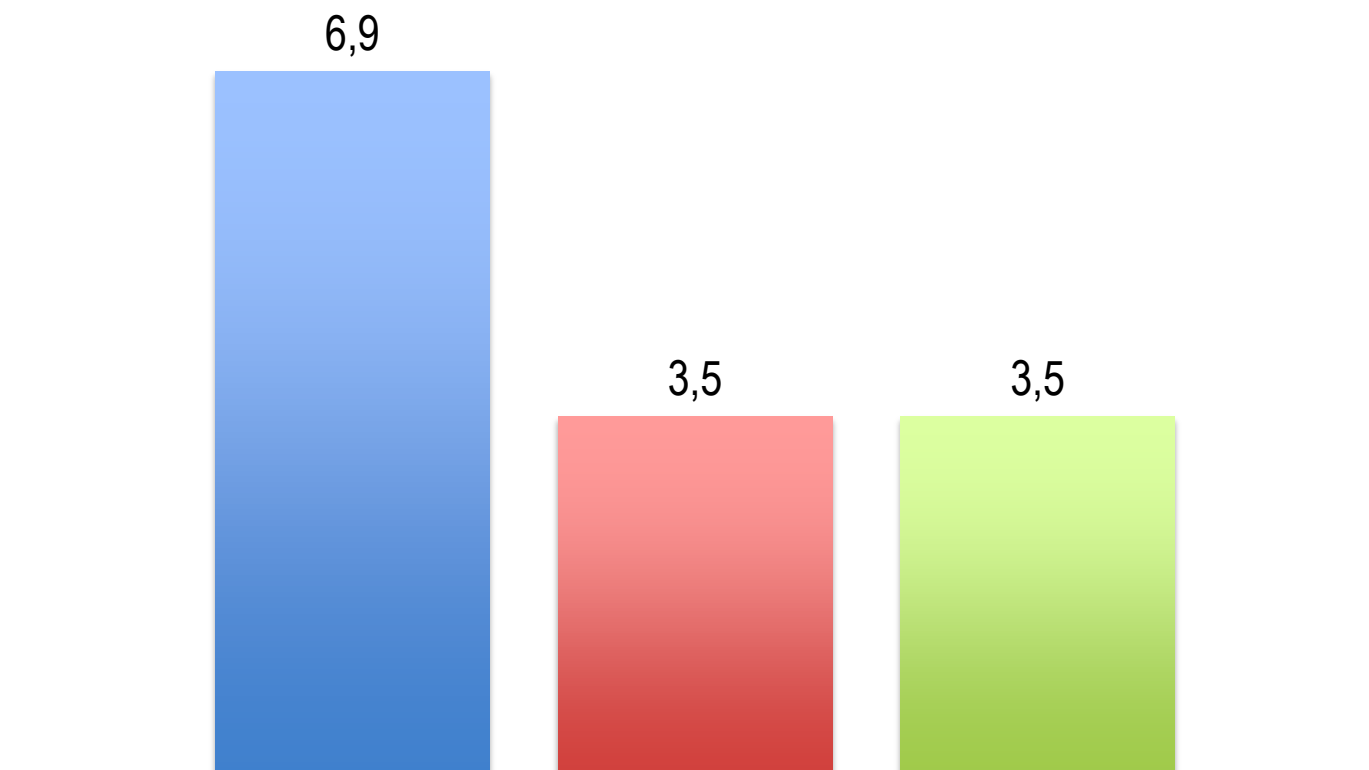
Police economic moonlighting in transformation societies: the “police culture” perspective

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Trust in the police (ESS 2012, max.=10):

■ Western Europe ■ Bulgaria ■ Russia



Problem statement:

- ✓ Police economic moonlighting activities > Corruption
- ✓ Formally allowed areas of secondary employment for policemen as civil servants in transformation societies:
 - art,
 - teaching,
 - science,
 - non-profit organizations (in some cases).
- ✓ Police economic moonlighting in the beginning of 2000th in Russia consisted of [Kolennikova, Kosals, Ryvkina, Simagina 2004]:
 - Conditionally lawful (ex.: taxi driver),
 - Unlawful (ex.: racket).

Macro-prerequisites of police economic moonlighting in transformation societies:

Kolennikova O. Transformation of law enforcement agencies in Russia: socio-political consequences. 2006, № 2. In Russian.:

- ineffectiveness of formal regulations of police work
- ideological and status uncertainty

Volkov V. Violent entrepreneurship: economico-sociological analysis. Moscow: SU-HSE, 2005. In Russian.:

- low salaries,
- poor equipment of the job,
- high turnover of the officers,
- the rise of demand on private security services.



The rise of professional anomie within the police

Some researches on macro-factors of police economic moonlighting in transformation societies:

- ***Policemen in Russia use law as a mean for personal gain:***

Volkov V., Paneyakh E., Titaev K. (2010) Voluntary Activity of Law Enforcement Agencies in the Realm of Fighting Against Economic Criminality. Saint Petersburg: Institute for the Rule of Law, European University.

- ***The “owner” of the police in Russia is rather “group of interests” than state and population:***

Gudkov L., Dubin B. Privatization of the Police // Vestnik obshchestvennogo mnenia. 81 (1).

- ***A half of examined policemen in Russia were involved in economic moonlighting:***

Kolennikova O., Kosals L., Ryvkina R., Simagina Y. (2002) Economic Activities of Law Enforcement Agencies in post-Soviet Russia. Types, Scale and Impact on the Society. M.: The Institute of social and economic problems of population RAS.

- ***Policemen in Russia approve usage of their position and professional social capital for private good:***

Beck A., Lee R. (2002) Attitudes to Corruption amongst Russian Police Officers and Trainees // Crime, Law and Social Change. № 38.

- ***Russian police represent the predatory model:***

Gerber T., Mendelson S. (2008) Public Experiences of Police Violence and Corruption in Contemporary Russia: A Case of Predatory Policing? Law & Society Review. 42 (1).

The focus of our research:

- ✓ How policemen with different internal motives and external social orienteers differ about engagement in moonlighting economic activities?
- ✓ What sources of financial gain is also used by policemen except pure corruption? And is the attitude of policemen similar towards different activities?
- ✓ Is the situation is similar in transformation societies?

The criminological literature gap:

- ✓ “Bad apple” approach: individual defects, characteristics and motivation cause of deviancy in the police [Stern 1962; Fyfe 1999; Newham 2002, etc.].
- ✓ “Rotten barrel” approach: general norms, values and beliefs within police – such as a “code of silence” and strong loyalty, “we-versus-they” attitude, “lay-low approach” and “slippery slope” strategy – determine deviant behavior [Paoline, 2003, Loftus 2010, Sherman 1985, etc.].
- ✓ “Rotten orchard” approach: socio-political and economic context of the given society [Ponsaers 2001, Kurkchian 2000, Newburn 1999, Kleinig 1996, etc.].

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*One-sided
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- ✓ Different perceptions of the given **police culture** among policemen [Brown 1988, Muir 1977, Reiner 1978, Reiner 1992, Fielding 1988, Paoline 2004, etc.].

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*Blurred
concept*

Brining economic sociology to fill the gap:

- ✓ Economic action contains **internal motivation and external formal and informal social orienteers** [Weber 1974].
- ✓ Culture constitute and regulate economic behavior. **The task is to show how cultural variations transform economic behavior** [Zelizer 2003, DiMaggio 1994, Abolafia 1998].



- ✓ Police economic moonlighting is embedded in police culture.
- ✓ **Police culture** might be considered a system of social actions that are set of individual motives and social orienteers that constitute and regulate economic behavior.

The research scheme

Varieties of police culture



Individual rate of
involvement in the
economic moonlighting
activities

Empirical data

- ✓ Quantitative survey of policemen in Russia, Bulgaria and Kazakhstan in 2011 (n=1350).
 - The sample involved officers and grass roots; managers and subordinates; experienced policemen and newcomers.
- ✓ In-depth interviews with policemen, ex-policemen, federal security officers and servants of the public prosecutor office during 2010-2013 (n=20).

The data were gathered within the project of NRU HSE “Informal economic activity of the police in transformation states” (under the supervision of prof. L. Kosals)

Data analysis 1

The typology of the group norms were constructed by using the questions:

- To what extent it is informally approved within your colleagues to work as watch guard in off-hours, entrepreneurship, selling confidential data, release burglar in exchange on money, bribery?
- To what extent fighting against policemen's corruption is informally approved within your colleagues
- What are the main reasons for negative sanctions (discharge or penalty) in your department?
- What are the main reasons for promotion in you department?

The typology of the individual values were constructed by using the questions:

- Why people decide to work in the police?
- What aspects of work in general is the most important for you?
- If you find out that one of you colleague have reported about corruption in you department, will you approve this action (whistleblowing)?

To construct typologies we used factor and hierarchical cluster analysis.

Data analysis 2

Involvement indexes = micro_predictor * macro_predictor / coef.10,

where:

Involvement indexes – the indexes that represent to what extend certain respondent is involved in shadow or criminal economic activities. Variation is from 1 to 150.

Micro_predictor – the indicator that represent discrepancy between official wage and real well-being. The discrepancy was measured by comparison of the answers to questions: “How much was your official income in the police per month in 2011?” and “Estimate your family material well-being”. Variation is from 1 (minimal discrepancy) to 5 (maximum discrepancy). [Social learning theory, R. Akers, 1977].

Macro_predictor – the indicator that represent the perception of general involvement among policemen in criminal and shadow activities in the country. From 0 to 3. [The logic of the 20th article of the Convention of the United Nations against corruption].

The embeddedness of police economic moonlighting in police culture was measured by comparing the means of the index between types of police culture (one-way ANOVA and contrast analysis).

Police economic moonlighting activities: description

Shadow	Criminal
≈ «Informal employment» prohibition is specific for the police	≈ «Corruption» prohibition is common for all citizens of the state
The most common types: <ul style="list-style-type: none">- consultancy on the juridical, economic and criminal questions- entrepreneurship in different areas including security service	The most common types: <ul style="list-style-type: none">- paid security services- manipulations with criminal cases- paid services for getting required documents<ul style="list-style-type: none">- bribes instead of fines- confident information selling
About 40% of the policemen meet in practice as quite and highly spread.	About 30% of the policemen meet in practice as quite and highly spread.
The average share of policemen involved in the shadow economy: Russia – 36%, Kazakhstan – 32%, Bulgaria – 25%.	

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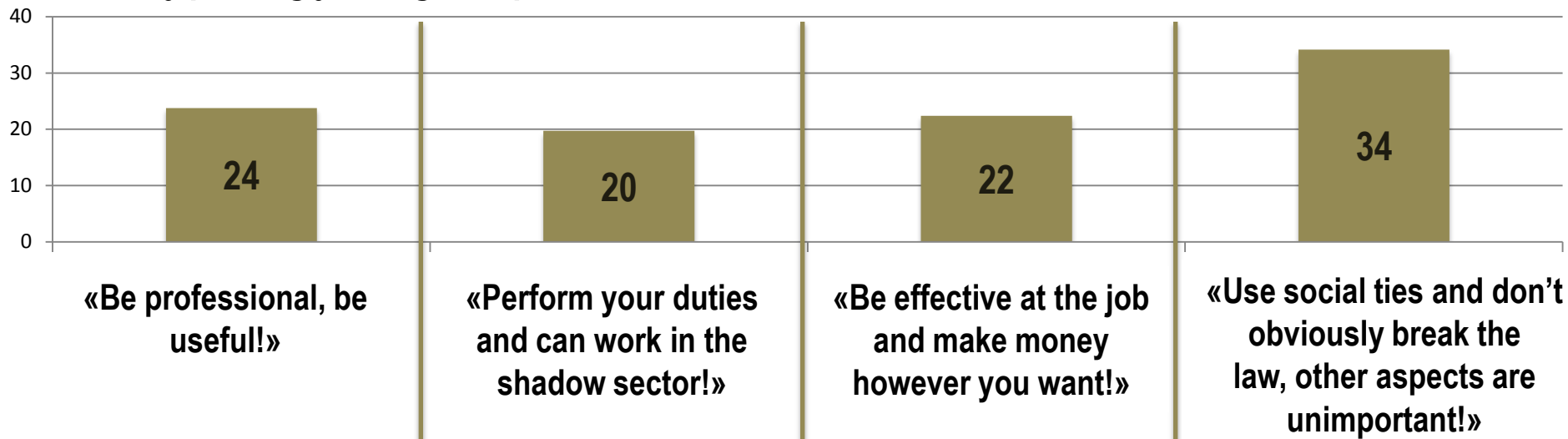
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The line between shadow and criminal activities is blurred (Pearson coef. = 0.8, sig.)

General elements of the police culture in transformation societies

- ✓ **Acceptable economic activities are defined by the combination of formal and informal norms.**
- ✓ **The informal code of honor:**
 - Economic moonlighting should be harmless for society (*the relationships with criminals and gains from crimes of extreme gravity are not approved; if there's no obvious victim, then it's fine*).
 - Police services is not a market services. The supply is restricted to specific social ties.
 - The “code of silence” prohibits whistleblowing.
- ✓ **The common values:**
 - To work for society's good (about 60% in general).
 - Maintain stability in life (about 70% in general).

The typology of group norms



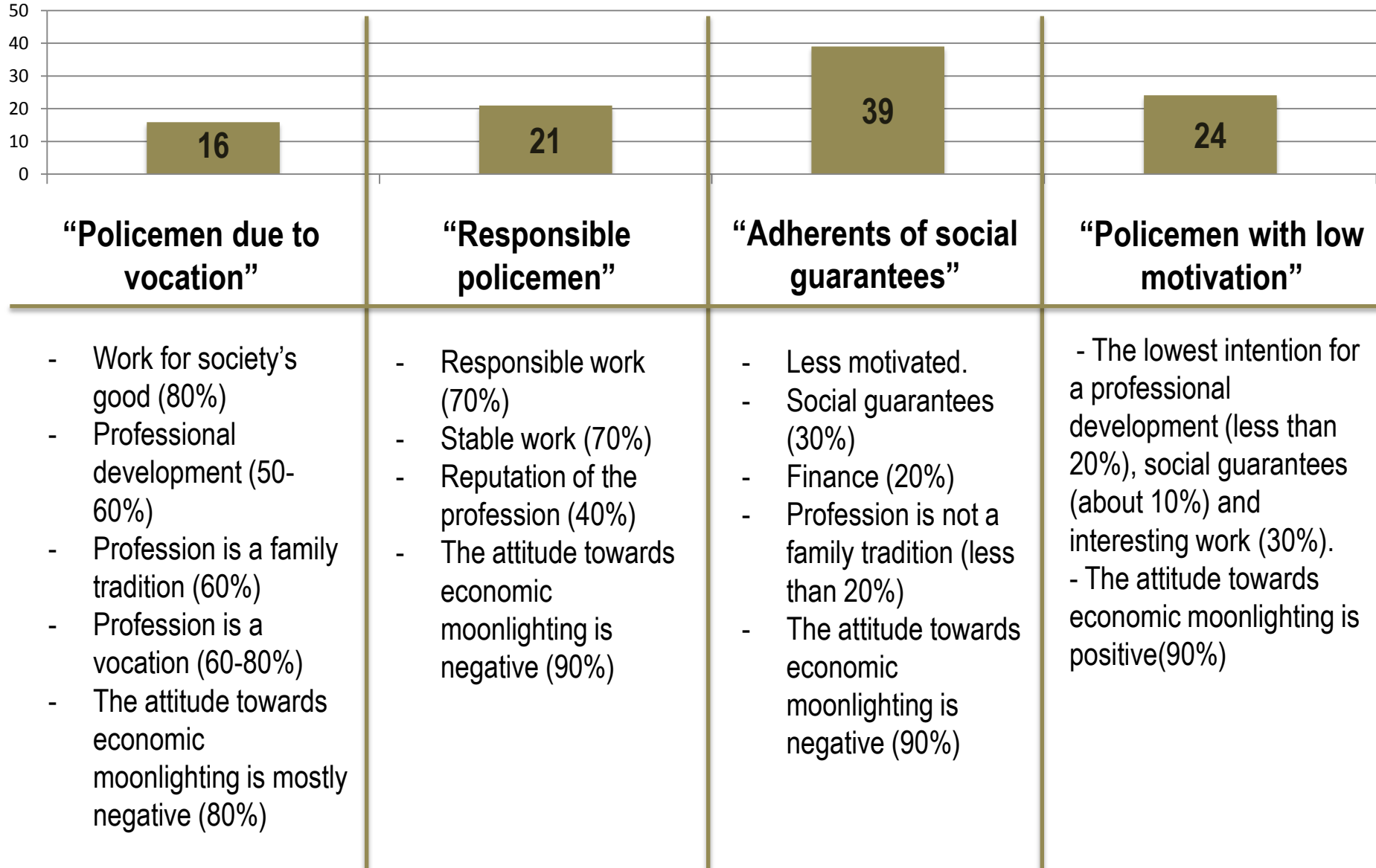
- High professional achievements (80%)
- Fulfilled formal norms (30-40%)
- Low effectiveness is tolerated
- Informal relations is not important (less than 10%)
- Attitude towards economic moonlighting is extremely negative (70-90%)
- Weak code of silence.

- Social ties are highly important (45%)
- Fulfilled formal norms (50%)
- Conventional moonlighting is tolerated (by 90%)
- Unconventional moonlighting is prohibited (by 100%)
- Weak code of silence.

- High professional achievements (70%)
- Low effectiveness is not tolerated.
- Highly approved unconventional moonlighting (60-70%)
- Strong code of silence.

- Social ties are highly important (45%)
- Professionalism or formal norms is not important at all less than 20%)
- Low effectiveness is tolerated
- Highly approved unconventional moonlighting (60-70%)
- Strong code of silence.

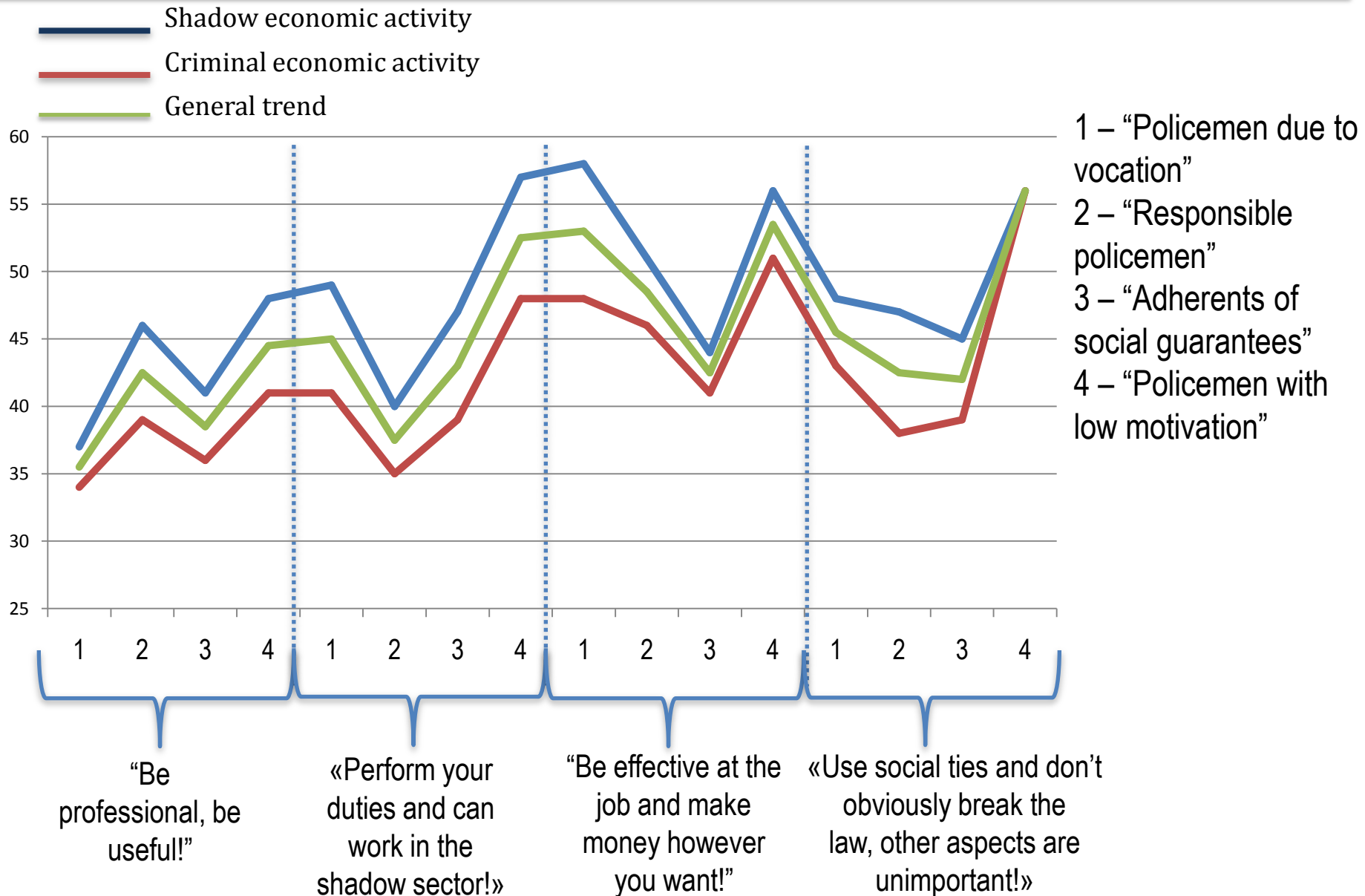
The typology the individual values



All possible combinations of group norms and individual values

	Policemen due to vocation	Responsible policemen	Adherents of social guarantees	Policemen with low motivation	Total
«Be professional, be useful!»	20.30%	23.50%	44.10%	12.10%	100%
«Perform your duties and can work in the shadow sector!»	17.40%	24.90%	38.60%	19.10%	100%
«Be effective at the job and make money however you want!»	17.60%	19.50%	28.70%	34.20%	100%
«Use social ties and don't obviously break the law, other aspects are unimportant!»	10.60%	17.60%	42.50%	29.40%	100%

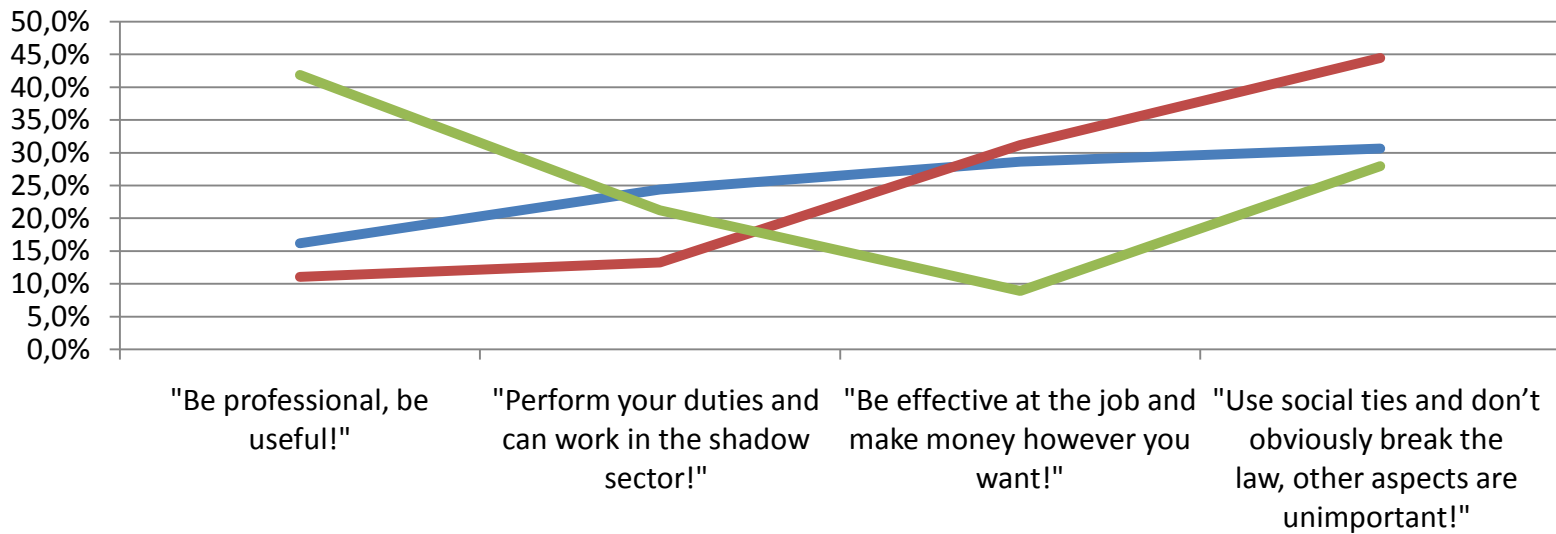
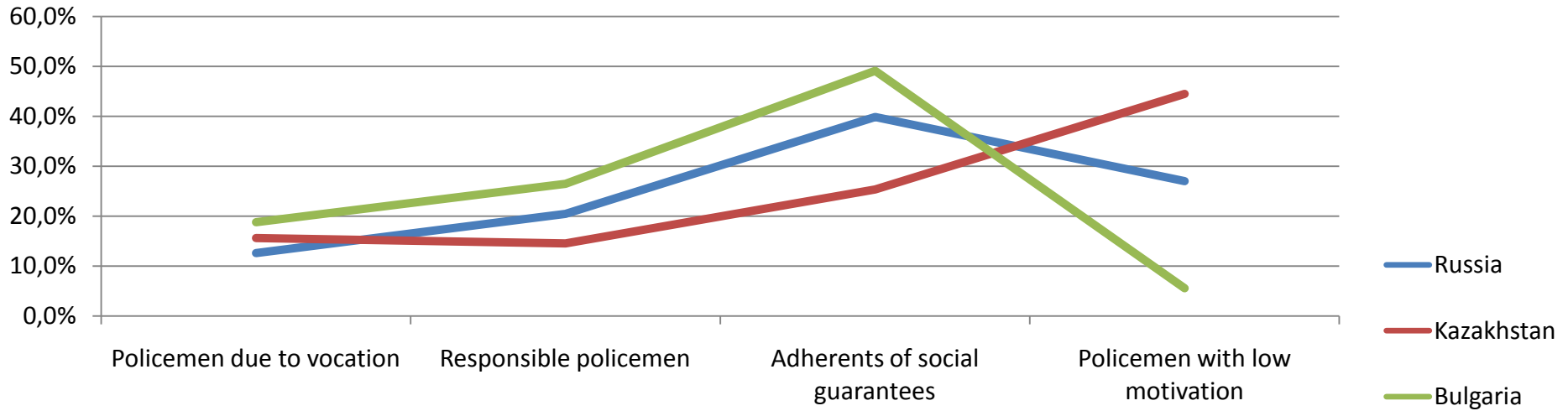
Individual involvement within different types of police culture



The steadiness of different combinations of group norms and individual values

The types of group norms and individual values		Significance of the contrast for the shadow economic activity	Steadiness of involvement	Significance of the contrast for the criminal economic activity	Steadiness of involvement
Group norms	«Be professional, be useful!»	p<0.05	Increase	p>0.1	Steady
	«Perform your duties and can work in the shadow sector!»	p<0.01	Increase	p<0.05	Increase
	«Be effective at the job and make money however you want!»	p<0.001	Increase	p>0.05	Steady
	«Use social ties and don't obviously break the law, other aspects are unimportant!»	p>0.08	Steady	p<0.05	Increase
Individual values	Policemen due to vocation	p<0.01	Increase	p<0.01	Increase
	Responsible policemen	p<0.05	Increase	p>0.06	Steady
	Adherents of social guarantees	p>0.1	Steady	p>0.1	Steady
	Policemen with low motivation	P<0.05	Increase	p<0.05	Increase

Comparison of police culture between countries



Concluding discussion

- ✓ Police culture constitute and regulate police economic moonlighting.
- ✓ Undertaken reforms against police economic moonlighting is ineffective.
- ✓ The line between formal and informal, public and private is vastly blurred: economic moonlighting activities blend with high performance and professionalism.

Thank you!

Contrast coding

Таблица 6 – Весовые коэффициенты контрастов для проверки устойчивости групповых норм и индивидуальных ценностей.

Контрасты для включенности в криминальную экономическую деятельность																
	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.4
A	-3	1	1	1												
B					1	-3	1	1								
C									1	1	-3	1				
D													1	-3	1	1
E	-3				1				1				1			
F		1				-3				1				1		
G			-3				1				1				1	
H				-3				1				1				1
Контрасты для включенности в теневую экономическую деятельность																
	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.4
A	-3	1	1	1												
B					1	-3	1	1								
C									1	1	-3	1				
D													1	1	-3	1
E	-3				1				1				1			
F		1				-3				1				1		
G			-3				1				1				1	
H				-3				1				1				1

Условные обозначения:

- Значение 1-ой цифры - тип групповых норм:

1 - Будь профессионалом, будь полезен; 2 - Выполняй обязанности, не бери взяток, работай на стороне; 3 - Работай качественно и можешь зарабатывать; 4 - Ищи связи и не нарушай закон, остальное не важно.

- Значение 2-ой цифры – тип ценностей:

1 – Полицейский по призванию; 2 – Ответственный полицейский; 3 – Приверженец социальных гарантий; 4 – Полицейские с заниженной мотивацией.

Examples of a priori contrast coding

The types of group norms and individual values		Policemen due to vocation	Responsible policemen	Adherents of social guarantees	Policemen with low motivation
Group norms	«Be professional, be useful!»	-3	1	1	1

The types of group norms and individual values		«Be professional, be useful!»	«Perform your duties and can work in the shadow sector!»	«Be effective at the job and make money however you want!»	«Use social ties and don't obviously break the law, other aspects are unimportant!»
Individual values	Policemen due to vocation	-3	1	1	1