

An Garda Síochána adversity in a changing time: Making do with what they
can from a US perspective.

MSc in Comparative Social Change

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Declaration

I, Courtney Marsh, declare that this dissertation has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other institution and it is entirely my own work. I agree that the library may lend or copy the dissertation upon request.

Signed

Courtney Marsh

Date: August 31st, 2017

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to research the An Garda Síochána in Ireland, using previous organisational literature, predominantly within the United States, as a reference point to determine, if any, the similarities and differences between the police organisational culture of Ireland and the organisational culture of police departments in other countries. Other literature drawn on will include organisational, institutional, and social identity theory, gender theory, emotional labour theory, cronyism theory, and the limited number of previous research done on the Garda.

The study is conducted through qualitative interviews of ten current and former guards in the Dublin city region. The previous literature done in Ireland is descriptive of what the organisation does and values, but this study empirically contributes to what the organisation lacks and does not prepare the guards for. The literature drawn on covers the theoretical and empirical aspects of organisational, institutional, and social identity theories, police organisational culture, gender, emotional labour, and cronyism, with a predominance in the United States. The data provided from this study empirically contributes to these fields as well in an Irish context. General topics regarding policing in Ireland will be explored, as well as more specific topics such as resource allocation, gender, and cronyism. Theoretically, this study aims to contribute to the Irish field of police organisational research in the areas of gender, emotional labour, organisational, social identification, and cronyism in the work place.

Findings cover topics such as the general inefficiency of the organisation and its tendency to promote based on cronyism and nepotism rather than on merit and hard work. Additional findings include the practicalities of the job, the guards' views on gender bias in the male dominated work place, opinions on being armed, their ability to use discretion, and how they feel the public views the guards. A theme that seemed to emerge is that the guards on the ground are doing their best with the odds working against them, those odds being inadequate resources, poor management style, and media focus on faulting the guards for managerial issues.

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Chapter One - Introduction

Theme and Aims of the Study

The field of policing studies has become widespread and vast over the last couple of decades, and the United States has a burgeoning area of literature that covers many facets of policing, both on an organisational and public level. These studies have spread to other countries, among them the United Kingdom, South Africa, Australia, Northern Ireland and Scandinavian countries. However, one country that has nearly been left off the radar is the Republic of Ireland (further to be known as just Ireland). Academic studies into the An Garda Síochána, the police force of Ireland, are limited at best and narrow in scope.

This study aims to provide further insight into the organisational culture of the An Garda Síochána through targeted questions intended to cover a wide range of topics to get the most complete picture possible. The police force of Ireland was examined through an American tinted lens, in part because the researcher has extensive experience with the police growing up in the United States, but also because most of the previous research done has been based on American police forces. Theoretically, this study aims to contribute to the Irish field of police organisational research in the areas of gender, emotional labour, organisational, social identification, and cronyism in the work place. The very lack of research done in the field leads to any empirical data being a contribution to a gap that has been shown necessary to fill.

The research done thus far is descriptive of what the An Garda Síochána does and values, as well as its historical roots in the country. This study aims to contribute what the organisation lacks and does not prepare the guards for. There is also a section that contributes to the field on the general inefficiency of the organisation and their tendency to promote based on cronyism and nepotism rather than on merit and hard work. In addition, their views on gender bias in the male dominated work place will be covered. A general theme that emerged

is that of the guards on the ground doing their best with the odds working against them, those odds being inadequate resources, poor management style, and media focus on faulting the guards for managerial issues.

Context and Overview of the Study

The guards, as of 30 September 2016, consist of 12,850 people, one commissioner, two deputy commissioners, eight assistant commissioners, 44 chief superintendents, 165 superintendents, 319 inspectors, 1,956 sergeants, and 10,355 guards; in addition, there are 756 reserve guards (An Garda Síochána, 2017). As of the 31st of August 2016, there were 3,370 female guards (Fitzgerald, 2016). Any simple media search will provide endless news articles on the Garda, mostly critical; for the purposes of this study any news article referenced will be an article of fact rather than opinion or speculation. For purposes of distinction throughout this dissertation, when referring to any police force outside of Ireland the individual in uniform will be referred to as officer, while reference to any individual in uniform in Ireland will be referred to as guard, guards or Garda collectively, and law enforcement officer will be used when referring to both sets.

The literature drawn on covers the theoretical and empirical aspects of organisational, institutional, and social identity theories, police organisational culture, gender, emotional labour, and cronyism in the aforementioned countries, with a predominance in the United States. The data provided from this study contributes to these fields as well in an Irish context. General topics regarding policing in Ireland will be explored, as well as more specific topics such as resource allocation, gender, and cronyism. In the sections relating to gender, the references will conform to a binary structure of gender, and although this may lack inclusivity, the binary structure is used purposely to streamline the intent of this research.

Introduction to the Methodology Used

The data obtained for this study was based on the qualitative interviews of ten members of the An Garda Síochána. A relative gender

balance reflective of the organisation was sought using opportunistic and snowball sampling. Semi-structured interviews were conducted on an individual basis with each guard.

Chapter Two – Theoretical Framework

Organisational, Institutional, and Social Identity Theory

The evaluation of any police organisation, and the culture therein, begins with the theoretical groundings of organisations and institutions. In its essence, the goal of institutionalising anything is to instil value in it (Scott, 1987). Further to this, the institutionalisation that is done will conform to the current social climate and normalities that are present in everyday society (Scott, 1987). Organisational frameworks were implemented with the intentions of stripping the individuality from its workers to ensure that the stated goals of the organisation were not interfered with; the limit to decisions being made on an individual level were decided on with the objective of increasing predictability (Scott, 1961). This predictability, within police organisations, provides a sense of comfort and level of expectation to the public for what they should expect from law enforcement agents. According to social identity theory, individuals will join organisations with the goal of being accepted, to do so, they will observe the behaviour that is expected of the group and adopt the personality necessary to conform (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). However, acceptance of oneself into a particular social group does not necessarily mean that the individual accepts the values of the group, merely that they just want to belong to the group (Ashforth & Mael, 1989).

As outlined by Scott (1961), there are three broad types of organisational theory; classical organisation theory, neo-classical organisation theory, and modern organisational theory.

Classical Organisation Theory: Within this theory there are four major elements: division of labour, scalar and functional processes (growth of an organisation in the chain of command, delegation of authority, unity, and the obligation to report), structure (of and between relationships in the organisation), and span of control (how many people one person can effectively control) (Scott, 1961). However, this theory is limited by its focus on the formal anatomy of the organisation and does not account for or explain any deviance from

the formal that creates the informal structure present within an organisation. (Scott, 1961).

Neo-Classical Organisation Theory: This theory builds on the classical organisation theory by including the same fundamental components (division of labour, scalar and functional processes, structure, and span of control), but furthers it with an understanding that these individual units are shaped by the actions of the people in the organisation (Scott, 1961). There is not only a recognition of the informal organisation, but also an acknowledgement that this informal organisation affects the structure of the formal organisation (Scott, 1961). This theory took inspiration from the Hawthorne Studies and identifies the importance of motivation in the chain of command from those in positions further up the line (Scott, 1961). With these realisations came the conclusions that there will always be a certain level of human error involved in the scalar and functional processes (i.e. overlaps or gaps in responsibility), there is friction present within the structure, and that the creation of informal organisations leads to situations where members feel a socially controlled pressure to conform to the values presented within the informal organisation, regardless of whether or not they are in line with the formal organisation's values (Scott, 1961). One of the most important findings in this theory is that informal organisations resist change (Scott, 1961); something that will be supported in police organisational culture both in the previous literature and in this research.

Modern Organisational Theory: This theory evaluates how different parts of the organisation work together to reach collective goals, as well as how communication impacts the entirety of the organisation (Scott, 1961). Beyond recognising that there is an informal organisation present, it evaluates how an individual relates to the formal organisation and how the informal organisation fits within the larger scheme of the formal organisation (Scott, 1961).

Neo-classical organisation theory recognised that there is an informal organisation present within nearly all organisations, which led

to a culture vs. sub-culture conflict. This idea led many organisational scholars to study the inherent divide between the official stated intention of the organisation (formal culture) and the actual observed behaviour of the members within the organisation (sub-culture) (Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985). Organisational culture is supposed to be a concept that provides unity for the entire organisation as a means of reducing internal conflict, but the presence of a sub-culture threatens this overarching unity (Kujala et al., 2016). Although this may at first seem like a negative repercussion, complete unity is not always for the better (Kujala et al., 2016). Complete unity can undermine the ability to progress the organisation, as well as perpetuate negative qualities already present within the organisation; the fragmentation that sub-cultures create allows individuals to voice their concerns in a way that can better the organisation without fear of repercussion (Kujala et al., 2016). This change created by the fragmentation in the organisation is necessary in policing organisations, especially in Ireland, in order for the force to reflect a modern society that is constantly changing; often at paces faster than the organisation changes naturally. According to Durkheim (as cited in Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985), both the explicit and implicit (culture and sub-culture) features of social life are equally important.

Police Organisational Culture

Just like other organisations, police organisations have organisational and social identity theory present within them. Social identity theory holds strong within police organisations; organisational socialisation for incoming officers is how members learn the behaviours that will be required of them to “survive” in the organisation (Van Maanen, 1975). If an officer has a distinct personality type, it would be a result of the inherited organisational culture of the department rather than their own individual characteristics because it is thought that the organisation is a larger determinant in shaping behaviour and ideology than the officer’s personality (Jermier & Berkes, 1979). Within this theoretical concept, it is accepted that early organisational

socialisation and learning is the most influential in determining an officer's later behaviour (Van Maanen, 1975).

In agreement with neo-classical organisation theory, the divide between the official expressed culture and the observed sub-culture is also present within police organisations. The official culture in a police organisation is established by top tier management and expresses and adheres to what society expects of the organisation, this culture includes both the beliefs and the actions that are put in place to carry out those beliefs (Jermier et al., 1991). However, this official culture is often deceptive of what the "real" or sub-culture, which is created by the lower level or "on the ground" employees, is (Jermier et al., 1991). Whether this exists in an Irish context is something to be explored throughout this study. According to Jermier et al. (1991), the official culture of police organisations (predominantly in the United States) is designed with the idea of a militaristic "waging war on crime" (p. 5) model. Although this is the official culture purported to exist by the organisation, sub-cultures inherently do exist, and further, several different organisational sub-cultures can exist without tension in policing organisations (Jermier et al., 1991).

There are two broad typologies presented when theorising policing styles, and although each individual scholar may create and define their own unique typologies, they tend to fall under a militaristic style and a community and/or service oriented style (Paoline et al., 2000). As the names would suggest, the militaristic style lends to a more aggressive police organisation, while the community/service oriented style would consist of a friendlier, more approachable police organisation. Often there is an "us vs. them" mentality when it comes to policing, "us" being the officers and "them" being the public. This creates an on edge, suspicious approach on the part of the police officer to those who they interact with that can often lead to an increase in aggression; community policing styles give officers an opportunity to become more familiar with the area in which they patrol, which can in turn limit their apprehensions toward the public

(Paoline et al., 2000). This theory could potentially explain why there are increased levels of aggression in areas that adhere to more of the militaristic style of policing, but this will be explored later with the empirical data and analysis. The lack of firearms and street level observation would suggest that the guards adhere to a community oriented policing style and is hypothesised as such.

Gender Theory

Theories on gender and feminism are endless, but for the purposes of this dissertation, theories regarding gender with specific regard to policing and police organisations will be focused on. Rabe-Hemp (2008) based a study on difference in policing behaviours in relation to an officer's gender on the theory that differential socialisation and inherent biological differences between genders create two distinct policing styles and along with those, policing capabilities. In this theory, women are thought to police differently (and accordingly, the woman's style of policing would be that which is considered "different") because of these biological and socialisation differences (Rabe-Hemp, 2008). Chan et al. (2010) followed with a similar theory called "doing gender". This theory takes the gendered emphasis away from who the person is and refocuses it on what the person does, but there is still a divide present between what male officers are expected to do and what female officers are expected to do, and these expectations are aligned with the classically stereotyped ideas of what tasks men and women should be responsible for (Chan et al., 2010).

Prokos and Padavic (2002) follow the theory of hegemonic masculinity and state that there is clear divide between the tasks assigned to each gender, and these differences are created, sustained, and perpetuated by the organisation itself. Granted, a lot of the gendering that is done in the organisation is driven by unconscious actions and this dominant masculinity becomes most visible when it is challenged, and in the case of policing, this is when women try to enter what has been a historically male workforce (Prokos & Padavic, 2002).

Because of these social stigmas surrounding female police officers and the theories behind them, many male officers believe that because of their femininity, women are unable to be good police officers (Prokos & Padavic, 2002).

As a slight variant to the for mentioned theories, but still overall in agreeance with them, Grant (2000) assumes a biological and socialisation difference between the genders, but goes on to state that even though there are these differences, some of the differences apparent can work to the benefit of a female officer. Further to this, female officers would be considered less capable of performing some tasks (i.e. physical confrontations, typical “masculine” traits), but more capable of performing others (i.e. communication based tasks, typical “feminine” traits) (Grant, 2000). However, under this theory it is thought that women would be better suited as police officers because they are able to “take on” masculine traits, in addition to their inherent feminine traits (Grant, 2000). In this regard, men lack the ability to be both masculine and feminine without being looked at as weak, and this ability to mix gender roles would be beneficial to a female officer (Grant, 2000). This being considered, it has still been found that female police officers have struggled when it comes to finding a balance between being accepted as a woman and as a cop (Prokos & Padavic, 2002).

Garcia (2003) contributes to the literature with the theory of socialist feminism, which posits that all human adults are equally capable of performing any type of work. Although this theory suggests that each gender can perform any task, it at first implies that each gender can perform any task in the same way, but rather suggests that each gender has a different skill set that allows each to perform any task in a different way, the result is the same, but the process would be altered to allow for any gendered differences (Garcia, 2003). Although Ireland has been an arbiter of social change in some regards, the dominance of Catholicism and societal expectations therein, it is

hypothesised that a very wide gender divide would be present within the Garda.

Emotional Labour and Social Identity Theory

Emotional labour is how an individual modifies their behaviour to fit the display rules that each individual job calls for (Grandey, 2000). In its essence, emotional labour requires individuals to create a distance from themselves to act in a way that is expected from them by the organisation (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Each scholar has a slightly different, albeit overall similar, definition of emotional labour. Hochschild argues that managing emotions requires a certain amount of effort, and emotion regulation theory states that this effort can have negative consequences for the employee (Grandey, 2000). However, this negative effect can be negated if the individual closely aligns themselves with their role (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Another facet of emotion regulation theory is the use of cognitive change; the example given was that of flight attendants treating their adult passengers like children so they are not annoyed with their infantile behaviour (Grandey, 2000). Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) counter that emotional labour is how an individual portrays emotion and that these emotions may not always need to be managed to display what is expected of them; managing these emotions may not require conscious effort because of the routinisation of the task, but the emotions must be genuine for the customer to accept them (Grandey, 2000). Morris and Feldman (1996) have also contributed to the theory with the idea that even if the emotion that is required to be displayed is emotionally felt on the part of the employee, there is still an effort required in the action to display the emotion to the organisation's standards.

Society holds an expectation of which emotions should be expressed in accordance with the role that is being performed, regardless of how one actually feels about the role they are filling (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). These societal expectations vary across and within industries, what may be considered warm and friendly in one country, may be considered fake and rude in another (i.e. the

United States in comparison with Russia), and what may be expected in one industry might be different from the same industry in a different setting (i.e. fast food as compared to a high-end restaurant) (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Drawing on Goffman (1956), individuals working in the service industry are comparable to actors performing on stage; employees can at times produce emotions they don't feel (surface acting), but deep acting can also be employed to produce a more authentic interaction. The difference between the two methods of acting lies in the effort required to produce the desired emotion and deep acting can lead to a distancing from one's own emotions to the extent that they are no longer able to identify with what they naturally feel or recognise emotions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). In a policing context, this distancing from their own emotions and lack of ability to empathise can be detrimental to their own being as well as inhibit them from doing their job in a way that provides any real connection with the community. Both of which can cause issues to arise personally and professionally.

Social identity theory states that the more one identifies personally with their role and/or organisation, the less issues they will have feeling the emotions the job demands of them; the stronger association also leads to less emotional stress (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Consequently, those that are more likely to identify on a personal level with their role, are the ones most likely to reach a high level of burnout in a shorter amount of time and the stronger the association between the person and the job, the more likely they will be emotionally at risk because their personal sense of well-being is associated with the well-being of the job and/or organisation (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). In accordance with this theory, a law enforcement officer must be able to identify closely with their job in order to have a sense of satisfaction in what they do, but must also keep a calculated distance to protect themselves from future harm; a line that is hard to balance. Emotional labour is more likely to be associated with higher emotional exhaustion (burnout), but emotional separation from the job

is likely to lead to lower satisfaction with the job (Morris & Feldman, 1996).

Cronyism and Nepotism

Cronyism and nepotism at their core devalue qualifications and merit when evaluating individuals for hiring and promotion (Fu, 2015). Nepotism “destroys organizational fairness, motivation and harmony while bringing inefficiency along with insufficient training and development activities” (Arasli & Tumer, 2008, p. 1239). Most theories regarding this have focused on macro level approaches (i.e. how cronyism affects customer satisfaction), but few have taken micro level approaches to determine how this practise affects the employees within the organisation (Arasli & Tumer, 2008). Most of the literature contributing to the theory suggests that nepotism is more prevalent in larger firms, but there is work being done to suggest that it is equally as likely to occur in smaller firms in less developed countries due to the cultural values present in the country (Arasli & Tumer, 2008). The relationship between performance and reward is weakened when cronyism practises are followed, which then lowers the morale of employees and increases levels of stress and dissatisfaction in the organisation (Fu, 2015). Ireland is a relatively small country, and the An Garda Síochána an even smaller organisation, if cronyism is more prevalent in smaller organisations, where people tend to be more well acquainted with one another, then the theory would suggest that cronyism would be very present in the Garda.

Chapter Three - Literature Review

Organisational, Institutional, and Social Identity Theory

The Hawthorne studies were the starting point for many organisational theories, but what the data proved has been widely contested. The Hawthorne Effect, as it became known, refers to an unexpected result in an experiment (Wickstrom & Bendix, 2000). The Hawthorne Studies were originally grounded in the theory that changing an employee's physical environment would lead to increases in productivity, but the improvements in productivity were later linked to improved relations between management and staff; the workers felt as if management cared about their input enough to implement the changes in their environment they asked for, and thus, increased their productivity (Wickstrom & Bendix, 2000).

However, it was re-evaluated and any increases/decreases in productivity were largely dependent on the individual employee and any causal relationships that were considered conclusive were challenged due to the number of uncontrolled variables present in the initial study (Wickstrom & Bendix, 2000). Carey (1967) furthered this by stating that there were also too many variations in the variables for any results to be considered conclusive and that there were not enough subjects in the sample to make generalisability a possibility. Others have criticised the applicability of the study as well. Sonnenfeld (1985) concluded that the original findings did make sense; however, the replicability of the experiment would not be likely.

An ethnographic study testing organisational and institutional theories was performed by Goffman and documented in his book *Asylums* (1961). Total institutions create a space in which all aspects of life are carried out in the same space with the same people with the only division occurring between the patients/inmates and the staff (or in the case of policing, between the officers and the public) (Goffman, 1961). Goffman (1961) found that the creation of bonds between the staff and the patients blurred the line between roles and made the job harder, so to avoid this, staff found that treating the patients as

inhuman helped the staff cope with what they were doing to the patients. The line here is extremely fine. On a trip to Sachsenhausen, a former Nazi concentration camp, I learned SS soldiers were often told not to make eye contact with the camp inmates so as not to humanise them and make their job of murder more difficult. Staff in the asylum were trained in automatic identification (a person in a specific place must be there for a reason or else they would not be there in the first place) to maintain social control and order within the institution; these institutions were made with the goal of creating an environment where the divide between those in power (staff) and those to be dominated (patients) was clear (Goffman, 1961). Automatic identification and the dehumanisation of people on the part of a law enforcement officer strips them of their ability to use discretion and evaluate cases on an individual basis, something that could do more harm than good if put in use both in Ireland and abroad.

Police Organisational Culture

Jermier et al. (1991) based their study on the theory that police organisations have an official culture as well as the “real” sub-culture that employees follow. Their study found that officers often rejected the official culture presented by the organisation and acted according to their own sub-culture, there was also variations in sub-cultures (these sub-cultures were based on sub-unit assignment, rank, shift, physical danger, education, organisational tenure, organisational commitment, and work performance) (Jermier et al., 1991). The official organisation would present their goals to the public, but each individual sub-culture had goals of their own, and although there were multiple sub-cultures within the organisation, no tensions were created (Jermier et al., 1991).

When examining officer groupings, the officers that had the least organisational commitment, but highest adherence to the official culture, were the low seniority officers who had the most dangerous assignments (Jermier et al., 1991). Further to this, the officer grouping that adhered most to the official culture and policies were the least

educated. This group followed the rules most carefully, but did the least amount of work possible without being fired or written up; and the officer grouping that departed the most from the official culture tended to have higher degrees (usually in criminology, sociology, or psychology) (Jermier et al., 1991). However, Paoline et al. (2000) found mixed results showing that officers with college educations conformed less to the official culture, and in some cases, college educated officers would be less trustful of the citizens they patrolled. The existence of unofficial culture as well as any sub-cultures is something that will be explored in this research.

Van Maanen (1975) carried out an ethnographic study examining how organisational socialisation affected the officer during their career. He found that difference in officers' backgrounds did not lead to significant differences in attitude toward the job, but overall, motivation for the job declined drastically over time (Van Maanen, 1975). There was a desire present in the officer to act like the rest of the group so he/she would be accepted by the other officers, this was due in part to the link shown between personal acceptance and overall job satisfaction (Van Maanen, 1975). An important conclusion Van Maanen (1975) came to was that the police training academy did not prepare the officers for the job, only being in the field while on the job gave them the necessary tools.

As previously mentioned, organisational values are supposed to reflect the current social standards, but because of how often the law can change, police organisations have a difficult time keeping pace with these standards (Fry & Berkes, 1983). Regardless of this issue, as well as the police organisation's inability to address ongoing problems the police face as well as demands placed on them, police officers are taught not to question the organisational culture, but rather have trust in it (Fry & Berkes, 1983). The current organisational model, as cited in this article, is the paramilitary model that fosters an aggressive policing model and has been found to be an ineffective policing model because crime control does not work with said model (Fry & Berkes, 1983).

However, the conclusion that Fry and Berkes (1983) came to was that the current model will be hard to overcome because the people needed to institute a change to the culture (in this case the officers) are usually the ones who are fighting most to keep it in place.

Many departments employ tactics that set the bar for violence relatively high to start, and this leaves little room for any deviance from a militarised solution (Grabiner, 2016). In the United States in particular, many police officers are former members of the military that have undergone military level training, part of this training includes psychological training that eliminates an emotional response over killing a person, and leads to a systematic issue with violent policing (Grabiner, 2016). An important finding in Grabiner's (2016) study found that police officer fatalities are often heavily reported on, yet police officer fatalities do not even rank in the top ten most dangerous jobs, but the coverage serves to further divide and emphasise the police officer's position in society. The hypothesised difference in policing styles, as well as lack of firearms carried by guards, would lead to a hypothesis that violence is not a predominant characteristic of Irish policing.

Kingshott et al. (2004) explored more implicit facets to policing, including loyalty among officers and mental health counselling. An "us versus them" mentality lead to the conclusion that officers valued loyalty as the most important police value, and that this loyalty can cross over into the territory of what is known as the "blue wall of silence" (Kingshott et al., 2004). This wall creates an integrity vs. loyalty dilemma, where integrity is viewed as negative and loyalty is valued above all else (Kingshott et al., 2004). The demanding schedules of police officers make socialising with non-members more difficult and further tightens the solidarity among them, and not being accepted into the group creates stress among officers (Kingshott et al., 2004). The stress the officers are under can necessitate a need for counselling, but the culture present within police organisations creates a situation

in which asking for help is considered a weakness, and thus furthers the stress officers are dealing with (Kingshott et al., 2004).

In an English study, Loftus (2010) examined what officers considered to be their occupational role and how this influenced how they operated. During these interviews, officers regarded the crime fighting elements of their work as the “real” policing, and would often glorify these events, even though these events were more of a rare occurrence (Loftus, 2010). In accordance with Goffman’s (1961) findings in an asylum, Loftus (2010) found that officers would often stereotype certain individuals and react to them accordingly (automatic identification) by means of change in demeanour or use of language (i.e. using swear words when interacting with the lower classes in society). There were differences found among officers based on personal characteristics, but these were mostly superseded by a dominant police culture that shares similarities with police cultures found decades before; this pervasiveness in police culture over time is due in part to the role of the police officer not changing significantly (Loftus, 2010). This resistance to change due to the lack of development in the police officers’ role begs the question of whether the role of the police officer should be changing with the progress that is being made in society.

Gender Theory

Policing is a male dominated organisation; women have been part of the organisation since the 1880s, and yet it is still believed that women are not capable of performing the job as well as men, in large part due to a lack of physical strength, but for other reasons (such as an inability to be authoritative) as well (Rabe-Hemp, 2008). It has been shown that women often use less force than men during arrests; however, most police work is related to non-confrontational duties where lack of force would become a non-issue (Rabe-Hemp, 2008, Sklansky, 2006). According to a study by Sklansky (2006), women in policing are typically more educated, and as such, are found to be more helpful in domestic violence cases. Further to this, women’s superior

communication skills could prove more useful in the field than sheer force, in particular when it comes to cases involving juveniles or victims of crime (Rabe-Hemp, 2008). Results of Rabe-Hemp's (2008) study showed that female police officers were less aggressive and less likely to use extreme controlling behaviours (i.e. physical force and threat), but the results were situational and it was unclear whether the female officers were actually less aggressive, or if they were considered less aggressive because they were systematically put in less aggressive situations (Rabe-Hemp, 2008). Interestingly, female officers were less likely to use supporting behaviours, which does not support the hypothesis that female officers are more nurturing, and leads to a possible indication that females who are drawn to the field do not necessarily have the typical feminine traits, or at the very least do not exhibit them at work (Rabe-Hemp, 2008).

The argument that women are gender socialised differently and therefore would not be able to take on the masculine traits of a "typical" police officer forces female police officers to choose between being women officers and officers that are women (Poteyeva & Sun, 2009). Poteyeva and Sun (2009) found that the individual characteristics of officers are overpowered by the police occupational culture of the department, and because of this, many differences between the genders would be negated. Less than half of the studies analysed in the article found any significant differences between male and female officers.

Officers are often faced with the issue of having to give up much of their identity to become what is considered an acceptable officer, either the officers conform to the sub-culture present within the organisation or they do not last (Sklansky, 2006). Sklansky (2006) noted that "the job shapes the officer, not the other way around" (p. 1210) further reinforcing the idea that gender differences make for better or worse officers are not supported. During Sklansky's (2006) study, there were some instances analysed where female officers were less likely to use excessive force or shoot their weapon, but other studies found that

female officers were more, or just as, likely to do so; this was supported by other studies analysed assessing that both genders act in similar ways while policing.

Having female police officers has been cited as a positive change, both within the department and for the community. If the police department diversifies and reflects the community's demographic, the organisation will gain more respect from the community (Sklansky, 2006). In addition to this, there is thought to be a positive effect on other officers within the organisation from the diversity that female officers provide, studies have shown that male officers will react better to domestic violence cases if paired with a female officer (Sklansky, 2006). There have been instances where older officers have asserted that new types of officer (i.e. female officers) in the department create an internal divide among officers that creates tension from within, which in turn leads to a less cohesive department; however, this lack of cohesion has been positive for police departments because it allows for disagreement within the department that can produce positive changes (Sklansky, 2006). The "difference hypothesis" asserts that increased numbers of female officers will lead to further positive changes (Grant, 2000). Possibly one of the only ways to create gender equality in this male dominated organisation would be to hire more female officers so as to eliminate their "token status", but the mere perception that women are not as capable as men is enough to perpetuate the bias and hinder any progress (Poteyeva & Sun, 2009; Grant, 2000). The guards' view on the public's opinion of them, as well as of female guards, will be evaluated to see if there is any marked difference felt by the department and by the public with regard to female policing.

Traditionally, policemen are the arbiters of crime, the enforcers of the law, while policewomen are the communicators, the preventers of crime through moral guidance (Garcia, 2003). Under this framework, gender equality in society did not equate to women taking on a man's role, in police departments specifically, women were in the office to aid

and/or support to male police officers, not to perform the same job as them (Garcia, 2003). Female police officers, upon initial entry into the police departments, were expected to maintain a feminine/masculine balance and were not only allowed to be sexually harassed, but were then held accountable for the actions taken against them (Garcia, 2003). The main argument for why women were allowed to be treated in this manner was that they were ineffective police officers that were unable to handle dangerous criminals as sufficiently as their male counterparts due to lack of physical strength; however, repeated studies have shown that not only is this not supported, but that physical strength is not necessary to successfully handle dangerous situations and that women's superior communication skills can aid in reducing excessive force cases (Garcia, 2003). Women's entry into the police force follows similar patterns of resistance of women entering any male dominated profession, and even though studies have supported that women are just as capable as men of performing the job, the idea that women should be in the home is a barrier that still needs to be overcome (Garcia, 2003). The idea that a woman is not capable of performing the job as well as a man leads to the idea that women should not even attempt to join the police organisation in the first place (Garcia, 2003).

Further resistance to female officers joining the organisation is based on the idea that the public will be more likely to disregard a female officer and embarrass the department as well as harm the reputation of the department's ability to maintain order (Chan et al., 2010). According to Grant's (2000) study, public opinion supported the idea of policewomen, but still held a belief that female officers are less able to handle violence effectively. How the public reacted to female officers would be dependent on the type of incident being dealt with, but often female officers would be disrespected, or otherwise completely ignored, if a male officer was present (Grant, 2000). Jermier et al. (1991) also found support for the notion that men were more respected in uniform than women by the public.

Although gender bias is present within the organisation during the job, Chan et al. (2010) found that gender differences were not as relevant during training because the main goal at that time was becoming an officer, “doing gender” was less important than “doing policing”. A study by Prokos and Padavic (2002) shows little support for the former conclusion, during this study the researcher, a female, went through the training academy in the Southeast United States, the region generally being characterised by more traditional gender values. (As someone from the Southeast of the United States, I can attest to this evaluation.) During the training, the researcher found that male officers felt that female officers did not belong in the field due to a woman’s increased morality and expected propensity to expose corruption, excessive violence, and extramarital (on-duty) affairs (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). In addition to a very subliminally gendered curriculum (i.e. instructors using masculine pronouns, women being used as victims/sexual objects), female trainees were often harassed and treated unfairly; this was done as an initial attempt to push women out of the organisation, but if this failed female officers were then often put into the positions in the job that required less masculine tasks (i.e. paperwork, office duties) (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). In the training academy, gender based differences were held above all other differences (i.e. race, social background, etc.), and women put in situations where they were either seen as feminine and therefore inferior to men, or equal to men, in terms of strength, and rejected by the men because they were defying their normal gendered expectations; in these situations, men were considered the norm and women were thought to be the “different” ones (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). Prokos and Padavic (2002) found that the academy would perpetuate the idea that women are fundamentally different and thus less qualified and capable of being police officers; there was a marked difference between “real women” and “strong women” and so, “to be feminine they need to sacrifice strength; to be a cop they need to sacrifice femininity” (p. 450).

Counselling

There was a general lack of data on counselling within the police force throughout the entirety of the literature; this in itself is telling of the nature of counselling in police work. One study found only recruited officers who were required to seek help because of clinically diagnosed disorders, but found that policing is one of the most stressful jobs (Gersons et al., 2000). In a study by He et al. (2002), it was found that female police officers had higher levels of stress due to the police organisational culture that favours masculinity and perpetuates harassment toward female officers. Having peer support on the job was especially important for female officers because of their already outside status in the organisation (He et al., 2002). Female officers were found to employ more constructive coping mechanisms than their male counterparts, yet they still had higher levels of stress (He et al., 2002). According to a Norwegian study, male and female officers reported similar demands placed on them, but female officers reported higher levels of stress due to gender discrimination, less perception of equal opportunity, and increased levels of sexual harassment (Burke & Mikkelsen, 2005). Overall, male officers were found to avoid seeking help so as not to be seen as weak by other members of the organisation (He et al., 2002). Because of the relatively recent emergence of police culture in Ireland, counselling will be explored in this research to determine if the resistance to counselling is something that is still prevalent in a more modern time as well as in a different cultural context.

Emotional Labour

As presented in chapter two, emotional labour is the way in which emotions are displayed to fit the required standard of the organisation an individual is part of. A study by Pogrebin and Poole (1988) found that police officers will manage their emotions of fear by using humour in difficult or threatening situations (cited in Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Pogrebin and Poole also found that when officers must repress their emotions to traumatic events, it makes them less

able to connect and/or empathise with the community they interact with on a regular basis (cited in Grandey, 2000). The long-term effect of emotional labour is both mental and physical; constantly presenting false emotions creates stress that leads to job dissatisfaction and the steps taken to regulate emotions can produce physiological responses that can cause health problems (Grandey, 2000). In addition, an overall lack of control over a situation, such as in the expectation of an organisation of an employee to regulate their emotions, contributes to stress; whereas the support of a supervisor can lower stress and strengthen job satisfaction (Grandey, 2000). Both the constant necessity to manage their emotions while on the job and their inability to know what kind of situation they will be confronted with daily, law enforcements officers are faced with a constant stress that is necessary to control and to maintain their mental and physical health. In the act of emotional labour, women show greater emotional expressivity than men and because of this, are expected to regulate their emotions more often than men (Morris & Feldman, 1996).

Cronyism and Nepotism

Both cronyism and nepotism are found to decrease employee satisfaction within the organisation, but there are further negative effects found when these practises are employed (Fu, 2015). There is probable cause to believe that those who are promoted because of their relationship with someone in a position of power are having performance levels inflated to hide that the misallocated promotions that were not based on merit (Fu, 2015). Nepotism, favouritism, and cronyism were all found to create added stress in the workplace, increase job dissatisfaction, and increase the desire to quit among employees; all of which lead to increased costs to the organisation through the need for advertising, hiring, and training new employees (Arasli & Tumer, 2008); in the case of policing, a constant need to hire new officers leads to an overall lack of experience that can create uncertainty and poor decision making in the field. Additional causes of stress in the work place were attributed to irregular work hours, loud

noises, boring jobs, an inability to socialise, and role ambiguity (Arasli & Tumer, 2008), all of which are present in policing organisations.

Cronyism in the work place is only viewed favourably by those who benefit from it, otherwise it has been found to decrease job satisfaction (Fu, 2015).

Research in Ireland

The span of literature regarding the An Garda Síochána is limited, and there are even less studies conducted directly involving the guards of the organisation. As of 2012, the Garda have never been studied ethnographically (Manning, 2012). To this researcher's knowledge, this is still true in 2017. In Manning's (2012) evaluation of the Garda, he found that because the guards hold a certain level of authority, they are associated with a certain level of sacredness by the public; initially, the Garda was comprised of "young, strong, modestly educated, white, catholic men" (p.353) and they were mostly from the West of Ireland, these men represented the social values of Ireland at the time and were respected as such. Under the Police Forces Amalgamation Act of 1925, all pre-existing police forces, namely the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police, were brought together under the An Garda Síochána, both of the former being heavily centralised and government controlled (Vaughan, 2004; Conway & Walsh, 2011). Although the Garda was modelled after the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC), there was an important need to distinguish the guards from the them because of how unfavourably they were viewed by the Irish people and this was achieved most notably through the distinction in uniform from the RIC and the guards lack of weapons; the Garda have the highest level of acceptance of Western European police organisations (Conway & Walsh, 2011; Manning, 2012).

The Garda operate as a national force to Ireland, they are still held accountable for protecting the state, and as such, are held accountable to the Ministry of Justice, not the people; supervision by the minister is almost absolute (Manning, 2012; Walsh, 2009). Values

of the Garda remain so closely linked to the state in part because of how recently the state formed, but the guards have emphasised working with the community in their 2010-2012 strategy statement, regardless of where their accountability lies (Manning, 2012). For such a young organisation (less than 100 years,) the guards have faced an abundance of scandals (Manning, 2012). The most notable scandal was the Morris Tribunal. The Morris Tribunal was the epitome of the change for investigations into corruption that lead to Garda reform (Conway & Walsh, 2011). The tribunal lead to the conclusions that the findings of corruption, the presence of the “blue wall of silence”, and racial biases on the part of the guards in Donegal could not be limited to just there; the conclusion that all guards operated in similar manners all over the country was made because all guards receive the same training from the same college, unlike in the United States where it can vary (Conway & Walsh, 2011; Charman & Corcoran, 2015).

After such controversy, reforms were put in place; however, the reforms that were implemented often did not address the core problems or ignored other flaws in the organisation (Conway & Walsh, 2011). The Garda Síochána Ombudsman Commission (GSOC) was set up under the An Garda Síochána Act of 2005 to hear community complaints about the Garda and address such issues; this act also establishes the Garda as a civilian police force as well as the state’s security service, which makes the commissioner of the Garda completely under the direction of the minister (Charman & Corcoran, 2015; Conway & Walsh, 2011). Complaint rates grew after the GSOC was established, but at least half of the cases that were pursued were investigated by the guards themselves (Conway & Walsh, 2011). Further, the only way to file a complaint with the board is by a citizen who has witnessed something, the board was unable to initiate its own investigations, and many admissible complaints are rejected by the board every year with no reason given for why (Walsh, 2009). The lengthy process, the inability to initiate their own investigations, and the investigations being carried out by the guards in question has

limited the success of the review board (Walsh, 2009). The 2005 Act allows for the minister to make directives to the Garda commissioner that must be followed, furthering the Garda's position as a servant of the government, not the state or the people (Walsh, 2009). In addition to this, the minister can access confidential Garda documents for any reason at any time; the minister also could prohibit investigations of the Garda by his own discretion, all of which leads to a lack of transparency and sense of inefficiency in the guards (Walsh, 2009).

One of the few, if not only, studies done directly involving members of the An Garda Síochána and the organisational culture therein was conducted by Charman and Corcoran (2015), interviews were conducted by Donal Corcoran, a guard himself, with street level guards of the Dublin North Central area. Upon this researcher's interview with him, being a guard himself hindered some depth in questions due to the interviewed guard's known familiarity of his part in the organisation; nonetheless, this study is the biggest stepping stone into research on the An Garda Síochána of Ireland. Previous findings suggested that there is a wide gap between the formal rules officers are supposed to follow and the informal rules that are actually followed to adjust for the roles they fill in their everyday job as opposed to the roles set by the organisation (Charman & Corcoran, 2015). Formerly, the Garda had been known as an organisation resistant to change (Charman & Corcoran, 2015; Manning, 2012), but Charman and Corcoran (2015) found that there was not as large of a gap found in the guards between formal and informal culture, as well as little resistance by the guards interviewed to change within the organisation. The oversight of the GSOC was in large part an initiator for the reforms and the guards' acceptance of change (Charman & Corcoran, 2015).

There was also a lack of belief in the "blue code of silence" prevalent in other police organisations and in the prior Garda as an "every man for himself" mentality took over following the tribunal fallout; the guards interviewed were also not opposed to

whistleblowing, if the fallout would not be too severe for the them or if it was justified (Charman & Corcoran, 2015). There was an emphasis found on the guards' value of the public and their commitment to serving the community, the public's overall wellbeing, and the relationship between the guards and the public; in addition, the guards valued their ability to use discretion to allow them to make the right decisions in the field (Charman & Corcoran, 2015). Finally, there was no significant finding of propensity for violence within the guards (Charman & Corcoran, 2015). The Garda Commissioner, Nóirín O'Sullivan, concluded in her speech that the guards had an immense pride in what they do and that the guards were working toward eliminating discrimination in an increasingly multicultural society by placing an emphasis on respect for the community and the individuals in it, no matter their background (O'Sullivan, 2015). Charman and Corcoran (2015) found support for this statement of official culture in the guards attempts to recruit in more diverse areas to make the force more multicultural in the increasingly diversifying Irish society.

So far, the Garda has undergone reform in some key areas: entry requirements, training, and increased diversity are some of those areas. As a nod to the lack of transparency the guards have been accused of, the reports containing the findings from the Morris Tribunal are openly available on the Garda website. In terms of recruitment, trainees must still pass a physical test, but height requirements (removed) and age restrictions (limit has been raised to 35) have been restructured. Standard requirements to join include: being at least 18 years of age, being a European Union, European Economic Area, or Swiss citizen, a refugee, or having lived in the country for at least one year prior to application (and at least four of the prior eight years), or be a family member of someone that meets those requirements; must have at least a leaving certificate (or equivalent); competency in two languages (English or Irish must be one); and completing the Bachelors in Applied Policing that is taught over a 104 week training period.

There were deliberate measures taken to increase diversity within the organisation, including adding diversity elements to the new training program, recruiting from minority communities, and adding 550 ethnic liaison guards who were given anti-racism training. Although Charman and Corcoran's (2015) study concluded that guards were not opposed to whistleblowing, there is still consequences for those that do. After guard Maurice McCabe spoke out, he was then shunned by the department and later accused of sexually assaulting a fellow guard's daughter, his struggle lasted for over a decade and claims were never substantiated (Gleeson, 2017). A different guard was arrested and suspended from duty following his reporting of department wrong doings; claims again, were never substantiated (Lally, 2017). Finally, the commissioner herself was being questioned for running a smear campaign against a whistle-blower (Leahy, 2017).

Chapter Four - Research Methodology

Methods used

Several options were considered regarding the research method that would provide the most fruitful information for the research question being investigated. Qualitative interviewing was chosen because there is a level of detail that can be provided in a narrative approach that would otherwise be lost in a quantitative survey study. The naturalist approach posits that everything that we say and/or do is shaped by previous experiences, conversely the positivist approach assumes one truth (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). How people view these things are constructed by how their cultural lens allows them to see it (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). This considered, and due to the nature of the research question and the relative lack of data in the existing literature on it, a descriptive approach was thought most appropriate for ensuring that quality of information was not lost over quantity of responses. Epistemological considerations were decided upon and understanding the experience of the guards and how their experiences shape their reality was an important objective that was sought throughout the interviewing.

During the interviews, comparative elements were brought in to discuss the differences between policing styles in Ireland and the United States. Secondary data analysis as well as an informal observational study were used to gain this information. Previous literature done about police organisational culture, as cited in the literature review, cultural immersion from living in the United States for over twenty years and experiencing first hand, as well as personally interacting with, the officers provided the data set necessary to draw these comparisons to the data obtained through interviewing guards in Ireland. As an acknowledgment to the time constraints and scope of a Masters level dissertation, a small section of the Garda community was chosen for interviews; however, diversity, to an extent, within this sample was sought and achieved. Diversity regarding gender, age, experience, and background were sought, racial diversity was not

considered for the purposes of this study. Ontological bias was prevalent due to the researcher's previous residency in the United States, but this was used as an advantage and stepping stone for a comparative context that allowed for more depth in the analysis of the police organisational culture in Ireland.

Sampling methods

Opportunistic and snowball sampling were primarily used when recruiting interview subjects for the study. Ireland is a relatively small country, and as such, many members of the community are interconnected in ways that made finding guards who were willing to be interviewed a relatively easy task. Once initial connections were made with the guards, snowball sampling from their pool of fellow guards was then used. In addition to this, connections to a higher-ranking Garda member allowed me to insure the diversity in my sample previously referenced.

Interviewing methods

The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured design that allowed for the participant to give as much or as little detail as they felt comfortable, with minimum input, other than guidance to the next question, from the interviewer; the interview schedule can be found in Appendix 1. Previous studies done on the An Garda Síochána used a member of the guards for interviewing fellow guards; however, using an interviewer (in this case, myself) not associated with the organisation was thought to elicit more detailed and valuable answers, whereas with an interviewer coming from within the ranks might produce more brushed over answers because of the feeling of shared knowledge. An interview schedule was adhered to. Covering broad topics was chosen to create a full account of what the guards of the An Garda Síochána do. During the interviews, comments on behalf of the interviewer were kept minimal to prevent any sense of bias or judgement on the part of the interviewer, but encouragement to further explain a topic was given. Probing questions were employed when more clarification was necessary for the understanding of the

topic at hand, as well as for more detail to conceptualise the thoughts that the guards were giving. Questions were asked in an order that allowed for the most natural flow of the interview, and follow up questions were only asked at times that would not interrupt a thought as it progressed. Concrete questions were used unless a hypothetical scenario was needed to convey the question that was being asked.

Description of Analysis

Analysing the data consisted of several steps. The initial step consisted of transcribing the interviews; the average length for an interview was 33 minutes. After transcription, interviews were coded into the emerging themes from the interview schedule. These themes included background of the guard (i.e. age, years of service, educational attainment, area stationed), the guard's motivation for joining the guard, what their training entailed, whether or not they thought their training fully prepared them for their job, what a typical day on the job is like, if their expectations of the job were the same as what they were actually doing, what their favourite and least favourite parts of the job were, whether they thought the location within the country mattered, if they thought they were well paid, opinions on whether or not they felt a need for change in the organisation (within this emerged a new topic of internal issues the guards face from the organisation), what they felt the public's opinion is of the guards as well as what they thought the public's biggest misconception of the guards is, and other job related topics (i.e. attending counselling, use of discretion, resources, gender bias, opinion on being armed, relevance of the blue code of silence). The final sequence of coding involved the question asked at the end of each interview: whether the guard would recommend the job to someone, and if not, what would have to change for them to do so; as well as any advice they would give a new guard for their overall success in the organisation. After each individual interview was coded, they were then sorted into separate documents by theme and the emerging data among the interviews was grouped,

and then further sub grouped, and finally, conceptualised into workable data.

Chapter Five - Findings

There were a total of ten guards who participated in this study. Of these ten, all were white Irish, there were four females and six males; two are retired, one is semi-retired, and seven are still on active duty; all worked at some point in their career in Dublin City Centre; seven had higher degrees, while three did not go further than the leaving certificate. More detailed information on the interview subjects can be found in Appendix 2. As detailed in chapter four, the interviews were coded into topics, and the following is an overview of the results.

Motivation for joining the Garda

Understanding the guards' motivation for joining the organisation is important in determining what type of law enforcement body they will portray; those that join for excitement would be expected to adhere to the militaristic model of policing, while those that join to help and be involved with the community would be expected to follow the community policing style. Although there were some cases of similar reasoning for joining the guards initially, there was no clear majority. Alice and Isobel both cited having family members in the organisation for why they chose to join the guards, both having connections that inspired them to become who they looked up to. When asked, Alice said, "when I was younger my sister in law was a guard...I had never seen a female guard before and I was in absolute awe of her...." Hannah also cited her upbringing for her reason for joining the guards, though she did not have family members that were guards, she grew up in Tipperary where the Garda training college is, and had many interactions with the guards during her childhood. The other notable reasons for joining belonged to Fred and Greg, who both decided that a "boring" 9-5 job behind a desk just would not work for them; they both liked the idea of excitement that came with the nature of the job.

Training to become a guard

Training for the guards was relatively standard overall between all levels of guards. The basic structure consisted of six months of

training in the Garda training college in Templemore, County Tipperary in Ireland. After those six months, the students were sent out to a training station as students with no legal powers for roughly three months and then returned to the college for a period of roughly three months to complete training and exams, all of which led to a BA in Applied Policing upon successful completion. When asked what topics were covered in the college, the predominant answer pertained to legal studies, while some also mentioned the physical and language requirements. A full list of the current modules taught in the college is in Appendix 3.

There were three distinctions made between the guards interviewed regarding training, those that are now retired, and so would have gone through training in the 1980s, guards that went through training after it became more regularised, but before the restructuring of the training program (at least seven years ago), and one guard who has gone through the restructured training (within the last three years). The retired guards noted a lack of training on any type of communication skills to help the guards interact with the public, most under the impression that they were left to themselves to learn on the job in that area. The interim group noted that there were modules taught on communications, but the extent was limited and the group felt there could have been more done. The most recently qualified guard interviewed stated that there was a much larger emphasis placed on communications now in the college, and role playing was a large part of that training. She also recounted that there were civilians brought into the college who were specialised in communications to provide the skills necessary to effectively communicate with the public. An interesting point that came about during this phase of the interview arose when Isobel, the most recently trained guard, said that being able to speak to a person in Irish at a traffic stop was necessary, further hindering a non-Irish person's ability to join the guards and overall a possible contribution to the lack of diversity in the guards.

Training vs. reality

After being asked about the nuances of the training they received, the guards were then asked whether they thought their training prepared them for the realities of the job. One interviewee did not respond, and David, a semi-retired guard, said yes; the rest gave a resounding no. Of the remaining eight responses, six clarified exactly in what areas they felt training fell short, and all six said they were not prepared for all the legal aspects, more specifically, being in court. In addition to court, Alice and Greg also mentioned a lack of communication skills and Fred mentioned a lack of self-defence training as well as a need for ongoing self-defence training.

Although a majority of the interviewees said they were not prepared for the job after training, several also mentioned that they did not know if there was any possible way to fully prepare them for becoming a guard. On the job learning was cited as the most important training the guards received because that is when they really learned how to be a guard. As Hannah noted, "I don't know how much more they could've done to make it any better for us." Jennifer likened the guards to no other type of job; being a guard is not like most other jobs where you can go in and have at least a minor level of experience in what you are doing, and with no such basic frame of reference, it is not a job that you can ever fully prepare for, in particular because of how often the job changes on a day to day basis for the guard.

An important finding for Van Maanen (1975) was that the training academy did not fully prepare officers for the job- only time in the field did, and that finding is fully supported by the data in this study. Almost all the guards cited that their training did not fully prepare them for the reality of the job, and several explicitly said that they were only fully prepared when they received their "real training" while on placement in the field.

"Typical" day

The reason many of the guards interviewed joined the job and/or enjoyed the job is because there really is no typical day. When

coming into the office, “you can plan for very little,” according to Eoin. For those that still worked in the community, a standard practise would be to come in and start their day being “paraded”. Being “paraded” is an act by which the sergeant in charge would gather all the guards starting their shifts and brief them on anything that has happened while they were gone as well as what they will be doing for the day. Beyond that, the possibilities were endless. Duties included such things as car (patrolling a given area in a vehicle), beat (patrolling a given area by foot), post (stationed in front of a high-ranking official’s home for protection), or station (remaining in the station to facilitate walk ins, arrests, searches, etc.). Even within this highly variable framework, there was still more uncertainty as to what would be faced once in your position for the day. Tasks mentioned by the interviewees ranged from breaking into flats that people had locked themselves out of, to raiding houses for weapons and drugs, to helping an older woman in a wheelchair get onto a footpath. The typical day for a member of the guards was that there is no typical day.

Public’s opinion of the guards

How the guards interviewed felt the public viewed them was very mixed. The retired guards seemed to note a change in opinion from when they began in the organisation to now. Both Alice and Shannon remarked that they would not usually tell people that they are guards because there is no way to tell whether they would be viewed negatively for it. Most, however, also noted that the civilian’s opinion of the guards would be largely dependent on the individuals and their background and their previous encounters with the guards, the location, and to what extent the media had influenced them. Even though there was a lack of respect felt about the guards, most still felt that the public trusted the guards, even if it was a last resort. Jennifer still said that, “if something goes wrong, you ring the guards.”

When asked what they felt was society’s biggest misconception about the guards, the answers once again varied. A few thought the media’s slant on the guards was clouding the public’s idea of who the

guards really are, and that much of what the guards are being blamed for, are things that were done either by previous members of the organisation or members of management, not the guards that patrol the communities themselves. Hannah's biggest issue with this aspect was that the guards never defend themselves when things like this come out in the media. Other misconceptions presented were that the public has a general lack of understanding of what it is the guards are dealing with every day, whether it be the pressure they are under to keep people safe, or the sheer amount of work each guard is responsible for undertaking; this again is due to the media's portrayal of police work in general. Because of this, Fred believes that, "the vast majority of people have little or no idea what's involved," but once you explain to them what exactly is going on, Isobel thought that, "most people understand." Although there was an overall frustration with how the guards are portrayed by the media and how that affected the public's opinion of them, most of the guards also believed the public to be understanding and reasonable in their judgements if things were presented clearly. Similarly, media slant and portrayal of law enforcement bodies is something police officers in the United States face often.

Best and worst parts of the job

There were three clear reasons given by all ten respondents; either they enjoyed that every day was different, helping people, or their colleagues. The camaraderie among the guards was highly valued, many referred to those they work with as their support system or a second family. Talking to the people and being out in the community helping was another high point for the guards. "Get{ting} to make a difference," is what provided "that buzz" for Fred. Keeping the job exciting and interesting was one more facet to the job that the guards enjoyed, this was in large part due to the ever-changing schedule and demands they faced. There was a noted lack of preference for the more aggressive aspects of policing found in policing literature predominantly in the United States, but also in the United Kingdom,

further confirming a community based of militaristic style of policing in the guards.

When asked what their least favourite part of the job was, the answers provided slightly more variation. Practical issues such as the sheer amount of paperwork that needed to be completed or the lack of resources provided to the guards, as well as performing the more “boring” tasks such as posts were mentioned. When referring to posts specifically, Isobel felt that they were “the most tedious, mind numbing, boring thing in the world,” while Bryan had a similar view of posts:

“I don’t see the point, especially when you're in Harcourt Square, where a lot of them would be armed, and you're the only unarmed man standing there in front of your post. If anything was to happen, what good were you?”

When understood from this viewpoint, it would seem as if there is a misallocation of resources when it came to an already undermanned policing organisation.

An interesting answer provided was the way the organisation was managed from a top down level. From Fred’s point of view, “the default position from within management is that you're wrong...it's always an accusation... it's deeply unpleasant...the bullying style of management, that the default is to bully.” Alice also noted a lack of support on the part of management that made it more difficult for her to do her job well. Nepotism and cronyism were also cited, but will be looked at more in depth in a later section.

Guards ability to use discretion

All the guards responded that they felt the ability to use discretion was present within the organisation. A majority of respondents agreed that discretion was either the most important or one of the most important tools available to them as members of An Garda Síochána. Eoin referred to it as “vitally important” and Isobel said that An Garda Síochána translates to guardians of the peace, and without her ability to use discretion the guards would otherwise “just

be robots". Their use of discretion is paramount in what they do. "You could ruin the rest of their (a civilian's) lives by having a criminal record, so you're saying, 'listen, I'm giving you one last chance.' I think it's important in the job." –Hannah. Greg viewed the use of discretion as his ability to do his job properly because without it, he would be stopping too many people for small infractions and averting his focus from what, in his opinion, were the important things.

Contrary to this, there were guards who valued the use of discretion in their job, but felt as if it has been taken away from them now.

"You would be afraid to use discretion because it could be seen as you not doing your job...in the back of your mind you're like, 'am I going to get in trouble for not doing something even though it might only be a minor thing?'" –Jennifer

Jennifer's statement was corroborated by Bryan as he explained that if the guards are going to take the time from their day to stop an individual for something they thought was wrong, the organisation wants to see a measurable result from it (i.e. a citation, arrest, etc.). Alice said that she was not trained to use discretion, and even though the guards can use discretion, it can almost be a taboo now because of the high degree of accountability the guards are held to. When recounting a story about a 75-year-old woman who was arrested for shoplifting, Alice regretted her inability to use discretion and consider any background circumstances that caused the occurrence; this inability to consider the complete picture was a part of the job she struggled with.

Neo-classical organisation theory is shaped by the idea that the people within the organisation in large part influence how the formal organisation functions; this later led to a mass study of the formal vs. informal cultures present in one organisation. Officers in the United States often did not act in accordance with the official culture presented by the organisation. Those that adhered most closely to the official culture were the officers that did the least amount of work

possible without being disciplined for it. The guards' value on their use of discretion vs. their apprehension to use discretion for fear of being disciplined leads to an internal struggle between adhering to the official culture and doing what they think is the best for the civilian and the community.

Counselling within the Garda

"We see different things every single day compared to what normal people would see in a life time." –Alice

Mental health counselling within the guards is a service that most of the guards interviewed felt was necessary, and yet do not see it as a viable option for most guards. "The fact that I don't know anybody who has sought any, tells a story in and of itself," Fred's opinion on counselling seemed to be prevalent with the rest of the guards interviewed; not only are guards not seeking help, but those that do are not willing to talk about it.

When considering why this is, both colleagues and management have to be looked at. By those they work with, members within the Garda who seek counselling would be viewed differently, almost negatively; and by management, members within the Garda would essentially be ending their career if higher ups were to find out.

"I would imagine within my own time period there were times when I should've got it, I couldn't afford it, and wouldn't have gone to the organisation seeking assistance to afford it because it would have buried my career." –Fred

"{If} you admit you have a mental health problem, your career is probably gone...they're not going to promote someone with mental health problems...you aren't going to go any further in the job." –Greg

"You'd nearly be told, 'well don't say stress because if you're ever going for anything (a promotion), it could go against you.'" –Jennifer

The previous literature indicated that counselling is not sought because it is thought to be considered a weakness (He et al., 2002). There was a general lack of data covering mental health counselling in law enforcement furthering the idea that law enforcement does not

provide a welcoming environment for police officers, much like the organisational situation in the An Garda Síochána.

All of this considered, the guards still valued mental health counselling and thought there should be better practises put in place so that guards can use the service, get the help they need, and continue doing their work in a healthy way. Several suggested that counselling should be further removed from the organisation so they can avail of the service without the added stress of jeopardising their careers. Of the ten guards interviewed, seven provided their detailed opinions on mental health counselling, and of these seven, only one (David) spoke openly about going to a welfare officer for counselling; he also recounted a story of a colleague who committed suicide, but was not able to give a reasoning because he (the colleague) never spoke to anyone about his problems.

Differentiation between male and female guards

The gender ratio of my sample was very carefully selected in part for this topic; it is expected to have different answers when you ask a male guard what they *think* is the case with gender equality in the work place, and to ask a female guard what *has* happened regarding gender equality in the work place. Of the four women interviewed, all of them perceived that they were in some regards treated differently because of their gender. Of the six men interviewed, four of them specifically mentioned that women would often be office bound, most often necessitated by their family responsibilities. In Greg's opinion, though he knew no women in the job until his last ten years of service: "In a lot of cases, the females were very poor police people, but they were promoted, I think myself, because they were females...they didn't prove themselves as police people, but they were good at office work...I don't think they proved themselves in the streets...they would be good filling out paperwork and doing that type of work."

Accordingly, Bryan also thought that many women in his specialised unit were brought in to do office jobs; however, he did think, but could not verify, that those women had applied for those

positions. David went on to mention that most of the offices in town are full of women, but this was not the case because women were any less capable of performing the job, just that it would be difficult for a female guard to have children and work the standard, non-office shifts; during my time in a busy city centre station I also observed that the office was full of mainly women. Conor agreed that women in the organisation may have been treated differently, but not in a way that would limit them in progressing their careers if they so chose. Eoin said that women may become pregnant and must do certain periods of office work, but, when referring to his female partner specifically, “she’s every bit as good and competent as I am.”

When the female guards were asked their opinion, all four thought they would be treated differently because of their gender, but not necessarily in a negative way. Most agreed that they would have to do more work at times because the male guards would not want to handle cases in relation to sensitive subjects (i.e. sexual assault, children, transgender, etc.). The female guards, as well as male guards, also said they would be “looked after” more than their male counterparts, but the female guards felt it was done in a caring way. Although this was appreciated at times, it was also a point of frustration to the female guards to be treated differently or seen as less capable based entirely on their gender.

As outlined in more detail in chapters two and three, the previous literature has detailed women as policing differently because of biological and socialisation differences, and because of this, there is still a divide present between what male and female officers are expected to do. Men are thought to believe that women do not make good police officers and the masculine dominated profession has little room for women because of their apparent lack of ability. Women are thought to be physically inferior to men, but they excel in their communication tactics, in particular when it comes to children and sexual assault cases. Each gender has a different skill set that allows them to perform the job equally as well, but in separate ways. Although

the divide seems to be present within the guards, there does not seem to be an emphasis placed on the female guards' lack of ability, but rather just that they are treated differently solely based on their gender.

Fred was of the same opinion on women being treated differently in the organisation, but he was the only guard to offer a solution to this "inherent" gender inequality. Although he thinks the ideal balance in a car would be a man and woman, because of the different skills sets brought by each, he thinks that female guards have been made a liability by the organisation. When female guards are out of the unit due to pregnancy, the unit is left under resourced, and, in Fred's opinion, the male guards on the unit are not upset because of the female, they are upset because the organisation has left them under staffed and responsible for doing the same amount of work with less people. His suggestion is to have a special group of junior guards who travel the country to fill these voids created by female guards taking maternity leave; in this case, the unit is not under staffed, the female guard is not looked at as a point of frustration, and newer guards could gain new experiences.

Resources available to the guards

Nine of the guards interviewed said that the vital resources necessary to function as a successful organisation were lacking; the one guard who felt they had been properly resourced is now retired, and thus referring to his time in the organisation years prior. Resources included the equipment the guards are provided (i.e. cars, technology, uniforms) as well as the people needed to be guards. Although several guards also felt that improvements were being made, it is still not enough for what the country needs.

Alice recounted a text message she had received just prior to our interview from a fellow guard who was unable to take food and/or restroom breaks because there was no one available to relieve him. Conor, who is now retired, said that even during his service in the 1980s his station was always short of people, but this issue was

something he came to expect during his time in the organisation. Hannah agreed that the deficit in guards is getting better, but thousands more would still be needed to do the job properly; she mentioned that at times there may be no guards out in the community because there are not enough to cover shift changes. There were years where the Garda did not recruit any new members that set numbers back substantially, but even now that recruiting has begun again, the new people that are coming in are mainly replacing those that are leaving to go to specialised units or retirement. As Isobel explained, “as much as we’re getting people constantly, we’re losing people constantly as well.”

The lack of people in the organisation can become a safety threat not just for the community, but also for guards that are out patrolling the community. According to Fred, “The person answering the phones, including the 999 calls, is also the person I’ll contact to check PULSE,” PULSE being the computer system the Garda uses (in this instance) to perform checks on people they encounter in the community. The inability for guards to get through to someone, as well as not having access to this information themselves while outside of the station, could be a danger to them as they have no way of knowing who the person is they are interacting with or what they are potentially capable of.

In addition to the lack of people, the guards are also provided with inadequate resources to work with. As mentioned previously, the technology the guards are provided with outside of the station is a safety concern, but additional issues arise with their vehicles and uniforms. All four female guards and Fred criticised the uniforms they are issued calling them “ridiculous”, “dreadful”, “backwards”, “not practical”, and “not operational”. The boots issued carry safety warnings on them to not be worn for long periods of time, and several guards mentioned that, if it were to become necessary, running after an offender in their uniform would be difficult and there should be a switch to combat pants and/or less rigid shirts that do not require a tie.

When referring to the cars the guards drive, phrases such as “death traps”, “insufficient”, and “not reliable” were used. However, before a guard can even drive a car they must take a car course, that is not provided during basic training, and these courses are very hard to get. Greg, who was the one guard not to have any problems with the amount of resources given, said this was an issue he faced. Policing has already been established as a stressful occupation, but the lack of resources, according to David, is creating an added pressure because of how little the guards have to work with.

Previous literature has shown that support from supervisors lowers stress, something the guards are not receiving in this situation. In addition, modern organisational theory evaluated how communication throughout affects the way in which the organisation functions. The Hawthorne studies found that the relationship, and communication therein, between employees and management were highly important in worker motivation and productivity, but even though the guards are vocalising a need for improved resources, the organisation is not delivering and in turn is causing more stress for the guards for even the most basic tasks the job requires.

Expectations vs. reality

Of the eight guards who responded, only Greg thought the job was what he was expecting; six of the seven others thought the job was either less exciting or less efficient than they were expecting, and Isobel thought the job was busier than she had anticipated (although she had anticipated being in the country which will be explored later). Most did not expect to be doing as much paperwork as they currently do. Even though the nature of what they were doing could vary, the job was still not the high action police work most guards thought they would be doing that Eoin attributes to the Hollywood portrayal of the profession. Fred was unaware how much of his own time he would end up dedicating to protecting himself in the job due to the bullying style of management explored earlier. Both Hannah and Jennifer were also

unprepared for the lack of transparency and presence of cronyism in the organisation, both of which will be explored later in the chapter.

Difference in location

There was a difference felt among guards between city centre locations and being “down the country”. The city is busier, so guards have less time to dedicate to each case they are assigned, as well as each guard having more cases they are responsible for, so quality of service is impacted. Because of the nature of the city centre in Dublin, Isobel felt there was less of a community here. There is a business community, but the lack of a dedicated residential area leads to less familiarity among the guards with the public. Jennifer noted a difference in policing styles between the rural and urban locations; because the city centre is busier, there are more guards present which allows for a more proactive policing style, while in the country there are only enough guards available for reactive policing. Greg cited historical reasoning for a more fractious relationship with the guards in the border countries to the north of Ireland. While Alice thought that Dublin was indeed a much busier place, when it came to resources, she felt the entire country was similar in the what the guards lacked.

Most police organisational culture in the United States is based on a militaristic style, that of the aggressive crime fighters. Goffman’s study found a clear distinction between caretaker/patient roles in order for the employees to do their jobs well in a way that did not cause added stress for themselves. Although there was a lack of a “proper” community present in Dublin, the distinction was not as clear in the guards, possibly due to their integration in the community through their use of the community policing style rather than the militaristic approach.

Cronyism within the Garda

Studying cronyism was not an initial objective for this research, but was something that came about naturally when discussed, unprompted, by four of the ten guards interviewed. Jennifer said her least favourite part of the job was the lack of transparency in relation

to how promotions were handled within the organisation, going on to say that these vacancies would be filled by who someone knew rather than on merit or suitability for the role. She was disappointed with the idea that hard work would not always pay off in the end as she would have expected and that there are highly qualified individuals in the organisation that are not given the promotions she believes they deserve because they do not know the right people, all leading to a disheartening sense of being “stuck” with no options for advancement. Even though she said there has been a lot of talk about changing things, nothing has been changed on the ground level and she does not see it happening anytime soon. Jennifer’s best advice to incoming guards who want to do well in the organisation is to network as much as possible because that is the only way you will ever progress.

Greg initially brought up the topic when he was giving his opinion on women in the organisation, saying that a lot of the promotions given in the organisation were based on your relationship with people rather than your competency in policing; however, this was not limited to only female guards, but rather to the entirety of the organisation. He went on to say that the allocation of promotions needed to be taken away from the Garda completely because there was too much interference by high ranking guards to promote those they knew rather than who was best suited for the job. Fred agreed with this thought and the idea that the tie between politicians and administration needed to be broken so that promotions can have a sense of fairness restored to them.

Hannah agreed that she never expected to experience so much cronyism in the organisation, promotions based on relationship instead of merit was not something she anticipated happening as often as it does. Although she was disappointed by this and believes it is something that needs to be changed in the organisation for the lack of fairness it provided, Hannah was unsure that it was something that could ever be changed because of how vast it was spread throughout the organisation; she credits this to the small size of the country and

the organisation and a sense that “everybody knows everybody”. The bias created, she thinks, is causing a bitterness among the guards that spawns a separation between the “haves” and the “have nots”.

Cronyism leads to a devaluation of merit and hard work that lowers employee job satisfaction and motivation; additional causes of stress in the work place were attributed to irregular work hours, boring jobs, and role ambiguity. All of these factors have been shown in this study; guards are left discouraged after being passed over for a job that has been given to someone based on connection rather than merit, adding to the stress they are already under due to the nature of the job. Although this impacts their job satisfaction, it did not impact their appreciation and love of the job.

“Blue code of silence”

Chapter three presented the Morris Tribunals and the prevalence of the “blue code of silence” that was declared to be present throughout the An Garda Síochána. However, the findings of this study presented a very different picture. Seven guards said they did not believe this existed in the guards at all, while one said he did not think it existed now, but maybe had previously, and two thought that it existed, but only to an extent. Protecting themselves was more important than protecting a colleague who had done something wrong. Conor firmly asserted that “there is a line which cannot be crossed,” while Alice said she would never put herself in a situation whereby “{she is} risking my job for you, for your stupidity.” Bryan, who himself has arrested a guard for wrongdoings, said that the code exists “to a point, but after that...tough.”

As indicated by the literature stemming from research in the United States, the blue code is valued above all else; however, among the guards, there is no value for the code, something that is supported by Charman and Corcoran’s (2015) study.

“There is a level of absolute, not hatred, but definitely venom against people who bring down the guards as a concept rather than as an organisation, you know. I don’t think any of my colleagues would care if

the commissioner was embarrassed, they definitely care that us as a group are embarrassed by somebody's behaviour." –Fred

Fred later went on to say that he would not know of anyone that had committed corrupt behaviour, but rather he knew people who have reported corrupt behaviour and nothing had been done about it. However, he also said these people would never go to the press to report the behaviour for fear of becoming "another Maurice McCabe." (Noted in chapter three). The corruption he speaks of would only be minor because if anything larger were to happen, it would immediately be found out in an organisation as small as the Garda, something Eoin corroborated. The guards that did believe it was present in the organisation did not think it would ever progress to a level that they believed was too far or unjust.

Guards' opinion on being armed

Only one guard who was asked whether they thought the guards should carry firearms answered yes, the remaining eight (one did not respond) saw no necessity for guards to be routinely armed nor were they in favour of the idea. The interviewees viewed an unarmed Garda as more friendly and approachable, and thought this made for better relations with the community. Many officers in the United States are former military, but this is a very uncommon occurrence in Ireland, and this distinction between the guards and military in Ireland is one the guards would like to keep very clear, in part by the continued lack of firearms carried by the guards. The value placed on being approachable confirms their dedication to a community style approach to policing.

Both Eoin and Jennifer talked about their experiences in foreign countries where it is standard for police officers to carry weapons (Spain and the United States respectively), and neither found the police force to be approachable; however, Jennifer was the one guard who was still in favour of guards being armed, citing that not carrying weapons was outdated and that the current societal climate would justify guards carrying firearms.

Four of the eight guards who were not in favour of the guards carrying firearms did say they would like to be able to carry Tasers to inhibit an offender from getting too close or running away without lethal force. There was also a point made that this opinion may change if asking a guard outside of Dublin. Dublin has recently created an armed response unit who provide armed back up when necessary, a service that is not available in the country. The lack of armed backup available in the country, as well as the increased distances they have to patrol, could account for a different opinion outside of Dublin.

Compensation for the guards

Only two guards thought they were compensated adequately for the job they do, the remaining seven (one did not respond) felt they were not. The guards who believed they were paid well enough were retired, so reflecting on how he was paid in the 1980s onwards, and an office bound guard. Greg referred to the job as a “charity” for receiving the pay they did considering everything the guards are responsible for. Several mentioned that the only way to make enough money was to work overtime hours; this in part because guards are not paid any more in rent allowances to live in Dublin city centre than those that live in rural areas, areas that are by far less expensive than a city location. Hannah thinks the lack of pay will impact the guards more so now that the economy is coming back and people are now given better paying options for less stressful jobs. Although Jennifer felt she was paid enough, she still recognised that there are some guards in the organisation who “put up with an awful lot” for what they are paid.

An Garda Síochána: a need for change in a changing society

Eight of the ten guards felt there was a definite need for change in the organisation; these changes pertained to either a change in management style or an overall update to the resources they are provided, in particular the technology the Garda employs. Ticketing systems, the CCTV network, and the PULSE system all were said to need an overhaul to bring it up to current policing standards, standards that the guards said have been operating in other countries for some time.

Transparency in the organisation in relation to promotions and cronyism was the biggest change four guards chose, while Alice thought that a general acknowledgment by management of what the front-line staff are saying they require to do the job well is a much-needed change. The above cited needs would all make for a better organisation who are better able to handle the growing needs for the community in which they serve; all of which makes for a better police force and community relations.

Garda Organisational Culture

All of the data contributes to the organisational culture of the An Garda Síochána, but there were additional points made by the guards that did not fit into any one specific theme that will be presented in this section. The concept of the “lazy” guard doing well in the organisation was discussed by both Bryan and Fred. Both noted that a guard in Ireland that does nothing will never get in trouble, but the guard “who tries to do the job and makes a mistake will find themselves being disciplined.” –Fred

Conor, who has been removed from the organisation for many years, recounted his time in the Garda and discussed what the culture of the guards was like. As is the nature of the job, he believed the culture of the guards was quite unique and it would take a long time to understand, something he was not even fully aware of until after he left the organisation and began working in a different one. Lack of diversity in the organisation being one part of the culture he was not fully aware of until he left. The culture is something he believes takes a long time to change and will only change from within, no matter how many outside pressures are present. Fred also remarked on the culture of the guards, but noted that the culture present on the ground is completely separate to that of the top, something he found interesting because of the relationship between those at the top starting at the ground-level.

The research in this study, much like the research done previously in Ireland, but contrary to the previous literature stemming

from the US, would support the notion of little to no distinction between the formal and informal cultures of the An Garda Síochána. The guards on the ground act much in the way the organisation purports they should. The difference lies in the separation between the culture at the top of the organisation and the culture at the bottom, as noted by some of the interviewed guards. There seems to be a connection between official and informal culture, but the gap lies in the upper management tier of the organisation that does not act in accordance with either the official culture of the organisation or the on the ground guards performing the job. This is something that does not align well with neo-classical organisational theory whereby top tier management is where the official culture culminates and changes as it moves to the bottom. In the Irish context, it seems to be that there is an official culture that is set, which the bottom levels follow, but the sub-culture is created and followed by upper level management. Would they recommend the job?

Alice, Eoin, Greg, and Isobel all gave a definitive yes when asked if they would recommend the job to someone, while Bryan, Fred, Jennifer, and Hannah gave a definitive no. Conor said his recommendation would be entirely dependent on the person asking him and David said he would only recommend the job if the person did not have a better option or if that person had a degree that could benefit them. When asked what would have to change for them to recommend the job, Bryan said the guards would have to be paid more, Fred said they would need to be paid more and treated better by the organisation, Jennifer said there would need to be more, and fairer, opportunities for advancement in the organisation, and Hannah said the things that need to be changed are the same things that cannot be changed, like the lack of respect she receives from the public for being a guard.

Chapter Six – Conclusion

Key Findings

The findings, gathered through ten qualitative, semi-structured interviews of guards, suggested key differences between the guards in Ireland and those studied in the previous literature, predominantly in the United States. Most notably, the difference in opinion of carrying firearms, whereas in the United States it is considered standard, in Ireland most guards would not be in favour of carrying firearms being standardised. In addition, there was very little value placed on the blue code of silence, instead favouring a self-first approach. Other key findings included the lack of adequate resources available to the guards, both in terms of equipment they are given to use and manpower to patrol the communities, an appreciation on their ability to use discretion, albeit they feel this ability is slowly diminishing, and a gender bias that is present within the organisation, but in a less severe way than would be seen in other police organisational literature. Having to manage one's emotions to conform to what both the organisation and society expect leads to overall increases in stress; in addition, emotional separation from the job is shown to lead to lower job satisfaction. The guards interviewed did confirm an emotional separation they have developed while in the organisation, and although it did not seem to impact their overall job satisfaction, it was reflected in their willingness to recommend the job to someone. This stress could possibly be furthered by the guards' resistance to mental health counselling. When police officers must repress their emotions, they are then less able to emotionally connect with themselves and others. Contradictory to this, the guards in Ireland seem to have a stronger connection to the community even though they still have to present false emotions at times. There was support found in this study for a community policing model, over militaristic, that favoured non-violent, community relations. Additionally, there was an overall lack of propensity for violent policing shown by these guards. An unexpected finding during this study was the heavy emphasis the organisation

seems to place on the use of connections to promote guards within the organisation, this system of cronyism has dismissed the notion of hard work and merit getting guards the promotions they feel are deserved, and ultimately leaves the guards feeling dissatisfied with the organisation.

Empirically, this study contributes to what the organisation lacks and does not prepare the guards for. Theoretically, this study aims to contribute to the Irish field of police organisational research in the areas of gender, emotional labour, organisational, social identification, and cronyism in the work place. Both of which have been covered in a very limited scope in previous research.

Limitations and Challenges

There were several limitations to this study. The scope of a Masters level dissertation is limited both by time and space. Field research took place over two months and allowed for ten interviews, both of which could, and should, be improved upon. There is an obvious limitation to generalisability to any qualitative study, but the generalisability is even further decreased with a condensed interview pool, as was the case here. The initial challenges to the study included gaining access to the guards; as a non-Irish national, and finding participants who were willing to participate was difficult. Further challenges came about after guards were obtained. Due to their busy work schedules, finding an adequate amount of time for them to sit down long enough for a meaningful interview to be conducted was an obstacle.

Further Research

Due to the lack of previous research done on the An Garda Síochána in Ireland, the need for further studies in the field is vast. There are still numerous gaps in the literature that need to be filled and any one study would not be able to cover all of them. Further in depth research on each of the topics presented in this study is necessary. Other avenues for exploration in the Garda include diversity in the organisation, further research on the gender gap in the organisation,

public opinion on the guards and their evaluation of the guards' competence, and the implementation and effectiveness of new policies being put into place within the Garda to account for organisational shortcomings. In addition to this, there is still a need for an ethnographic account of the guards. Studying an organisation as an outsider only allows the researcher to scratch the very surface of how the organisation operates. Not only would an ethnographic account provide richer detail, but it would also allow the researcher to identify and distinguish any discrepancies between what the guards provide as an answer during an interview and how they act on their words in the field. A more detailed account of the new training the guards receive and an evaluation of whether the new training model is effective is necessary in determining the future directions the organisation needs to take to implement a better law enforcement model. Additionally, a geographically comparative model needs to be assessed to determine how uniform the organisation is across different areas in the country. Further, a more in depth study of the divide between cultures and sub-cultures in the organisation, as well as if there are sub-cultures among the ground-level guards, needs to be conducted.

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Interview schedule

1. Can you start by telling me a little bit about yourself?
 - a. If necessary, how long have you been in the guards, where are you stationed, level of education.
2. And what made you want to join the guards?
3. Describe a typical day on the job.
4. What do you do in your job? What are the duties?
5. Can you tell me about the training you went through?
6. Do you feel there are aspects of training that didn't completely prepare you for your work in the field?
7. Were your expectations of the job different from the reality?
8. What's your favourite part of the job?
9. What's your least favourite part?
10. Do you see any need for change in the organisation?
11. Are you trained to react based on your discretion or according to departmental guidelines?
12. Some police orgs have broad guidelines and then leave a lot to the discretion of the officer in the field. What is the approach in the Garda?
13. How do you feel about your ability to use discretion?
14. The "blue code of silence" is heavily documented in the police organisational culture in the US, do you feel this is relevant here in Ireland?
15. Do you think how the guards act and/or react it varies according to department location?
16. What do you think is society's biggest misconception of the Garda?
17. Do you think you are underpaid? Under appreciated?
18. Do the Garda have enough resources?
19. Would you recommend this job to someone?
20. What would have to change for you to do that?
21. What is one piece of advice you would give to an incoming guard who is just coming out of the college?

Appendix 2 - Profiles of guards

Alice

Gender: Female
Years in the Garda: 7
Position: community guard
Location: Dublin North inner city
Occupational status: active
Level of education: Bachelors

Bryan

Gender: Male
Years in the Garda: 10
Position: specialised unit*
Location: Dublin South inner city
Occupational status: active
Level of education: Bachelors

Conor

Gender: Male
Years in the Garda: 18
Position: various, finished as Detective Sergeant
Location: South Dublin
Occupational status: retired
Level of education: Masters

David

Gender: Male
Years in the Garda: 32
Position: community guard
Location: City Centre
Occupational status: semi-retired
Level of education: leaving certificate

Eoin

Gender: Male
Years in the Garda: 13
Position: detective
Location: city centre
Occupational status: active
Level of education: leaving certificate

Fred

Gender: Male
Years in the Garda: 12
Position: community guard
Location: Kildare (previously Dublin city centre)
Occupational status: active
Level of education: Bachelors

Greg

Gender: Male

Years in the Garda: 30

Position: community guard

Location: South Dublin

Occupational status: retired

Level of education: leaving certificate

Hannah

Gender: Female

Years in the Garda: 9

Position: district office

Location: city centre

Occupational status: active

Level of education: degree

Isobel

Gender: Female

Years in the Garda: 1.5

Position: community guard

Location: city centre

Occupational status: active

Level of education: university diploma

Jennifer

Gender: Female

Years in the Garda: 11

Position: district office

Location: city centre

Occupational status: active

Level of education: post grad diploma

*cannot be specified for anonymity reasons

Appendix 3 - Modules taught in the Garda training college

- Foundations of Policing
- Professional Competence I
- Crime & Incident Policing I
- Policing with Communities I
- Road Traffic Policing I
- Station Roles and Responsibilities I
- Officer and Public Safety
- Professional Competence II
- Crime / Incident Policing II
- Policing with Communities II
- Road Traffic Policing II
- Station Roles and Responsibilities II
- Professional Competence III
- Law and Procedures
- Policing with Communities III

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