

# PROFESSIONAL TRAJECTORIES OF RUSSIAN LAW STUDENTS GRADUATED FROM MVD-AFFILIATED INSTITUTIONS

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## INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH QUESTION

The Ministry of Interior Affairs of Russia (“MVD”) possesses a vast system of colleges and universities that offer bachelor and master’s degrees, primarily in law, but also in forensics, finances, psychology, information technology, and other majors. Currently, twenty-eight MVD colleges and universities offer face-to-face and distance learning programs to at least 10,000 students a year, located in all seven districts of Russia.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See *Ob obrazovatel’nykh organizatsiyakh sistemy MVD Rossii (Ob obrazovatel’nykh organizatsiyakh sistemy MVD Rossii)* [About Educational Organizations of the System of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia], *Glavnoye Upravleniye MVD ROSSII PO*

An MVD education is unlike that of former Soviet countries because students at these colleges obtain degrees in law that are equivalent to other law degrees from “general” universities. Thus, students can work at any private or public agency in Russia. Nevertheless, law curriculums of MVD universities are often truncated when compared with those of “regular” law schools. MVD universities must make room for military studies, firearm training, and other disciplines specific to law enforcement. Unlike the traditional law students in Russia, MVD students follow a rigid military discipline, i.e., they reside at the university dorms in the first years of study and are required to wear uniforms.

From the 2000s to the early 2010s, Russian police faced significant problems related to lack of funding, skyrocketing crime rates, pervasive corruption, abuse of power, and low public trust in police.<sup>2</sup> These problems caused recruitment and retention issues within the MVD workforce, including recruitment and retention of students at MVD-affiliated colleges and universities.<sup>3</sup> As a result, MVD universities experienced a low number of applicants, and many students searched for jobs outside the MVD after graduating from its universities.<sup>4</sup>

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KEMEROVSKOY OBLASTI (ГЛАВНОЕ УПРАВЛЕНИЕ МВД РОССИИ ПО КЕМЕРОВСКОЙ ОБЛАСТИ) [MAIN DEPARTMENT OF THE MVD OF RUSSIA KEMEROVSK REGION], [https://42.xn--b1aew.xn--p1ai/contact/Organizacii\\_i\\_uchrezhdenija/Uchebnie\\_zavedeniya\\_MVD\\_Rossii/Ob\\_uchebnih\\_zavedenijah\\_MVD\\_Rossii](https://42.xn--b1aew.xn--p1ai/contact/Organizacii_i_uchrezhdenija/Uchebnie_zavedeniya_MVD_Rossii/Ob_uchebnih_zavedenijah_MVD_Rossii) [<https://perma.cc/XL8L-2ZTB>].

<sup>2</sup> Adrian Beck & Annette Robertson, *Policing in the “New” Russia*, in POLICING DEVELOPING DEMOCRACIES 50, 53–54, 65 (Mercedes S. Hilton & Tim Newburn eds., 2009); Theodore P. Gerber & Sarah E. Mendleson, *Public Experiences of Police Violence and Corruption in Contemporary Russia: A Case of Predatory Policing?*, 42 L. & SOC’Y REV. 1, 16–23 (2008); Yakov Gilinskiy, *Corruption: Theory and Russian Reality*, in POLICING CORRUPTION: INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES 157, 159–60 (Rick Sarre et al. eds., 2005); Yakov Gilinskiy, *Torture by the Russian Police: An Empirical Study*, 12 POLICE PRAC. & RES. 163, 170 (2011); OLGA SEMUKHINA & K.M. REYNOLDS, UNDERSTANDING THE MODERN RUSSIAN POLICE 147–149, 165–166, 184–186 (CRC Press, 2013).

<sup>3</sup> B.A. FEDULOV ET AL., OSNOVY VOSPIATEL’NOY RABOTY S KURSANTAMI V VUZAKH MVD ROSSII (ОСНОВЫ ВОСПИТАТЕЛЬНОЙ РАБОТЫ С КУРСАНТАМИ В ВУЗАХ МВД РОССИИ) [FUNDAMENTALS OF EDUCATIONAL WORK WITH CADETS AT UNIVERSITIES OF THE MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF RUSSIA] 14 (2001); SEMUKHINA & REYNOLDS, *supra* note 2, at 107, 148.

<sup>4</sup> A.V. BASHKOV & B.A. FEDULOV, SAMOVOSPITANIYE PROFESSIONAL’NO ZNACHIMYKH KACHESTV KURSANTA VUZA MVD ROSSII (САМОВОСПИТАНИЕ ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНО ЗНАЧИМЫХ КАЧЕСТВ КУРСАНТА ВУЗА МВД РОССИИ) [THE SELF-EDUCATION OF PROFESSIONAL TRAITS OF MVD CADETS] 25 (2011); M.A. KOZHEVINA, [NEKOTORIE RAZMYSHLENIYA PO POVODU SOHRANENIYA KADROV V MVD ROSSII] (НЕКОТОРЫЕ РАЗМЫШЛЕНИЯ ПО ПОВОДУ СОХРАНЕНИЯ КАДРОВ В МВД РОССИИ) [REFLECTIONS ON CONSERVATION OF STAFF IN THE RUSSIAN MIA] 15 (2004); A.V. DULOV, [TEKUCHEST’ KADROV VYPUSKNIKOV OBRAZOVATEL’NYKH UCHREZHDENIY MVD ROSSII] (ТЕКУЧЕСТЬ КАДРОВ ВЫПУСКНИКОВ ОБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНЫХ УЧРЕЖДЕНИЙ МВД РОССИИ) [STAFF TURNOVER OF GRADUATES OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE RUSSIAN MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS] 5 (2003).

In 2012, the Russian government took measures to prevent MVD students from leaving the police workforce. The government now requires students to pay the cost of their legal education if the students do not work for the MVD after graduation for at least five years.<sup>5</sup> In addition, police reforms by President Medvedev between 2011 and 2012 increased stipends that MVD students receive during their studies. These reforms also significantly increased wages and benefits of Russian police officers and changed the name “militia” to “police.”<sup>6</sup>

After 2012, MVD-affiliated universities continued to change by including four-year education plans (in addition to traditional five-year plans), developing new majors specifically tailored to law enforcement (e.g., “operative-search” and “law enforcement” majors), implementing new assessment methods through the competencies plans (i.e., an assessment plan that measures students’ specific skills), and increasing their use of online educational tools.<sup>7</sup> The leadership at MVD often state that the prestige of and the recruitment to its universities is high, and the issues of retention have been left in the past.<sup>8</sup> However, Because MVD universities make little data publicly available limited research exists supporting these claims.

The available empirical research on students of MVD universities traditionally comes from MVD universities themselves and is conducted by their faculty. Most of these publications are concerned with the students’ psychological preparedness, ethics, and personal development throughout their years of study.<sup>9</sup> Recently, much attention has been paid

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<sup>5</sup> ПОСТАНОВЛЕНИЕ ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВА РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ ОТ [Decree of the President of the Russian Federation], Ukazy Dec. 28, 2012, 1465 [hereinafter Ukazy 1465].

<sup>6</sup> Caroline von Gall, *Das neue russische Polizeigesetz* [The New Russian Police Law], 219 *Russland-Analysen* 2, 2 (2011). Leonid Kosal, *Russlands Polizei – Reform oder neues Geschäftsmodell?* [Russia’s police - reform or new business model?], 219 *Russland-analysen* 2, 6 (2011).

<sup>7</sup> ELENA NIKOLAEVNA GRIVENNAYA, MONITORING KACHENSTVA VYSSHEGO PROFESSIONALNOGO OBRAZOVANIYA V SISTEME MVD (МОНИТОРИНГ КАЧЕСТВА ВЫСШЕГО ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНОГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ В СИСТЕМЕ МВД РОССИИ С ИСПОЛЬЗОВАНИЕМ РЕЙТИНГОВЫХ ТЕХНОЛОГИЙ) [MONITORING OF HIGHEST PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION WITHIN MVD] 113–32 (2015) (published dissertation, Krasnodar MVD University).

<sup>8</sup> See Vladimir Kolokoltsev, Minister of Internal Affairs & Gen. of the Police, Speech at an Expanded Meeting of the Board of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Feb. 28, 2019) (Rus.), available at <https://xn--b1am.xn--b1aew.xn--p1ai/Press-sluzhba/Novosti/item/16029298/> [https://perma.cc/MY7Y-STHJ].

<sup>9</sup> A. M. Borovitsky & V. A. Belovolov, *Kommunikativnaya Kul'tura Kursanta Voyennogo Instituta Vnutrennikh Voysk MVD ROSSII Kak Psikhologo-Pedagogicheskii Fenomen* (Коммуникативная Культура Курсанта Военного Института Внутренних Войск Мвд России Как Психолого-Педагогический Феномен) [Communicative Culture of a Cadet of a

to developing MVD students' patriotic views.<sup>10</sup> However, limited research has been done assessing the quality of MVD education itself or on MVD students' views or professional aspirations.<sup>11</sup> While these studies provide

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*Military Institute of Internal Security Troops of Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia as a Psychopedagogical Phenomenon*], 45 MIR NAUKI, KULTURI, OBRAZOVANIYA (МИР НАУКИ, КУЛЬТУРЫ, ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ) [WORLD OF SCI., CULTURE & EDUC.] 80, 82 (2014); Olga Vladislavovna Krachinskaya & Elena Petrovna Likhovidova, *Patrioticheskoye Obrazovaniye Organov Budushchego buduschikh sotrudnikov pravoohranitelnykh organov* (Патриотическое Образование Органов Будущих Сотрудников Правоохранительных Органов) [*Patriotic Education of Future Employees Law Enforcement Officers*], 26 VESTNIK SIBIRSKOGO PRAVA (ВЕСТНИК СИБИРСКОГО ПРАВА) [BULL. SIBERIAN L.] 86, 87–88 (2017). I.U. Pravosudova & A.M. Urazaev, *Professional'no znachimye svoystva lichnosti i obraza zhizni sotrudnikov transportno militsii* (Профессионально значимые свойства личности и образа жизни сотрудников транспортной милиции) [*Professionally Significant Personality Traits and Lifestyle of Transport Police Officers*], 73 VESTNIK TOMSKOGO GOSUDARSTVENNOGO PEDAGOGICHESKOGO UNIVERSITETA (ВЕСТНИК ТОМСКОГО ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО ПЕДАГОГИЧЕСКОГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА) [BULL. TOMSK STATE PEDAGOGICAL U.] 29, 31–32 (2007). Alexander Vasilievich Shcheglov et al., *Moral'nyy Oblik Kursanta Moskovskogo Universiteta Mvd Rossii — Budushchego Vysokoprofessional'nogo Spetsialista Sovremennoy Politzii* (МОРАЛЬНЫЙ ОБЛИК КУРСАНТА МОСКОВСКОГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА МВД РОССИИ — БУДУЩЕГО ВЫСОКОПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНОГО СПЕЦИАЛИСТА СОВРЕМЕННОЙ ПОЛИЦИИ) [*Moral Character of Students of the Moscow University of MIA of the Russian Federation*], 14 VESTNIK MOSKOVSKOGO UNIVERSITETA MVD ROSSII (ВЕСТНИК МОСКОВСКОГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА МВД РОССИИ) [BULL. MOSCOW U. MINISTRY INTERNAL AFFAIRS RUS.] 225, 228 (2014).

<sup>10</sup> Krachinskaya & Likhovidova, *supra* note 9, at 88; Shcheglov et al., *supra* note 9, at 228.

<sup>11</sup> V.I. Kuvatov, et al., *Statisticheskaya model otsenki rezultatov testirovaniya zanni studentov, studentov i slushateleo MVD* (Статистическая модель оценки результатов тестирования занятий студентов, студентов и слушателей МВД) [*Statistical Model Evaluation of the Results of Testing Students' Knowledge, Students and Listeners of Educational Institutions of the MVA of Russia*], 4 VESTNIK SANKT-PETERBURGSKOGO UNIVERSITETA MVD (ВЕСТНИК САНКТ-ПЕТЕРБУРГСКОГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА МВД) [BULL. ST. PETERSBURG MVD U.] 199, 202–03 (2015); Pravosudova & Urazaev, *supra* note 9, at 32; O.V. Radchenko, *Osobnosti professional'nogo vospitaniya kursantov i slushatelei v vuzakh MVD Rossii* (Особенности профессионального воспитания курсантов и слушателей в вузах МВД России) [*The Features of Professional Education for the Students of MVD Russia*], in ПОДГОТОВКА КАДРОВ СИЛОВЫХ СТРУКТУР (ПОДГОТОВКА КАДРОВ СИЛОВЫХ СТРУКТУР) [PREPARING THE CADRES FOR THE POWER STRUCTURES] 119, 120 (2016); Vladimir Nikolayevich Rybakov, *Osobnosti Formirovaniya Sosial'no-Nravstvennoy Napravlenosti Kursantov Vuzov MVD V Sisteme Professional'noy Podgotovki* (Особенности Формирования Социально-Нравственной Направленности Курсантов Вузов МВД В Системе Профессиональной Подготовки) [*Peculiarities of the Social and Moral Orientation Formation of the MIA University Students in System of the Vocational Training*], 66 NAUCHNO-TEORETICHESKIY ZHURNAL (НАУЧНО-ТЕОРЕТИЧЕСКИЙ ЖУРНАЛ) [SCI. THEORETICAL J.] 222, 223 (2010); V.A. Serebryanikov et al., *Motivy vybora profesii kursantami organov MVD* (Мотивы выбора профессии курсантами органов МВД) [*Motives for Choosing a Profession by Cadets of Organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs*], 2 Bulluten Kurskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universitete (Бюллетень Курского Государственного Университета) [Bulletin of Kursk State University] 1, 2 (2016); U. Sharanov & N. Guseva, *Psikhologicheskoye Obespecheniye Uchebno-Vospitatel'nogo Protsessa: Mekhanizmu Aktualizatsii Ispolneniya Professional'nykh Rolei Kurtsantami Vuzov MVD Rossii* (Психологическое Обеспечение Учебно-Воспитательного Процесса: Механизмы Актуализации Исполнительских Ролей Курсантами Вузов МВД России) [*Psychological Support of the Educational Process:*

a glimpse of information on MVD students, they suffer from common methodological deficiencies: each of these studies is based on data from a single MVD university and has a very small sample size and use a convenience sampling method. Moreover, each of these studies has measured data collected cross-sectionally through a single point of time. The only known study of MVD students conducted by researchers outside Russia is the work by Beck, which measured ethical standards of MVD cadets in 2000.<sup>12</sup> Since then, access to MVD students has been limited to MVD faculty, resulting in no current outside research on the topic.

This paper is a first attempt to examine students' views on MVD education and professional careers via a longitudinal study. Its primary goal is to study the dynamics of these views as they relate to changes within Russian society in general and changes experienced specifically by MVD. This paper will attempt to understand whether students' views can support claims of improved image and retention of a police workforce.

## I. DATA AND SAMPLE

Data for this study were collected through a survey of students enrolled at MVD universities.<sup>13</sup> Data were collected from 2005 until 2017, with only minor variations to the questionnaire. Only students from the third, fourth, and fifth years of studies in law participated in the survey. The sample is based on data from five MVD universities/academies/institutes, including two large and three medium-sized institutions located in the central and southern parts of Russia. The original sample size was 31,670 students. Because of significant missing values in some surveys, the analyzed sample size was reduced to 30,709 students. Due to unknown parameters of the research population, it is impossible to make a claim that this sample is generalizable to any law student educated in an MVD university in Russia within the selected timeframe. However, due to the large sample size, it is possible to suggest that this sample is generalizable to the law student population of the five MVD universities/academies included in this research. Due to political pressure experienced by MVD institutions in the past when partnering

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*Actualization Mechanisms of Professional Roles Performance by Cadets of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russian Universities*, 27 ПСИХОПЕДАГОГИКА В ПРАВООХРАНИТЕЛЬНЫХ ОРГАНАХ (ПСИХОПЕДАГОГИКА В ПРАВООХРАНИТЕЛЬНЫХ ОРГАНАХ) [PSYCHOPEDAGOGY IN THE STATE SECURITY AUTHORITIES] 53, 54 (2006).

<sup>12</sup> Adrian Beck & Ruth Lee, *Attitudes to Corruption Among Russian Police Officers and Trainees*, 38 CRIME L. & SOC. CHANGE 357, 360 (2002).

<sup>13</sup> This data is not official MVD data and is neither endorsed nor designed by MVD.

with US universities, the exact names of MVD universities included in this sample will not be disclosed.

## II. FINDINGS

### A. SAMPLE STATISTICS

Table 1 provides descriptive statistics for the study sample. Approximately 2,000 students were analyzed in each year's cycle, with fluctuation reported due to changes in admission and matriculation rates. Each year's data include students from third, fourth, and fifth years with significant demographic differences reported among the groups in 2006 and 2015. The gender distribution reported continuous growth of female students, reaching 50% in 2014. This finding is consistent with other reports that suggest an increase in the number of female applicants to MVD universities in recent years.

*Table 1. Sample Statistics*

Year	Total	Female %	Male %	3rd Year %	4th Year %	5th Year %
2005	2004	34	66	33	30	37
2006	2138	37	63	12	45	43
2007	1907	43	57	45	19	36
2008	2285	39	61	34	26	40
2009	2691	42	58	40	19	41
2010	2017	47	53	32	31	37
2011	2192	45	55	41	28	31
2012	2407	41	59	37	26	37
2013	2395	48	52	29	35	36
2014	2512	52	48	40	39	21
2015	2806	51	49	19	27	54
2016	2794	48	52	25	40	35
2017	2561	49	51	31	40	29
<b>Total</b>	<b>30,709</b>					

## B. PERCEIVED VALUE OF MVD EDUCATION

Table 2 reports students' perceptions of how valuable their education is for a future profession as a lawyer. Their perceptions are measured in scores ranging from 1 to 10, where 1 is not at all valuable and 10 is extremely valuable. Table 2 demonstrates that the majority of students assess the quality of their education as average, with a total mean for all years equal to 5.14. Table 3 demonstrates a statistically significant inverse relationship for value of education and the year of students' studies. The assessed value of education at an MVD university decreases with the increase in years of education; thus, fifth-year students assess the value of their education lower than third-year students. Table 3 also shows a mild but statistically significant increase in the total level of perceived value of MVD education, from 4.20 in 2005, to 5.14 in 2017. There was no statically significant difference between the genders and levels of perceived educational value by both years of measurement and the duration of students' education.

*Table 2. Perceived Value of Education ("PVE")*

Year	5th Year PVE	4th Year PVE	3rd Year PVE	Total PVE
2005	3.2	4.1	5.3	4.20
2006	4.1	2.2	5.1	3.80
2007	4	3.3	6.1	4.47
2008	3.7	4.8	4.9	4.47
2009	3.6	4.9	5.2	4.57
2010	4.2	5.1	4.9	4.73
2011	4.4	6.1	5.8	5.43
2012	4.5	6.5	6.9	5.97
2013	3.9	5.9	6.4	5.40
2014	5.2	6.4	7.1	6.23
2015	6.2	5.8	8.2	6.73
2016	5.9	4.4	5.1	5.13
2017	5.7	5.8	5.4	5.63
<b>Mean</b>	<b>4.51</b>	<b>5.02</b>	<b>5.88</b>	<b>5.14</b>

Table 3. Regression Analysis for Variable “Perceived Value of Education”

Independent Variables	Unstandardized B	Coefficient Error	Standardized Beta	t	Significance
Year of Education	10.095	3.409	-.450	-13.087	.000
Gender	3.201	1.290	.347	2.167	.950
Year of Measurement	1.964	7.201	.017	1.965	.004

### C. WILLINGNESS TO WORK AT LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES PAST GRADUATION

One of the major concerns among the MVD university leadership was students’ reluctance to work at law enforcement agencies after graduation. Even though certain requirements to work at the MVD have existed for quite some time, these requirements were not enforced by financial penalties until 2012.<sup>14</sup> Table 4 demonstrates that, even after 2012, at least 35% of students planned to work elsewhere. These numbers were lower for third-year students when compared with fourth- and fifth-year students. Based on Table 5, there was a statistically significant increase in the number of students who were willing to work in law enforcement agencies in 2017 (78%), compared with the number of students willing to work in law enforcement in 2005 (57%).<sup>15</sup> Fifth-year students were more likely to show a desire to work in law enforcement in 2017.<sup>16</sup> Both males and females were equally willing to work at law enforcement agencies.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> The original duty to compensate for education was promulgated by Paragraph 14 of Article 76 of the Federal Law of the Russian Federation About Service in Law-Enforcement Bodies of the Russian Federation and Modification of Separate Legal Acts of the Russian Federation. Federal’nyi Zakon RF o sluzhbe v organakh vnutrennikh del Rossiyskoy Federatsii i vnesenii izmeneniy v otdel’nyye pravovyye akty Rossiyskoy Federatsii, SOBRANIE ZAKONODATEL’STVA ROSSIYSKOI FEDERATSII [SZ RF] [Russian Federation Collection of Legislation] 2011, No. 342, Item 76. However, the specific financial penalty was attached to it by the Decree of Russian Government #1465, issued on December 12, 2012. Ukazy 1465, *supra* note 5.

<sup>15</sup> See *infra* Table 5.

<sup>16</sup> See *infra* Table 5.

<sup>17</sup> See *infra* Table 5.



Table 4. Willingness to Work in Law Enforcement Agencies (“WLE”) (Percentages)

Year	5th Year WLE %	4th Year WLE %	3rd Year WLE %	Total WLE %
2005	57	50	43	50.00
2006	60	54	38	50.67
2007	59	52	41	50.67
2008	61	55	45	53.67
2009	60	49	44	51.00
2010	59	48	42	49.67
2011	63	49	46	52.67
2012	65	60	53	59.33
2013	61	58	49	56.00
2014	65	62	54	60.33
2015	70	59	62	63.67
2016	76	57	61	64.67
2017	78	58	60	65.33
Mean	64.15	54.69	49.08	55.97

Table 5. Logistic Regression Analysis for Variable “Willingness to Work in Law Enforcement Agencies”

Independent Variables	Unstandardized B	Coefficient Error	Standardized Beta	t	Significance
Year of Education	8.012	1.204	-.388	-10.549	.009
Gender	1.045	3.180	.690	2.180	.690
Year of Measurement	2.994	5.109	.104	1.344	.008

#### D. PREFERRED AND PROJECTED PLACE OF WORK WITHIN LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

Because the term “law enforcement agencies” (*pravookhranitenye organy*) in Russia encompasses not only the police but also the state attorney’s office (*procuracy*) and even the court, Table 6 specifies a preferred and projected place of work among these three agencies. Comparative analysis of Tables 4 and 6 shows that, of the 65% of students

who were willing to work in law enforcement agencies, only 34% were interested in working at the MVD, which constituted 22% of all MVD graduates.

Overall, the state attorney's office continued to be a preferred place of work throughout the twelve years.<sup>18</sup> Table 7 demonstrates a statistically significant increase in students who *planned* to work at the MVD in 2017 when compared with 2005; however, there was no statistically significant increase in students who *preferred* to work at the MVD when comparing the same years.<sup>19</sup> There was also a statistically significant difference in gender preferences and projections among the three places of work.<sup>20</sup> Males were more likely to prefer the state attorney's office, while females preferred jobs in the court system, with the MVD being the least-preferred place of work for both gender groups (averaging 25% for males and 22% for females for the entire data set).<sup>21</sup>

Table 6 demonstrates a significant gap between the desired and projected places of work for law enforcement agencies, which was especially evident for the MVD.<sup>22</sup> On average, only 24% of students who were willing to work in law enforcement agencies preferred the MVD, while 45% of those students were projected to work there.<sup>23</sup> When considering that only 55.97% of all students on average were planning to work in any law enforcement body per Table 4 and, from that percentage, only ~24% were interested in working at MVD per Table 6, it is clear that only 13.5% of all students would willingly take employment at the MVD. At the same time, if 56% of students were planning to work in law enforcement agencies and from that percentage ~46% projected to work at MVD, this leaves us with 26% of all students who were projected to work at the MVD. From comparing these two numbers (13.5 versus 26%) it is clear that roughly half of all students who planning to work at MVD do not really want to work there.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> For 2012–2017, this category also included the newly-established investigative committee (*Sledstvennyi komitet*).

<sup>19</sup> See *infra* Table 7.

<sup>20</sup> See *infra* Table 7.

<sup>21</sup> See *infra* Table 6.

<sup>22</sup> See *infra* Table 6.

<sup>23</sup> See *infra* Table 6.

<sup>24</sup> See *infra* Table 4 and Table 6.

*Table 6. Preferred and Projected Places of Work for MVD Graduates From Students Who Are Willing to Work in Law Enforcement Agencies (Percentages)*

Year	Procuracy/ SK Preferred %	Court Preferred %	MVD Preferred %	Procuracy/ SK Projected %	Court Projected %	MVD Projected %
2005	52	22	26	37	20	43
2006	55	24	21	39	21	40
2007	61	27	12	42	19	39
2008	58	29	13	44	18	38
2009	56	28	16	34	24	42
2010	49	28	23	39	17	44
2011	45	29	26	43	18	39
2012	48	26	26	31	21	48
2013	47	28	25	26	22	52
2014	49	22	29	31	19	50
2015	45	22	33	30	15	55
2016	48	22	30	27	22	51
2017	45	21	34	26	21	53
<b>Mean</b>	<b>50.62</b>	<b>25.23</b>	<b>24.15</b>	<b>34.54</b>	<b>19.77</b>	<b>45.69</b>

*Table 7. T-test Models for Years of Education and Preferred and Planned Employment*

Models	<i>t</i>	df	Significance (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
Preferred /year	24.600	30,708	.052	2.522	2.33	2.72
Projected/year	18.102	30,708	.008	3.145	3.08	3.27
Preferred/gender	12.978	30,708	.006	5.129	5.00	5.65
Projected/gender	16.986	30,708	.000	4.123	4.07	4.60

#### E. PREFERRED AND PROJECTED TYPES OF JOBS WITHIN LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

While the previous questions were concerned with the choice of institution for future employment, Tables 8 and 9 report on the type of jobs MVD students would like and plan to do after graduating from an MVD

university.<sup>25</sup> Consistent with the findings in Table 4, the most preferred types of jobs included those located at the state attorney's office (supporting prosecution and prosecutorial review) and the investigative committee (investigation of felonies), followed by jobs as judicial clerks in the court system.<sup>26</sup> Jobs that constitute the core competency of the MVD (registration of citizens, inquiry, and criminal investigation) were again at the bottom of students' preferences, with only 13% of students interested in taking these jobs.<sup>27</sup>

Table 8. Preferred Types of Jobs (Percentages)<sup>28</sup>

Year	Citizen Registr'n	Inquiry	Investig. MVD	Investig. Proc./SK	Suppt'g Pros.	Proc. Review	Jud. Ass't
2005	2	5	4	20	34	15	20
2006	5	2	8	21	29	18	18
2007	5	2	7	22	27	19	18
2008	2	5	5	23	22	21	22
2009	1	6	8	22	20	19	24
2010	3	5	6	19	24	18	25
2011	1	3	6	17	27	22	24
2012	3	4	4	22	26	19	22
2013	5	2	8	21	25	21	18
2014	4	4	5	20	26	22	19
2015	1	4	6	27	25	20	17
2016	3	5	7	24	24	21	16
2017	5	5	4	23	22	24	17
<b>Mean</b>	<b>3.08</b>	<b>4.00</b>	<b>6.00</b>	<b>21.62</b>	<b>25.46</b>	<b>19.92</b>	<b>20.00</b>

<sup>25</sup> See *infra* Table 8 and Table 9.

<sup>26</sup> See *infra* Table 8.

<sup>27</sup> See *infra* Table 8.

<sup>28</sup> Tables 8 and 9 use the following headers/abbreviations: Year; Registration of Citizens (Citizen Registr'n); Inquiry; Investigation MVD (Investig. MVD); Investigation Procuracy/SK (Investig. Proc./SK); Supporting Prosecution (Suppt'g Pros.); Procuracy Review (Proc. Review); Judicial Assistant (Jud. Ass't).

Similar to the question on institutional choice, the question on type of jobs produced a significant gap between students' preferred and projected job types.<sup>29</sup> As shown in Table 8, the core functions of the MVD (registration, inquiry, and investigation) were included in the projected choice of jobs for over 30% of students, while only 13% reported to prefer them.<sup>30</sup>

Table 9. Projected Types of Jobs (Percentages)

Year	Citizen Registr'n	Inquiry	Investig. MVD	Investig. Proc./SK	Suppt'g Pros.	Proc. Review	Jud. Ass't
2005	5	11	16	13	11	15	13
2006	7	9	18	16	14	15	3
2007	5	8	21	12	11	13	9
2008	7	7	23	15	12	10	3
2009	6	6	20	14	11	16	7
2010	5	5	23	12	15	11	6
2011	4	3	24	11	14	10	10
2012	6	4	21	14	11	15	8
2013	7	2	23	14	16	11	4
2014	8	4	22	11	10	14	9
2015	6	4	24	14	12	10	6
2016	8	5	24	11	10	12	6
2017	9	5	21	10	9	11	14
<b>Mean</b>	<b>6.38</b>	<b>5.62</b>	<b>21.54</b>	<b>12.85</b>	<b>12.00</b>	<b>12.54</b>	<b>7.54</b>

According to Table 10, there was a statistically significant increase in the numbers of those who were projected to work at investigation, inquiry, and citizen registrations in the MVD in 2005 and 2017.<sup>31</sup> Other types of job groups produced little difference among reported years.<sup>32</sup> However, similar to findings in Table 7, there was not a

<sup>29</sup> See *infra* Table 8 and Table 9.

<sup>30</sup> See *infra* Table 8 and Table 9.

<sup>31</sup> See *infra* Table 9 and Table 10.

<sup>32</sup> See *infra* Table 9.

statistically significant increase in preferred jobs at investigation, inquiry, and citizens registration for the same years.<sup>33</sup>

There was a statistically significant difference in job preferences for female and male students.<sup>34</sup> Female students were more likely to prefer such jobs as registration of citizens, inquiry, and judicial assistant.<sup>35</sup> At the same time, male students were more likely to prefer support of prosecution and investigation at both the MVD and the investigative committee.<sup>36</sup>

*Table 10. T-test Models for Years of Education and Preferred and Projected Types of Jobs for MVD Related Functions Combined (Registration of Citizens, Inquiry and MVD Investigation)*

Models	<i>t</i>	df	Significance (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
Preferred /year	20.107	30,708	.000	3.112	3.03	3.72
Projected/ year	4.230	30,708	.990	6.145	5.98	6.07
Preferred/gender	4.120	30,708	.003	1.123	1.57	1.05
Projected/gender	8.006	30,708	.009	7.100	6.99	7.60

#### F. DURATION OF EXPECTED CAREER AT THE MVD

The issue of retaining newly graduated law students at an MVD institution is of great importance to MVD leadership.<sup>37</sup> Table 11 reports that only 14% of law students planned to have life-long careers at the MVD, while 22% would leave as soon as their mandatory contract is over.<sup>38</sup> According to Table 12, when comparing 2005 with 2017, there was no statistically significant difference in those who wanted to spend a life at the MVD, but there was a statistically significant increase in those who only wanted to remain for the contract's duration.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See *infra* Table 10.

<sup>34</sup> See *infra* Table 10.

<sup>35</sup> See *infra* Table 8 and Table 10.

<sup>36</sup> See *infra* Table 8 and Table 10.

<sup>37</sup> See Beck & Robertson, *supra* note 2.

<sup>38</sup> See *infra* Table 11.

<sup>39</sup> See *infra* Table 12.

Table 11. Duration of Expected Career at MVD (Percentages)

Year	Only by Contract	Find Something New	Entire Life
2005	12	74	14
2006	15	69	16
2007	14	64	22
2008	18	60	22
2009	11	72	17
2010	13	78	9
2011	15	72	13
2012	25	62	13
2013	27	65	8
2014	32	65	3
2015	35	50	15
2016	32	55	13
2017	30	58	12
<b>Mean</b>	<b>21.46</b>	<b>64.92</b>	<b>13.62</b>

Table 12. T-test Models for Years of Education and Preferred and Projected Types of Jobs

Models	t	df	Significance (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
Spend life/year	20.107	30,708	.790	2.213	2.04	2.52
Only for duration of contract/year	4.230	30,708	.003	6.145	5.98	6.43

G. MOTIVATION FOR WORKING AT THE MVD

The questions related to motivation for working for the MVD included one intrinsic motivation choice (interesting job), one short-term extrinsic motivation choice (wages and salary), one long-term extrinsic motivation choice (to gain legal experience to qualify for a judicial position in the future), and one option that has various interpretations (family members working at the MVD). Table 13 indicates that the most common choice was intrinsic (40.54% for interesting job), followed by extrinsic motivation of wages and benefits (25.5%), and family members

being employed at the MVD (21%).<sup>40</sup> It is evident that, since 2013, the proportion of those motivated by wages and family ties increased, while students motivated by the motivation that it is an interesting and important job decreased.<sup>41</sup>

*Table 13. Motivation for Working at the MVD (Percentages)*

Year	Important/ Interesting Job	Salary/Benefits	Family Members	Legal Experience
2005	52	30	12	6
2006	48	28	14	10
2007	51	24	18	7
2008	46	22	21	11
2009	48	20	20	12
2010	32	15	22	31
2011	30	17	21	32
2012	40	13	26	21
2013	45	22	25	8
2014	39	35	24	2
2015	36	39	20	5
2016	31	35	24	10
2017	29	32	27	12
<b>Mean</b>	<b>40.54</b>	<b>25.54</b>	<b>21.08</b>	<b>12.85</b>

Table 14 reports the reasons students do not want to work for the MVD for their entire lives.<sup>42</sup> This question was posed only to those who reported the desire to leave the MVD as soon as their contracts expired or when they found a better or more interesting job. The leading reasons were difficult working conditions (59%), followed by low wages (28%).<sup>43</sup> Consistent with the findings reported in Table 14, the proportion of those who were demotivated by low salary decreased between 2005 and 2017.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> See *infra* Table 13.

<sup>41</sup> See *infra* Table 13.

<sup>42</sup> See *infra* Table 14.

<sup>43</sup> See *infra* Table 14.

<sup>44</sup> See *infra* Table 14.



However, the number of those who were demotivated by difficult working conditions remained stable.<sup>45</sup>

Table 14. Reasons Not to Work at MVD Their Entire Life (Percentages)

Year	Low Salary	Difficult Conditions	Not Interesting
2005	30	55	15
2006	32	56	12
2007	35	53	12
2008	32	51	17
2009	31	66	3
2010	36	60	4
2011	30	62	8
2012	29	63	8
2013	25	60	15
2014	22	63	15
2015	20	59	21
2016	23	62	15
2017	25	58	17
<b>Mean</b>	<b>28.46</b>	<b>59.08</b>	<b>12.46</b>

#### H. GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY OF MVD STUDENTS

Traditionally, Russians demonstrate low levels of geographic mobility.<sup>46</sup> Law students from the MVD are no exception.<sup>47</sup> Tables 15 and 16 demonstrate that the majority of students (54%) preferred and planned to work in the same city where their university was located.<sup>48</sup> Very few students were willing to take jobs outside urban centers (3%), and only 5% were interested in taking jobs in any place that fits their career.<sup>49</sup> It appears that, between 2005 and 2017, geographic mobility decreased, with more

<sup>45</sup> See *infra* Table 14.

<sup>46</sup> Yuri Andrienko & Sergei Guriev, *Determinants of Interregional Mobility in Russia: Evidence from Panel Data 2–3* (Centre for Economic Policy Research Discussion Paper No. 3825, 2004).

<sup>47</sup> See *infra* Table 15 and Table 16.

<sup>48</sup> See *infra* Table 15 and Table 16.

<sup>49</sup> See *infra* Table 15.

students interested in working where they studied or returning to their home city for a job at the MVD.<sup>50</sup> There was a significant decrease in the number of those who wanted to, and were projected to, relocate to Moscow, when comparing 2005 with 2017 (from 28% to 18% for desired, and from 19% to 13% for projected).<sup>51</sup> There was surprisingly little difference between the preferred and projected location for employment at the MVD, with only some differences among those who were planning to work in the rural areas and Moscow.<sup>52</sup> Rural areas remain at the bottom of students' preferences, with 3% preferring to work there, but over 8% projected to work in such places.<sup>53</sup>

*Table 15. Desired Place of Work After Graduation (Percentages)*

Year	City of University	Region of University	Other Home City	Any Place	Moscow
2005	52	3	11	6	28
2006	50	2	12	5	31
2007	54	3	10	4	29
2008	53	1	14	2	30
2009	49	7	11	6	27
2010	54	3	15	5	23
2011	52	4	16	4	24
2012	57	6	15	5	17
2013	55	4	17	4	20
2014	58	2	16	5	19
2015	56	1	15	6	22
2016	59	3	18	5	15
2017	58	2	16	6	18
<b>Mean</b>	<b>54.38</b>	<b>3.15</b>	<b>14.31</b>	<b>4.85</b>	<b>23.31</b>

<sup>50</sup> See *infra* Table 15.

<sup>51</sup> See *infra* Table 15 and Table 16.

<sup>52</sup> See *infra* Table 15 and Table 16.

<sup>53</sup> See *infra* Table 15 and Table 16.

Table 16. Projected Place of Work After Graduation

Year	City of University %	Region of University %	Other Home City %	Any Place %	Moscow %
2005	51	10	14	6	19
2006	53	9	13	5	20
2007	56	8	11	4	21
2008	52	9	16	2	21
2009	51	12	10	6	21
2010	58	8	17	5	12
2011	54	9	15	4	18
2012	61	8	16	5	10
2013	59	9	11	4	17
2014	58	7	18	5	12
2015	57	8	14	6	15
2016	60	9	19	5	7
2017	59	7	15	6	13
<b>Mean</b>	<b>56.08</b>	<b>8.69</b>	<b>14.54</b>	<b>4.85</b>	<b>15.85</b>

### I. PROFESSIONAL MOBILITY AT THE MVD

Interesting gender dynamics exist among law students regarding expected first promotions within the MVD. While a promotion to the next rank can be obtained within three years of working at the MVD, there were distinct gender differences among law students regarding expectations of a first promotion. As shown in Table 17, more male students (75%) were optimistic about getting their first promotion early (i.e., within the first two years), than the number of female students (60%) who expected the same.<sup>54</sup> Despite these low expectations for promotion, a significant number (45%) of female students were interested in taking a leadership position at the MVD.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> See *infra* Table 17.

<sup>55</sup> See *infra* Table 17.

Table 17. Professional Mobility at MVD (Percentages)<sup>56</sup>

	Expected First Promotion			Would Like to Have a Leadership Position at the MVD	
	1 Year %	2 Years %	3 Years %	Yes %	No %
Males	45	30	25	69	31
Females	25	35	40	45	55

#### J. LEADERSHIP POTENTIAL AT THE MVD

Table 18, meanwhile, reflects the students' beliefs that they will obtain a leadership position. While 69% of male students expressed interest in a leadership position at the MVD, 62% reported little to no chance of obtaining such a position in their lifetime.<sup>57</sup> The difference was even more significant among female students, with 45% expressing interest in a leadership role at the MVD, and 68% reporting little to no chance of obtaining such a position in their lifetime.<sup>58</sup> Table 18 also demonstrates that the longer the students were enrolled at an MVD university, the more pessimistic they became about their chance to receive a leadership position at the MVD in their lifetime.<sup>59</sup>

Table 18 Leadership Possibility (Percentages)

	High Chance %	Medium Chance %	Little Chance %	No Chance %
Males total	15	23	25	37
Females total	5	27	21	47
3rd year	21	37	32	10
4th year	16	25	24	35
5th year	9	21	16	54

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<sup>56</sup> This data was collected by and is on file with the author.

<sup>57</sup> See *infra* Table 17 and Table 18.

<sup>58</sup> See *infra* Table 18.

<sup>59</sup> See *infra* Table 18.

## K. EXPECTATION OF SALARY

It has been well established that low wages and benefits were among the main reasons for the MVD's trouble with qualified personnel recruitment and retention.<sup>60</sup> Table 19 reports on findings of preferred salary for graduating law students at an MVD university for each given year.<sup>61</sup> Table 20 reports data on what MVD students actually expect to earn.<sup>62</sup> The original question provided answers as a range of absolute numbers per month. Because of several years of double-digit annual inflation from 2005 to 2017 in Russia,<sup>63</sup> these absolute numbers were difficult to interpret for the longitudinal data. To standardize the salary range data, I calculated the wages as percentages of the official monthly pre-tax average salary published by the State Committee on Statistics for each year. This calculation allowed me to account for the annual inflation. It also provides the reader with some sense of whether these students' expectations of earnings were reasonable. However, the reasonableness of these earning preferences should be viewed critically because annual monthly salaries, as reported by Russian government officials, are known to be inflated with high-value outliers.<sup>64</sup> As such, a true annual median salary is at least 30% to 40% lower than the reported average earnings.

Table 19 indicates that the majority of students preferred to earn between 120% and 140% of a monthly average salary.<sup>65</sup> The number of students who wanted to earn 100% of monthly average salary decreased from 14% in 2005 to only 1% in 2017.<sup>66</sup> Correspondingly, as shown in Table 20, the percentage of students who preferred to earn 120% and 140% of the average reported salary continued to rise from 30% in 2005 to 40% in 2017 and from 19% in 2005 to 45% in 2017, respectively.<sup>67</sup> The majority of this change occurred between 2013 and 2017.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> SEMUKHINA & REYNOLDS, *supra* note 2, at 107.

<sup>61</sup> See *infra* Table 19.

<sup>62</sup> See *infra* Table 20.

<sup>63</sup> For Russian inflation estimates, see *Historic Inflation Russia – CPI Inflation*, INFLATION.EU: WORLDWIDE INFLATION DATA, <https://www.inflation.eu/inflation-rates/russia/historic-inflation/cpi-inflation-russia.aspx> [<https://perma.cc/2KSC-DSFB>].

<sup>64</sup> T.M. Pozdnyakova, *Средняя заработная плата: подходы к определению показателя (Srednyaya zarobotnaya plata: podkhody k opredeleniyu pokazatelya)* [An Average Salary: Approaches to the Index Determination], 14 STATISTIKA I EKONOMIKA 82, 82 (2017) (Rus.).

<sup>65</sup> See *infra* Table 19.

<sup>66</sup> See *infra* Table 19.

<sup>67</sup> See *infra* Table 20.

<sup>68</sup> See *infra* Table 20.

Comparison of Tables 19 and 20 shows a significant gap in preferred and expected earnings. While the majority of students expected to receive 50% of an average monthly salary as their first earnings, their *preferred* earnings were at least 50% more than the average published salary (i.e., 150% of the average published salary).<sup>69</sup> As with the preferred earnings, expected actual earnings for law students continued to grow, with 25% expecting to earn 100% of average salary in 2005, and 35% expecting to earn the same in 2017.<sup>70</sup> There was also a statistically significant decrease for students who were expecting to earn 50% of an annual salary, from 58% in 2005 to 44% in 2017.<sup>71</sup> Expected earnings appeared to grow significantly during the 2013–2017 period.<sup>72</sup>

*Table 19. Preferred Monthly Salary After Graduation*

Year	In Relation to the Average Reported Salary by GKS					
	50%	100%	120%	140%	170%	Over 170%
2005	3	14	30	19	10	24
2006	2	15	25	25	15	18
2007	1	11	28	22	16	22
2008	2	10	30	25	14	19
2009	1	10	32	24	20	13
2010	2	8	39	17	22	12
2011	2	9	38	16	25	10
2012	1	10	35	19	12	23
2013	2	6	40	22	23	7
2014	1	5	42	30	11	11
2015	1	5	40	36	11	7
2016	1	3	45	39	6	6
2017	1	1	40	45	7	6
<b>Mean</b>	<b>1.54</b>	<b>8.23</b>	<b>35.69</b>	<b>26.08</b>	<b>14.77</b>	<b>13.69</b>

<sup>69</sup> See *infra* Table 19 and Table 20.

<sup>70</sup> See *infra* Table 19 and Table 20.

<sup>71</sup> See *infra* Table 20.

<sup>72</sup> See *infra* Table 20.

Table 20. Expected Monthly Salary after Graduation

Year	In Relation to the Average Reported Salary by GKS					
	50%	100%	120%	140%	170%	Over 170%
2005	58	25	11	4	1	1
2006	55	27	10	3	2	3
2007	56	22	12	5	2	3
2008	52	26	11	7	2	2
2009	55	23	9	8	2	3
2010	50	22	14	10	3	1
2011	52	21	16	8	2	1
2012	49	29	8	11	2	1
2013	48	31	9	8	2	2
2014	48	33	10	6	2	1
2015	43	38	12	4	2	1
2016	45	36	7	6	5	1
2017	44	35	12	6	2	1
<b>Mean</b>	<b>50.38</b>	<b>28.31</b>	<b>10.85</b>	<b>6.62</b>	<b>2.23</b>	<b>1.62</b>

### III. DISCUSSION

At first glance, it appears that the situation with MVD education in Russia is improving when compared to 2005. The total number of students planning to work in law enforcement agencies grew from 50% in 2005 to 65% in 2017.<sup>73</sup> Looking at the fifth-year students alone—who might be a better predictor of projected employment because they have already signed contracts—the situation appears even more optimistic: only 57% of fifth-year students were projected to work in law enforcement agencies in 2005, compared with 78% of fifth-years in 2017.<sup>74</sup> The total number of those who desired to work at MVD grew from 26% in 2005 to 34% in 2017.<sup>75</sup> There was also a statistically significant increase in those students who specifically plan to work at the MVD after graduation: from

<sup>73</sup> See *supra* Table 4.

<sup>74</sup> See *supra* Table 4.

<sup>75</sup> See *supra* Table 6.

43% in 2005 to 53% in 2017.<sup>76</sup> The number of those projected to work at the core MVD functions of investigation also grew from 16% in 2005 to 21% in 2017.<sup>77</sup> Overall, students perceived their MVD education as fair, and there was a statistically significant, though moderate, increase in levels of perceived value of education when comparing 2005 with 2017.<sup>78</sup> In addition, fewer students were motivated to seek careers outside the MVD because of low wages (from 30% in 2005 to 25% in 2017).<sup>79</sup>

However, other data indicate that such optimism may be a short-lived phenomenon. Many graduates between 2013 and 2017, who projected to work at the MVD, planned to stay only until the end of their mandatory contracts.<sup>80</sup> One can infer that such numbers are fear of having to repay the MVD for the cost of their education, which was required in 2013. There was also no statistically significant increase in those who desired to work at MVD in general and those who desired to work with investigation and inquiry specifically.<sup>81</sup> MVD was a bottom choice among graduates of MVD universities, who continued to prefer working for the state attorney's office, investigative committee, and court system in 2017, just as they did in 2005.<sup>82</sup>

It appears that wage increases in 2012 created extrinsic motivation for law students to pursue their careers at the MVD and decreased the perception of the MVD as low-earning employment. However, the statistics on intrinsic long-term motivating factors indicate no change or improvement over the last twelve years. For example, 2017 saw an decrease in those who view working for the MVD as an interesting and exciting job (from 52% in 2005 to 29% in 2017).<sup>83</sup> The increased wages also appeared to create expectations of high-earning careers among MVD graduates. In 2005, students' salary expectations were modest, with the majority expecting a salary of 100% to 140% of the country's average; however, in 2017, expectations shifted to between 120% to 170% of the country's average salary.<sup>84</sup> Whether these expectations are realistic or

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<sup>76</sup> See *supra* Table 6.

<sup>77</sup> See *supra* Table 9.

<sup>78</sup> See *supra* Table 11.

<sup>79</sup> See *supra* Table 14.

<sup>80</sup> See *supra* Table 11 and Table 12.

<sup>81</sup> See *supra* Table 8.

<sup>82</sup> See *supra* Table 8.

<sup>83</sup> See *supra* Table 13.

<sup>84</sup> See *supra* Table 20.



supported by the level of professional service provided by the graduates of MVD is debatable.

Geographic mobility of MVD students remained low throughout the entire period from 2005 until 2017,<sup>85</sup> which contributed to issues in underserved rural areas and uneven distribution of the workforce in Moscow and large urban centers. The growing importance of family in choosing a profession with MVD is likely an indication that law enforcement becomes a “family affair,” where generations of families continue to serve at MVD in the same areas. Considering Russia’s level of corruption and lack of geographic mobility among graduates,<sup>86</sup> it is likely that MVD graduates understand that local, informal family-based networks promote professional growth at MVD. One potentially positive trend on geographic mobility is the decreasing importance of relocating to Moscow.<sup>87</sup> This is consistent with other trends in regard to the general labor market, which is an indication that conditions in other regional centers became attractive for graduates to stay. The decrease in the workforce move to Moscow supports necessary decentralization of the workforce and provides for better supply of workers at local job markets.

Despite the growing number of female students at MVD universities in 2017, gender differences in expectations for promotion, leadership, and even preferred jobs remain a significant barrier against effective law enforcement.<sup>88</sup> Female students at the MVD expect to receive their promotion late, assume little chance of becoming a leader, and often prefer routine jobs like citizens’ registration over more unpredictable jobs, such as criminal investigation.<sup>89</sup> Many of these gender stereotypes are part of institutional knowledge and culture, and are perpetuated by the MVD universities themselves.<sup>90</sup>

One of the most alarming signs of problems within MVD education is negative socialization at MVD universities for students of both genders. The perceived value of this professional education appears to decrease significantly as students go through years of education at MVD universities.<sup>91</sup> In addition, the MVD institutional knowledge transmitted

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<sup>85</sup> See *supra* Table 15 and Table 16.

<sup>86</sup> See Russia, TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL, <https://www.transparency.org/country/RUS> [<https://perma.cc/HFK5-ULM6>].

<sup>87</sup> See *supra* Table 15.

<sup>88</sup> See *supra* Table 17 and Table 18.

<sup>89</sup> See *supra* Table 10, Table 17, and Table 18.

<sup>90</sup> See Marianna Muravyeva, “Should Women Have More Rights?” - *Traditional Values and Austerity in Russia*, ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG (July 2018).

<sup>91</sup> See *supra* Table 2 and Table 3.

through education discourages male students from taking leadership positions, even when they have a strong desire for such a job. As a result, the lack of opportunity to realize themselves as leaders can be an important factor that drives students to leave the MVD at the early stages of their career.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

In sum, data show that the 2011–2012 reform of Russian law enforcement produced positive changes in the number of students willing to work at the MVD by increasing wages and enforcing mandatory contracts after graduation. Even though these extrinsic motivations produced positive results, the results are likely to be short-lived. With the growth of inflation and increased salary expectations, the effect of increased wages and benefits is likely to disappear without additional funding from the Russian government. These instrumental factors are unlikely to produce long-term improvement, as the underlying problems faced by Russian law students at the MVD remain unresolved. The MVD 2011–2012 reform did not address the fundamental issues of professional nepotism and lack of professional mobility, nor increase the public trust and respect of law enforcement. The MVD core functions, with difficult working conditions and unfair rules of promotion, are the least preferred and least interesting jobs for law students.

One potential area of growth for the MVD force is increased participation of females. As more and more females are entering the profession, it is possible that gender stereotypes and glass ceiling barriers to professional growth will decrease at MVD. This could provide a visible influx of new workers into the MVD system. In general, in order to improve the situation within professional MVD education, one must address the common issues facing Russian labor markets: nepotism, a lack of professional and geographic mobility, and insufficient prestige for Russian law enforcement as a profession. By addressing these systemic issues, the intrinsic motivation to serve society and perceived fair opportunities for professional growth can produce a life-time commitment from graduates to remain at the MVD.