LUND UNIVERSITY

Društvo i anomija. Sociološka analiza obavještajnog i operativnog policijskog rada i rada granične službe u oblasti Baltičkog mora

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[Link to publication](#)

Total number of authors:
1

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ZBORNIK RADOVA

ANOMIJA DRUŠTVA I POSLJEDICE

Banja Luka, 2017. godine

SOCIETY AND ANOMIE. SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF INTELLIGENCE AND OPERATIONAL POLICE AND BORDER GUARD WORK IN THE BALTIC SEA AREA

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Abstract: *Resolution of the prevailing norms in a society in the context of war, occupation, anarchy, and takeover by criminal forces dispels the old norms but also sets new norms, which in turn can be quickly dispelled. Anomie can be understood as the core of society, as a kind of "pulsating moral destructiveness" that no one really can control but that paradoxically produces social order. Anomie does not arise from nothing, from the void; it is the product of the interactive dynamics that arise when individuals come together, acting as a propellant to lead individuals to meet. Émile Durkheim's attention goes to how interpersonal interaction is creating changes in society, often showing the various pathological features that can lead to frustration and conflict. The individual's quest to liberate himself from the collective as a result has a rootlessness and isolation. When the old network dissolves, it becomes impossible to maintain the old norms and values. The individual is no longer limited by the rules of morality and authority. Instead, the individual may develop a pattern of constantly exceeding all limits because the collapse of the former social control coincides with the development of the system that requires constant growth of individual needs. The product of such interactions is a state of society where there is uncertainty about the values, goals, and norms. Durkheim refers to this state as "anomie".Durkheim analyzes deviation from the norm (as well as individual and societal response/reaction to the norm deviation, such as punishment) as an integral part of the issue of solidarity and social cohesion. The moral order in a society has a fundamental value according to Durkheim because individuals are both integrated with and controlled by the community. Durkheim saw integration as a way to tie the individual to the community through shared attitude, solidarity, and rituals. He saw control as a compelling force that binds the individual to the norms through the judicial system, laws, and sanctions. Durkheim defines a deviation from the norm as an act that offends a strong and definite collective consciousness. Thus, the acts are antisocial in that they violate norms and values that are important to the social unity. The work of intelligence and operational police and border guards in the Baltic Sea area (Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia) is characterized by the norm-creating and re-creating rituals from the first moments of the day: from the morning coffee and the first information exchange with an intelligence partner to operational actions in the form of surveillance or control of individuals and/or cars. These interactions are characterized by a strong desire to preserve the prevailing social order. In relation to the threat to the prevailing norms, there also are normative rituals. For example, in these interactions, "norm-dissolving Russians" are constructed who are not physically present in the situation but who are important in the relationship as invisible sacred objects. The making of the category "norm-dissolving Russian" in which Russia/Russians are used to dramatize the "other" is made visible in the empirical material when actors in the study describe (1) criminal Russians, (2) Russian espionage, and (3) Russian military invasion.*

Key words: *society, anomie, intelligence police work, ethnography, operational police work, moral, identity, solidarity, social cohesion, ritual*

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Introduction

Intelligence and operative police and border guard work in the Baltic Sea area (Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia) is filled with a rhetorical construction of crime fighters as defenders of current norm-stability in the society and others (criminals combated) as actors attracting current norms in the society (Besnard 1982; Durkheim 1979[1897]; Durkheim 2013[1893]; Form 1975; Kerckhoff 1959; Marks 1974; McDill 1961; Messner and Rosenfeld 1997; Kapsis 1978; Krohn 1978; Nelsen 1972; Roberts and Rokeach 1956; Tiryakian 1981; Tomasi 1993; Zhao and Cao 2010). Occasionally, "criminals" and "spies" from Russia as well the Russian military invasion are given the main role in demonstrating the crime fighters' defense of a norm-stability in the society, and thus fall into a category of "norm-resolving Russians." The purpose of this study is to analyze how intelligence and operative personnel within the different border authorities in Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia describe the category "Russian criminals" as well as which discursive patterns cooperate with the construction of the category "norm-resolving Russian as a sort of "Other" that reinforces their own in-group bonds.

Empirical material for the study was collected by three researchers (Yakhlef, Basic, and Åkerström 2017; 2016; 2015 a,b,c) inspired by ethnographic studies (Atkinson 1983; Becker 1970; Becker 1998; Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011; Gubrium and Holstein 1999; Hammersley and Basic 2012, 2013, 2015, 2017b). By participating in the project Turnstone[4], Yakhlef, Basic, and Åkerström gained access to follow the fieldwork of intelligence and operative police and border guards in the Baltic Sea area. Multiple forms of empirical material were analyzed in this study: observations and photographs taken during the field work (718 field hours), interviews (73), documents produced by intelligence and operative personnel (Project Turnstone 1, 2, 3, 4), and media coverage concerning intelligence and operative actions ("ATL Lantbrukets Affärstidning" 2015; Border Guard Latvia 2014; Norrtelje Newspaper 2015; Police Stockholm 2015; "Svenska Dagbladet" 2015; Swedish Institute" 2015; Sydsvenskan 2015); see section "Ethnographic methodology in the intelligence and operational police and border guard context").

The empirical material in this study overall demonstrates an intense interactive production of new symbols in the context, symbols that are used by actors showcased in the struggle (Blumer 1986[1969]; Charon 2001; Mead 2015[1934]). Media coverage and interviews about the conflict in the study seem to be movie inspired, in which criminal gangs are portrayed as organized and carrying out spectacular thefts (ATL Lantbrukets Affärstidning 2015; Border Guard Latvia 2014; Norrtelje Tidning 2015; Police Stockholm 2015; Svenska Dagbladet 2015; Swedish Institute 2015; Sydsvenskan 2015). A different story is revealed during observations, photography, and reviewing documents produced during activities. Perpetrators wear ripped clothes, drive rusty cars, and were previously suspected of or convicted for mundane crimes such as alcohol and cigarette smuggling, shoplifting, theft, robbery, and drug related crimes.

It is not unusual for different kinds of empirical material to produce different results in the analysis of intelligence and operative police work (Görtz 2015; Graaff, Nyce and Locke 2016; Grabo and Goldman 2015; Granér 2007; Holmberg 2003; Kennedy, Caplan and Piza 2011; Major 2014; Pajević 2016; Peterson 2005; Prunckun 2012, 2014; Ratcliffe 2007, 2008, 2009; Sanders, Weston, and Schott 2015; Unsinger 1999); however, additional parallels, i.e., a few common denominators, also can be found in different types of empirical material. Actors who come forward in this study create their professional identities in doing so. The dramatization of the actors exudes a subjective focus and attitude. Through coming forward, a kind of team spirit spreads among the actors; they are presenting a special moral order that is created and re-created throughout their work, in contrast with, for instance, Russians (Collins 2004; Goffman 1982[1967]; Kärfve 2010).

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[4] Project Turnstone is an intelligence and operative police and border guard project in northern Europe with the aim to increase close collaboration and control in the Baltic Sea area to decrease cross-border crime. The EU and Schengen agreement is the background of the project that implies a superior requirement for international police and border guard cooperation (Yakhlef, Basic, and Åkerström 2017, 2016, 2015 a,b,c).

My analytic discoveries are presented within the following three themes related to the creation of "norm-resolving Russians": (1) as criminals, (2) as spies, and (3) as a military invasion.

Ethnographic methodology

This analysis is based on an empirical study of a qualitative nature, particularly recorded conversational interviews, field observations, and documents. Methodological and analytical inspiration for this study is found in ethnographic research (Bryman 2015; Hammersley and Atkinson 1983). Ethnography is a research method in which the researcher (1) engages in a social environment for a long period of time, (2) conducts regular observations of how the participants in this environment behave, (3) listens to and participates in the conversation, (4) interviews informants about phenomena that cannot be observed directly and about which the ethnographer is unclear, (5) collects documentary sources related to this group, (6) develops an understanding of the group's culture and of human behavior in the context of this culture, and (7) formulates a detailed account of this environment. In other words, ethnographic research is characterized by a variety of analyses of different types of empirical material (observations, interviews, and documents).

The ethnographic method produces in-depth knowledge as the researchers shadow the daily lives of the people they are studying. Experiences, viewpoints, and social phenomena are not always discussed in interviews but can be discovered when the researcher observes day-to-day activities and interactions among people. By mixing interviews with fieldwork, the researcher can obtain an enhance portrayal of the individual stories and phenomena (Basic 2012, 2013, 2015, 2017b; Becker 1970, 1998; Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011; Gubrium and Holstein 1999; Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, 156).

During an interview, participants communicate and use the everyday knowledge of the social context (Silverman 2006, 109-52). In field work, when interviews were also conducted for this study, the researchers kept this factor in mind and sought to give interviewees space to bring up associated topics that they themselves found important (Yakhlef, Basic, and Åkerström 2015a,b,c, 2016, 2017). The goal was for the interviewers to take the role of interested listeners who wanted to know more about intelligence and operative work practices among police and border agencies in the northern part of the Baltic Sea region (Holstein and Gubrium 1995). By working in this way, the interviewers created a variation in the empirical interview material.

The fieldwork observations in this study were attained in five different countries and seven different border authorities. The method of the fieldwork observations is organized around the intelligence and operative activities in Project Turnstone. The observational material for the present study was collected during 718 hours of field observations in the participating border authorities. The researchers gathered observational material during joint actions such as operative action weeks (intelligence and operative work), project-related meetings, everyday border guard or police work, day-to-day office work, official project-related meetings, and official organizational meetings.

The 73 pre-scheduled interviews were conducted with 66 persons of the different border authorities including police officers, border officers, coast guard officers, border police officers, and administrative staffs connected to Project Turnstone. The interviews were carried out in English and Swedish (empirical sequences analyzed in this study, which was initially written in Swedish, were translated during the analysis of the article into English).

The interviewed persons are of different ranks and have different work tasks on different levels, performing intelligence and/or operative-based policing and border guard work. Most interviews were completed individually, but a few were conducted in a group setting. During most of the interviews, a dictation microphone was used. In addition, an interview guide was used in which different topics that the interviewer wanted to talk over were noted. The content of each guide was usually reviewed before each interview, and the interviewer tried to ask about all of the topics of interest during the dialogue.

The participating actors in the study were informed about the aim of the study, confidentiality and voluntary participation. The names of places and people involved in the study's empirical material, as well as other information that could identify the participants, have been changed for the present study.

In addition to ethnographic observations and interviews, in this study, I also analyzed documents produced by Project Turnstone (Project Turnstone 1, 2, 3, 4), media reports (ATL Lantbrukets Affärstidning 2015; Border Guard Latvia 2014; Norrtelje Tidning 2015; Police Stockholm 2015; Svenska Dagbladet 2015; Swedish Institute 2015; Sydsvenskan 2015), and photographs taken by the researchers during the field work. The purpose of these analyses was to examine whether and how the category of "norm-resolving Russian" was constructed in this material (Atkinson and Coffey 2004[1997]; Emmison 2004[1997], 246-65; Heath 2004[1997], 266-82).

Empirical sequences presented in this study were categorized in the empirical material as "Criminal Russians," "Russian espionage," and "Russian military invasion." My choice of empirical examples for analysis was guided by the study's purpose, i.e., to analyze how interviewees describe the category "Russian criminals" and the discursive patterns that are cooperating with the construction of the category "norm-resolving Russian." Furthermore, the choice of empirical example was guided by the *analytical quality of the sequence*, i.e., the extent to which the example clarified the analytical point I wanted to highlight.

Society and anomie

Resolution of the prevailing norms in a society in the context of war, occupation, anarchy, and takeover by criminal forces dispels the old norms but also sets new norms, which in turn can be quickly dispelled. Anomie can be understood as the core of society, as a kind of "pulsating moral destructiveness"[5] that no one really can control but that paradoxically produces social order (Basic 2016a, 2016b, 2017a). Anomie does not arise from nothing, from the void; it is the product of the interactive dynamics that arise when individuals come together, acting as a propellant to lead individuals to meet.

According to Durkheim, all individuals live and are influenced by a collective consciousness. A collective consciousness consists of a totality of shared emotion-driven actions arising from the interactions among people (Besnard 1982; Durkheim 1979[1897]; Durkheim 2013[1893]; Form 1975; Kapsis 1978; Kerckhoff 1959; Krohn 1978; Marks 1974; McDill 1961; Messner and Rosenfeld 1997; Nelsen 1972; Roberts and Rokeach 1956; Tiryakian 1981; Tomasi 1993; Zhao and Cao 2010). Based on the collective consciousness, solidarity is created, which can also be analyzed as a result of the interpersonal interaction (Blumer 1986[1969]; Charon 2001; Mead 2015[1934]). What happens between people when they meet is that social cohesion is strengthened by the interaction and interdependencies develop among actors. An increasing dependence also creates conditions for increased individualism. One important dimension of this individualization process is that the individual is released from the group's direct monitoring and control. However, this process is not unproblematic and can be the origins of conflict; the rejection of the prevailing standards will occasionally lead to expressions of violence (Basic 2017a, 2016a, 2016b; Blumer 1986[1969]; Charon 2001; Durkheim 1979[1897]; Durkheim 2013[1893]; Mead 2015[1934]).

Durkheim's attention goes to how interpersonal interaction is creating changes in society, often showing the various pathological features that can lead to frustration and conflict. The individual's quest to liberate himself from the collective as a result has a rootlessness and isolation. When the old network dissolves, it becomes impossible to maintain the old norms and values. The individual is no longer limited by the rules of morality and authority. Instead, the individual may develop a pattern of constantly exceeding all limits because the collapse of the former social control coincides with the development of the system that requires constant growth of individual needs. The product of such

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[5] David Wästerfors, Department of Sociology, Lund University (personal communication about sociological term 'anomie').

interactions is a state of society where there is uncertainty about the values, goals, and norms. Durkheim refers to this state as "anomie" (Besnard 1982; Durkheim 1979[1897]; Durkheim 2013[1893]; Form 1975; Kapsis 1978; Kerckhoff 1959; Krohn 1978; Marks 1974; McDill 1961; Messner and Rosenfeld 1997; Nelsen 1972; Roberts and Rokeach 1956; Tiryakian 1981; Tomasi 1993; Zhao and Cao 2010).

Durkheim analyzes deviation from the norm (as well as individual and societal response/reaction to the norm deviation, such as punishment) as an integral part of the issue of solidarity and social cohesion. The moral order in a society has a fundamental value according to Durkheim because individuals are both integrated with and controlled by the community. Durkheim saw integration as a way to tie the individual to the community through shared attitude, solidarity, and rituals. He saw control as a compelling force that binds the individual to the norms through the judicial system, laws, and sanctions. Durkheim defines a deviation from the norm as an act that offends a strong and definite collective consciousness. Thus, the acts are antisocial in that they violate norms and values that are important to the social unity.

As for the individual and society response/reaction to the norm violations, as in the form of punishment in response to a standard crime, Durkheim adds importance to the role of revenge in punishments of a ritual nature. Punishing the norm breaker strengthens the cohesion of conventional individuals, those who follow current standards and do not violate them (Besnard 1982; Durkheim 1979[1897]; Durkheim 2013[1893]; Form 1975; Kapsis 1978; Kerckhoff 1959; Krohn 1978; Marks 1974; McDill 1961; Messner and Rosenfeld 1997; Nelsen 1972; Roberts and Rokeach 1956; Tiryakian 1981; Tomasi 1993; Zhao and Cao 2010).

As long as the frequency of deviation from a norm (or crime) in a society is at a "normal" level (i.e., a level that is not anomic), in a simplified way, we can say that: (1) crime and punishment are appropriate for social integration; (2) a society without crime would invent new crimes; and (3) crime is functional in relation to social change demands.

Collins (1992, 110) argues that crime violates vital signs in a society and that the consequent individual and societal response/reaction to the norm violations, such as punishment (or willingness to punish a norm breaker), is a reaction to such a violation, a reaction with a mission to strengthen the normative order in society. According to this reasoning, directed punishment is not primarily targeted to the individual who deviated from the prescriptive right code and committed crimes; rather, it is directed mainly at the "rest of us," i.e., the conventional individuals acting rightfully and who witness the spectacle of punishment. Collins (1992, 110) means that law-abiding individuals, acting in accordance with current standards, are spectators of the dramaturgical production of the penalty and should be constantly reminded, through penalty administered, of the norms prevailing in a society. In accordance with the above perspective, the punishment is perceived as a ritual in which the deviant is identified and punished. Those who are acting conventionally, the law-abiding, will get a chance to verify their faith in a normative order by the opportunity to show their solidarity with others and with the whole community by witnessing the punishment.

Durkheim (1979[1897], 2013[1893]) means that a society without norm violations is unthinkable. He writes that a certain incidence of norm violations is expected for a society, for two reasons: First, if today all usual norm crimes disappeared, society would construct new ones. The collective state of consciousness would bring about the condemnation of works originally assessed with greater acceptance. As a consequence, crime in a certain form would disappear only to reappear in another form. Second, one cannot imagine a society being created in which all norms are in a static (unchanging) shape, which would require that all individuals are so affected by the collective state of consciousness that the coherence between the collective and the individual is utterly complete. According to Durkheim (1979[1897], 2013[1893]), the human character is double sided, and this complexity can be attributed to a fundamental duality of the person. As noted above, the person is on the one hand an individual creature and on the other hand a social being who represents the moral order and society (Besnard 1982; Form 1975; Kapsis 1978; Kerckhoff 1959; Krohn 1978; Marks

1974; McDill 1961; Messner and Rosenfeld 1997; Nelsen 1972; Roberts and Rokeach 1956; Tiryakian 1981; Tomasi 1993; Zhao and Cao 2010).

Violation of norms may indirectly – but sometimes directly – provide a basis for social change and future moralities (Besnard 1982; Durkheim 1979[1897], 2013[1893]; Form 1975; Kapsis 1978; Kerckhoff 1959; Krohn 1978; Marks 1974; McDill 1961; Messner and Rosenfeld 1997; Nelsen 1972; Roberts and Rokeach 1956; Tiryakian 1981; Tomasi 1993; Zhao and Cao 2010). A clear example of the interaction among norm resolution, restored order, and the creation of new normative correct codes in a society is presented in research on the Holocaust during World War II. The studies show that the pursuit of Jews and the Holocaust were normatively accepted in Nazi Germany and rooted in the prevailing laws. Individuals who did not wish to participate in the pursuit and the Holocaust were the norm breakers; they did not accept the prevailing norm. Only after the war were normative codes modified and "deviants" during wartime depicted as "good examples" – as heroes who dared to break the norm during the war. Similar reasoning can be transferred to activists who protested against the racial laws of the United States in the middle of the 1900s. At that time, activists were beaten and arrested by police, but after several years of protests, the laws were changed, and norms breakers who protested against the laws were shown to be carriers of a future morality.

In his analysis, Collins (2004, 34) further develops, Durkheim's (1979[1897]) view of social life with the help of Goffman's theory of situational significance. Goffman (2002[1959], 15-16) argued that individuals define situations to know how to act when they meet other people. Every definition of the situation has a normative character – it tells us what we should and should not do. The definition of the situation also depends on the actors' actions in the situation – and this refers to both the participants' and the audience's actions (Goffman 2002[1959], 21).

This normative accepting and rejecting can happen in a short-term interaction instance or during a prolonged interaction chain (Goffman 1982[1967]). Collins (2004, 58-9) points out that when individuals move between different situations, they cannot ignore the experiences of previous situations; past situations together with new ones are important for future situations.

Collins (2004, 12) also argues that norms do not occur in parallel with the group or society but are a fundamental part of social life. Kärfve (2010) argues that the normative right action should be understood as a learned and ritual-based social practice. Norms arise in the interaction between people – a special meeting with groups that differ from their own normative code. Accordingly, there cannot be a part of society that lacks norms and standards, which exist to be acted by real people; they may, however, be broken, changed, redefined, redesigned, and newly produced. Thus, within Collins' (2004, 79-101, 150-51, 183-222) conceptual apparatus: a successful participation in such rituals creates and re-creates norms and a sense of solidarity and the emergence of other sacred objects, which in turn are used in upcoming rituals.

The work of intelligence and operational police and border guards in the Baltic Sea area is characterized by the norm-creating and re-creating rituals from the first moments of the day: from the morning coffee and the first information exchange with an intelligence partner to operational actions in the form of surveillance or control of individuals and/or cars. These interactions are characterized by a strong desire to preserve the prevailing social order. In relation to the threat to the prevailing norms, there also are normative rituals. For example, in these interactions, "norm-dissolving Russians" are constructed who are not physically present in the situation but who are important in the relationship as invisible sacred objects.

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DRUŠTVO I ANOMIJA. SOCIOLOŠKA ANALIZA OBAVJEŠTAJNOG I OPERATIVNOG POLICIJSKOG RADA I RADA GRANIČNE SLUŽBE U OBLASTI BALTIČKOG MORA

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Sažetak: *Raširenost vladajućih normi u društvu u kontekstu rata, okupacije, anarhije i preuzimanja vlasti od strane kriminalnih snaga uništava stare, ali postavlja nove norme, koje takođe mogu biti odbačene. Anomija se može opisati kao nukleus društva, kao vrsta „pulsirajuće moralne destrukcije" koju niko ne kontroliše, ali koja paradoksalno proizvodi socijalni red. Anomija se ne rađa iz ništavila, iz praznine; ona je produkt interaktivne dinamike koja nastaje kada se pojedinci udruže, djelujući kao pogonsko gorivo koje potiče pojedince da se sretnu.vÉmile Durkheim se fokusira na to kako međuljudska interakcija stvara promjene u društvu, pri čemu često pokazuje različite patološke karakteristike koje dovode do frustracije i konflikta. Individualna potraga za sopstvenim oslobađanjem od zajednice dovodi do gubitka osjećaja pripadnosti, a time i otuđenja. Kada se stare društvene mreže pokidaju, postaje nemoguće održati stare norme i vrijednosti. Pojedinac više nije ograničen moralnim načelima i autoritetom. Umjesto toga, može da razvije obrazac po kojem konstantno prevazilazi sve granice jer se kolaps prijašnje socijalne kontrole poklapa sa razvojem sistema koji zahtijeva konstantan porast individualnih potreba. Produkt takve interakcije je stanje društva u kojem postoji nesigurnost po pitanju vrijednosti, ciljeva i normi. Durkheim ovakvo stanje naziva „anomijom".Durkheim analizira devijacije normi (kao i individualni i društveni odgovor/reakciju na devijacije normi, kao što je kazna) kao sastavni dio problema solidarnosti i socijalne kohezije. Moralni red u društvu prema Durkheimu ima fundamentalnu vrijednost zato što su pojedinci integrisani u zajednicu koja ih kontroliše. Durkheim vidi integraciju kao način da se pojedinac veže za zajednicu kroz zajednički stav, solidarnost i rituale. On vidi kontrolu kao silu koja opčinjava i veže pojedinca za norme kroz pravni sistem, zakone i sankcije. Durkheim definiše odstupanje od norme kao čin koji vrijeđa jaku i jasnu kolektivnu svijest. Zbog toga su djela antisocijalna ako krše norme i vrijednosti koje su inače važan segment društvenog jedinstva. Rad obavještajnih i operativnih policijskih i graničnih snaga u oblasti Baltičkog mora (Švedskoj, Finskoj, Estoniji, Litvaniji i Letoniji) karakterističan je po ritualima konstantnog stvaranja normi od samog početka dana: od jutarnje kafe i prve razmjene informacija sa obavještajnom službom do operativnih radnji kao što su nadzor ili kontrola pojedinaca ili automobila. Ove interakcije se odlikuju jakom željom da se očuva postojeći društveni red. Što se tiče prijetnje postojećim normama postoje i normativni rituali. Na primjer, u ovakvim interakcijama, konstruišu se „Rusi koji odbacuju norme", oni nisu fizički prisutni u određenoj situaciji, ali su važni u tim vezama kao neki nevidljivi sveti objekti. Stvaranje kategorije „Rus koji odbacuje norme" u kojoj su Rusija/Rusi iskorišteni za dramatizaciju „drugih" je vidljivo u empirijskom materijalu kada akteri u studiji opisuju (1) Ruse kriminalce, (2) ruske špijune i (3) rusku vojnu okupaciju.*

Ključne riječi: društvo, anomija, obavještajni policijski rad, etnografija, operativni policijski rad, moral, identitet, solidarnost, socijalna kohezija, ritual