AN EXPLORATORY STUDY TO ASSESS PERCEPTIONS OF

THE POWER DIVIDEND:

DOES EXTERNAL POWER AFFECT THE FAIRNESS OF

PUBLIC POLICING IN

DUBLIN’S NORTH INNER CITY?

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DECLARATION

I confirm that, except where indicated through the proper use of citations and references, this is my own original work. While registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and conclusions embodied in this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other academic award.

Signed:

[Signature]

___________________________
Eunan Dolan

Date: 13th July 2016
Thesis Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Joe and Angela Dolan.
ABSTRACT

Fairness and equity are necessary in the provision by the state of a public good such as policing. It is against this backdrop that this research set out to assess the distribution of policing as a public good in the north inner city of Dublin and if this distribution can be explained by an analysis of external power on the Garda Síochána. The Minister for Justice has a legitimate right to exert overt democratic power over the police service, but it is argued here that there are other types of external power that affect the delivery of a fair and equitable police service. The north inner city of Dublin presents the Garda Síochána with a significant policing challenge. Within its boundaries all facets of modern urban life can be observed from extreme poverty to extreme wealth. This research is premised on the concept that power though intangible is a capacity whose workings are not easily observed. However, the existence of external power can be deduced from the outcomes achieved by certain groups in society. By using a qualitative research methodology, which employed semi-structured interviews it was possible to say counterfactually that external power on the Garda Síochána exists. This external power distorts the conduct of policing to such an extent that it is evident that those with social capital (the business community) exercise a disproportionate degree of power and that this power adversely affects the fairness and equitable distribution of a public police service within Dublin’s north inner city. The influence of this external power also has a negative effect on police professionalism and could lead to corruption. It is suggested that by engaging in critical reflection and with open peer review, informed by Rawlsian principles of justice, some of the effects of this external power could be mitigated by bringing the ‘why’ of policing decisions out into the open.
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Background

In the 18th century the then police force in the city of Dublin was requested by one of the merchant’s guilds to patrol the entries to the city in order to prevent the poor and hungry coming into the business area from the hinterland and upsetting the propertied classes (Dickson, 2014). Of course, at that time the police force were the representatives of a foreign colonial government. In more modern times, policing is part of what Barlow and Hickman-Barlow describe as the “political economy whereby political and economic institutions are integrally intertwined” (1999, p.646). This leads them to claim that “the methods by which the police seek to secure the social order are largely shaped by a particular character of the political economy in operation at that time” (1999, p.647). Academic research has indicated that the delivery of a police service is circumscribed by external power. That power may be embedded in the structure of Western society, which Brogden and Ellison (2013, p.104) contend is divided in a way that affects policing because “...such societies [are] characterised by deep structural and (increasing) economic inequalities exacerbated by the fiscal crisis”, which begs the question ‘how can the police act other than to sustain these fissures?’

Manning has questioned the function of public police by asking: “if democracy rests on equality, justice and basic rights and responsibilities what role do the police play in shaping them (2013 p.104)?” Regarding the Irish situation Manning (2012, p. 350) has said “The national police of Ireland is a policing organisation with a unique history and function and a powerful connection to the emergence of Irish culture and an independent nation”. Conway (2014) argues that:”Policing in Ireland is politically influenced, if not directed. Commissioners have regularly risen and fallen with governments, which must create an inclination to do political bidding” (Conway, 2014, p.216). She considers there to be “serious
problems embedded in the Garda Síochána, largely due to the government’s controlling influence over policing” (Conway, 2014, p.216). However, as the reader will see later, the Garda Síochána Act 2005 specifically gives the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform [hereafter, referred to as ‘The Minister’] a legitimate democratic mandate to exercise overt control over the Gardaí.

This study examines the extent to which external power or influence, whether the source is economic or political, has an effect on the way policing is carried out in Ireland. It is premised that external power, extends from the power elite through the Minister who is the political master of the Garda Síochána (literally translated as ‘the guardians of the peace’ - Irish police service) through local politicians, local pressure groups, and cascading downwards to the individual citizen. The purpose of this research is to explore the perceptions of the providers and the recipients of the public police service regarding the conduct of policing in Ireland and counterfactually to infer from these narratives the existence or otherwise of external power on the public police and the effects this external power has on public policing.

The research sample interviewed for this project included: Gardaí at management and operational level, government ministers and members of the Irish Parliament, opposition members of the Irish Parliament, local council politicians, representatives of business groups, residents groups, professionals working in the area, residents of the area and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), representatives of the ‘other’, i.e., drug users.

By focusing on a geographic area in the north inner city of Dublin that encompasses a diverse slice of Irish society, it was anticipated that some new insights into the effects of power in the Irish policing context would be generated. Sometimes power or influence by its nature may be hidden (Lukes, 2005). Therefore, a detailed cross-sectional sample, representative of the
population was selected for research. Hidden as external power may be the research process underpinning this research was expected to expose the existence of such external power or influence, counterfactually. Then by identifying the effects of this power and assessing whether or not it had a distorting effect on the equity of policing delivered, lessons could be learned about the equitable distribution and professionalism of the public police service.

This chapter deals with the social phenomena that form the background for this research and which leads to the research questions. To do this, the specifics of the area of policing that is being studied will be introduced (A detailed description of the geographical area and the socio-economic picture of the area is presented, see Appendix 1, p.165). These enable the reader to assess the importance of these factors as components of the social phenomena that is being examined, for example, the comparative social capital of various groups and its effect on policing. The first part of this chapter will address the rationale behind this research and set out as unambiguously as possible what the purpose of the research actually is and how it will address the research question. Following on from this section, the connections between these research questions and the overall purpose of the research will be explicated. The next section deals briefly with the research approach chosen. The chapter continues with an effort to reveal the personal perspective of the researcher and what ontological and axiological views have been brought to bear on this study. As the researcher is a serving police officer the researcher’s experience and perspective will be touched upon. This is to signal and counter what might be perceived as researcher-bias. The next part of the chapter deals with the ‘so what?’ dimension of this research. The significance of the research for both civil society and the police will be explored. This chapter concludes with a chapter outline for the remainder of the thesis.
Rationale

The ‘how’ and the ‘why’ of policing are subject to animated academic debate. The ‘how?’ and the ‘why?’ are seminal questions in an effort to understand the reasons behind the structure of policing as an institutional activity in a western pluralist democracy such as Ireland. How policing is done is arguably a function of the policing bureaucracy. The ‘how?’ of policing itself involves interactions between the police and society where most of the knowledge is held by the police, who themselves bring their own power resources to policing policy formulation. Discussing policing boards in the UK, Jones et al (1994, p.23) claim that “members lacked a basic knowledge about the practicalities of policing and could be of little help in setting substantive objectives.” They continue to assert that this could lead to the police being able to “put a sheen of legitimacy on their actions,” without the police losing control of their own agenda, be it the “tough policing of minorities” or some other policing policy.

The ‘why?’ policing is carried out in a certain way is perhaps a reflection of what wider society expects of its police force or service. Of course, the ‘how?’ of policing is closely watched by independent oversight agencies and by the courts and is the subject to governance from both these sources. But the ‘why?’ of policing raises issues that have more to do with the societal expectations of policing. For example, society wants safer streets; therefore, the police have to come up with a mechanism to deliver safer streets. The ‘how?’ and ‘why?’ questions are of course inextricably linked in practice. The separation of the two can however lead to a process whereby some clearer understanding of policing practice may begin to emerge. As Clark argues:

...questions of why and how are logically inseparable but they lead us in different directions. The question of how invites us to look closely at the sequences of
interactions that produce certain outcomes…Questions of why invite us to go in search of remote and categorical causes... The why approach brings a certain analytical clarity but it also has a distorting effect because it creates the illusion of a steadily building causal pressure (2013, p.xxvii).

Acknowledging the interconnectedness between the ‘why’ and the ‘how’, this research project seeks to find out some of the ‘whys’ of Irish policing. There is a note of caution contained in Clark’s (2013, p.xxvii) quotation above regarding one reading too much into the ‘why’ question. This project sought to find out what role, if any, power in Irish society had in explaining why policing is carried out in the way that it is. At the time of writing [2015] this issue of power over the police is a very live concern. When the research into this project began in late 2013, the Garda Síochána Act 2005 was the uncontested controlling factor over policing in Ireland. In particular, Section 3 of the Act gave the Minister huge powers over the policing agenda. In January 2016, a Policing Authority was established “as an independent body to oversee the performance of the Garda Síochána in relation to policing services in Ireland” (The Policing Authority of Ireland, 2016).

Theoretical Perspective

One of the distinguishing features of the Garda Síochána is that it is a national police service and as a consequence the structure of policing in Ireland puts the Minister at the top of a policing pyramid. This, in effect, politicises the police as an institution since the Minister is an elected partisan politician. Control over the police by the Minister includes the appointment of all individuals, to the rank of superintendent and above, within the Garda Síochána. This power of the Minister over the Garda Síochána, both through the legislation, such as that set out by Section 3 of the Garda Síochána Act 2005 and her role in the appointment process of senior Garda officers creates a situation whereby the Minister of the
day, without directly taking any action could influence the behaviour of Gardaí (Conway 2014). This may not necessarily be a bad thing after all as it is a form of democratic control over the police. But to go back to the above stage-managed example of policing as it occurred in Dublin’s north inner city; if policing of the city centre is perceived as inadequate; those people with “social capital” - as described by Bourdieu (1985 - 2009) - are in the best position to lobby and pressure the Minister or senior garda management for a response. Whilst responding to such demands, presumably other areas of the north inner city Dublin with equally serious policing issues, but with less ‘social capital’, are left with a reduced police service.

Defining the duties and responsibilities of public policing and its purposes is as James (2013, p.76) paraphrasing Reiner (1985) puts it, “a debate which has never and probably never will be settled...” Policing the north inner city of Dublin would appear to be a mixture of a ‘police service’ for some and a ‘police force’ for others. Drug abuse allied with homelessness and attendance at drug clinics seems to attract a ‘police force’ response, while the victims of this perceived antisocial behaviour appear to receive a ‘police service’ type response. This duality of police responses can tend to undermine the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the people who don’t think they’re getting a satisfactory service and those who feel they are bearing the brunt of police force. As James (2013, p.83) discussing the demand for policing services at a time when resources are restrained, comments: “This issue goes to the heart of police legitimacy. A balance must be struck between the capacity and capability of the public police and the normative expectations of communities.”

To stretch the example of the ‘façade’ of city-centre policing presented above, a little further, it is conceivable that the role of the Minister and her power (let it be it actual or implied) could influence how policing is carried out. Particularly, if the providers of the police service are accustomed to performing their duties in accordance with perceived or implied ministerial
wishes. Lukes (2005) describes power as having three dimensions. His third dimension of power describes power as being hidden. At this stage, it is suffice to say, that according to Lukes (2005, p.29) “control over an agenda is not necessarily through decisions and [instead it] is based on achieving subjective and real interest”. By which we can infer that Lukes maintains that the wishes of the powerful are often achieved by other than open and transparent means.

In the case of policing, this type of power or influence could distort the policing service available to all of the citizens of the country. Power and influence are sometimes interchangeable terms and for the purpose of this research the inter-changeability of them will be defended. Also, for the purpose of this research the “agenda” referred to by Lukes (2005, p.29) could be taken to be ‘public policing’ and the “subjective and real interest” (Lukes, 2005, p.29) could be the requirements of those equipped with ‘social capital’ seeking “a real interest” (Lukes, 2005, p.29) – in other words access to a public good. Lukes’ typography of power is used in this research piece as a template to establish if the policing activities of the north inner city can be explained by reference to this description of power. Of course Lukes’ typography of power is not universally accepted; nevertheless its use in this context will be defended as will its use as an explanatory tool that informs the results of the research carried out.

Policing is one of the institutions of the State. Policing is both an organisation and a set of customs and behaviours. By viewing the policing of the State as an institution, in this wider sense of the word, it enables connections to be made between the Garda Síochána and its external environment; thereby bringing linkages to light that are the subject of this research. The formal institution is the Garda Síochána. The customs and behaviours are the rules and regulations of the Garda Síochána. Meanwhile, the customs and behaviours by which external bodies and persons engage with the police set the parameters of the policing institution.
According to Lowndes and Roberts (2013, p.3) institutions are: “...forms of social organisations” that “exist” (Lowndes and Roberts, 2013, p.3) in every sphere of life and encompass the social, the economic and the political. Their customs inform codes of behaviour and complex organisations. Policing as an activity has all of the above characteristics; it is a complex social organisation with both formal and informal codes.

When looking at policing as an institution, as described above, the Garda Síochána could be described as a political institution. The Minister, in her role as a member of the government, has de facto responsibility for the running of the Garda Síochána. This makes the organisation a political entity. The situation is further politicised when Section 2(1) of the Ministers and Secretaries Act 1924 is considered, it states that: “each Minister shall be a Corporation sole”. This makes the Minister responsible for every action in her Department. This situation is described by Casey (2000, p.176) as a gap between legal theory and administrative reality. Nonetheless, it means that the Minister can be held to account for the actions of the Garda Síochána.

Held and Leftwich (1984, p.144) as quoted by Lowndes and Roberts (2013) define politics as follows: “Politics is about power; about the forces which influence and reflect its distribution and use: and about the effect of this on resource use and distribution: it is about the transformatory capacity of social agents, agencies and institutions”.

This research project is about the use of power and its effect on resource use and distribution in the context of policing. It also seeks to look at the transformatory capacity of the Garda Síochána as an institution. According to Lowndes and Roberts (2013, p.64):

…institutions have rules, practices and narratives to constrain behaviour. Narratives are especially important modes of institutional constraint to the extent that they provide an account of not just how we do things around here but why we do things the way we do. Narratives ensure compliance by establishing as taken for granted certain framing devices explanatory categories and normative understandings.
The above brings us back to the ‘why’ question that opened this piece. Is there an institutional narrative in the Garda Síochána which could explain the ‘why’ question and if it exists, what does it describe? The Garda Síochána is an institution in its own right, but it is also part of the institution of policing in the State as a social organisation. Within the larger policing institution then the question arises; do separate narratives exist about policing that could also explain the ‘why’ of policing from differing perspectives? The social organisation could include all the people and other organisations that the Garda Síochána interacts with and those who in turn, interact with it. This research project, by engaging with various parts of the policing continuum, sought to discover the narratives of policing as an institution in the north inner city of Dublin, in order to find out if external power has an effect on how policing is carried out. It is hoped, by adopting the critical theorist stance as described by Brenner (2011, p.4) that by “interpreting the particular with an eye on the totality” a clearer insight of the social phenomena can be gained. The ‘particular’, relates to the small area of the north inner city of Dublin, where research on policing was carried out. The ‘totality’ is concerned with the distribution of power in Irish society. In order to gain an insight into the effect of external power of the Garda Síochána, this research project sought to answer the following four questions, which represent the aims and objectives of this research.

**Research Aims and Objectives**

What is the extent, if any, of the external power over the Garda Síochána embodied or implied in the Minister for Justice Equality and Law Reform, on the operations of the Garda Síochána?

This is achieved through the following objectives:

1. Undertaking primary research – audio recordings of interviews with politicians, serving police officers, community activists and NGO’s.
2. Undertaking secondary research to establish where Ireland sits with regard to Bourdieu’s (1985 - 2009) and Garland’s (2011) work.

3. Undertaking secondary research to enquire if Lukes’ (2005) and other’s works on power describes the Irish situation.

4. Critically analyse the data.

Does the exercise of this external power, if it exists, have an impact on the equitable distribution of policing as a public good?

This will be achieved through the following objectives:

1. Undertaking primary research – audio recordings of interviews with politicians, serving police officers, community activists and NGO’s.

2. Undertaking secondary research on published research articles and official reports.

3. Critical analysis of the data.

What effect, if any, does external power have on the concept of a professional police service?

This will be achieved through the following objectives:

1. Undertaking primary research – audio recordings of interviews with politicians, serving police officers, community activists and NGO’s.

2. Undertaking secondary research to establish where Ireland sits with regard to Bourdieu’s (1985 - 2009) and Garland’s (2011) work.

3. Undertaking secondary research to determine the extent to which Lukes’ (2005) arguments about power and influence describes the research environment.

4. Critical analysis of the data.

Can ‘professional policing’ mitigate the effect of such external power?
This is achieved through the following objectives:

1. Undertaking primary research – audio recordings of interviews with politicians, serving police officers, community activists and NGO’s.
2. Undertaking secondary research using published research articles and official reports.
3. Critically analysis of the data to see whether or not professional policing can offer a solution to what will have been disclosed by the research.

**The Garda Síochána and Store Street Garda District**

Policing in Ireland is carried out in a small modern pluralist democracy with an extremely open economy. By its nature a pluralist democracy contains interest groups and pressure groups that compete with each other. Policing, as one such public good is no different. As a public good it is competed for between various sections of Irish society. As already stated, policing in Ireland is governed by the Garda Síochána Act 2005; Section 3(20) of this Act opens with the following:

The Minister may:

(a) determine and from time to time revise priorities for the Garda Síochána in performing its functions

The Garda Síochána is the national police service of Ireland. It has a wide-ranging brief which includes national security. It is a structured organisation under the direct control of the Garda Commissioner, two Deputy Commissioners and a number of Assistant Commissioners. The country is geographically divided into regions. Each region is under the control of its own Assistant Commissioner. Each of these regions, with the exception of the Dublin region, is divided into divisions. These divisions generally follow county boundaries. The Dublin
Metropolitan Region (DMR) due to its population density is divided into six divisions. Each Dublin division falls under the direct control of a Chief Superintendent. The divisions are sub-divided into districts which are in turn placed under the control of a Superintendent. Districts are divided into sub-districts under the control of a Sergeant. Police officers in Ireland are interchangeably called ‘Guards’ in English and ‘Garda’ in Irish, when one is referring to a singular police officer or ‘Gardai’ when one is referring to more than one officer (Brady, 1974).

The policing area that is the subject of this research is ‘Store Street’ or the ‘C’ district of the DMR North Central Division. The ‘C’ district consists of one Garda station, namely Store Street. It is staffed by a superintendent [District Officer], 4 inspectors, 33 sergeants and 140 gardaí. There are a number of specialist units attached to the district including a district detective unit and a street crime unit. There are a number of divisional resources in ‘Store Street’ including the North Central Drug Unit, the chief superintendent [Divisional Officer], and the detective superintendent for the division (An Garda Síochána, 2013).

The area of this study is a small part of the north inner city of Dublin with extremes of wealth and poverty juxtaposed with each other (Hasse and Pratschae, 2012). The city of Dublin – the capital city of Ireland – has a small compact city centre area which is divided in two by the River Liffey [see Appendix 1, p.165]. The main thoroughfare of Dublin is O’Connell Street, the entire length of which is contained within the ‘C’ policing district. It is a wide boulevard with historic buildings and shopping areas adjacent to it. The north side of the river has historically been viewed as the poorer side of the city. It has long since been less fashionable than the Southside of Dublin (Ferriter, 2004).
Research Approach

The research approach that was taken was a qualitative one; it was directed by a phenomenological methodology. Twenty-nine research interviews were audio-recorded with twenty-eight research participants. A semi-structured interview approach was taken. A purposive sampling model was used to identify research participants.

The ‘So What’ Question

This study arose out of the researcher’s desire to understand why it seemed to him that policing had failed certain parts of the north inner city of Dublin. It was hoped that by explicating a possible reason for this failure and substantiating his opinion with empirical evidence it might lead to a change in how the area is policed. By creating an increased awareness of the forces at work at the institutional level of policing it is hoped that this raised awareness will improve the police service being delivered to all. This is important for the legitimacy of the police as a public service in the area and ultimately in the country as a whole. The approach taken in this research piece is unique as policing in this area has not before been the focus of research from this perspective in any previous study. Manning (2012, p. 355) has written that “The Garda have not been studied ethnographically by academic observers, ethnographers, anthropologists, nor has any systematic social research been sponsored by the Garda itself”. This study approached the problems of policing from an institutional level rather than a governance level. By taking the institutional approach it was possible to integrate a study of policing into a wider field that encompassed various segments of Irish society not normally associated with policing. This approach the researcher believes will create new knowledge about the dynamics of policing in 21st century Ireland.
Outline of Chapters

The body of this work is set out as follows:

Chapter Two is the literature review. This chapter takes the form of describing the phenomenon of power and how it might be recognised from the literature. It follows on with a description of the sociological context under which power operates. Then it lays out the recent history of the Garda Síochána and its role in Irish society. Public policy making in Ireland is then discussed using Bourdieu’s (1989, 1989a) concepts of ‘field, habitus and capital’. The final section of this chapter will consider critical reflection and professionalism in a policing context.

Chapter Three deals with the research methodology used, it is set out in the following fashion. The rationale for the qualitative methodology is detailed. The sample selection is described. This is followed by a description of the data collection processes and how the data was analysed. The process of conducting the literature review is then explicated. The ethical issues considered are then addressed as are issues connected with the researcher being a police officer and the assumptions underlying this research. A section which deals with issues relating to the validity, reliability and trustworthiness of the research brings this chapter to a close.

In Chapter Four and Chapter Five, the data and the analysis will be presented together. It is suggested that this fusion of research data and analysis on a question-by-question basis will make the conclusions drawn from the research and the connections between the developing themes more accessible. It appears to this researcher that there is a natural divide between these first two research questions which deal with matters external to the Garda Síochána. Consequently, Chapter Four will address the first two questions of this research. With the chapter divided into two sections. Chapter Five is also divided into two sections dealing with
questions three and four. Once more it consists of a fusion of research data and literature, similar to Chapter Four.

Chapter Six contains the conclusion and recommendations arising from this research. It offers a summary of what has gone before and suggests that critical reflection and peer review may offer a solution to some of the issues raised by the research data.

Summary

This project sets out to explore the possibility that external power exerts an influence on the operational capacity of the Garda Síochána. It will show that the structures of policing as an institution makes it susceptible to the real or implied influence of the Minister. The theoretical basis for the research project is supplied by Luke’s (2005) work on power, Bourdieu’s work (1985-2009) on social capital and Lowndes and Roberts’ (2013) work on institutionalism. By using a small but diverse area of the north inner city of Dublin some insights into have been gained, which may shed light on the overall disposition of power in society - by reversing the mantra of going from the general to the particular, to going from the particular to the general. Qualitative research methods were used. Research subjects were selected in a purposive sample and semi-structured recorded interviews were conducted. The qualitative method was chosen as the most suitable because it is peoples lived experiences that were sought by the researcher. As this project is concentrating on the ‘why’ of policing there is a reliance on the political and philosophical literature in order to define power as a possible answer to the ‘why’ question. This project fits in with Barlow and Hickman-Barlow’s description of capitalist society as a “political economy whereby political and economic institutions are integrally intertwined” (1999, p.646) and the police are used as instruments of social control. As this project is concentrating on the ‘why’ of policing there is a reliance on the political and philosophical literature in order to define power as a possible answer to the ‘why’ question. Of necessity this has meant that the rich literature on the ‘how’
of policing is not emphasised in this project because in a teleological sense the ‘why’ precedes the ‘how’.

The next chapter of this thesis is a review of the literature underpinning the theoretical and the real issues discussed in this chapter.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The literature review has been organised and set out in a manner that attempts to illustrate the inter-connectedness of the various themes and theories that underpin this research. It opens with a theoretical perspective divided into three parts, “power”, “the policing institution” and “justice and fairness”. The second section is a study of the Garda Siochana and its recent history. This includes a description of the unique features of the link between the Garda Siochana and Irish society due to the intertwined history of the Garda Siochana and the Irish state. A further theoretical section is introduced at this juncture based on the work of Bourdieu on the concepts of “field, habitus and capital”, and how these theories can illuminate the links mentioned earlier between the Garda Siochana and the state apparatus. This is followed by an account of the north inner city of Dublin and its policing environment. The literature review continues with a description of professionalism in the context of the police service as a professional organisation and the practitioner as a professional under the headings “policing professionally” and “professional policing”. The literature review concludes with a discussion of “critical reflection” and “peer review” as two aspects of professionalism that could be utilised in an effort to enhance the delivery of fairness and justice in the distribution of a public good.

Theoretical perspective 1: Power

Power according to (Wrong, 1997, p.x) is “a human social phenomena” and it is “the capacity of some persons to produce intended and foreseen effects on others.” In 1964, the United States Attorney General is reported as saying: “what is equally true is that every community
gets the kind of law enforcement it insists on” (Kennedy, 1964). This remark by Robert Kennedy begs the question, how does a community insist on its own type of law enforcement? Is ‘community’ a homogenous concept? Or is it made up of many smaller communities, each insisting on their own type of law enforcement in competition with each other and with presumed equal resources of power to have their demands met. Dahl (1961) argued that power is shared out amongst elites as a multiplicity of competing ‘power pyramids’ in a pluralistic fashion, thus no one group gains a monopoly of power. Dahl’s view of power evolved over time and, in 1989, Dahl suggested in his *Democracy and its Critics* that any study of power has to take into account various social factors like education and resources. The concept of power is a contested area in political science with a contrast between Dahl’s description of power that “is empirically demonstrable” (Collins, 2008, p.60), whilst Marsh raises questions as to why some people are in a strong position regarding policy making, why some policy decisions dominate others (1995, p.293) and “in whose interests do the powerful rule and how does their rule result in their interests being served?” (Collins, 2008, p.60).

In “Leviathan” Hobbes (originally published 1651 [2012, Ed.]) describes the submission of autonomous man to a sovereign for the common good of what he terms the ‘commonwealth’. This idea has become part of the bedrock of western liberal democracy. This social contract ideology, which extends from Hobbes (1651) to Rawls (1991) and other twentieth-century philosophers, involves the submission of certain individual rights to the state. It is implicit in this submission that individuals put themselves under the coercive power of the state. Thus persons willingly allow others have power over them if certain conditions are met and it is these conditions that form the modern version of the social contract.
What is power, how can it be measured and how does it achieve its ends? As Morris (2002, p.13) puts it, power is “a concept referring to an ability, capacity, or a dispositional property”. This dispositional capacity of power exists whether the power is exercised or not. Key to Morris’s understanding of power is “intentionality” (2002, p.124), therefore unintended consequences of an action are not a manifestation of power. Power, according to Morris is difficult to study because “we cannot hope to prove power ascriptions nor can powers be directly observed” (2002, p.124). Morris suggests that: “We do not observe power: our evidence is used in indirect ways to establish the truth or reasonableness of asserting counterfactuals that cannot be tested directly” (2002, p.145).

Morris is writing in the analytical tradition of Anglo-American philosophy (Haugaard, 2002, p.274) and as such he was at pains to point out the shortcomings of the definitions of power used by other academics, particularly Dahl (1961, 1989) and Lukes (2005). He takes Dahl (1961, 1989) to task for conflating influence with power and Lukes (2005) for positing that some exercise of power may be unintentional, thereby confirming perhaps, the contested nature of the very concept of power.

Mann (1986, as cited in Haaguard, 2002, p.6) describes power as “the ability to pursue and attain goals” and he describes two types of social power. Firstly the power of one group of people over another group and secondly, echoing Olsens’ (1971) Logic of Collective Action he states: “persons in cooperation can enhance their joint power over third parties or over nature” (Mann, 1986, as cited in Haaguard, 2002, p.6). Clearly then, according to Mann social power is a matter of domination by one group over another, or collective action, depending on circumstances. Mann (1986, as cited in Haaguard, 2002, p.6) identifies four sources of power, one of which is, economic power. According to Mann, groups organised
around economic power create a class, which he claims: “form a large part of overall social-stratification levels” (Mann, 1986, as cited in Haaguard, 2002, p 175). As one of the social groups described above, this economic class, because of its monopolistic control over “production, distribution, exchange and consumption…, can obtain general collective and distributive power in societies” (Mann, 1986 as cited in Haaguard, 2002, p.175). Mann is clearly attributing power to a particular class due to its economic capacity. A second source of power according to Mann (1986) is political power. By political power, Mann is referring to the ‘state’ and he maintains that this state power operates from the centre outwards. He contrasts this power with the other power sources he identifies i.e. economic, military, and ideological. State power is bounded whilst other sources of power are not necessarily bounded. The fact that state power is bounded enables “Those who control the state”…“’the State elite’ to obtain both collective and distributive power and trap others within their distinctive organisation chart” (Mann, 1986, as cited in Haaguard, 2002, p.178). This attribution of power to resources was disputed by Dahl (1989). Dahl considered the position of two wealthy people, one of whom collected politicians and one of whom collected paintings. Both of these people were equally wealthy, but only one was using resources as a source of power. Dahl (1989) differs from Morris (2002), in so far as, he equates influence with power. Morris, the analytical philosopher, discusses at length the difference between power and influence. Dahl uses the example that the American President has power to confer positions on people; therefore, for example, a U.S. Senator fearing a loss at the next election can be influenced by the president to do something for the president in the hope of preferment at the end of the term. It could be said that the president has the capacity to influence the senator (Dahl, 1989).
Theorists debating social power like Dahl (1989) have, according to Lukes (2005), not fully described power. Lukes (2005) argues that the power Dahl (1989) portrays is one-dimensional. According to Dahl’s thesis (1989), A has power over B if A can get B to do something. When this is taken in the social context, the effect of one-dimensional power could be shown by identifying which social group prevails in the case of policy disagreements. As an explanatory tool, one-dimensional power is quite clear about the outcomes of a power struggle. However, according to Parvin and Chambers (2012), it suffers from three particular shortcomings in its role as an explanatory tool. Firstly, it has nothing to say about what gets on to the decision-making agenda. Secondly, looking at who benefits from the outcomes may not tell us anything about who holds power. Rather, as Dowding (2003) claims, because of the way that society is structured certain people may be lucky to benefit from policy decisions. Dowding (2003) uses the examples of capitalists living in a western liberal democracy where the economy is doing well and he argues that, if elected officials want to be re-elected they must implement economic policies that benefit the economy. This benefits those same capitalists without them having to exercise any power at all. The third problem identified by Parvin and Chambers (2012) is that the one-dimensional description of power does not address: why certain decisions are reached or what motivates decision makers. This one-dimensional view has been described by Lukes (2005, p.29) as focused on “...behaviours, decision-making, key issues. There is an observable (overt) conflict and (subjective) interests seen as policy preferences and are revealed by political participants.”

To address some of the shortcomings identified in the one dimensional view of power, Bachrach and Baratz (1970, as cited in Haugaard, 2002 p. 28) make a crucial observation “that there are two faces of power, neither of which the sociologist sees and only one of which the political scientist sees”. The second face of power is shown, according to Bachrach
and Barataz, 1970, (as cited in Haugaard, 2002, p.35) by “investigating the mobilisation of bias” and by examining the dynamics of non-decision decision-making” (Bachrach and Barataz, 1970, as cited in Haugaard, 2002, p.35). Finally the influence of “status quo orientated persons” (Bachrach and Barataz, 1970, as cited in Haugaard, 2002, p.35) should be looked at as these factors could explain why certain matters never appear on agendas for decision-making. Two-dimensional power, according to Lukes (2005, p. 29), “…focuses on decision-making, non-decision-making issues and potential issues. There is observable (overt or covert conflict) and subjective interests, seen as policy preferences or grievances.”

According to Lukes (2005), three-dimensional power differs from the other two types of power because three dimensional power focuses on: “…decision making and control over the political agenda (not necessarily through decisions) issues and potential issues, and observable, overt or covert conflict and latent conflict and subjective and real interests” (Lukes, 2005, p 29). Lukes further refines his description of power by describing the following “that A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B’s interest”. Lukes applies this theory to the real world when he states that the three-dimensional view of power offers a mechanism for the “deeper analysis of ‘power’ in other words, the prospect of a serious sociological and not merely personalised explanation of how political systems prevent demands from becoming political issues or even from being made” (Lukes, 2005, p.40).

In an assessment of three-dimensional power Parvin and Chambers (2012) describe it as: “an extremely effective form of power because it prevents conflict before it has started”. The benefit of this is that “the fight is over before it has even begun” (Parvin and Chambers, 2012, p 25). Lukes (2005) theory of power, according to Hindes (1996, p.95) presents us with a “view of civil society as an area of contending social forces.” Hindes (1996, p.84) maintains that according to Lukes (2005) civil society is “dominated both materially and ideally” by a
powerful minority whose interests are opposed to the majority. This would appear to reduce the autonomy of a person’s own choices and, as Parvin and Chambers (2012, p.75) have observed, one of the weaknesses of this description of power “is that it is difficult to identify and distinguish cases where an individual’s desires are the result of power from cases where the individual’s desires are in some sense genuine or are independent of power”.

The above description of power is of necessity brief but, bearing in mind Morris’s (2002) view that ‘power’ can only be described by referring to outcomes, this three dimensional description of power provides a mechanism whereby power outcomes can be exposed, a fact acknowledged by Manning (2012, p. 348) when he writes that “understanding policing requires then seeing what is out of sight and perhaps not even acknowledged”. Perhaps more importantly the three dimensional view of power could shed some light on the provenance of the power that gives rise to the perceived outcomes. By looking at these outcomes it may be possible to create a conceptual framework to explain the ‘why’ of policing in a liberal capitalist democracy in general and in Ireland in particular.

**Theoretical perspective 2: The policing institution**

What does the foregoing mean in practice for the policing institution of the north inner city of Dublin? Institutions create “interactions that are predictable” (Peters, 2005, p.18). According to Cohen and Arato (1999, p.335), a complex social activity (such as a policing institution) “can be coordinated only through structures of complimentary expectations”. This implies that there should be some form of norms governing the interactions in the policing institution. So for example, a traffic accident is investigated, public order is maintained, and the thief might be arrested, whilst the citizen may report a crime to the police or the police may administer a breath test after an accident. All of these and many other interactions occur every day, some of them defined by the legal code, others by organisation and societal norms.
These norms are all part of a process of communication based on the “expectation by individuals about the action of others” (Luhmann, 1985, as cited in Cohen and Arato, 1999, p.334). The evolution of institutions is part of civil society. According to Luhmann (1985) norms can become laws. Therefore, when a conflict arises in the case of the policing institution where a failure to do one’s duty can become a source of conflict and, as a result, doing ones’ duty may then become a legal requirement. The evolution of the police and criminal evidence act in the UK (PACE) could be an example of how failure to abide by accepted norms regarding the gathering of evidence by police was rectified by legislation. In times of conflict, this legal requirement often involves third-party involvement i.e. a judge or a tribunal. The emerging rules, regulations and the legal code are an example of the evolving nature of the policing institution as it seeks to meet the expectations of the citizenry. A feature of institutions is that the norms have a built-in expectation and, in a policing institution, the expectation could be the delivery of an effective and equitable policing service.

When one bears in mind Morris’s (2002) claim that power can only be observed by its effects, then the effects of the power elite’s agenda setting might be visible in the Minister’s domain part of which is policing. Policing does not take place in a vacuum, it “operates in a public political arena and there (its) mandate is defined politically” (Manning, 2006, p.200). In the city centre of Dublin, the public police can be seen performing what Reiner (2006, p.678) describes as their essential function which is “to regulate and protect the social order using legitimate force if necessary”. The social order could include such concepts as making the public space, which is policed, more amenable to “profit maximisation” (Coleman, 2004, p.4). Social order of this type is what Coleman describes as “the reclaiming the streets from drug addicts, homeless people, beggars etc” (Coleman, 2004, p.4). Such social control is consistent with the “rationale of both left and right political agendas which have been
concerned to deregulate market economies while increasing control and regulation in the social sphere” (Coleman, 2004, p.4). One of the effects of neo-liberalism, according to Lynch, Grummell and Devine (2012, p.7), was that, when discussing social partnership and its effect “deep inequalities were ritualistically named and largely ignored”. Commenting on policing in societies with deep inequalities, Brogden and Ellison (2013, p.104) state “if such societies are characterised by deep structural (and increasing economic) inequalities… how can the police act other than to sustain the fissures”. The degree to which deep inequalities characterise Ireland, is debatable, as signalled earlier, when discussing academic debates to such an extent that Whelan (2007, p.103) can write “We are forced to conclude that both the levels and depth of such deprivation are a good deal more modest than suggested by radical critics of the Irish experience of globalisation”. But on the other hand there has been a deep retrenchment of public spending in Ireland since the onset of what is described as ‘the great recession’ in 2007. The public police have not been immune from this, thereby making the provision of the public good they supply scarcer with the result being that there is greater competition between the various groups in society for this service.

**Theoretical perspective 3: Justice and fairness**

The Garda Síochána has a clearly defined role regarding its social obligations. How this role is defined and understood is perhaps a normative issue for each member of the Garda Síochána. However, the organisation’s ethical statements emphasises that equality and fairness are organisational values. “Rationing is inevitable in public service delivery where there is virtually unlimited demand” (McKevitt, 1988, p. 34). The discretion mentioned earlier is the power of the police manager to respond to demands for a police service. From wherever demand arises, the professional manager must weigh the social obligations involved in his or her decision. The social obligations are spelt out by Alderson (1998, p 32), where he takes a Rawlsian slant on distributive justice and states categorically that the “way in which
major social institutions… Provide for fundamental rights and duties are the key to
distributive justice “(Alderson, 1998, p. 32). A failure to pay proper heed to distributive
justice can yield to “public disorder, crime, insurrection” “(Alderson, 1998, p. 32). Rawls
(1991, p.266) second principle of justice for institutions states that: “social and economic
inequality are to be arranged so that they are both (a) to the greatest benefit of the least
advantaged.” His second priority rule states that “(a) and inequality of opportunity must
enhance the opportunities of those with lesser opportunity” (Rawls, 1991, p.266). It would
appear then that, if we take Alderson’s (1998) views when he is discussing what he calls
“High Police”, that he suggests that normative values should inform police leader’s decisions.
The kind of normative values described here could be expected to inform the resource
deployment decisions of police managers when it comes to rationing a public good. Loader
and Walker (2001) describe policing as such a public good, because they maintain that a
community’s “sense of security is a prerequisite to the generation of other social goods”
(2001, p.26). This is because “public safety is inexorably connected with the quality of our
association with others” and this is put at risk with insecurity described as an “irreducible
social failure”, which fits in with Alderson’s (1988) fears as described.

An attempt to distribute a public good that is being rationed cannot be Pareto optimal.
Alderson (1988) implies that policing is a public good that must follow redistributive
principles in this distribution or else society runs the risk of breaking the social contract.
Rawls (1991) is definitive in his principals of justice and his priority principle suggests that,
if there is inequality in the distribution of a public good, then it must favour the most
disadvantaged. Loader and Walker (2001) describe policing as a public good that is necessary
for the development of other social goods. They describe it as a thick public good that should
continue to be supplied by the state. They define security in social terms and it is in this
context that the state should be capable, through its institutions, of “producing democratic,
equitable and effective policing” (Loader and Walker, 2001, p.25). According to Fyfe (2013, pp.411-412) as a result of various scandals, there is a trend towards a “new policing professionalism “a characteristic of which is an “emphasis on enhancing the legitimacy of the police” (Fyfe, 2013, p.411). Quoting studies in both the US and UK, Fyfe (2013) claims people viewed the police as legitimate if “They feel the police are unbiased and consistent… (and) they are treated politely and with respect and that the perceived motives of the police are felt to have the interests of the wider community at heart” (Fyfe , 2013, p.411).

The Garda Síochána and its history

Power is understood to be a capacity or disposition of a person or persons to get others to do something. Power is sourced in the economic and political spheres of a stratified society and its effects can be described using a three dimensional model of power. What does this mean for the equitable policing of the state? There is a major change underway in the governance of the police in Ireland. This change involved the creation of a policing board to separate the police from political interference. However, it would appear that the Minister has preserved the power to appoint the chairperson of the proposed policing board, which is perhaps not really a radical change to the status quo because it would appear that the Minister will still have direct access to the levers of power over the Garda Síochána. This is an opportune time to describe the position of the Garda Síochána in Irish society.

Section 3 (20) of the Garda Síochána Act 2005 states that:

The Minister may -

(a) determine, and from time to time revise priorities for the Garda Síochána in performing its functions under section 7 and
(b) establish and from time to time revise levels of performance (“performance targets”) to be aimed at in seeking to achieve the objective of each priority.

This Act of 2005 follows in the explicit footsteps of the politicians who set up the Garda Síochána in 1922. In 1922, the reason for this was quite clear. In the early years of the state but especially in 1922 and 1923, the free state of Éire - as Ireland was then called - was in the middle of a civil war. The fledgling state had been democratically vindicated by an election held on the 16\textsuperscript{th} of June 1922. As Ferriter (2004) contends, this election which endorsed the treaty to end the War of Independence was and is, to this day, disputed by the losing side. In 1922, the losing side was about 40\% of the population who believed that the state which emerged was illegitimate and therefore could be and was attacked with force of arms. Ireland had had no effective police force for a number of years prior to this. As Brady (1974) explains, the British colonial police known as the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) had withdrawn from the countryside. The country was in a state of lawlessness as a result. Brady (1974) goes on to describe how it was necessary at the time to ensure that recruits to the new police force, the civic guard (or Garda Síochána as they were later named) came from the pro-treaty, pro-democracy part of the population. These police men, for they were all male, operated in dangerous and ambivalent situations. They performed part of the policing role but left the problem of dealing with armed men to the Irish army. By 1925, the situation had stabilised and in order to prove its credentials as a proper state the government withdrew the army and handed over the entire policing function to the Garda Síochána. The Minister for Justice with responsibility for the police in a debate in the Irish Parliament in February 1925 made the following remark: “police problems could not be shared out between a police officer and a body of thirteen laymen… thirteen civilians elected haphazardly by half a dozen local authorities” (Brady, 1974, p.133). This comment articulates the commitment that politicians had to the centralised control of the police force.
Control of the police was a central issue when the anti-treaty side, led by Eamon DeValera and his political party, won the general election of 1932. According to Brady (1974), DeValera started to purge the leadership of the Garda Síochána in order to replace them with more trustworthy (from his point of view) men as he embarked on his so called economic war with Britain and to take on the Irish Republican Army (IRA). He had split from the IRA when he left Sinn Féin and set up Fianna Fáil in 1925. Thus, the cycle of centralised control continued in order to defeat an anti-democratic armed foe. The first two different elected governments of Ireland used their direct control of the police force for the same purpose. This became especially important from 1939 with the outbreak of the Second World War when DeValera, the then leader of the government, decided on a position of neutrality for Ireland. This meant that he had to take strong action against the IRA who had embarked on a bombing campaign in England and who were actively courting the Nazis to invade Ireland (Fisk, 1983, p.142).

This cycle of centralised control continued with the outbreak of the troubles in Northern Ireland in 1968/1969. Once again the IRA was seen as the anti-democratic threat to the Irish state. The government of Ireland was ‘paranoid ‘about the Republican activities and this paranoia was behind a substantial erosion of civil liberties during this time (Ferriter, 2004). In commenting on the times Ferriter (2004), gives a list of excesses committed by the Garda Síochána including an alleged miscarriage of justice case where he comments that: “this was a situation that could not be divorced from the political context of the time” (Ferriter, 2004, p.729).

The centralisation of control over the Garda Síochána has been seen as necessary by the governments of the day to ensure that Ireland as a functioning modern state used its civilian police force rather than the army to defend the state (Brady, 1974). The threat to the stability of Ireland from the IRA was taken seriously during the thirty years of the troubles 1968-1998.
In 1998, with the formal agreement to end the troubles in the Good Friday Agreement, the environment in which policing was carried out in Ireland changed. It could be argued, as Manning (2012) implies, that as long as the existential threat existed to the state from anti-democratic extremists, ministerial control over the police was a necessity. It could also be argued, as Brady (1974) suggests, that it was the centralised control that enabled the politicians have an understanding of the bigger picture and act accordingly. The net outcome of the above is that the Garda Síochána “the national police of Ireland is a policing organisation with a unique history and function and a powerful connection to the emergence of Irish culture and an independent nation” (Manning, 2012, p.350). Manning continues by describing the Garda Siochana as “…an icon, a miniature representation of several themes in the history of the state” (Manning, 2012, p. 353).

Conway (2014, pp.209-210), commenting on the Garda Síochána, maintains that “governance of An Garda Síochána is achieved solely through political mechanisms...evidence abounds that this relationship involves overt political involvement in policing: from instructions on how to police the IRA in the 1930’s...or in the 1970s or 1980s, the dismissal of Commissioners ...the tapping of journalists telephones, the recording of Ministerial phone conversations, the policing of the Corrib Gas project, to the use of the promotion system.” This political interference has been recognised and has led to the setting up of the new Independent Policing Authority, which came into force in January 2016. O’Brien (2016, p.1) writing in the Irish Times had this to say: “This Authority will not solve issues raised in relation to policing”. In the same article, O’Brien (2016, p. 1) refers to reports of Conway as having said, “The proposals were watered down and the process of appointments to the Authority was political.” The reasons for this according to O’Brien (2016, p. 1) are: the Minister reserves to herself the right to select the eight members of the Authority from a short list of seventeen people created by the Public’s Appointment Service. Also, the Authority
cannot negotiate a budget for the Garda Síochána; it can only approve policing plans with the Minister’s approval. It cannot appoint the Commissioner or Deputy Commissioners, nor can it decide on the number of Gardaí required to provide a policing service. As O’ Brien (2016, p.1) says the Minister has retained “a claw back... in respect of contested decisions”. O’ Brien concludes his article with the following: “perhaps cynically one is left to wonder what the point of the exercise is? Frankly, if the government did not wish to concede control of policing it should have continued with the present system”. Ireland is a small open economy and a liberal pluralist democracy. It has not been immune to the neoliberal changes that have swept the western world from the 1970’s onwards with the advent of Mrs Thatcher and Mr Reagan, one to the east of Ireland and one to the west. The opening of the world economy and globalisation since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989 has also had a disproportionate effect on the Irish economy and as a consequence on the social life of the country. The threat to the state’s independence, in the second decade of the 21st century is from international financiers rather than violent terrorists. It will be argued here that this austerity presents a new paradigm for policing in Ireland that may not be served by section 3(20) of the Garda Síochána Act, 2005. Garland (2011, p.192) describes the current criminological field as a culmination of “developments in policing, crime prevention, criminological theory and the treatment of victims.” These developments were not brought about by what Garland terms as the rising crime rates or by a loss of faith in penal welfarism (Garland, 2011, p.161). Garland argues that these developments were in part brought about by the “reactionary policies that have dominated Britain and America in the last 20 years”. These reactionary policies have led to “new social relations that have grown up around the changing structure of work welfare and market exchange” (Garland, 2011, p.192).

Ireland’s experience has been in line with that described by Garland (2011). There has been a general increase in recorded crime in Ireland since the 1950s. In 1950, there were 12,232
serious crime incidents reported, whilst in 2010, there were 27,455 serious crime incidents reported (Share, et al, 2011, p. 241). This increase in crime mirrors what was happening elsewhere, particularly in the United States and England, over the same period. This rise in crime has led to what Garland (2011) describes as a belief that policing and penal welfarism has failed, thus, prompting the state to seek new ways to control crime. The relevance of that approach to late modernity and its allied neoliberal politics has been commented on by Campbell (2007 as cited in Share et al 2011, p. 246). Campbell shows that aspects of Garland’s thesis already exist in Ireland. By stressing the failure of the state to prevent crime Garland (2011) highlights what he calls the ‘policy predicament of the state’. The state has to admit that crime cannot be stopped and that crime is a normal fact of modern life. Therefore, criminals should be treated as rational actors making a choice to commit crime. Thus the state’s role becomes one of punishment of offenders rather than one of crime control. Crime control is devolved to civic society and, in a neoliberal world; this means to profit-making companies as well as to voluntary groups such as Neighbourhood Watch etc. It is in this area of policy predicament that having control of the Garda Síochána invested in the Minister could have negative effects. As Kirby (2002, as cited by Campbell, 2008, p. 160) has shown, Ireland has embraced some of the neoliberal agenda with its concentration on the state’s competitiveness in the global economy “… the societal antipathy to taxation and the pre-eminence of individualism and materialism”. Campbell (2008, p. 4) contends that the neoliberal tendency in Ireland is moderated by the established welfare system that exists. This welfare system now seven years after Campbell’s articles were written is under severe threat from five years of austerity. The incremental reduction in public spending, impacts on the type of policing service which the government can offer to the people. This allied with the neoliberal agenda, with its emphasis on the privatisation of public services, makes ministerial control of the police a contentious issue.
The Minister as a politician could become the target of the most powerful lobby groups in Irish society. It could be argued that the centrality of control of the police by the political class leaves it particularly vulnerable to the power struggles within the political/power elite of Ireland as a result of the paradigmatic shift from security to austerity.

**Theoretical Perspective 4: Field, habitus and capital**

This centralisation of power over the police becomes one of the influencing factors in the creation of the sociological area or field in which police operate. This power is also a factor in the way that the police carry out their daily work (habitus). The concept of a field as a differential domain of social practice, according to Garland (2011, p. 211), is derived from the work of Bourdieu (1989). Bourdieu’s (1989) concept of field is a useful tool for describing the effects of the centralisation of the power in the Minister. Bourdieu’s concept of a field is that it is made up of opposing forces. Thompson (2012), commenting on Bourdieu’s theory (1989), describes these forces as cultural capital and economic capital. Both of these forces have a key role in the field of power because an accumulation of economic capital and cultural capital puts its possessor in a very strong position. Bourdieu (1989) describes the structure of the field of power as “…field of power is full of forces structurally determined by the state of the relations of power among forms of power or different forms of capital” (Bourdieu, 1989, p.264).

Bourdieu goes on to describe the field of power as a field of power struggles, as each agent seeks to “occupy dominant positions within their respective fields” (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 264). Bourdieu makes the point that the power relationships within a field are coherent to all the agents in the field whilst they may be of no use in another field or in another part of the same field. The social world is made up of “multiple fields and these fields have no distinct border,
they only exist as far as the power has influence, and fields are not mutually exclusive, what goes on in one field can affect another” (Thompson, 2012, p.76).

An example used by Bourdieu (1999a) shows how the neo-liberal policies of globalisation and de-industrialisation, carried out by the power elite of France, led to negative changes to the lives of those without power; thereby affecting their social field (Thompson, 2012, p. 171). It is this aspect of Bourdieu’s (1999a) concept of field that is relevant to the effect that centralisation of power has over the police. The police operate in one of the various subfields or “microcosms endowed with their own duty regulations and forms of authority” (Wacquant, 1998, p.212). The Minister, on the other hand, operates in a much bigger field of power, where she/he is but one player. The field of power, as already described, is made up of opposing forms of cultural and economic capital. Bourdieu (1989) describes the power struggle as efforts to maintain positions, what he calls ‘the reproduction of power’. One of these struggles could be to maintain an influence over the distribution of a scarce public good such as the police service or to seek to influence how that police service carries out its functions.

The Minister operates in a field that is shared with other government ministers and with the economic, political and social elite of the country. (Byrne, 2012, p.13) states “corruption therefore is the use of public office for private gain without any direct link to a precise favour but in anticipation of future benefits. To back this up Byrne (2012) provides a list of cases beginning with the Wicklow gold enquiry in 1935 continuing through each decade to the DIRT/Bogus Non-resident Accounts from 1998-2010. These are well documented cases, drawn from the various tribunals of enquiry that have been held in Ireland since independence, have shown that the wealthy - those with economic capital - have never had any trouble accessing an Irish Minister. According to Share, Corcoran and Conway (2011, p. 95), there is also ample evidence to show that those in Ireland who are born into the same
social class, who attend the same schools and who play golf together, come together to form a power elite which makes social class reproduction a given in Irish society. This ‘power elite’ comprises of some of the game players as described by Bourdieu (1989). It is of some relevance to this project to note that the role of intellectuals who come from the same institutional elite and who could be considered to be the bearers of cultural capital have become marginalised because of the “progressive economisation of public debate, the general enthralment to consumer capitalisation and its co-optation of the state” (Share, et al, 2011, p.115). In effect intellectuals are helping to maintain the reproduction of their class.

The criminal justice area of public policy could be described as a sub-field in the field of power. As pay master, the Minister is in a very powerful position in this field as he/she has all the economic capital. This involves power over individual’s careers and working conditions. This all powerful position of the Minister could conceivably have an effect on the people working to her/him, which could be described as having an effect on their habitus. Maton (2012) writing about habitus, describes it partly “as a structure that helps to shape one’s present and future practice” (Maton, 2012, p.50). The reality of the above is that the habitus of members of the police bureaucracy will be constructed by what the members themselves perceive to be the Minister’s position. As Manning (2012, p.358) has written about the presentational strategies of policing plans produced by Garda management “these appear to be weapons to assuage the politicians and the Ministry more than the general public, but that is a matter for research to establish.” This may be because the bureaucrat is truly invisible and just doing what he or she understands to be his/her duty. It may be that what the Minister thinks about the individual bureaucrat could be important for that person’s career. The same phenomenon is noted by Reiner, describing the role of the UK’s Home Secretary vis-à-vis Chief Constables where he writes: “The Home Secretary also controls the various career aspirations Chief Constables may entertain, such as appointment as an HM Inspector of
Constabulary or a knighthood or a peerage” (Reiner, 1997, p. 1030). Either way, the apparent control that the Minister has will undermine the traditional impartial way in which a classic bureaucracy works, as described by Hill (2007, p. 231, adapted from Weber 1922; translation 2012). These authors emphasise that a “bureaucracy is a continuous organisation with a specified function” and “its operations are bound by rules” whilst “staff are appointed on the basis of their qualifications and are promoted on the basis of merit” Hill (2007, p. 231, adapted from Weber 1922; translation 2012).

By adapting Bourdieu’s (1989, 1989a) ideas of field and habitus, the position of the Minister could be shown to be subject to the power struggles amongst the power elite. The winners of this power struggle would have a major influence in defining how policing is carried out in the state. The subfield, in which the Minister is all powerful, would have an effect on the habitus of the police force from to its most junior. Bourdieu uses an elegant equation to describe the interaction between habitus and field as follows: \[(\text{habitus}) \times (\text{capital}) + \text{Field} = \text{Practice}\] (Bourdieu, 1986a: as cited in Maton 2012). Capital in this equation is explained by Maton (2012) as one’s position in a field. Habitus is described as one’s disposition and the field is described as the social arena.

What does the above mean in practice? Policing is an expensive public good, the supply of which is the focus of the activities of various pressure groups. The vagaries of the Irish Parliamentary system render it particularly vulnerable to the action of pressure groups. The Irish Parliament is made up of members elected from multi-seat constituencies with a single transferable vote. This is a system of proportional representation, which, according to Lee (1990), was ideally suited for a country such as Ireland after a civil war in that it allowed for minority views to be heard. It also meant that the adage - all politics are local - applied especially to Ireland. The last number of general elections in Ireland has resulted in a coalition government. This fact, along with what Casey (2000, p. 176) calls a gap between
legal theory and administrative reality (due to section 2(1) of the Ministers and Secretaries Act, 1924 -which states: that “each Minister should be a corporation sole”), means that the Minister is a juristic person like a company or the state (Casey, 200, p. 176). As a result of this, the Minister is responsible for every action in his/her Department, hence the gap between legal and administrative reality mentioned above. This legislation would appear to suggest that notwithstanding the current legislation proposed around the idea of a policing board responsibility for the police and policing will still ultimately be the under the control of the Minister. This, in effect, means that the position of an Irish Minister is almost one of splendid isolation when it comes to policy implementation. It is through policy making and recommendation that the operation of the mechanisms of the field of power can best be seen. It is in this interplay between the pluralist power of pressure groups through which power is diffused in society and the Minister that the terms of the modern social contract are revealed. As Garland (2011) has shown, neoliberals have rewritten the social contract in ways that would appear to suit their own agenda of minimum government. The state, it is argued, is not able to deliver a crime-free society for various reasons but in the long run it comes down to a question of resources. As Western pluralist economies continue to reduce in their public spending programmes opportunities arise for the private sector to take over some of the functions of the state. Arguably, this is a win-win scenario for the neoliberals. Their wish for a reduction in public spending means that there are opportunities for business to fill the shortfall in public service.

A fundamental difference between the neoliberal agenda and the welfarism agenda arises here when one considers the two meanings that can be given to crime reduction strategies. In one sense of the word crime reduction strategies could include, the provision of education, housing and all the other benefits that go towards creating economic and cultural capital for the people in need of it. This could have the potential to reduce crime as people’s current
needs are met and so they are equipped to fulfil their own needs in the future without resorting to crime. This welfarism agenda is identified by Reiner (2012, pp.135-150) as social democracy with the primacy of the ethical, which includes dimensions of justice, equality and democracy, and sees the state as an instrument of justice. As Leonard (2014, p.297) discussing the causes of criminal behaviour relating to a violent incident in Dublin’s inner city comments “the cause of this endemic poverty has been the neglectful policies of successive governments, which have starved the city’s neighbourhoods of investment for decades. Dublin’s inner city has a third or even fourth generation heroin problem.”

This is compared by Reiner (2012, pp.135-150) to what he calls ‘the new law and order consensus’, which portrays “crime as public enemy number one... crime is solely due to criminals...the victim is iconically central to criminal justice...criminal justice works.... and the conquering culture of ‘control’(Garland 2001).” In other words: “crime and its control become the focal points of popular culture and practice” (Reiner, 2012, p. 142). This lends itself to a type of zero-tolerance policing (Rodgers, 2003). Crime reduction could mean the active targeting and profiling of the poor who are likely to commit street crime, reducing the opportunities for crime by increasing surveillance. There is also the opportunity for the pluralisation of policing by privatising various public police functions. One of these costs money to implement, whilst the other produces business opportunities for those who can afford it. Loader (2000, p.331) believes that “the wider commodification of security effects a reallocation of policing services in favour of the (already) advantaged at the expense of the disadvantaged”. Button (2002, p.116) raises an interesting question in relation to the moral aspect of plural policing, “should a private individual be empowered with statutory powers that they can then profit from?” Addressing this issue, Shearing and Stenning (1981, p.210) say “what principally distinguishes private security from the public police ...is that private security personnel are generally not under any legally defined public duty to perform their
duties in the public interest.” In other words, private security is available under market conditions and Jones and Newburn (1998, p.269) believe that “one of the consequences of the advent of a risk society may be the growing assumption that individualised solutions to the problems of security hold the greatest promise”. Therefore, as Reiner (2012, p.142.) has said “a self generating loop develops between fear and visible measures intended to contain risk.”

At present, most liberal Western democracies have been struggling with austerity and Ireland is no different. Austerity manifests itself in a retrenchment of public services to such an extent that it is difficult for anything else to get onto the political agenda. It has been argued that austerity suits certain sections of the community at the expense of others and that the austerity agenda circumscribes the power of any Minister to act. The three dimensional description of power which, according to Lukes (2005, p.29), focuses on “‘decision making’ and ‘control over political agendas’ not necessarily through ‘decisions’ and is based on achieving ‘subjective’ and ‘real interests’” could describe the above. This agenda-setting is recognised by Garland (2011, p.158), where “public knowledge and opinions about criminal justice are based upon collective representations rather than accurate information”. One sure way to get something on to the political agenda is to create a media storm and then use this to provoke a politician into taking action or use the media to set the terms around which public opinion is formed (Paine, 1998, as cited in Garland, 2011). Described here, the process seems crude but, if this third dimensional view of power is linked with the power games of the field, it is not hard to envisage how any politician’s agenda is set for them, including that of the Minister.

According to Garland (2011) et al (2012), the neoliberal project of the market orientation of public services has been the driving force behind public policy since the 1980s. Ireland “was a fertile ground in which to breed neoliberal policies in the 1990s” (Lynch, et al 2012, p.8). Any dissenting voices to the neoliberal tide were “subsumed under the weight of neo-
liberalism promulgated within the machinery of state” (Lynch, et al 2012, p.8). This has parallels with Garland’s (2011) thesis regarding the role of mass media in creating a punitive culture. Lynch, et al (2012), characterise the media in Ireland as wholeheartedly backing the neoliberal project at a “corporate level”, where they noted that there was a high level of consensus with both the print and television media “accepting the inevitability of poverty and inequality”. Lynch, et al (2012, p.8), echoing Share, et al (2011, p.115) maintain “...most academics were party to the national consensus that growth was good for Ireland even if its inequalities persisted. Even if there were some dissent within the academy, most of the dissenters did not think that inequality was a major problem”.

Lynch, et al (2012), specifically pointed to a study carried out by Fahy which featured contributions from a number of what are, in effect, public servant academics of which seventeen contributors out of twenty-one come from the Economic and Social Research Institute [ESRI]. The ESRI, according to its website, conducts research which is “primarily government-funded, [and] focuses on Ireland’s economic and social development to inform policy-making, and social understanding”. This point has been laboured because, it could be argued here that, what is being witnessed is a manifestation of Luke’s (2005) third dimension of power. There is clear conflict between the views expressed by Lynch, et al (2012) and other powerful academics in respect of setting the public agenda. It would appear that there is support for the neoliberal view from corporate interests who could be expected to have an interest in capital accumulation through growth. This growth was not affected by redistributive policies as the process of the “marketisation and deregulation” involved “offloading the costs of the welfare state from capital to labour” (Lynch, et al 2012, p.8).

Therefore, the policy argument was about economic growth and, as a result, redistribution was put down the policy order. The conflict involved real interests as opposed to policy issues. The real issue was and is profit maximisation. With the emphasis on economic
growth, it could be said that what is good for business is good for Ireland. It does not take much imagining to visualise the growth agenda being foremost at a Cabinet table discussion and permeating to each Minister.

The social contract, in effect, becomes rewritten rather than being the government ruling over society based on equality of station for each person, it becomes government over the masses for the power elite. Alderson (1998) describes an example of the power elite setting the agenda for policing in the British Isles which occurred during the miners’ strike in England in the 1980s. The damage done by this bitter strike has, according to Alderson (1998), been long-lasting. The miners and their leaders were made the subject of virulent attacks by the Murdoch newspapers thus creating a climate whereby, as described by Brogden and Ellison (2013), they could be treated as the “other”. There are further groups of the ‘other’ described by Brogden and Ellison (2013) including travellers and immigrants. In Ireland this ‘other’ also exists. It includes travellers and the drug-addicted poor. Members of these groups lose their individuality and become a problem to be policed collectively. But even in what could be perceived as one of the most marginalised and poor groups in Irish society, this type of policing has been recognised. A line from the self-help magazine produced by and for street drug users by the Dublin Aids Alliance describing Garda activities in Dublin city centre, has this to say “the state response has been to pressurise the Gardaí into making arrests” (McAuliffe, 2012, p.11). This is in contrast to how other types of antisocial behaviour are treated, particularly white collar crime. In all respects, white-collar criminals are treated differently. McCullagh (1999, p.412) states that “[In Ireland] the law has been written in such a way that the anti-social behaviour of those in business, corporate, and commercial positions is inadequately regulated”. Maguire (2010, p.179) also identifies a reluctance to prosecute white collar crimes. Share, et al (2012), whilst reluctant to describe this differential treatment of white-collar crime and street crime as a conspiracy of the powerful, claim that it is to do
with our social concept of what a crime actually is, but then, if one considers Lukes’ (2005) third dimension of power, how could society think otherwise about white-collar crime?

In a functioning bureaucracy, it is in the bureaucrat’s interest to work to the aims of the bureaucracy when those aims are clear. As the Minister has complete control over the bureaucracy, this tends to undermine one of the characteristics of a Weberian bureaucracy. The role of the bureaucracy is not consistent. Its aims are subject to change, depending on the Minister’s demands and, as a result, the impersonal nature of the classic bureaucracy is lost.

Hill (2013), writing about bureaucratic organisations refers to the ‘administrative structure’ which he maintains cannot be understood except by an analysis of the ‘underlying power relations’. These underlying power relations in the Garda Síochána are clearly the relationships that exist between the all-powerful Minister and the bureaucrats, particularly senior member of the Garda Síochána would be in regular contact with the Minister. These underlying power relations are in fact the working-out of the effect that ministerial power has on the habitus of the individual bureaucrat. Clark (2012, p.12), lists the following as corruption offences “bribery, embezzlement, trading in influence, abuse of function, illicit enrichment, money laundering, concealment, obstruction of justice, participation and attempt and knowledge.” An unintended consequence of ministerial power over the habitus of individual members of the Garda Síochána could be an increase in police corruption. Kleinig (1996, p.166) describes police corruption as follows: “police officers act corruptly when, in exercising or failing to exercise their authority, they act with the primary intention of furthering private or departmental/divisional advantage”. This neatly overlaps with Clark’s (2012) definition of ‘trading in influence or abuse of function’.
It has been shown that the bureaucrats try to anticipate the Ministers’ wishes, or, as has happened, to do the Minister’s corrupt bidding. Brady (2012) writing in the *Irish Times* discusses a scandal that involved the Minister and two high ranking Garda officers who tapped journalists phones in 1982. This scandal led to resignations, as the Gardaí involved had complied with a corrupt request from the then Minister at the time. Brady (2012), commenting on the scandal, claims that such a situation could easily arise again because the Minister has so much power over the Gardaí and their individual careers. This effect that the Minister has on the habitus of the members of the organisation has been recognised by the rank and file representative organisation of the Garda Síochána who, in a hard hitting editorial contained within the force magazine (*Garda Review*, November, 2012), made comments about how the social aspect of the Garda Síochána, in other words “cronyism”, plays a major role in who ends up getting promoted in the organisation. This issue is echoed by Conway (2014, p.215) who says “time and again criticisms have been made of the promotion system within the Gardaí that operates on the basis of favouritism rather than skill and aptitude... the result has been the promotion of inappropriate people who are unskilled and unable to supervise and control Gardaí.”

**North-inner city of Dublin and its policing environment**

According to Punch (2005), writing about urban governance, there are various approaches that can be taken depending on what the urban authority want to prioritise. These priorities can be economic growth, social protection, or social control. All of these are areas where the deployment of the public police could be expected to have an effect. When the approach taken is based on an economic growth model then market values would lead “away from an essentially Keynesian project of social protections and the regulation of capital towards a marketised approach within the pro-growth agenda” (Punch, 2005, p 759).
The net result of this approach is that it creates a discourse that is peppered with words like “obsolescence” “renewal” and “a rejuvenated city core” (Punch, 2005, p. 759). This core is then presented as “Healthy sites ... for capital accumulation as city areas are cleared for development” (Punch, 2005, p 759). The effect of this means clearing out the rundown areas in cities no matter how or why they became run down. They are knocked down and re-built in an elite friendly way. According to Punch (2005, p. 761), Dublin City Council “…it has turned... to a much more commercial ethos and pro growth agenda”, which Punch (2005, p. 761), further describes as “the urban arm of a broader neoliberal agenda”. According to Brenner and Theodore (2002a, p 368), “the overarching goal of such neoliberal urban policy experiments is to market city space as an area both for market orientated economic growth and for elite consumption practices”. Discussing the Sheriff Street North Wall area, Punch (2005) describes the approach taken by various renewal agencies, as efforts to sell the city for private investment. This process could have an impact on how policing is carried out. The distribution of a public policing service in a deeply divided urban area presents police managers with choices. Dublin’s north inner city has undergone a process akin to what has been described by Smith (1996, p. 230) as the

Revanched city...(where)...that defence of privilege leads to the reactionary urbanisation of gentrification, involving the recommodification of previously working-class neighbourhoods for middle-class consumption…meanwhile, the city’s working class… and homeless populations experience, a deepening villianisation…through interlocking scripts of violence, drugs and crime.

As Eriksson (1982 as cited in Newburn, 2005) discussing the role of the police in society maintains, “they [the police] have been repeatedly employed…for altered uses of social space and time (public order) and the protection of property to ensure free circulation of the commodities” (Eriksson 1982 as cited in Newburn, 2005, p. 219).

The public space in which the police in the North Central Division operate is, roughly speaking, devisable into a business area and a residential area. The residential area can be
further divided into an affluent area juxtaposed with a socially deprived one. In a newspaper interview about safety in O’Connell Street in December 2013, the Chief Superintendent of the North Central Division was quoted as saying that, 13,904 stop and searches had been carried out. All of the searches, which were drug-related, were carried out in the O’Connell Street area. The newspaper article also included an interview with the chief executive of one of the Dublin city centre business associations with an accompanying photograph. The thrust of the article was that due to all this Garda activity, O’Connell Street was a safe place to do business, as was reflected in the headline “O’Connell Street, one of the safest, says garda chief” (Fegan, The Herald, 2013, December 9th). On the 6th of February 2014, The Irish Times carried an article that reported that the district officer [Superintendent] from Store Street Garda station gave evidence to the Dublin District Court - the equivalent of a magistrates court in the UK - that “anti social behaviour is out of control” when he was applying for an ASBO-type order to keep a named individual out of O’Connell Street and its environs. The article carried a photograph of the district officer leaving the precincts of the court with the same chief executive of the business association who had been interviewed with the divisional officer, some months earlier.

During the same time period, a different type of story emerged from the other side of the district. On 4th March 2013, a joint publication by two primary schools in the Sheriff Street area had this to say in an effort to bring issues to the attention of politicians:

The general level of lawlessness has reached an all-time high and drugs are being sold openly outside the school in front of the children. Each weekend stolen cars are burned out on the street and twice part of a wall and railings were rammed and demolished (St. Lawrence O’Toole’s Junior Boys and Girls National Schools Report, 2013, p. 1).

Coincidentally, around the same time as the above was released, the results of a needs analysis for the North Wall area was published entitled ‘The Boundary Wall’. This report acknowledged that there was a necessity for good relations to exist between the Gardaí and
the community. It expressed the view that, as far as the community was concerned, the way that young people were dealt with was less than satisfactory and that policing was viewed as an effort to keep the young people “corralled and cordoned in the area” (p.20). The report highlighted a specific concern where it appeared to them that, their community was policed differently than that of the more affluent community based in the Irish Financial Services Centre (IFSC) which is no more than one hundred meters away. The report suggested that open drug dealing in the community was being ignored whilst issues in the IFSC were dealt with straight away (McCarty, 2013, p.20).

In the course of their research in a deprived area in the outer suburbs, Mulcahy and O’Mahony (2005, p.16) did not observe any Garda presence in the area over several weeks. A Garda patrol car was observed at the edge of the area but no police were encountered in the area. This experience seems to be consistent with the experience outlined in the previous paragraph. These experiences could perhaps be characterised by referring back to the norms of the policing institution and the expectations generated not being met, resulting in what could be described as an institutional failure. It is possible to speculate that what has been described above is the result of interactions in the field of politics or of those with social capital, as Bourdieu (1989) described it and the field of policing. It would appear that there is a combined effort or a partnership of some description between the police and the business people both working to an agreed agenda, a phenomenon noted by Coleman (2004, p. 117) discussing Liverpool’s regeneration. He quotes a police superintendent saying “that’s what we are after all generating wealth and prosperity in Liverpool and improving the quality of life here”. On the other hand, there seems to be a desire for partnership expressed in the Boundary Wall Report, where, McCarthy (2013), stresses the need expressed by research participants for better relations to be developed between local Gardai and the youth of the Sheriff Street/ North Wall Areas of Dublin city. When discussing class in Ireland, Corcoran
(2002) used the Spencer Dock Development Plan to illustrate how class comes to the fore in times of conflict. The Spencer Dock development “fits in with the core policies of neo-liberalism” (Moore, 2008, p.209). This development plan is part of the North Wall /Sheriff Street area. Corcoran (2002) represents the battle for planning permission as a struggle between the local and the globalisation project or as a struggle between the capitalisations of growth by providing commercial buildings by large multi nationals and the local communities and others who feared that the development would have “negative social impact on the community “(Corcoran, 2002, as cited in Share et al, 2012, p. 104). In 2014, planning permission was given for the Spencer Dock development. The Spencer Dock development is part of the IFSC. This clash between the global and the local could be reframed as a “new phase of capital accumulation in the city that excludes the working class on many levels, economic and social and cultural” (Corcoran, 2002, as cited in Share Corcoran and Conway, 2012, p. 105). This begs the question, are the working-class excluded from the police service as well?

The policing function has always had an ideological content. Ericsson claims that “they have been repeatedly employed… for altered uses of social space and time (public order), and protection of property to ensure free circulation of the commodities” (Ericsson, 1982, as cited in Newburn, 2005, p. 219). This, perhaps, explains why public policing is so important to a business community. One of the roles of the state, through its legal system, is to reduce the transaction costs of doing business. If business interests can make security for their business a social cost, it enables them to reduce their own costs and thereby increase profits. Of course, if businesses thrive, the trickle-down theory of the economy means that there are more jobs and more money to go round and, as a result, more taxes get paid to aid redistribution. Where profit and social responsibility clash, there is inevitably a contested economic argument. The concept of plural policing, as described by Jones and Newburn (1988), exists in the north
inner city of Dublin, where the private spaces that are the shopping malls and stores have their own security staff. The difference between private and public spaces is quite definite in relation to the powers of private security personnel. Security staff can ask a person to leave a private area where management reserve the right of admission. Under Irish legislation they as any citizen can arrest and detain a person for an ‘arrestable offence’ pending the arrival of the Garda Síochána. These are similar to the powers that Jones and Newburn (1998) describe in the English situation. However, no power of removal exists to enable a security guard move someone on or off a public street or thoroughfare, particularly, if they are not committing any crime. This brings into focus the spatial difference between private and public space, identified by Jones and Newburn (1998) regarding policing powers, thus, making the public police, the mechanism by which on-street anti social activity can be dealt with.

Anti-social activity arises out of the drug user’s uninhibited behaviour which could be the result of the medication they are taking for their drug addiction or due to the consumption of prescription drugs which are not illegal. This behaviour is described by Hughes (2007, p. 175, citing Coleman 2005, p.141)

...as several categories of people who are non performers and thus subject to coercive exclusion from sanitised spaces of the city... The visible differences that homeless people, the poor, street traders and new cultures bring to the city undermine the hegemonic notions of public space utility. Indeed for these groups it is often merely their visibility alone and not their behaviour that is deemed problematic.

This perhaps implies a link between sanitised spaces and public spaces.

The *Irish Independent* newspaper online edition of 5th May 2014 carried a headline “Drug dealers cleared from O’Connell Street...”. This article referred to a police operation called ‘Operation Spire’ which targeted drug dealers, mainly selling prescription drugs and the fact that the Gardaí carried out thousands of searches during this operation. The chief executive officer of one of the city centre business associations was quoted in the article as saying “The
change for the better happened far quicker than I imagined… The retailers reported increased dwell time… with increased dwell time you get more people coming in and buying. And more money in the tills makes our members very happy” (Cusack, *Irish Independent*, 5th May 2014).

In the same article, the Divisional Officer of the North Central Division talks about the concerns of the people in the North Wall area “for instance people in the North Wall had concerns about kids throwing stones at their houses from the railway track…. And within 24 hours we had it sorted” (Cusack, *Irish Independent*, 5th May 2014). It is worth noting that McCarthy has listed anti-social issues, drugs and drug-related activity, and serious property damage as ongoing issues in the North Wall area for over 30 years (McCarty, 2014).

As a follow-up to the report of 2012, Dublin City Centre Local Business Forum published ‘*A Better City for All* ‘, by pulling together various stakeholders in the city centre. The following specific guiding aims were agreed upon:

- To reduce public fears and address perceptions of concern associated with clients receiving drug treatment
- To address street nuisance associated with substance use/misuse including noise and loud public behaviour
- To address negative perceptions of the city as an unsafe place to be (Connolly, 2012, p.6)

The report goes to claim that “the issue of substance related anti-social behaviour is primarily a public health issue and any sustainable long term solution can only be delivered in that context” (Connolly, 2012, p. 6). Notwithstanding the above, the report makes the following comments: “qualitative narratives described satisfaction with policing efforts but highlighted the need for increased vigilance, along with service level policing in deterring congregating,
loitering and drug activity (Connolly, 2012, p. 11). The policing that Connolly (2012) reports satisfaction with has been described by Reiner (2009, p. 230) as a type of discriminatory policing whereby people are described as ‘police property’, that is, groups of people who, for varying reasons, are targeted by the police for stop and search tactics. These groups could be the homeless and drug users. By describing a group as ‘police property’ Reiner (2009, p. 230) writes that this “...signifies not only that the police disproportionately target some people in the legal and illegal exercise of their power. It implies also that this is seen as acceptable or even desirable by the powers that be and by the broad mass of the population.”

Using a term from economics called ‘Pareto efficiency’, which means a state of allocation of resources in which it is impossible to make any one individual better off without making at least one individual worse off, it is perhaps possible to understand the dilemma facing the managers of any public services. In the policing context, the resources are fixed and how they are distributed is a matter both for government and local managers. According to McKevitt (1998), policing, along with teachers, social workers and doctors, is a street level public organisation whose services are free to the citizen. The amount of resources devoted to policing is a government decision and, as austerity and new public management take effect, these resources, are of necessity, shrinking. McKevitt (1988) describes the problem of allocating resources as being complicated, as not all needs are the same and “people are not homogenous” (McKevitt, 1988, p. 28). As street level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 1988), police at all levels have wide powers of discretion which, according to McKevitt (1988), in certain cases amounts to “policy-making powers” (McKevitt, 1988, p. 19), especially in the rationing of resources. Discussing the allocation of scarce resources McKevitt (1988, p. 19), makes the point that, in the public domain, the dispersal of resources is done within the budget allocated by government by the professionals in a street level public organisation. Such decisions “are
not capricious “(McKevitt, 1988, p. 33), because these professionals are expected to work within “an institutional framework of social obligations “(McKevitt, 1988, p. 32).

**Professional Police**

According to Fyfe (2013, p.411) police professionalism is in transition from what is termed as “old professionalism” with its emphasis on “crime fighting” to a “new professionalism” which is “characterised by three key elements: increased accountability, a greater focus on legitimacy and moves towards an evidence-based practice” (2013, p.411). Neyroud (2007, p.344), discussing an evidence-based approach to community policing, links “the success and outcomes of neighbourhood policing to measures of trust, confidence, police engagement and the resolution of signal crimes”. Neyroud continues (2007, p.347), “the last 30 years have seen cyclical shifts between crime fighting and community models of policing, which have…… very different conceptions of what success in policing looks like”.

Police professionalism according to Potts (1982, p. 51), “has been an elusive goal because it has not been developed into an operational programme.” Police professionalism, as a response to policing problems, has according to Heslop (2011, p.315) led to a process of “professionalism from above” which is described as part of the “reforming and modernisation [of] the police including “changes in police governance, leading to increased centralisation of control…the embedding into the police organisation of new public management principles and greater pluralisation of the policing function”.

This can be compared with the traits of what a profession or a professional is that Heslop (2011) has adapted from Kleinig (1996). These are “provision of a public service, code of ethics, self regulation, autonomy and discretion, body of expert knowledge with control over application and educational qualification” (2011 p.313).
Professional status for an occupational group has quite different implications for society as a whole than it does for the group, which achieves it. Police professionalism has tended to emphasise pursuit of a professional status in order to obtain perceived benefits for the occupational group much to the neglect of concerns of providing society, its own rewards for professionalism (Potts 1982 p.3).

Whilst Schön, writing in 1987, claimed that” professionals have been found willing to use their special positions for private gain. Professionally designed solutions to public problems have had unanticipated consequences” (1987, p .2). Discussing minor professions, such as education and social work, Glazer (1974, p.363) claims that such minor professions “lack stable institutional contexts of practice, fixed and unambiguous ends.” From the foregoing it would appear that the Irish police are not that different from other minor professions and their role is ambiguous due to the dichotomy between being a force and a service, which is delivered by a hierarchical bureaucratic organisation.

As mentioned above, autonomy and discretion are two characteristics that Kleinig (1996) maintains are necessary components of professionalism. Within a police organisation, there are many sworn and unsworn officers doing different jobs, one of which is management. Professional police management knowledge is a different type of knowledge to that of the police practitioner. Modern police management is, according to O’ Malley (1997, as cited in Newburn, 2005, p.708) subject to neoliberal management theories from governments and “they are increasingly requiring new measures of performance… Which are not as subject to police expertise for their construction, execution and interpretation”. As Lynch et. al. (2012) has written in an Irish context about another minor profession, there is also a strong incentive within the neoliberal framework to weaken the power of the teaching profession and to capitalise labour in education to reduce costs. According to Rowe (2007, p.279), “a key factor inhibiting police management is the extent to which junior officers are able to exercise their discretion, thus circumventing policies and procedures that do not coincide with their perception of their proper role“. This attempt to reduce discretion is not necessarily confined
to junior officers, as Farrell and Moran (2003, p.5) have put it: “one of the purposes of (new public management) is to curb the power of professionals in public sector organisations.” It could be argued that this management approach to policing is designed to present a professional organisation to the public. It could appear that there might possibly be a tension between a police officer acting as a professional using his/her discretion and the professional organisation seeking to inhibit such discretion. Perhaps this could be because management epistemology relies on what is quantifiable and measurable and, of course, this type of management is the antithesis to the discretion that should be available to professional police officers. This dichotomy could arise from what Schön (1992, p.121) calls the widening gap between academic and professional knowledge. As practising police officers, the knowledge that they acquire comes from their training and this is then added to by the learning that is acquired as they put their training into action. As they contextualise their experiences, they increase their knowledge. If these professional practitioners engage in a critical reflective exercise, they can further increase their professional knowledge, augment their practitioner skills, thereby taking them further away from their own academic training and equipping them to use their own discretion. To enable an occupation to be considered a profession, it is necessary, according to Neiderhaffer (1969) to possess certain characteristics. For an occupation to be described as professional there needs to be a lengthy period of training, higher standard of admission, a special body of knowledge and theory, altruism and dedication to the service ideal, a code of ethics, licensing of members, autonomous control, pride of members in their profession and publicly recognised status and prestige” (Neiderhaffer (1969), as cited in Perrier, 1979, p.2).

Perrier (1979, p. 67) elaborates on the above by saying that professionalism implies autonomy and self-regulation. Professional knowledge implies specialised knowledge with the professional “working his way through many variations of a limited number of cases, he practices his practice...his know-how tends to become efficient, tacit and automatic” (Schön,
In the policing context, Carlan and Lewis (2009, p. 41) include the fact that professionalism involves” depending on the organisation as a major referent, for a guiding ideas, standards and judgement“. The professional also exhibits ”a firm belief in public service” and “a sense of calling to the field that it is so intense that it commits to a lifetime of devotion without regard for associated benefits” (Carlan and Lewis, 2009, p. 41).

**Policing Professionally**

Within the new professionalism of policing, there are a number of approaches that the policing organisation can take to meet public expectations of a police service. These approaches very much concentrate on the ‘how’ of policing. According to Rogers (2003, p.13), there are three types of crime reduction programs and styles of policing currently in vogue. These are ‘community orientated policing’; ‘problem orientated policing’ and ‘zero tolerance policing’. Discussing community orientated policing, Rogers (2003, p.14) says that “evaluation studies in twelve locations portray the schemes in a favourable light with both the police and public expressing more positive attitudes.” Problem-Orientated-Policing (POP) is according to Rogers (2003, p.15) closely related to community policing and he describes it as the “police taking seriously all policing problems”. This involves looking out for problems systematically from police data, other agencies data and contact with the community served and generating imaginative solutions.” Problem orientated policing puts pressure on supervisors to move the police further on from just applying a “Band-Aid” but to “take the time go beyond that” (Rogers, 2003, p.15). The third type of policing described by Rogers (2003, p.15) is a zero tolerance type of policing, whereby all infractions of the law, however small, are enforced. This approach is based on the broken windows theory (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Rogers identifies the issue of civil liberties as being problematic for this type of policing as certain groups of people are likely to be targeted, i.e., those who are
marginalised in society. Rogers’ (2003) work, which obviously draws on the work of other policing scholars gives a succinct indication of what policing professionally might look like.

The Garda Síochána Policing Plan (2014, p.22) “acknowledges the importance of community based policing working in partnership with communities we will continue to tackle issues that affect our communities’ quality of life.” According to the plan, this was to be done by targeting a reduction in public order issues and a reduction in criminal damage incidents. The Dublin north central division’s plan for 2013 (none published for 2014), mirrors the above and aims to reduce the fear of crime through targeted enforcement and crime prevention. According to the divisional plan this was to be done by “an accessible and visible service to political, economic, social/community, technological, legal and environmental stakeholders.”

In 2014, Deputy Pádraig Mac Lochlainn, asked the Minister for Justice and Equality, if any anti-crime prevention and detection strategy was currently in operation in Dublin city centre and what, were her plans to introduce such a strategy in consultation with both local business owners and the community [29749/14]. In response, Garda authorities submitted the following description of policing in Dublin’s north inner city, which was considered in the Ministers’ reply to the Dáil ‘the policing approach taken in the O’Connell Street area is an ardent zero tolerance policing approach.’ The policing in the area in question is ‘concentrated’ and there is ‘a reassurance policing policy’. This approach involves a combination of covert, static and beat patrols. The aim of this policing is to maintain a visible Garda presence which is noticeable to the maximum number of persons visiting or traversing the area to vigorously target individuals or groups intent on committing crimes against the person, antisocial behaviour, drug-related criminality and theft “(Fitzgerald, 2014). The Minister went on to describe the type of community policing that exists in the division as “regular consultation with local business owners and the community which is affected by a
number of means, primarily by a divisional community policing office, the divisional crime prevention officer and the engagement of the crime prevention unit with various stakeholders (key customers, residents, businesses and communities)” (Oireachtas Debates, 2014).

The Minister followed this up in October 2014 in another Dáil debate (Oireachtas Debates, 2014) when characterising the policing of Dublin’s city centre as centred on a vision to “create a safe city to live, work, visit and enjoy and that the Garda operations were (following the principle that no offence or behaviour would go unnoticed or unchallenged)”. She also stated that “the operations included dedicated, high-visibility uniform patrols on key commercial and public thoroughfares.” It would appear that the approach taken to policing in the north inner city is a mixture of ‘old-style policing professionalism’ and ‘new style of police professionalism’ as was described by Fyffe (2013) above, characterised by a mixture of ‘community policing’ and ‘zero tolerance policing’ as described by Rogers (2003).

It is clear from the above that policing in the north inner city has the attention of the politicians. Therefore, it could be argued that there is a political aspect to the debate over policing in the north inner city, and hence political interest in professional policing. Policing is part of what Barlow and Hickman-Barlow describe as the “political economy whereby political and economic institutions are integrally intertwined” (1999, p.646). This leads them to claim that “the methods by which the police seek to secure the social order are largely shaped by a particular character of the political economy in operation at that time” (1999, p.647). Using community policing as an example, Barlow and Hickman Barlow (1999) claim that, it fits in with what they call the “post-modernist concept of hyper reality which characterises media images and reality as so intertwined that our images become real and reality becomes an image” because it is based on an image (community policing). This is because “the police must sell themselves to the public” (Barlow and Hickman Barlow, 1999,
This is done by creating the image of safer communities. This type of policing is measurable by “soft, direct indicators of the public’s perceptions about the police and crime” (Bayley, 1994, p.98). Bayley has cause for concern at this approach because “police must not be allowed to make performance a con-game of appearance management” (1994, p.100). A further aspect of community policing that causes concern to Barlow and Barlow Hickman is that “meeting the needs of the community as a goal of policing appears to be secondary to the goal of utilising community members to help control crime” (1999, p.666).

In the context of police professionalism, the ‘why’ question of policing raises its head. By simply asking ‘why something is done in such a way sets the stage to move the emphasis of police professionalism from the organisation to the individual. This is because ultimately the type of policing carried out, be it ‘community-orientated-policing’ (COP), ‘problem orientated policing’ (POP) or ‘zero tolerance policing’ (ZTP) are all decisions that will have to be made by individuals within an organisation. The decision about what type of policing model will be used rests with the individual police officer and the police leader. Writing about the characteristics required to be a police leader Griffen (1998, p.2), identifies ‘integrity’ as a prerequisite for all police officers and police leaders. Griffen (1998, p.2) defines integrity as “the settled disposition of doing right when there is no one there to make you do it but yourself. It is a self-imposed obedience to a moral principle.” Along with integrity, discretion and autonomy have also been identified as part of the characteristics of professionalism. Police discretion is the staple of a large amount of criminological literature and Rowe (2007, p. 280) has identified two reasons why police discretion is welcome and inevitable. These are “limited resources mean that not every law can be enforced at all times and more fundamentally, because even the most precisely worded rule of law requires interpretation in concrete situations “.
The discretion a police officer has extends beyond the role of enforcing the law. It reaches into what kind of policing a society will receive. As McKeivitt (1998) has commented, on the role public servants have in allocating scarce resources, there is a need for the public servant concerned to make choices and decisions. Choices and decisions that have to be made by a police officer acting professionally using their autonomy and discretion could clash with the organisation acting professionally, particularly in the situation where, there may be a conflict between image-based community policing, as described by Barlow and Hickman (1993) and problem orientated policing as described by Rodgers (2003). Potts (1982) identifies this when he identifies a limitation on the professionalization of policing practitioners because he says such a person “will have a dual commitment to technical competence and social obligation” (Potts 1982, p 57). The social obligation of a police officer has been recognised by Alderson (1998) as he places policing firmly in the context of efforts by society to achieve justice in both the Rawlsian meaning of the term and in terms of maintaining the social contract.

Whilst policing professionalism is put forward as a solution or a possible solution to the policing problems created by external power, it is not clear that policing professionals are what society wants from its police service. Policing is one of those occupations where “the opportunities to exercise autonomy and judgement regarding…professional knowledge is constrained by the employing authorities and by the tightening fiscal circumstances…” (Bacon et al, 2000, p.10). The Garda Síochána as a bureaucratic and hierarchical organisation clearly puts certain constraints on the discretion of individual police officers reducing police professionalism. Similarly, recent trends in the United Kingdom are identified by Heslop (2011, p. 319), who maintains that, as a result of the new public management agenda in policing, this has created certain “irrationalities” such as an “increase in bureaucracy [a] reduction in policing discretion and de-skilling”. Recent changes in the United Kingdom
encapsulated in the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Bill concerning the creation of directly elected Police and Crime Commissioners (PCC) has led Innes (2011) to identify potential problems when policing becomes an electoral issue. Innes (2011, p.76) identifies what he terms

...an issue of real tension for instance research evidence derived from NP (neighbourhood policing) about which issues communities identified as priorities suggests that domestic violence and child abuse rarely feature. There exists a real tension in terms of why a PCC would support police resources being directed towards such hidden crimes as such actions are less likely to help them get re-elected.

Sklansky (2011, p. 13) puts forward the thesis that policing should involve the police being “more accountable to the communities they serve”, which would require the police to “focus on the problems in policing that most deserve attention...because of their intrinsic importance.” The value of this approach, according to Sklansky (2011, p.13), is that, it will enable law enforcement agencies...“resist the persistent pull of police professionalism” that does engage with community needs and “pushes policing towards the wrong priorities Sklansky (2011, p.12).

**Critical reflection**

The Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) (2009 as cited in Wingrave, 2011, p. 64), in setting out the objectives of recruit training, stress the importance of recruits having “a measurable increase in the knowledge…. to… understand the communities they serve”. In order to be able to do this, Fook (2006, as cited in Christopher, 2015, p.3) suggests the practice of critical reflection could develop the ability to understand the social dimensions and related functions of experience and meaning, and the ability to apply this understanding whilst working in social contexts. According to Christopher (2015, p.3), “effective policing is vital to a free, fair and responsible civil society and the mission of the police in the 21st century is twofold-functional in protecting the public and maintaining the peace, symbolic in representing the
face of democracy.” Developing this point, Christopher (2015) is assertive when he remarks that “police officers need to display greater levels of professional judgement, take greater risks in decision-making and use their discretion to foster confidence in modern policing” (Christopher, 2015, p.3). Critical reflection is part of the professional’s practice and, as Dewey (1933, p. 118) defined it, “(it is) active persistent and careful consideration of any belief or supported form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it.” For critical reflective practice to be effective, it “depends on a structure of inviolable civil rights that permits a practitioner the freedom to think autonomously” (Christopher, 2015, p.8). Hickson (2011) agreeing with Brookfield (1995), Fook (2002), and Hoyrup (2004) writes:

that there are extra steps between reflection and critical reflection... to engage with critical reflection we need to both understand our experiences in the social context and also to understand how we can use this knowledge to develop our practice in the future.

These approaches to critical reflection enable the practitioner act as a responsible citizen in a strong civil society and not purely as a member of a professional body, otherwise, “reflective practice risks being blind” (Christopher, 2015, p.8).

Peer review

Peer review is described as a process whereby members of various professions review their colleagues’ performances. In 1988, the American Nurses Association (ANA) made the following comments about the peer review of nurses (ANA, 1983, p.3) “the primary purpose of peer review is to help assure the quality of nursing care... this is done by ensuring that each nurse participates in the decision-making process”. The ANA define peer review as: “an organised effort, whereby practising professionals review quality and appropriateness of services ordered or performed by their professional peers (ANA, 1983, p.3).” This process allows regular practising nurses: “… make judgements about the quality of nursing care provided by peers and measured against professional standards of practice (ANA, 1983,
“Discussing the effectiveness of peer review in nursing, Spiva, Jarrel and Baio (2014, p.588), were able to say that “positive practice changes” have resulted from engagement with the peer review process.

As Christopher (2015) observed, for critical reflection to be effective it has to occur in an open manner, that is, “personally implicit but with publicly explicit outcomes that are open to the critique of others” (Christopher, 2015, p. 9). It would appear that the peer review process and critical reflection are mutually complimentary. In the policing context, Perrier (1979, p. 64) identifies what could be considered a problem for the peer reviewing process when it is applied to a policing service or scenario. In policing services, the “rewards structure emphasises product rather than processes”, which tends to lead to the situation where “professional and bureaucratic goals are different” (Perrier, 1979, p. 64).

Summary

The first section of this review dealt with the theoretical aspects of this thesis. The themes introduced were ‘power’, ‘institutionalism’ and ‘justice and fairness’. This set the scene for discussion of the Garda Síochána and its role in Irish society. This role was further examined in the next section which developed a further theoretical approach using Bourdieu’s concepts of ‘field, habitus and social capital’ by directly linking the Garda Síochána into the Irish power elite. This was followed by a description of the policing environment in Dublin’s north inner city, utilizing ‘institutionalism theory’, which was described earlier. The next section discussed ‘professionalism’, from individual and organisational perspectives to develop an aspect of professionalism that took cognisance of the responsibilities on the police to police fairly. The final two sections, ‘critical reflection’ and ‘peer review’, as two aspects of professionalism were introduced as a method to tackle what is essentially a ‘justice’ issue about the resource allocation of a vital public service.
The theoretical aspect of the literature review was dealt with in depth because the author wished to show the social phenomena that underpins policing. This research is about the ‘why’ of policing and consequently the ‘how’ of policing was only examined in a limited capacity to demonstrate some of the options available to police managers. Having used the literature to establish a theoretical base for this research the next stage is to describe the social phenomena within the policing institution of the north inner city of Dublin as it appears to the residents and businesses in the area. The research methodology used to access this data is the subject of the next chapter.
Chapter Three: Methods and Methodology

Introduction

This chapter sets out the methodology used in this research. The first section deals with the rationale for using a qualitative methodology. The concept of ‘counter factuals’ is promoted as a justification for the approach taken alongside the ontological approach of the researcher. This is followed by a detailed description of sample selection with an account of the information sought from the research participants. The next section looks at the research design and each of its particulars are described and justified. The data collection process itself is then set out in detail. The process of analysing the data by means of a narrative analysis is then shown.

As this is ‘insider research’ the nature of the data sought raised a number of ethical issues particularly as the researcher is a serving police officer. The assumptions underpinning this research and the profile of the researcher are then set out. Two further issues are then considered: the question of the trustworthiness of the data and the limitations of this qualitative study. This chapter is brought to a conclusion with a short section connecting what has gone before and setting the stage for the next three chapters of this thesis that will analyse the data.

Rationale for a qualitative methodology

A qualitative research methodology was chosen for this research because as Morris (2002) argues when studying power: “... we should discover which are the most important outcomes
for each group and to what extent a group or a member of that group, has power over the outcomes most important to it” [Morris’s italics] (Morris, 2002, p.149). For the purpose of this study the outcome referred to, in the above quote is not at policing service per se but, for example, it could refer to a drug-free-neighbourhood for children or a drug-addict free street for business. In considering the important outcomes for various groups, it may be possible to see where power resides. The issue is the provision of a police service but according to Morris (2002, p.149) “Different people occupy different positions in society and what may be very important to one may be irrelevant to another.” This has obvious implications depending on whether one views the police as a service or as a force, i.e. is the presence of the police in an area merely one of containment or facilitation.

There is a difficulty identified in the literature when one tries to establish a relationship between certain facts. According to Goodman in the Oxford Companion to Philosophy (2005, p.181), “A counterfactual is a conditional whose antecedent is false.” A good example of what is at issue here is given further on in the passage (2005, p.181): “Sugar dissolves in water licences”...“if this sugar cube was dropped in water it will dissolve”; but “all coins in my pocket are silver does not yield, if this penny were in my pocket it would be silver.” To put this in context within this research, the conditional may be that the Minister has power over the Garda Síochána, whilst the antecedent may be, the gardaí patrol O’Connell Street, Dublin 1. Of course, there may be many reasons why the gardaí patrol O’Connell Street that may have nothing whatsoever to do with the Minister. On the other hand, it may be that, the gardaí patrol O’Connell Street because the Minister wishes them to. But neither version could ever become a law within the philosophical sense, because there are too many variables. To cite Morris (2002, p.149) again, it is a mistake to try and locate power in actual decisions rather it is:
In order to study power in society it is necessary, according to Morris (2002, p. 149) that one must bear in mind that we “can only reach conclusions about power in society by first having a deep understanding of that society.” This study will attempt to establish the antecedent to the conditional statement that policing is carried on in the north inner city of Dublin in an inequitable manner due to a disparity of power. In order to do this it will for the reasons set out above, necessitate a qualitative approach. The nature of what is being researched is intangible and it only manifests itself in the working out of social interactions.

In order to study the effect(s) of power on the policing institution in the north inner city of Dublin, an in-depth study involving a literature review and a series of in-depth interviews were required. This was necessary to identify outcomes that could reasonably be attributed to the use of power. The community being studied comprises the institution of policing in Dublin’s north inner city. By using Lowndes and Roberts (2013), description of an institution in society, the scope of this study was made sufficiently wide to include a variety of groups and individuals. This gave the greatest chance to develop the knowledge necessary to carry out a study of power with the in-depth level of engagement required by Morris’s (2002) exhortations.

The institution of policing effects everyone in society but it does not affect everyone to the same extent. It is quite possible that many people will go from one end of the year to the other without having any direct interaction with the police service, other than, to observe them as they go about their daily tasks. The situation in the north inner city of Dublin is not
like that however, as has been reported by Feegan, (2013) ‘the statistics show that there were 13, 904 stop and searches for drug-related issues in the O’ Connell Street area, whilst there were only 1, 336 controlled drug offences detected in the Store Street policing district (CSO, 2013). This represents a detection rate of 10. 4%. There is a substantial interaction between the police and those who work or live or just travel through the north inner city of Dublin. It is therefore, a very fluid institution. Because of its fluidity and in order to gain an in-depth understanding of this institution, an ontological approach based on constructionism was adopted. As the study of power in a society is complex the research design was of necessity qualitative. As Bloomberg and Volpe (2012, p.118) describe it "Qualitative research is grounded in an essentially constructual philosophical position, in the sense that it is concerned with how the complexities of the socio-cultural world are experienced, interpreted and understood in a particular context and at a particular point in time”.

Social phenomena such as ‘the institution of policing’ are social constructions created by social actors. Bryman, (2008, p. 34) describes constructionism in the following terms:

Constructionism is an ontological position…. that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors. It implies that social phenomena and categories are not only produced through social action but that they are in a constant state of revision.

Bryman goes on to draw attention to the point that questions of social ontology cannot be divided from issues concerning the conduct of social research (2008, p.34). This implies that how one defines one’s own ontology has an impact on how one conducts research, so it is important to draw out the connection between a researcher’s ontological viewpoint and the research process. There are two major issues to be drawn from Bryman’s (2008, p.34) observations in relation to this piece of research. The first is that this research has an
ontological viewpoint that describes the world as a series of increasing social constructs. A good description of a constructional ontology is, ‘how the social world is made up’. A definition could start with a group of two people, expanding into a family, a workplace, a community, a town, a country and so on. The second point highlighted by Bryman’s (2008, p.34) observations is that, the social ontological viewpoint of the researcher will have an impact on the way research questions are formulated. If the researcher believes that social phenomena are produced by social actors then the researcher will be studying the social actors that produce the social phenomena. Social actors create their own reality and develop strategies to deal with their own phenomena. In other words, the researcher ‘interprets’ the social phenomenon.

The social phenomena being researched here is the institution of policing and the research sought to obtain the participants’ understanding of what underpins the policing that they were experiencing in their own lives on a daily basis. Bearing in mind Morris’ (2002, p.149) injunction that power is not a visible entity in itself, an in-depth knowledge of society is required to make any observations on its [power] effectiveness. The ontological basis thus identified meant that as the questions being asked were based on the subjective viewpoints of the social actors the only way to obtain this type of data was to interview the actors and seek their views. This ontological viewpoint implied that this research was to be based on data collected by a qualitative method.

A form of ‘interpretivism’ that suits this project is symbolic interactionism. According to Gray (2009, p. 22) - as already quoted – ‘symbolic interactionism’ has three essential tenets, they are:
• People interpret the meaning of objects and actions in the world and act on these interpretations.

• Meanings arise from the processes of social interactions.

• Meanings are handled in and are modified by an interactive process used by people in dealing with the phenomena that are encountered

Gray asserts that the implication of this approach is that the researcher has to carry out the research from the perspective of the research subjects themselves such as participative observation methods. Bryman (2008, p. 30) believes that this approach allows the researcher to undertake the task of causal explanation with reference to the understanding of social actions rather than to external forces that have no meaning for those involved in that social action. This piece of research seeks to find a way that shows the effect of power in the policing institution by seeking outcomes as described by what are, in effect, social actors.

The methodological theory underpinning this research is closely related to both the ontological and epistemological approach as described above. Gray (2011) identified a number of research methodologies such as experimental and quasi-experimental approaches, phenomenological research, analytical surveys, action research and heuristic enquiry. Both the ontological and epistemological theories that this researcher uses highlight the role of the individual and his or her understandings of what is being researched, therefore, the methodological approach should reflect this.

Phenomenological research, as outlined by Gray (2011), uses relatively unstructured methods of data collection. He points out that it is often based on small numbers and is capable of
producing thick descriptions of people’s experiences. Gray (2011, p.28) lists the characteristics of phenomenological research as:

An emphasis on inductive knowledge, seeks the opinion and subjective accounts and interpretations of participants, relies on qualitative data analysis, and is not so much concerned with generalisations to larger populations but with contextual description and analysis.

A phenomenological methodology presents both a difficulty and an opportunity for the ‘insider researchers’. Gray (2011) claims that the difficulty arises when the phenomenologist researcher must, ‘bracket off’ their ‘own preconceptions’. Being an insider researcher enables the researcher achieve what Gray (2011, p.171) describes as “the goal of phenomenology, which is that it seeks to understand the world from the participants’ point of view”. DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006), discussing the qualitative research interview, suggest that whilst “no interview can truly be considered unstructured, however, some are relatively unstructured and are more or less equivalent to guided conversations.” However, the approach taken here is the use of semi-structured interviews because, as DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006), argue “they are generally organised around a set of pre-determined open-ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue.” Therefore, in keeping with the phenomenological approach taken to this research, semi-structured interviews were chosen as the data collection method.

Sample Selection

The institution of policing as defined for this research project is a wide and varied group of people. This presented a problem for the researcher. A purely random sample of people in the area would be unlikely to further the aims of the research project. Lowndes’ and Roberts’ (2013) description of an institution includes various different groups and individuals that go
to make up that institution. Therefore, a combination of sampling strategies was employed within the purposive sampling paradigm. “Purposive sampling is a non-probability form of sampling…The goal of a purposive sampling is to sample cases/participants in a strategic way so that those being sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being raised” (Bryman, 2012, p. 418).

As representatives of different groups were being sampled, a number of steps were taken to further refine the purposive sampling approach. The first refinement was a stratified purposive sampling approach. These enabled the researcher break the subject population into groups and then seek samples from the groups identified. Within the groups where possible, a “maximum variation sampling” (Bryman, 2012) approach was taken in order to accommodate as wide a range of experiences as possible. As there were 29 interviews in all carried out, some of the purposive sample, particularly some senior police officers, involved “critical case sampling” (Bryman, 2012) because of what they could offer to the whole project. This process was iterative in so far as information from an interview could shed light on previous interviews or sharpen the researcher’s mind for the next interview. But the process could not reasonably be called theoretical sampling, as there was no specific theory being tested and there was no question of reaching theoretical saturation with the process. A factor impinging on this research sample was the limited number of subjects from whom a sample could be chosen. For example, there are a very small number of Garda management personnel in the district who could have been interviewed. The purposive sample was stratified by identifying groups in the policing institution that may have something to offer the research. These groups identified were
Table 1. Research Cohort

1. Gardaí from chief superintendent to garda and civilian staff (n=8)
2. Politicians, national and local (n=6)
3. NGOs (n=5)
4. Professionals (n=3)
5. Residents (n=2)
6. Business representatives and an individual business person (n=3)
7. Recovering drug users (n=2)

There is some overlap in the categories. Within the groups, there was an attempt to achieve maximum variation sampling. For example the politicians range from a government Minister, opposition Dáil [Irish Parliament] members, current and former Lords Mayor of Dublin, to a first time city councillor. Similarly, a representative of each rank in the Garda Síochána and civilian staff policing the research area were chosen to give as wide a range of views as possible. Within the business community, there are two business organisations representing their interests and a representative of both was interviewed, as was an independent business person. The critical case sampling was used in a number of cases. The representatives of the recovering drug users were selected on the basis that they had experience of a part of the social phenomena that is not normally available to researchers, particularly police researchers. One group not sampled is the people who transit the city be it for work or shopping, but who are only in the area for a short while each day.
The above form of selection runs into the problems described by Reiner and Newburn (2008, as cited in King and Wincup, 2008, p. 346), where a selection like this is “problematical if the research wishes to make claims of representativeness… With almost all methodological choices, there is a tension between getting rich and valid material on the one hand, and the scale and representativeness on the other”. However, as the population from which the stratified samples were selected was relatively small, the subjects were chosen by the exigencies of their availability. This sample could also be described as ‘purposeful-random-sampling’ insofar as whoever participated were selected on one criterion that was, their availability. This approach is consistent with what Gray (2011, p. 180-182) describes as “purposive sampling… [It] seeks to identify information rich cases which then can be studied in depth.”

Data Collection

The semi-structured interview methodology was piloted on the 26th November 2013. As a result of this successful piloting the main body of data collection commenced on the 10th December 2013 and continued until the 5th August 2014. The data to be collected in this project was not directly linked to any particular theory. It was expected, through an analysis of the data that an explanation for the social phenomena would emerge. This approach is known as an inductive approach. Bryman (2008, p.326) describes an inductive approach as “drawing generalisable inferences out of observations” While Gray (2009, p.14), asserts that the difference between an inductive and deductive process is that, in the deductive process:

....because of the creation of operational indicators, there is a tendency to measure and collect data only on what can actually be observed; hence subjective and intangible evidence is usually ruled out.... Whilst the inductive approach does not set out to corroborate or falsify a theory, rather through a process of gathering data, it attempts to establish patterns, consistencies and meanings.
This inductive approach is consistent with the ontological, epistemological and methodological approach taken in this project. The number of research subjects to be identified needed to be small because this piece of research was following a phenomenological inspired methodology which sought to grasp ‘lived reality’. It had to be founded on the thought objects of ordinary men and women living their daily lives in the social world. This precluded the selection of a larger group. The number of interviewees settled on was 28 with one person interviewed twice. This number was arrived at by chance as it took that amount to get a purposive sample. Only two requests for interview were ignored, one a politician who was seeking election and did not have the time and the other a professional in the area who did not reply to the letter of invitation for interview. All the interviewees/subjects were first contacted by letter [Appendix 3, p. 172], which gave them the opportunity to engage with the researcher if they so wished. Prior to being interviewed, a notice of the purpose of the interview and their rights [Appendix 4, p.173], was also given to the research participants, which stressed their absolute right not to answer questions and walk away without any repercussions or inferences.

Before conducting any interviews, the questions and interview strategy were piloted. The piloting process showed that the approach to be taken could deliver usable data. One of the lessons learned was that “data cannot be invented prior to the interview itself....we might anticipate a certain type of narrative or description from our respondents, but we can never be sure what will happen” (Roulston, deMarrais and Lewis, 2003, p.644). The interviews took place in various locations: a cafe, offices, Dáil Éireann [Irish Parliament] and an office in Store Street Garda station. The interviews lasted from twenty minutes, in one case, to over two hours. The research subjects’ ages ranged from 22 years of age to over 60 years. All
participants, bar one, were white North Europeans. Seventeen men and eleven women were interviewed.

Having identified the 28 subjects, it was then necessary to work out an approach to the interviews. Holloway and Biley (2011) state that: “Qualitative researchers do not only write a story but they are also story analysts. “ Therefore, in order to do justice to the story being told, it was important to work out exactly what information was required from each participant. Holloway and Biley (2011) also claim that being a qualitative researcher means being accountable. This accountability is for the choice of data and the interpretations of the data and also to the participants, and to the readers of the story.

As the type of data being sought covered a number of issues, a semi-structured interview was chosen as a means of that collection. This type of interview:

...allows for probing of views and opinions when it is desirable for respondents to expand on their answers. This is vital when a phenomenological approach is being taken, where the objective is to explore subjective meanings that respondents ascribe to concepts or events (Gray, 2009, p.373).

This seems to contradict Gray’s earlier assertions (2009, p.22) that “current understandings have to be bracketed to the best of our ability to allow phenomena speak for themselves unadulterated by out preconceptions.” It would appear that, by using a semi-structured interview some preconceptions of the researcher are being introduced but it would seem obvious once a researcher asks one that question as opposed to another that preconceptions exist. Therefore, the key to proceeding would be to put these pre-conceptions aside, as best one can. By using semi structured interviews the researcher can maintain control of the data received and also tease out exactly what is meant when a subject answers a question.
Thereby, they expand on the subjective meaning of the subject of the data. Two separate questionnaires were used; one for members of the Garda Síochána and one for the other volunteers [see Appendices 5 and 6, pp. 174, 175]. Permission to conduct research in the Garda Síochána was granted by a Chief Superintendent [see Appendix 7, p.176].

Data Analysis

The analysis of the data was an ongoing process. As each interview was finished, contemporaneous notes were written up to capture impressions and nuances that were not caught on tape. Each interview was transcribed verbatim. This laborious work was made somewhat easier by the use of Dragon Software © which enabled the researcher to dictate the interviews and produce typescripts. In order to improve the quality of the data analysis and to ensure that the subtlety to the interviewee’s answers to questions was not lost in transcription, each interview was transferred to a compact audio disc where each interview was then played over repeatedly. Halcomb and Davidson (2006) quote Poland (1995) who argues: “The very notion of accuracy of transcription is problematic given the inter-subjective nature of human communication and transcription as an interpretive activity (Poland 1995, p. 292). This listening process allowed for a ‘preliminary content analysis’, secondary content analysis’ and ‘a thematic review’ (Halcomb and Davidson, 2006, p. 41) of the data. This method of analysing qualitative data is recommended by Wattling-Neal et al (2014, p.1) who claim that it “is beneficial for identifying themes... while still preserving information about participant perspectives, we [they] believe this method holds promise for researchers.” The written transcription had failed to capture the anger, irony, humour, and frustration and impression management of some of the interviewees.
As there were representatives of a number of groups interviewed, the data analysis technique used was ‘narrative analyses. Bryman (2012, p. 282) describes narrative analysis as “how do people make sense of what happened and to what effect? As opposed to what actually happened?” This approach is perhaps most suitable when there are competing narratives about the same set of circumstances. As Gray (2011, p. 514) puts it “narratives bring forth a variety of perspectives and viewpoints, some of which may contradict and contest each other.” In the example cited by Bryman (2012, p. 583) concerning the research carried out by Brown (1988) which examined the implementation of an information technology (IT) system in a hospital, three competing narratives are identified: the ward narrative, the implementation team narrative and the laboratory narrative. Brown (1988) describes these “three contrasting narratives as providing a very clear sense of the organisation as a political arena in which groups and individuals contest the legitimacy of others’ interpretations of events” (Bryman, 2012, p. 514). Gray (2011) describes “using unstructured interviews as often leading to qualitative data in the form of narratives that lead to a more holistic data right from the start” (Gray, 2011, p. 514). Analysing such data according to (Gray, 2011, p. 514) is done in the: “context and social situation in which it is created” (Gray, 2011, p.514). Gray continues to discuss the different attitudes that researchers take to the formal analysis of the text of interview which includes separating the text that “constitutes narrative passages from other forms of text” (Gray, 2011 p.514). This division is based on whether one views the text as the ‘truth’ or is the text a subjective way of constructing events? As Punch (2009, p.223) puts it the narratives are “social constructions located within the power structures and social milieu”. Gray (2011), finishing his discussion of narrative analysis issues what might be a warning as to the validity of the research analysis, by saying “From a post-modern perspective, the analysis and interpretations of these narratives itself constitutes a narrative which may be more or less compelling than other interpretations (Gray, 2011, p.514). Seale
(2007, p.17) states that he regards research as a “craft skill” separate from a “philosophical and methodological position”, “whilst at the same time I [Seale] believe that social researchers should engage in philosophical and methodological reflection as an integral part of their practice.”

By using narrative analysis, the researcher was able, in effect, to take both of the approaches discussed by Gray (2011), i.e. the truth on the face of it and the social construction for this truth. The first part of this process is captured by the question requiring the interviewee to describe the policing situation as they see it, whilst the second part seeks to find out from the interviewee why this situation is as it is. The third part seeks to explore the remedial action required to enable the interviewee get the police service that they require. This type of analysis creates a process whereby the issues of each of the groups and individuals can be compared and studied.

**Ethical Issues**

This research project raised a number of ethical issues due to the disparate groups of interviewees and the power differential between the researcher and various groups. The researcher was cognisant of Lee’s (1993, p. 2) comment on doing sensitive research:

Sensitive topics also raise wider issues related to the ethics, politics and legal aspects of research. Issues of this kind impinge on all research, whatever its character. Those researching sensitive topics may need to be more acutely aware of their ethical responsibilities to research participants than would be the case with a study of an innocuous topic.

The researcher received ethical approval from the University of Portsmouth [Appendix 2, page 171]. This approval was predicated on four principles widely recognised as essential to
ethical research namely, research should not harm the subjects in any way, all research was to be done with informed consent, there was no invasion of privacy and there was to be no deception involved (Bryman, 2012, p.135). In order to protect the participants from any harm either physical or reputational [in the case of the Gardai], a coding system was used to disguise the identities of participants. The data, both written and recorded, were stored at all times under lock and key and the codes identifying participants were kept separate from the data itself.

Informed consent was obtained from all the participants by means of a letter sent to them prior to their agreeing to be interviewed [see Appendix 3, p.172]. A notice clearly setting out the options to partake, or not, as they wished, was given to each of them prior to the interview taking place [see Appendix 4, p.173]. As the researcher is a mid-ranking police officer, who was interviewing less senior members of the police, the researcher had to bear in mind the power differential between him and the participants and how this could potentially have an impact on informed consent. The research participants were deliberately chosen as they were outside the researcher’s line of command. Before each interview the researcher stressed that they could leave without any affect, good, bad or indifferent on themselves. There were no refusals by any of the police officers.

The researcher also interviewed two people who might be considered vulnerable to the police. These were two people on a drugs maintenance programme. The researcher managed to form a bond with these people over a number of months in a local cafe they frequented. As a result, the researcher believes both of these participants felt comfortable enough in his presence to give their informed consent for an interview. The letter and notice prior to interview [see Appendices 3 and 4, pp. 172, 173] stressed that any issues of a criminal nature
exposed or alleged wrongdoings by members of the Garda Síochána would be investigated or would be reported to the Garda Síochána Ombudsman Commission [GSOC].

The question of privacy issues were dealt with above with regard to the protection of identities. Every effort has been made to make sure none of the interviewees can be identified from body of this research. Finally, there was no need for anything other than an honest, straightforward approach to be taken by the researcher in order to obtain consent to carry out this research and the consent of the participants to be interviewed. Therefore, there was no deception involved.

Assumptions

As a member of the Garda Síochána with many years experience working in the north inner city, a number of assumptions were made by the researcher regarding this study. Firstly, it appears that there is a disproportionate amount of policing resources devoted to one area of the district [the business area] rather than other areas. This assumption is based on the fact that multi-site drug dealing has gone on in broad daylight and in open public view over many years in the local authority areas of the district and this has seemingly been ignored by the Gardaí. These areas have good local public representatives but they cannot seem to achieve a concerted response to the problem of drug-dealing from the Garda Síochána. The business area, on the other hand, has received a huge amount of police attention that appears to have been successful. The second assumption is that the public in all these areas want a police service that recognises their needs and is responsive to those needs. The third assumption is that the police service is finite and it cannot be all things to all people. Choices have to be made by police managers. The fourth and final assumption is that the public police service as
an institution has the aspiration to provide an equitable service to all the citizens of the country.

The researcher

The researcher is a long-serving member of the Garda Síochána in the ‘C’ district and as such is a ‘insider’, as defined by Brannick and Coughlan (2007, p. 59), who say “by insider research, we mean, research by complete members of organisational systems and communities in and on their own organisations”. The advantages of insider research are listed as ‘accesses, and ‘pre-understanding’ (Brannick and Coughlan, 2007, pp. 67-68). The researcher has worked in the ‘C’ district as a garda and as a detective sergeant. His current role is as a detective superintendent. Therefore, the researcher brings a large amount of personal experience to this research. He has a wide knowledge and understanding of the multifaceted environmental context in which the research was conducted. This level of experience can be a double-edged sword. It could be a liability as this life experience could cause bias in the research design, the selection process and the interpretation of the findings. This has been recognised by Brannick and Coughlan (2007, p.72) who argue that insider researchers have to be aware that they could be too close to a subject and not obtain “the necessary objectivity” and they need to consider “the impact of organisational politics on the process of enquiry”. In order to protect against this, Bryman (2009) suggests that though research cannot be value free, the researcher has to: “...ensure that there are no untrammelled incursions in the research process and to be self reflective and so exhibit reflexivity about the part played by such factors” (Bryman, 2009, p.39).

The theoretical orientation and assumptions have been set out at the start of this research piece to ensure that they are explicit. A research journal has been maintained to aid the reflective process which captured the immediate impressions left on the researcher by the
interviewees and his reaction to the interviews. By this method, issues of possible bias were identified and, once identified; such biases were guarded against by bringing them out into the open in a reflective exercise. As policing involves engagements with various outside agencies and persons, these interactions have an effect on the individual police officer as they interpret their social world.

As Bryman (2009, p.34) has said, questions of social ontology cannot be separated from the context in which the research is carried out. The social ontology of this researcher has formed the basis for this research. This ontology has, in part, been formed by a set of values or an axiology informed by a Rawlsian theory of justice as fairness (1991). If we take Brogden and Ellison’s (2013) analysis, as referred to earlier, that we live in a deeply divided society in the West, then for this writer there was an inherent danger that bias in the shape of supporting the perceived underdog might surface in this research and therefore make it political. Finch (1993) asserts that all social science is political. She says that it seems clear to her that all social science is intrinsically political in character and is undertaken from a standpoint which embodies some material interest. Whilst Morgan and Hough (2008) take the view that criminological research “is necessarily a political project and process.” They go on to state: “...any account of current criminological research must at some point grapple with the socio-economic and political context within which criminology is taught” (Morgan and Hough, 2008, p.47). This research piece is, by its nature, embedded in the socio-economic and political context of where it was carried out.

**Validity, reliability and trustworthiness**

Qualitative research is subjective, is difficult to replicate, has problems of generalisation and a lack of transparency according to its critics (Bryman, 2011, p.405-406). In order to counteract this, “validity can be catered for at the data presentation stage through providing
an audit trail back to the concepts, constructs or data sets from which they were generated" (Gray, 2011, p. 516). This involves the qualitative researcher “making explicit their own philosophical intentions” (Gray 2011 p.516). Grey also advocates the use of “thick descriptions”, which will enable conclusions be drawn by describing the phenomena and the “context in which it occurs” (Gray, 2011, p. 516). This should allow a research project to be assessed for its “trustworthiness” (Bryman, 2012, p.390). According to Bryman (2012, p.390), ‘trustworthiness’ is made up of four criteria:

Table 2. Criteria for trustworthiness

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<td>1.</td>
<td>‘Credibility’ - As the research is based on several different accounts of social reality” it is the feasibility or credibility of the account that the researcher arrives at, which is going to determine its acceptability to others.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>‘Transferability’ - This is where the “thick descriptions” mentioned earlier have relevance. Thick descriptions produce what (Lincoln and Gabu, 1985, p.316) describe as a “data base for making judgements about the transferability of findings to other milieu.”</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>‘Dependability’ - This is to enable a reader judge the merits or otherwise of the research piece by taking an “auditing approach” (Bryman, 2012, p.392), much as Gray describes above.</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>‘Confirmatability’ - This acknowledges that complete objectivity is impossible in social research (Bryman, 2012 p.392). The researcher has to be able to show that they acted in good faith. This is to demonstrate that the research is not just polemical but something that produced findings that can be trusted.</td>
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Bryman (2012) further develops the question of the validity of this research by introducing the concept of dealing with the authenticity of the research which has particular relevance to this research project. According to Bryman (2012, p.393), “fairness” is also key to good research. He asks the question: “Does the research fairly represent different view-points amongst members of the social setting?” The implications of the foregoing for this research project are that in order for this project to be viewed as merit worthy, it has to transcend the usual critiques of qualitative research by being able to display that the research process has dealt with the issues of credibility, dependability, transferability, confirmatability and fairness. In order to ensure that this could be achieved, an active reflective process by the researcher has been undertaken throughout this research. A reflective journal was maintained. This journal recorded the thoughts and impressions of the researcher on the research itself, on the data collected and on the data collection process. It also included the researcher’s impressions of the participants with particular emphasis on the nuances that the audio recording equipment did not pick up. It also is an iterative account of how the researcher dealt with issues of fairness and bias by making them explicit and then as a consequence trying to deal with them. This reflexivity is described by Lynch (2000 as cited by Bryman 2012, p.394), as “methodological reflexivity”, which involves philosophical self reflection.....A self-critical examination of one’s own beliefs and assumptions” (Lynch, 2000 p.29). It also includes methodological self consciousness, that is taking account of one’s relationships with those whom one studies and methodological self criticism (Bryman, 2012, p.394).

**Literature review**

Throughout this research project and right up to the analysis of the data, a literature review was carried out. According to Hart (2001, p.3), when doing a research project the literature
review should cover two areas, specifically, ‘the literature relevant to the topic’ and ‘the
literature on research methodology and data collection techniques’.

The researcher kept both of these in mind while carrying out this research. They helped
inform his literature review. In this piece of research, the initial search of literatures included
books, peer review journals and articles, online articles, publications by the Garda Síochána
and electronic data bases and ‘grey literature’. Grey literature is defined by Hart as “a range
of published and unpublished material which is not normally identifiable to conventional
methods” (Hart, 2001, p.94). Some of the theoretical review was done by reading the
acknowledged leaders in their field such as Lukes, Morris, Bourdieu, Brogden and Ellison,
Conway, Reiner and others, either in their own books or in anthologies. As a result of this
reading, a number of key themes emerged. These themes produced a number of key words
which generated a basis to carry out a search of the University of Portsmouth library. This
enabled a number of academic journal articles to be retrieved. The keywords used in this
research process were: power, equality, police professionalism, public policy, austerity,
Ireland, sociology, Dublin, Garda Síochána, new public management, ethical policing,
justice, fairness and police culture. A full list of the journals utilised is included in the
bibliography. The search was carried out using Google Scholar, SocIndex, Heinonline, Lexus
Nexus, Sage Journals/Sage Premier, Taylor and Francis Social Science and Humanities,
Highwire, Science Direct Freedom Collection, EBOS Host, Directory of Open Access
Journals, Project Muse – Humanities Collection, Cambridge Journals Digital Archive,
JSTOR Arts & Sciences, Brill Journal Archive Online. The search parameters were quite
wide. No time limit was set due to the acknowledged dearth of research into Irish policing
(Conway, 2014). A small number of secondary literature sources were identified, in particular
publications from various local agencies within Dublin’s north inner city where data from
different sources had been used by these agencies to draw conclusions for their own purposes.

The literature on research methodology started out with a wide scope and, as more of the methodology and research methods were considered, the literature reviewed narrowed as the route the research was going to take became all the more clear. Similarly, the literature relating to the topics of power, sociology, police professionalism, politics and public policy-making gradually coalesced into targeted literature dealing with the specific and refined areas of study. Through the use of both methodological and topical literature, a way of framing a research question emerged. The literature review carried out took the form of a narrative review which is described by Bryman (2008) as the norm for most people doing research. It enables the researcher obtain a “review of a field of study” (Bryman, 2008, p.102) through a comprehensive assessment of the literature. Thus, the initial reading led to further reading topics. The literature review in this project, at all stages, became more refined and research questions came more into focus. The research process, which has been described in a narrative form for ease of explanation, was in fact an evolving process. By going through the research process, the research project itself, continued to be constantly refined. At no stage could the researcher say that the methodology was fixed or that the epistemological basis was set in stone or that the literature review was ever finished.

Limitations of this study

As already mentioned, qualitative data has four major shortcomings and this research is no different. The data reflects people’s subjective view of the world that they live in and the data is analysed through the prism of the researcher’s subjectivity. The researcher’s subjectivity has been set out in detail above. The data was collected at a time of great change both for Irish society and for the Garda Síochána and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to replicate the conditions under which the data was collected. Furthermore, the data collected
refers to a small tight-knit area in Dublin’s north inner city and it is not immediately obvious that this research has any relevance beyond that specified area. The selection process for the interviewees was a purposive sample and by its nature this was a subjective exercise that does not lend itself to either transferability or to replication as there were a number of variables in the initial selection process.

Summary

Philosophically, this project was based on the works of Lukes (2005), Lowndes and Roberts (2013), and Morris (2002). This enabled the grouping together of the various contingent parts that make up a policing institution and then the evaluation of their relative power. This chapter has described the methodology used in this research project and the rationale behind that choice. A key issue for this project was how does one measure power? As power is an abstract concept it is hard to quantify it in any meaningful way. Morris (2002) describes how the effects of power can be shown and that this is the only way that a comparison of the relative power of different group’s power can be gauged. Therefore, the methodology used sought to look at how policing as a public good was delivered as an indication of the relative power of the different groups that make up the policing institution being studied. This methodology enabled the different power outcomes with regard to the equitable distribution of a public good, to be used as an indicator of where the power is actually to be found.

The selection process for the research sample was then explicated with the reasons why a purposive sampling method was used. The data sought from the interviewees was then described. How this data was used to get to the heart of the “why” question of policing was explained. The actual data collection operation was described. The data analysis was carried out using a ‘narrative analysis’ technique and the reasons for this choice were explained. The ethical issues that arose during the data collection phase were then presented, particularly
those issues concerned with the power differential between the researcher and the research subjects. The assumptions, which the researcher brought to bear on this research, were detailed. So too was the researcher’s own axiological background. The validity/reliability of the research was then discussed and the issue of the trustworthiness of the data was brought to the fore. In order to ensure that the research was ‘trustworthy’, the reflexive process that the researcher undertook was demonstrated. The shortcomings of qualitative research were then listed and the specific problems this can give rise to were shown. This chapter was brought to a close by an account of the literature review. The next chapter of this research project is the analysis of the data, the collection of which has just been described.
Chapter 4: Research Findings and Analysis

Introduction

The central question that this research poses is ‘What is the extent, if any, of the external power over the Garda Síochána embodied or implied in the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform?’ The other research questions are secondary to this issue as the answers are dependent on the existence of ‘external power’. This chapter will address the first question and the second question of this research ‘Does the exercise of external power, if it exists, have an impact on policing as a public good?’ It appears to this researcher that there is a natural divide between these first two research questions which deal with matters external to the Garda Síochána, whilst the remaining two questions concern the organisational effects of this power on the Garda Síochána. For this chapter and the following one, the data and the analysis will be presented together. It is suggested that this fusion of research data and analysis on a question-by-question basis will make the conclusions drawn from the research and the connections between the developing themes more accessible.

This chapter is set out in two major sections. The first will establish that external power has an effect on the Garda Síochána. The existence of this power is premised on Morris’ (2002) advice that, when trying to identify where power lies, it is necessary to see who in society’s interests are being met. This process will involve the use of counterfactuals to identify these interests. Having shown that external power has an effect on the operation of the Garda Síochána, the second part of the chapter deals with how this power affects the equitable distribution (resource allocation) of the policing service provided in Dublin’s north central division.
Part 1

The perceptions of seven different cohorts of research participants as to whether or not external power existed over the Garda Síochána were sought and these perceptions inform what follows. Research on policing tends to take the view that the police service or force have little choice but to “sustain the fissures” (Brogden and Ellison, 2013, p.4) of a deeply divided society. Yet Manning (2010, p.viii) asks, “if democracy rests on equality, justice and basic rights… what role do police play in shaping them?” The literature has shown that the research area is deeply divided (Punch, 2005). This divide is recognised amongst the service providers as ESM4, a garda superintendent, speaking of their district is able to say that there are “two demographics in the district.” The work of Hausse and Pratschae (2008 and 2012, see Appendix 1, p.165) graphically shows that there is, in fact, a divide as described. It is this concept of a divided society which underpins the different needs of the two demographics; one for a policing force and one for a policing service. These two demographics mirror both what Brogden and Ellison, (2013, p.4) and Manning (2010, p.viii) have written.

On the question of external power influencing how the Garda Síochána operates, there was almost universal agreement amongst all the participants (with two exceptions) that external power plays a role in how policing in the north inner city is carried out. The views expressed on power over policing reflect the individual interviewee’s position within the policing institution. The providers of the service, the police officers and a civilian support staff member interviewed, were able to identify power as residing in the more affluent parts of the district. This power manifested itself in a number of ways. ESM2, a civilian member of the Garda Síochána was able to describe the physical separation and different methods of dealing with correspondence coming in from different sections of the community to Store Street Garda Station.
Correspondence from the businesses would go directly to the superintendent and they themselves would draft a reply, whilst other correspondence will be sent to a sergeant and the superintendent would not see it, unless it was about a particularly serious matter (ESM2).

This divide, at a bureaucratic level, seems to represent an inbuilt bias towards a certain section of the community “because the business community have a louder voice” (EMS2).

The interviewee described the process by which this happens:

...for the businesses, they would normally be thrown to the superintendent to look at” (referring to post trays in the district office) “for the other people, it would go more to the inspectors to be sent to a sergeant, but the superintendent would rarely see these letters. (EMS2)

This bias is reinforced by a garda inspector, in interview ESM 5’s who in interview explained the reasons why they would respond to an uptown issue before a community issue, they said:

“I come from a business background myself” (ESM5). Respondent ESM1, a garda, believed that the policing in O’Connell Street was as it is because:

O ’Connell Street and all the areas uptown, because people from so-called good areas of Dublin or Ireland go through there, and people like that have the influence in the country, they don’t want to see drug dealers or drug addicts hanging around in the streets. Whereas nobody has any real reason to visit Sheriff Street, nobody cares what goes on in there. (ESM1).

This interviewee further describes senior police officers as being “panicked“(ESM1) at a meeting as they promise the affluent “the moon, sun and stars” (ESM1) with regard to a policing service. A further respondent ESM6, a garda sergeant, thinks that policing as it is done “seems to be for people in....the business area” (ESM6). The reason for this according to ESM6

I believe it is political pressure... I do believe that the local business community has significant weight when it makes approaches to An Garda Síochána within this division.... whether that be by email, whether that be by telephone call and I do believe, that these contacts are responded to and every effort is made to be seen that they are responded to, even if it is not addressing the actual problem. I think the greater emphasis is the display of it being promptly responded to, as opposed to it being eradicated or the problem being addressed successfully or removed.
How this political pressure is manifested is hinted at by a garda sergeant. In ESM18’s interview, the interviewee is of the opinion that senior police managers’ chances of promotion are increased “if they are well in with the business people” (ESM18). They (the business community) have “a louder voice” and “if they (Garda managers) are well in with the business community” it will enhance their promotion prospects. This recognises the role of the business community in the habitus of the Garda officer and the powerful position that the businesses may have in the Minister’s field. Share, Corcoran and Conway (2011) point out that business people could form part of the power elite of Irish society. Bourdieu (1989) identifies the power elite as those with economic capital and Byrne (2012) has shown that those with economic capital have never had any trouble accessing an Irish Minister.

In his interview, ESM3/3a was categorical in describing pressure on the police, from both inside and outside the organisation, as having an impact to such an extent that there is a conflict between “doing the right thing on the ground…and doing what is expected” (ESM3/3a). ESM 3/3a, describing the power of the business people, says clearly, “if they are unhappy with the policing in the area, they would go to the media and politicians, with whom they pack a fair punch” (ESM3/3a), and “someone will say to me, if you can’t do it, we will find someone who will” (ESM3/3a). This same interviewee identifies the source of this power as coming from both within the organisation and from outside the organisation.

Some of it is probably coming from outside, they are probably responding to some of the media reports and the subsequent questioning by politicians –you know- that suggest… that the likes of O’Connell Street is unsafe…The engagement by the police is quite significant… There have been over 14,800 stop and searches within the area over the last eleven-and-a-half months, which is a huge figure. So there is no doubt there is a consistent engagement with people who are engaging in, whether it is drug-treatment, drug-taking, or drug-buying and whatever is going on up there…The pressure comes on the police to deal with a problem that is not a policing issue, there are elements to it, the drug dealing, absolutely, and that must be dealt with, but the underlying issue here is, not a police issue, but we are still under pressure to deal with it,
above everything else, we get the pressure to deal with...Provide a unilateral policing response, which went against my better judgement, I would prefer not to have done it... I know that wasn’t going to solve the problem. It was going to solve the problem, for me, in my local area and for some of the businesses in my local area and God -knows they deserved a bit of relief from it. Absolutely I make no bones about that, but it came to the point were either I was going to be removed, the super around here were going to be removed.... At some stage someone was going to look for a scapegoat for this....Despite the fact that the evidence showed it was not a police problem.

The only internal pressure that could be brought to bear on a chief superintendent would have to come from assistant commissioner or higher.

Two of the Garda members interviewed ESM5 and ESM4 had different views on this pressure on police. ESM5 was of the view that the very nature of the problems in O’Connell Street’s business area were of such an extent that the police had no choice but to give it a priority, albeit that the interviewee recognised that what was happening in O’Connell Street was generally not a policing problem. ESM4 also recognised that there was pressure on them to police in a certain fashion but felt that they were strong enough to police the district in a fair and equitable manner. However, this interviewee (ESM4) felt that if the “low-level low impact behaviour in O’Connell Street was not policed adequately then they would face sanctions”. Similarly, if the serious issues such as murder and other serious crimes were not dealt with adequately in the residential areas then the superintendent would also face sanctions. This juxtaposition of low impact behaviour with serious crime begs the question from where do the sanctions come if the low-level stuff was not dealt with? And how does that equate with not dealing with murders etc?

The public representatives, as a group, recognised that there is external pressure on the Gardai. ESM9, a government minister, compared the current situation with the past where pressure was put on the police by the business community in the city centre to deal with issues. There is a consistency in the interviewee’s story which reflects the energy of the
business community. This Minister seemed almost resigned when they said: "there is never enough funding to go around...this is a never ending cycle" (ESM9).

So what has been a serious issue in the past and street-trading in relation to the Gardaí, has now become, very much, a drug problem. This is a very difficult problem for the Gardaí to resolve... There is never enough funding to deal with the problem. The interviewee made a number of further comments regarding policing of the drugs issue. These were: "...still very difficult to police the inner city of Dublin" and "regarding the drug issues, displacement is an issue". The Minister also had this to say: "The drug dealers are moving all the time, they don’t move far"... "The greater the focus in a particular area by the Gardai, they move from that area. But it is a passing on the problem to another area and this is a never-ending cycle, in that respect" (ESM9).

With regard to politicians being a source of external pressure, the interviewee said: "you get to know all the major players and naturally enough, I would have gotten to know Gardaí very well" (ESM9). ESM8 is an opposition TD for the area. When speaking about policing of the city centre they said:

... it seemed to me, just watching the scenario, there was a period of time, while An Garda Síochána stood away from the situation and allowed it to fester and develop, and then, an initiative was taken to move-in and clean up the area. I always had the sense, and I know it is reflected in this area that, it had more to do with business interests in the city, rather than, residents of the city (ESM8).

This interviewee believed that "the politics have to be taken out of policing" (ESM8). ESM7 and ESM16 are both city councillors and, at the time of writing, one is the current Lord Mayor whilst the other is a former Lord Mayor. According to them, in their own different ways, the issue of political pressure is a voter-driven issue for politicians. If the community votes then the politicians have to take an interest. If not, they need only pay lip service to issues. ESM16 who, because of his political allegiance, could be viewed as more ‘business friendly’ said: that the businesses in the city centre do their “politics by another name, through BIDS” (ESM16). ESM21, a member of Dáil Éireann, and ESM14, a city councillor, both recognised the strong voice of the business lobbying groups but both were very positive about the policing service their constituents receive. As would be expected from Brogden and
Ellison’s (2013, p. 14) comments, there seems to be recognition amongst the politicians that the Garda Síochána is more responsive to the needs of the business community than to those of the local community.

When asked if the pressure on the police affected how the policing service was delivered some of the areas NGOs were in no doubt about its existence and impact. Two of the interviewees believed that “selective policing” (ESM17 – a local community worker) and “no policing” (ESM13 – a youth worker) was a result of a concerted effort by people in power to allow their area deteriorate to such an extent that it will be depopulated and the land handed over to developers. This scenario probably encapsulates what Moore (2008, p.209), referring to the research area, describes as one of the “core policies of neo-liberalism” and which Corcoran (2002, p.104), calls part of “a new phase of capital accumulation in the city that excludes the working class on many levels economic and social, and cultural.” ESM19, an anti-drugs worker, believes that the business community get more attention because they have “bigger voices” (ESM19). Discussing how the businesses, do this, the interviewee claims that the businesses use the access they have to the media and politicians. The residential community have the same access to media and politicians but they are “not brainy enough to use it” (ESM19). Perhaps what the interviewee is getting at is their lack of ‘economic and social capital’ (Bourdieu, 1989) and their ‘position in the social arena’ (Maton, 2012), even if “not brainy enough” is possibly the wrong way to describe it. As Byrne (2012) puts it, those with economic capital have never had any trouble accessing an Irish Minister. One just has to refer back to the Minister’s meeting with the holders of economic capital quoted earlier. ESM25, an anti-drugs worker, believes that the chronic heroin problem in the Dublin area was due to lack of policing in certain areas - “possibly because there is more political pressure being put on them (the Gardai) to do certain things in certain areas” (ESM25). This interviewee believes that the lack of registered voters allows
the politicians to pay lip service to the area because “nobody from the political perspective is going to drill down to find out what is going on” (ESM25). This interviewee narrated an imaginary scenario where a business representative complained to the Minister and the Minister in turn spoke to the garda commissioner with knock on effects for other gardai down the line (maybe, describing the above quoted meeting!).

The professionals interviewed are all agreed that there is something not right about the way the residential areas are policed in contrast with the more affluent areas. All of them believe that, due to the intrinsic value of the land on which the community sits, there is a concerted effort by those in power to allow the area decline to such an extent that the community is dispersed. ESM27, a cleric, said that the aim is to: “slowly strangle the non-middle and non-upper-class to death and that big money is behind this” (ESM27). ESM14, a city councillor, believed that the situation of drug dealing and antisocial behaviour is tolerated because otherwise it would occur elsewhere and at least where it is now it can be monitored. Whilst, ESM12, a drug-treatment client, wonders: “is there something bigger at play” (ESM12).

The class issue was raised by ESM23. ESM23 is a resident of the area who believes that their complaints and worries are not dealt with because they are not an upper-class area. In contrast, ESM22, a resident who lives a hundred metres away in the more affluent area (IFSC), could not be more satisfied with the gardai. This person lives in the area that was promised the “moon, sun and stars” by a panicked senior officer according to ESM1. ESM 10 and ESM 11, drug-treatment clinic clients, also gave descriptions of the different types of policing they experience on a daily basis, both at home in their own area where anything goes and in the business area where they are constantly harassed and stopped.

ESM20, a CEO of a business organisation, describing garda operations in the city centre uses the words: “excellent” and “very successful”. This interviewee was able to say that “I think
that what we have to say does feed into the decision making process” (ESM20). The interviewee sees his/her organisation as having a future role in changing legislation on begging. ESM 26, a CEO of another business organisation, describes having discussions with senior officers in a very “frank manner” when they were “pushing very hard for something like Spire” (ESM26) to happen. The interviewee said that they had “a part in getting Operation Spire under way” (ESM26). Describing ‘Operation Spire’, this interviewee used the words “bloody marvellous” (ESM26). ESM24, a small business owner, also describes ‘Operation Spire’s success, whilst describing the situation that gave rise to it, as “scandalous” (ESM24).

From the foregoing it is clear that external power has an influence on policing in the north inner city. Mann (1986, as cited by Haugaard, 2002, p.178) has described power as the ability to pursue and attain goals and Morris (2002, p. 145) states that evidence of power can only be found “in indirect ways” to establish the truth or reasonableness of asserting counterfactuals that cannot be tested directly (2002, p. 145). The one-dimensional view of power, according to Parvin and Chambers (2012), does not identify why decisions are made. In this case, it is resource issues and decisions about them and where they are deployed that is not explained. One dimensional power can only describe resource allocation as a “policy preference” (Lukes, 2005 p.29). Bachrach and Baratz (1970, as cited by Haugaard, 2002, p.35) have explained how two-dimensional power is shown by investigating the mobilisation of bias and by examining the “non-decision decision making”. In this case, the mobilisation of bias would tend towards the campaign by lobbying groups to get their agenda before the Gardai. Whilst the non-decision decision making in relation to resource allocation is evident in the “non-policing” (ESM 13) and as described by one of the interviewees (ESM17).
Some people would refer to it as selective policing, I would describe it as reactive policing in that, the policing presence now and I suppose looking at the last ten to twelve years, particularly in Sheriff Street/ Seville Place area, is practically non-existent, unless… there is a shooting or some serious incident. Policing has been on an invisible scale. There has been a level of non-policing. It is the old – ‘left to their own devices situation’… It has become kind of endemic now by kids that are… two, three, four, five years of age – six… are looking at the damage that is being done on a daily basis by the thirteen, fourteen, fifteen-year-olds, and it has become a kind of cycle now, especially in the Sheriff Street stretch. You can do anything you want to do, to whoever you want to, what you want - there will be no comeback. There will be no charge either police wise or Dublin City Council wise… The case we put forward at that meeting and the pleas that we made went no-where and there was huge anger… We weren’t surprised, the attitude is a sure, ah fuck, it is only Sheriff Street... That police don’t give a fuck! (ESM17)

The third dimension of power, it could be argued, surfaces in the policing of the Sheriff Street/North Wall area where, if one accepts the conspiracy theories espoused by a number of interviewees [ESM12; ESM13; ESM15; ESM17; and ESM27] that by deciding to allow the area to deteriorate to such an extent that there will be no demand to save it coming from residents or the public at large. As Parvin and Chambers put it “the fight is over before it has even begun” (2012, p. 25). Of course, this is a bigger issue than just policing as other services such as education are also at risk, according to ESM12, a school principal.

One could argue that, if there was a sufficiently high level of pressure on policing managers to police certain area and to merely contain other areas (to stop the contagion of drugs and antisocial behaviour spreading out), then the dereliction of an area is inevitable. By going back to Morris (2002), who has said that power cannot be directly observed, perhaps the concept of counterfactuals (which cannot be tested directly) can be used to identify the effects of power. This counterfactual could be that the actual policing problems in the O’Connell Street area do not warrant the amount of policing resources it receives so there must be another explanation. Conversely, it is argued that the policing resources deployed in the Sherriff Street area are not adequate to address the problems that exist there. The counterfactual here could also be that there is a conspiracy of sorts to allow the Sheriff Street/ North Wall area decline to such an extent as to enable it to be taken over by developers. Or is
the apparent withdrawal of services, such as policing, a result of a different set of circumstances? Indirectly, it would appear, by using Morris’s maximum of ‘who benefits most’, there is some cause to believe that a version of a conspiracy theory may be true. Perhaps by concentrating their policing efforts in the business district as a result of external pressure from the business sector, the Gardai are unwitting accomplices in what has been described as a neo-liberal project (Moore, 2008).

A description of the exercise of implied power was mentioned by ESM3/3a, where he discussed “the career stopping effects of not policing in a certain manner” (ESM3/3a). This effect was referred to by ESM 18, a long serving sergeant, who has observed superintendents over the years and can equate their style of police management to where some of these superintendents viewed where their best chances of promotion might be. The exercise of implied power, according to ESM19, relies on greater social capital, expressed as more “brainy people” (ESM19 – an anti drugs worker). The power elite in Ireland comprises of people who amongst other things, “play golf together” (Share, et al, 2011, p.95). This may be the social field that is referred to by ESM26 when they refer to having: “spoken to senior ranks ... in a very frank manner” (ESM26). ESM26 also said that “it would be rare to launch full attacks at public meetings”. The implication of this is that personal access by a certain class of person to senior Garda management has an effect on the deployment of Garda resources. ESM20 was able to describe the Garda response to problems in the O’Connell Street area as “excellent” (ESM20).

Discussing politicians, ESM24, was also able to say that they “don’t think that they have ever seen a politician even come into the shop”. This point was mentioned by ESM16 when they described business lobbying as politics by another name. Yet paradoxically, both the businesses and the residential areas suffer from the same lack of political voice. The business
area, because people seldom live and vote where they work. Whilst the residential areas have according to, ESM25 and ESM16, both low voter registration and low election turnouts.

It is possible to identify the desired policing outcomes of the groups interviewed for this project. The business people clearly want the area’s problems dealt with by the Gardaí whether or not the problems are actually policing problems. From the research, it would appear that their desired outcome is the perfectly legitimate aim of profit maximisation for them. Then, by applying Morris’ (2002) maxim, this group possesses power in relation to policing because it has power over the outcomes that are most important to it in a policing context. In contrast, the residents, NG0s and some professionals living and working in the area, have had the experience of the outcomes which are most important to them not being achieved, i.e., stopping the drug dealing and antisocial behaviour outside schools. This implies that these groups have minimal power to influence policing in the north inner city.

Power appears to operate on a number of different levels in the ‘policing institution’ of the north inner city. There is the implied power referred to by ESM3/3a as the fear of being removed from one’s position if one fails to police in a certain way. The converse exists whereby, if one polices in a way desired by certain people, one can turn the situation to one’s advantage and, perhaps, get promoted. The power is applied at ministerial level, strategic management level and at operational level enabling ESM3/3a to describe the sources of power as both “internal and external” ESM3/3a. It would also appear that straightforward political power of a local representative making representations on issues is not the most effective way of getting those issues onto the Garda agenda. Rather, it is the ability of the power elite to utilise the social and economic capital to ensure that they can achieve their aims of profit maximising public space in the city centre of Dublin.
From the foregoing section, it is clear that external power on the Garda Síochána, other than that vested by law in the Minister, does exist. The question then arises, does this have an effect on the equitable distribution of policing as a public good?

According to Punch (2005) writing about urban governance, there are various approaches that can be taken depending on what the urban authority wants to prioritise. These priorities can be economic growth, social protection, or social control. All of these are areas where the deployment of the public police could be expected to have an effect. When the approach taken is based on an economic growth model, then market values could lead “away from an essentially Keynesian project of social protections and the regulation of capital towards a marketised approach within the pro-growth agenda” (Punch, 2005, p 759).

The net result of this approach, is that, it creates a discourse that is peppered with words like “obsolescence” “renewal” and “a rejuvenated city core” (Punch, 2005, p.759). This core is then presented as “Healthy sites ... for capital accumulation as city areas are cleared for development” (Punch, 2005, p 759). The effect of this means clearing out the rundown areas in cities no matter how or why they became run down. They are knocked down and re-built in an elite friendly way. According to Punch (2005, p. 761), Dublin City Council “... has turned... to a much more commercial ethos and pro growth agenda”, which Punch, (2005, p. 761) further describes as “the urban arm of a broader neoliberal agenda”. According to Brenner and Theodore (2002a, p 368), “the overarching goal of such neoliberal urban policy experiments is to market city space as an area both for market orientated economic growth and for elite consumption practices”. Discussing the Sheriff Street /North Wall area, Punch (2005) describes the approach taken by various renewal agencies as efforts to sell the city for private investment. This process has an impact on how policing is carried out. The
distribution of a public policing service in a deeply divided urban area presents the public police service with choices, as mirrored by some of the interviewees in Dublin’s north inner city. It has been described by Smith (1996, p. 230) as the

Revanched city…(where)...that defence of privilege leads to the reactionary urbanisation of gentrification, involving the recommodification of previously working-class neighbourhoods for middle-class consumption…meanwhile, the city’s working class… and homeless populations experience, a deepening villianisation…through interlocking scripts of violence, drugs and crime.

But as Eriksson (1982 as cited in Newburn, 2005), discussing the role of the police in society maintains “they [the police] have been repeatedly employed…for altered uses of social space and time (public order) and the protection of property to ensure free circulation of the commodities” (Eriksson 1982 as cited in Newburn, 2005, p. 219).

As can be seen from the literature review and the research interviews, the problem in O’Connell Street and its environs is akin to what one interviewee ESM 27, a cleric, said about the ‘other’ as “them having come off the reservation”. Due to the proliferation of drug treatment centres in the city centre (ESM20; ESM8; ESM26; ESM5; ESM 3/3A) a problem which has largely been confined to working class areas (Punch, 2005) now manifests itself in the city centre. The ‘other’ was not contained in their ‘own’ areas and this required action, a police response, and as, Eriksson (1982 as cited in Newburn, 2005, p. 21) puts it, the policing function has always had an ideological content to it. It is in the realm of ideology that the debate about the equitable nature of the delivery of a public police service lies, because what is a question here is the neoliberal economic growth model of urban governance or a social protection model. On the face of it, it would appear that, if the Irish Constitution Article 40.3 dealing with equality means anything then the social protection role should be paramount.

The previous section, using desired outcomes as a guide, identified where the source of external power on the Garda Síochána was, i.e. the power elite. The more overt power and its
results are visible in O’Connell Street with *Operation Spire* being the last in a long number of operations to deal with city centre business problems. The hidden power may be in the suspected attempt to let the Sheriff Street/ North Wall area decline to such an extent that it tends towards obsolescence and, as a consequence, will need urban renewal. The hidden nature of this process is stressed by Punch (2005, p.768) who states whilst discussing the framework in which the debate about gentrification takes place and where it is presented by the power elite as “not just the most desirable, but the only possible city future”. Punch (2005, p.768) comments that the view from the grassroots might not be the same. If the pressure on the police service the source of which has been identified in this research, exists then its effects should be apparent in the public police service provision in the north inner city. The policing would be expected to

(a) contain antisocial behaviour to certain areas and

(b) police certain other areas in a way that reduces antisocial behaviour in a manner that reflects the neoliberal growth model of urban governance.

Basic resource allocation is what is in question here. This issue does not involve redistribution; rather it operates in the *paraeto optimal* space of a limited resource that is not infinite. Therefore, decisions about its allocation have to be made. According to ESM3/3a, policing in the north inner city is “*a competition between doing the right thing on the ground in terms of policing and doing what is required and what is expected*”. Policing activity in the previous eleven-and-a-half months which involved 14,800 drugs stop and searches was described by ESM3/3a as an area of concern because he believes “*without a shadow of a doubt you are going to break it [human rights]*”(ESM3/3a). ESM 3/3a has fears about taking policing into a risky area regarding the human rights of people in the city centre which arise in the context of the police dealing with an issue that is not a policing issue. “*The pressure*
comes on the police to deal with the problem that is not a policing issue” (ESM3/3a). This begs the question why do the police risk breaching some persons’ human rights over an issue that is not essentially a police one? What group of people in society are that powerless that the Garda Síochána can contemplate such an approach? ESM 3/3a, also said “we are focusing on the city centre more than we should (ESM3/3a). When describing Operation Spire, ESM 3/3a, said it set out to “provide a unilateral policing response which went against my better judgement”. It is clear from the foregoing that there is a very active engagement by the police with people who are essentially doing nothing wrong, except making an area of the city centre look and sound unfriendly for business.

The result of this approach, as was pointed out by ESM 8 and ESM 19, is that, the problem moves to the residential areas of the district. When asked about the effect of policing operations in the city centre, ESM 8, a TD, replied:

The people who live in Seville Place/ Sheriff Street were absolutely convinced and by the way, remain absolutely convinced that, the disruption policing operation on the Boardwalk pushed a lot of problem behaviour, down, for instance, into their community...The Boardwalk was teeming with guards, there was a real high focus on it, they, the local residents, got forgotten, they picked up the tab. I couldn’t tell you the number of times people who live in that area would say, listen, there is a character down here dealing drugs. We see them, all the neighbours see them, the kids see them, and you could set your clock by them. They know their routine, yet the Gardaí are staying off them; this is in the mind of the community.... From a community perspective, they read the message as either, the Garda Síochána doesn’t care or that they are prioritising other places, and other things they might be doing. Or - and this can be really the most sinister reading of all - what is the relationship then between these guys who are at this behaviour and the Gardaí.

Whilst ES19 had this to say

You may come under political pressure for not having Garda resources somewhere else.... Understandably within a Garda force were resources are very tight.... for you to move your resources from a particular area into an area of disadvantage, to maybe deal with some issue in there, you may come under political pressure for not having the Garda resources somewhere else. If I am in Garda management and I want to keep these guys off my back, I know where I would be putting my resources. I would be putting them in the place where there is political clout, where you have the
business community, because they are the ones who have the ear of the minister’s etc.etc.

The areas to which this displacement occurs have their own problems as ESM13 and ESM17 mentioned.

Some people would refer to it as selective policing, I would describe it as reactive policing in that, the policing presence now and I suppose looking at the last ten to twelve years, particularly in Sheriff Street/ Seville Place area, is practically non-existent, unless,... there is a shooting or some serious incident. Policing has been on an invisible scale. There has been a level of non-policing. It is the old – ‘left to their own devices situation’... It has become kind of endemic now by kids that are... two, three, four, five years of age – six...are looking at the damage that is being done on a daily basis by the thirteen, fourteen, fifteen-year-olds, and it has become a kind of cycle now, especially, in the Sheriff Street stretch. You can do anything you want to do, to whoever you want to, what you want - there will be no comeback. There will be no charge either police wise or Dublin City Council wise...The case we put forward at that meeting and the pleas that we made went no-where and there was huge anger.... We weren’t surprised, the attitude is a sure, ah fuck, it is only Sheriff Street... That police don’t give a fuck! (ESM17)

ESM 13 said

In my opinion there is no policing in the Sherriff Street area. They seem to be ignoring the main issue...open drug dealing, open joyriding – putting lives at risk.” The interviewee contrasted the situation in Sherriff Street with other areas of the city: If you drink outside a bar in any other part of Dublin, with a pint of beer that you bought in the bar, you would be told to move off the street because you would be told it is illegal to drink in the street, whereas, in Sheriff Street, people just seem to drink in the street all day without anyone batting an eyelid.

Similarly, ESM23, a long time resident of the area said

My opinion, I think because we are the back of the finance, keep them contained there, in that little street, as long as they don’t go near the financial centre, you’re okay. I have noticed that, in a lot of stuff, people who do stuff in the financial, they come after them, if they do it in Sheriff Street, it’s okay. Take the shops, kids shop-lifting, just grabbing a packet of sweets, I seen them, following a woman a few weeks ago over a bag of sweets, from [interviewee names a shop]. Now it is petty crime to me, it’s not important; they sent the police after her, three or four of them came up after. If that was in Sheriff Street, it doesn’t matter what it is, if someone was getting knifed on the street, they wouldn’t come.

This displacement is into areas where the problem of antisocial behaviour and drug dealing are contained. The description of policing in these areas is reminiscent of that policing described by Mulcahy and O’Mahony (2005, p.16) where the researchers spent a number of
days in a deprived urban city area and they only ever saw the Gardaí at the edge of the area, even though the researchers were in the area for a number of days. The Gardaí clearly did not engage with the community. Areas like this, according to Brogden and Ellison (2013, p.122), have

A structurally imbibed distrust of the police... from indices such as electoral turnout to more recently the proliferation of asbos, such locales are primary locations of victimisation. They have the most need of police support from minor acquisition crime to household and street violence, drug offences...social capital was lacking…

The policing policy in these areas appeared to [ESM1; ESM3/3a; ESM8; ESM12; ESM13; ESM15; ESM 17; and ESM19] to be one of ‘containment’, whereby, the drug dealing and antisocial behaviour could be contained within an area that the politicians did not drill down into because as has been shown there are very few votes in these areas. As ESM15, a professional working in the area, describes the situation

The station goes through cycles of leadership and things change…. Overall the bigger picture is this; there is a particular part of the community which has always been seen as chronic. This is where drugs are sold, where the boys meet and everything else.... I would have say that [it is] kind of being left, because it is contained. ... there is nothing anywhere on paper, in terms of education, I’ve seen the same thing in my own game but it is kind of so they don’t affect the IFSC around the corner. You know where they are and it looks like that now, maybe, it isn’t but that is very much what it looks like. Meanwhile that it [drug-dealing and anti-social behaviour] is down at the doors of the other two schools. So it has a pretty big impact.... Overall, I don’t know if it is a kind of hands-off policing, it looks kind of that way to me. Look, we can see it, we can contain it and it is there...They would have to go elsewhere, where is the ‘elsewhere’ they would go? I feel that there is happiness or a complicity that they are not around the corner in the IFSC... If some jiggery-pokery gets started in the IFSC, for example, even if our kids who are primary school kids around there are carrying on, very, very, quickly, there will be a Garda. They will be moved on. But if things are in their own street, the street I am talking about, they won’t be engaged in the same way... They are a community under threat, let’s be very clear about this. I have the view that the land that this community now occupies, is a bit like the old Indian reservations, and it is like we have discovered oil under it; in other words, the land is worth millions for development. So I think that, there again, unwritten policy would be to shrink them, shrink the community and move it out. I think the community was always seen as something of an unsolvable problem.

Additionally, the effectiveness of the residents as a lobbying group was affected by their lack of social capital.
Then we cop... The guards are up there for the business community because the business community, they have bigger voices... They get more attention than we do, as community people I believe... it doesn’t matter if it is true or not, in our story, in our belief we feel that the Gardaí give more time to the business community because they have access to TDs., city councillors, media... that they use. We have the same access, but we don’t use that access... They will use the media and every politician that they can.... We are not brainy enough to do that (ESM, 19).

A policy of containment, by its nature, means the acceptance of a certain level of crime or antisocial behaviour in an area by the police. ESM 19 continued describing the ‘containment’ in the following terms

Definitely, knock-on effect. The community feel that because the business people up in O’Connell Street are more important to the Garda than the inner city communities... but what happens is... they moved them (drug-users) back to little pockets in this place and we are swamped with them.

All of the above enumerated interviewees were firm in their views that the policing of their working class residential areas is such that it allows for the open sale of drugs in the streets.

As ESM12, describes it, school children were exposed to drug dealing on the way to school.

Very hard to keep our enrolments up...The policing situation is having an impact on it because, drug-selling is so open here, and it is so open. I was coming back from a meeting and a parent of one of the pupils in school, he said: ’hi-ya [teacher’s name] as he was selling drugs to somebody, to some young girl. It is just like they are passing some milk or borrowing sugar...because I think it is Sheriff Street. I think there is a group kind of attitude by everyone in society that we should just be left; we are reckless, we are lawless down here, but these were four-year-old children... Someone could have died here... I don’t think that would be happening in the better off areas...I don’t know if there is a bigger plan in action... We are prime real estate here... Is there something bigger at play?... And the letting the place go down in a state of chaos, and then say, it is better just to move things out and break down the community, and send it off in different directions, schools and housing.

As ESM13 put it, young people see this happening and don’t see the consequences and as a result, are exposed to drug dealing on a daily basis. This is perhaps the kernel of the lack of fairness in the allocation of policing resources in the residential areas. The primary school children who witness this type of drug dealing accept it as normal or their parents relocate them to another school to avoid the danger. Either way, the community suffers. The primary school child graduates to drug dealing as described by ESM13, believing from experience
that this activity has little or no consequences, until at a certain stage the system catches up with them and imprisons them for drug dealing. But not before many other children’s lives have been blighted either as users or dealers of illegal drugs. The above is a very simplistic depiction of the long-term effects of a failure to provide a minimum level of police service to residential areas where, if the police where active, one would not expect to find open on-street drug dealing. ESM 10 gave a poignant description of how they could not bring their child to the library due to the antisocial behaviour that goes on around it. “The canal has gone completely out of control. I can’t bring my child to the library”. ESM11 said: “The people down there have their licences to sell it [drugs].” This lack of policing has tangible effects on the life chances of children who already face a number of obstacles in their lives (McVerry, 2003).

ESM23, as quoted above, gives an account of a shoplifter being caught by three or four gardaí in Mayor Street, part of the IFSC, and compares this with the lack of attention to serious issues in Sheriff Street. In contrast, ESM22 gives a sanguine account of relations with the gardaí and how intervention is available before an issue becomes criminal.

At the other end of the scale, Fintan O’Toole in *The Ship of Fools* (2009, p.140), describes how the Irish authorities reacted to an issue within the IFSC:

> The realisation that the IFSC had been involved in the spectacular tri-continental triple crown of dodgy dealing -Europe’s biggest ever fraud, the largest bankruptcy in Australian history and a $500 million scam in the US - meant that the Irish authorities had to react. They did... by increasing their commitment to light touch regulation.

It is not clear if the Gardaí could have any role in prosecuting those bankers but the juxtaposition of the shoplifter and the multi-million dollar fraudster is just to show how, in the same area of the city, certain criminal actions will get the attention of the public police. Meanwhile the criminal activities, of the power elite will not, and may even be facilitated. Just by moving a distance of around a hundred meters or so, the situation reverses. What
ESM17 describes as mayhem is visible at all times of the day or night, but there is no one listening to their pleas. ESM17 describes how the community’s warnings about Halloween fires were ignored leading to thousands of euro worth of damage being caused to community resources.

The style of policing carried out in the north inner city runs the risk of being construed as possibly corrupt depending on the motivation of the relevant police managers. There is also the possibility that the policing operations in the city centre are an attempt, due to external pressure, to deal with a social issue by using the “coercive power” (Loader and Walker, 2001, p.14) of the Garda Síochána. All of these issues, it has been argued, in this research, stem from the effects of external power on the police. The distortion of the equitable policing service fits in with what Reiner (2005) describes as the police role in the reproduction of social order. According to Reiner, “general and specific order” are “simultaneously reproduced in all social orders” (Reiner, 2005, p.166). The specific order that is reproduced is the “distributions of advantage and power benefiting particular interests “(Reiner, 2005, p.166). Reiner maintains that the police have a role in what he calls “class repression “and the reproduction of inequality” “(Reiner, 2005, p.166). This role has been expunged from the current debate on policing, with its concentration “on crime control” (Reiner, 2005, p.166).

In this assessment of the impact of external power on the equitable distribution of the public good, it is perhaps, opportune, at this point, to refer to two of the primary goods that each person should be entitled to by right. According to Rawls (2001), primary goods are described as “things required by persons seen in the light of the political conception of persons as citizens…. (Rawls, 2001,p.58). Two of these primary goods are:

(ii) freedom of movement.. Allow the pursuit of a variety of ends.
(v) the social basis of self-respect, understood as those aspects of basic institutions normally essential if citizens are to have a lively sense of their worth as persons and to be able to advance ends with self-confidence……(Rawls, 2001, p.58).

There is ample evidence that the use of a public good that is policing has an impact on the human rights and freedom of movement of a substantial number of persons in the north inner city. There is also evidence that the absence of a public police service as one of the basic institutions in certain parts of the north inner city has an impact on the future of many children’s sense of themselves in the area and this absence may have tangible effects on their ability to advance their own ends in society.

There is a conflict of needs, as ESM24, puts it, the situation in Dublin city centre is a “scandal”. The business person has the same rights to primary goods as anyone else. As public policing has a financial impact on the provider that is the state; it can be viewed both as an economic resource and as a social resource. This division fits neatly into the force/service argument. If policing is viewed as an economic resource, it is used as a means of reducing business costs and making businesses more profitable. Whilst, if public policing is used as a social resource it can be, as Brogden and Ellison (2013), referred to earlier, a service to those who need it most. Therefore, Rawls’ (1991) second principle of justice is relevant here in describing whether the allocation of the public policing resource is fair or not. Discussing distributive justice, Rawls’ (1991) second principle is “Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both (a) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged... (1991, p. 266). Rawls’ second priority rule refers to the priority of justice over efficiency and welfare and which states (a) an inequality of opportunity must enlarge the opportunities of those with lesser opportunity (1991, p.226). Taking these two principles of fairness together, it is possible to examine the fairness of public policing in the north inner city.
Using Rawls’ (1991) second principle of justice, it would appear that the distortion of the allocation of the policing service in the north inner city by the effects of external power results in the public policing failing to meet Rawlsian standards of justice and fairness. For the public policing service to meet these standards of justice and fairness, it would appear that consideration should be given to emphasising the delivery of a policing service in the residential areas on a priority basis. It would appear from the research that their needs are greatest. By applying Rawls’ (1991) second priority rule, policing would be concentrated on the residential areas with the intention of reducing the social inequalities which could tend to inhibit the life opportunities of those in the residential area by providing an effective policing service. In order to reduce economic inequality, a policing service, working according to the principles of justice and the priority rule, could be viewed as a resource allocation to those who need it most. This would give priority to justice over efficiency and welfare. By doing this, it is possible that, on a small scale, policing could have a role in reducing the social inequalities which tend to inhibit the life opportunities of the population in the residential area. This could be done by providing an effective policing service that recognises the needs of society to maintain itself as a ‘civil society’ where people’s rights and children’s rights are not infringed by drug dealing and antisocial behaviour. These drug dealers themselves, it could be argued, are products of a social failure elsewhere.

As the public policing service is a finite resource and it is not *paraeto efficient* choices have to be made by managers about its deployment. It is clear from the foregoing that the consistent and persistent concentration on the city centre by the providers of the public policing service has had serious effects on the amount of policing available to the residential areas. It is inevitable, given the amount of external pressure that exists on the Garda Síochána in the north central division, that its policing allocation decisions would be skewed in the direction of the interests of the powerful. Therefore, at this stage, it is possible to say that
external pressure on the police results in an inequitable distribution of a public resource and results in an unfair impact on certain parts of the community at a personal and societal level.

**Chapter summary**

The approach taken in this chapter was to fuse aspects of phenomenological research with the literature review to describe the perceptions of those involved in the policing institution of Dublin’s north inner city, of the existence or otherwise, of external power in the Garda Síochána and whether or not, this had an effect on the equitable distribution of policing as a public good. The first section found that external power does exist and that this power was believed to be influential in a person’s career in the Garda Síochána. The existence of this power was counterfactually displayed by showing that the business section of the community gained a disproportionate benefit from the exercise of this power.

As policing as a public resource is not *paraeto optimal*, the disproportionate benefit enjoyed by the business sector has a consequential effect on other area of the district. Section 2 of this chapter dealt with the effects on the local community of a reduced or non-existent police service. The police service supplied to the community could not be described in terms of Rawlsian justice because it appears to favour the better-off at the expense of the disadvantaged. The next chapter will consider the effect that this external power has on the concept of a professional policing service and how some aspects of professionalism, if applied to policing, could make it fairer.
Chapter 5

Introduction

This chapter continues in the manner of chapter four in that it is concerned with addressing the final two questions of this research piece. The first part will deal with question three of this research, namely: ‘what effect does this external power have on the concept of a professional police service?’ The focus will be on professional boundaries, corruption and autonomy and discretion. These three themes will each be dealt with separately. The second part of the chapter addresses the question ‘can professional policing mitigate the extent of such external power?’ This section will concentrate on two areas of professionalism, specifically, ‘critical reflection’ and peer review’. Using examples from the interviewees, the benefits of both of these approaches will be explicated as an aid to ‘fair’ and ‘just’ policing.

Part 1

The Garda Síochána Act 2005, Part 2, Section 7(1), sets out what the people of Ireland expect from the Garda Síochána. This is to provide: “a policing and security service for the state with the objective of:

a. Preserving peace and public order.

b. Protecting life and property.

c. Vindicating the human rights of each individual.

d. Protecting the security of the state.

e. Preventing crime…

f. Bringing criminals to justice…

g. Regulating and controlling traffic.”
For the purpose of this research, two aspects of the role of the Garda Síochána will be considered. These are (a) preserving peace and public order and (c) vindicating the human rights of each individual and how the three themes mentioned above [corruption, professional boundaries, and discretion and autonomy] impact on the Garda Síochána’s performance.

To enable an occupation to be considered a profession, it is necessary, according to Neiderhaffer (1969), to possess certain characteristics. For an occupation to be described as professional there needs to be a lengthy period of training, higher standard of admission, a special body of knowledge and theory, altruism and dedication to the service ideal, a code of ethics, licensing of members, autonomous control, pride of members in their profession and publicly recognised status and prestige” (Neiderhaffer (1969) as cited in Perrier, 1979, p.2).

Perrier (1979, p. 67) elaborates on the above by saying that professionalism implies autonomy and self-regulation. Professional knowledge implies specialised knowledge with the professional “working his way through many variations of a limited number of cases, he practices his practice...his know-how tends to become efficient, tacit and automatic” (Schön, 2001, p.14). In the policing context, Carlan and Lewis (2009, p. 41), include the fact that professionalism involves” depending on the organisation as a major referent, for guiding ideas, standards and judgement“(Carlan and Lewis, 2009, p. 41). The professional also exhibits ”a firm belief in public service” and “a sense of calling to the field that it is so intense that it commits to a lifetime of devotion without regard for associated benefits” (Carlan and Lewis, 2009, p. 41) . From the above description it would be fair to assume that one can expect a police professional to be knowledgeable about their profession, to have within certain parameters autonomy, display altruism and have an ethical commitment as they perform the functions ascribed to them by the Irish people.
The boundaries of professionalism

In the context of the north inner city of Dublin the main role of the Gardaí would appear to be embodied in preserving peace and public order. As ESM3/3a, ESM1, ESM6 [Gardai], and ESM8 [Public Representative] have shown in their interviews, this has meant a focusing of resources on a certain segment of the district to the apparent detriment of other areas and as suggested by ESM3/3a, ESM1, ESM6 [Gardai], ESM8 [Public Representative], ESM12 [Professional], ESM15[Professional], ESM13 [NGO], , ESM17[NGO], ESM19[NGO], ESM25[NGO], ESM23[Resident], and ESM27[Business]. The police are faced with a dilemma in the north inner city because of the proliferation of drug treatment centres that ring the area (Connolly, 2012). This presents the Gardaí with Bittner’s (1990, as cited in Newburn, 2005, p. 161) classic dilemma of policing that there is “no human problem exists or is imaginable, about which it could be said with finality that this certainly could not become the proper business of the police.” As ESM 3/3a describing the situation in the city centre said

Policing is not the solution, that’s for sure. Because what we will end up doing is we will end of pushing the boat out too far in relation to this and we will end up getting into a zero tolerance scenario. That’s where the police actually set the boundaries for incivility and antisocial behaviour –we determine what this is, not the law, and when you get into that space you get into a huge human rights area. Absolutely, without a shadow of a doubt, you are going to breach it [human rights]. It is a social issue. The study ‘A Better City for All’ identified that.

Bittner (1990) continues that this fact is “well known because in almost all instances the police service is a response to citizen’s demands”. Bittner goes on to say that “this citizen demand is a factor that is of extraordinary importance for the distribution of police service and the fact that somebody did call the cops is in itself cause for concern (Bittner, 1990, as cited in Newburn, 2005, p.163).
In the north central division where there are wide ranging social problems that the police are expected to deal with and it appears that there is nothing which they will not attempt to deal with. How these issues are dealt with by the police then raises the question of police professionalism. Preserving the peace and public order is one of the core functions of the police. This is an area where one would expect the practice of the profession of policing to be at its most refined. However, as mentioned above, there are areas in the Dublin’s north inner city, where there is no preservation of the peace and where public order can be said to have broken down. The interviewees enumerated above clearly suggest that certain behaviours are tolerated in certain areas. The reasons for this have already been proposed. This apparent failure by the police to respond to certain citizens’ calls for help and assistance is contrary to what Bittner (1990) has described where each call for the ‘cops’ is a cause of concern. The failure to address the issue has ramifications within the policing institution. As ESM8 puts it, the normal person expects there to be a consequence from an action, in this case drug dealing. One would expect a drug dealer to attract the attention of the gardaí and for some action to be taken. ESM8 is prepared to postulate that perhaps there is something sinister going on. ESM17 thinks there is something “not right”. ESM13 wonders what the consequences for open drug dealing are. What these and other examples draw attention to is that there is a failure of expectations. As Luhmann (1985) puts it, the expectations by individuals about the actions of others are part of what makes civil society. The expectations, if they are met, can create laws, avoid conflict and regulate behaviour. The failure on the part of the Gardaí to meet these expectations could have the effect of undermining trust in a system of norms. This is precisely what ESM13 has described as the negative attitudes of young people in the Sheriff Street /North Wall area of Dublin to the system of norms that one would expect to exist.
The Boardwalk was teeming with guards, there was a real high focus on it, they, the local residents, got forgotten, they picked up the tab. I couldn’t tell you the number of times people who live in that area would say, listen, there is a character down here dealing drugs. We see them, all the neighbours see them, the kids see them, and you could set your clock by them. They know their routine, yet the Gardaí are staying off them; this is in the mind of the community…. From a community perspective, they read the message as either, the Garda Síochána doesn’t care or that they are prioritising other places, and other things they might be doing. Or - and this can be really the most sinister reading of all - what is the relationship then between these guys who are at this behaviour and the Gardai... The average 5’8” looks at things in life; you have a reasonable expectation of action - consequence.... But when people see that, constantly this stuff can happen, and constantly it is just allowed or ignored... that’s bad... When there is a pattern of something happening, certainly as a public representative, you would have to sit back and wonder, what’s going on here? (ESM8)

This could lead to a lack of faith or trust in the gardaí, a fact which was voiced by a number of interviewees, particularly ESM17 and ESM13.

It is a culmination of things, it is a failure from the top brass and I am not just talking about the super I am talking about over super from chief super and over him again.... The problem we have down here..... Sheriff Street is synonymous with Moyross and the Bronx... The problem we have.... the guards don’t go in.... So they don’t go in, they go around and they kind of shift around..... You don’t get effective policing. If I was a young guard given the headlines that Sheriff Street has made over the last few years I wouldn’t be keen to go in either...drug dealing, so obvious it is scary... We don’t see anybody arrested [for] selling drugs. We don’t see anybody being harassed.... The visibility of the guards has decreased” (ESM17).

ESM 13 agrees, when talking about what needs to happen

Visibility of guards would act as a deterrent to some young people. Any kind of visible presence that says you can’t get away with this, you know, everybody knows at the end of the day you won’t get away with it. But the young people don’t see that. They see... made two-hundred quid today, or maybe three-hundred quid today... will make the same tomorrow. (ESM13)

This lack of faith in the Gardai to deal with an issue was reflected in the interview of ESM19 who expressed the view that the “community” policing itself did not work. The reason for this, according to Punch (2002, p.776), was a gradual drift towards violence. The type of policing which is currently carried on in the residential areas is, according to the interviewee (ESM19), mainly one of containment. It would appear to be the antithesis of a professional
police service response to ‘a call the cops’ scenario as Bittner (1990) describes and runs the risk of creating a scenario where the community may take the law into their own hands.

The converse of this situation is the response of the Gardaí to the problems of O’Connell Street and its surrounding streets. As Bittner (1990) quoted above states, ‘almost anything can be construed as a police problem’. As James puts it, “the police deliver a wide range of services that involve something that ought not to be happening and about which someone had better do something now (Bittner, 1967, p.161 as cited in James 2013, p.2). As ESM3/3a, says the policing operation in O’Connell Street is “a unilateral response to what is essentially not a policing issue”. This response is one in a line of specific responses to the business area referred to by the interviewees. For example, the operation to deal with street traders (ESM 19), Operation Stilts (ESM20), and the Boardwalk Operation (ESM8). The operation referred to by ESM3/3a, Operation Spire, has had universal approval from the business sector, so much so, that they have communicated their satisfaction to the Minister who has said she will direct the Commissioner to maintain the operation and others like it (Fitzgerald, 2014).

ESM3/3a is very aware of the drawbacks of such an operation.

Describing the city centre area, the chief superintendent said:

If you go uptown today you are going to walk into people that are very obviously ravaged by drugs... They are emaciated, their clothes look different, the way to behave is different, [and] they don’t communicate the same way. They are totally disinhibited – you know. They are shouting up and down the street at each other. They might have no interest in us, but they are there, and they are creating a feeling that the place is - the places are un-safe or the place is dangerous. Now the reality is that they are not actually assaulting people, or engaging with people...The pressure comes on the police to deal with a problem that is not a policing issue, there are elements to it, the drug dealing, absolutely, and that must be dealt with, but the underlying issue here is, not a police issue, but we are still under pressure to deal with it, above everything else, we get the pressure to deal with....All of the evidence suggests that the problem has shifted out into the residential areas.... We are focusing on the city centre to the detriment of other areas because the voice of the communities is not as loud as the city centre. We are focusing on the city centre more than we should.
There seems to be a large number of searches in a small area (14,800 over eleven-and-a-half month period). This is an interesting figure when one considers that most of what was going on appeared to be the disinhibited behaviour of people on non-proscribed prescription drugs. These people were loud and dressed differently. Their behaviour was not “normal at 10 am”, according to ESM5. It is an established fact that the city centre of Dublin has this problem. It arises from the amount of drug treatment clinics in the city centre area (Connolly, 2012). The city centre has already been identified in this research piece by some of the interviewees [ESM7, ESM16, ESM20, ESM24, ESM25 and ESM26] as being in a kind of lacuna regarding voting and political involvement. It is possible that the proliferation of drug clinics in the area may be due to strong local politicians in other areas of the city who do not want drug clinics in their own locales because their residents vote.

These homeless and drug dependent people possess innate human dignity and are entitled to their autonomy as human beings being respected by the state. They should reasonably expect to be able to go about their day in any style of dress that they want. Their uninhibited behaviour could be the result of the medication they are taking for their drug addiction or due to the consumption of prescription drugs which are not illegal. This behaviour is described by Hughes (2007, p. 175, citing Coleman 2005, p.141)

as several categories of people who are non performers and thus subject to coercive exclusion from sanitised spaces of the city... The visible differences that homeless people, the poor, street traders and new cultures bring to the city undermine the hegemonic notions of public space utility. Indeed for these groups it is often merely their visibility alone and not their behaviour that is deemed problematic.

However, this view encapsulates the perception of ‘the other’ as different as unclean and, ultimately, as profit inhibitors. It would appear that because ‘the other’ present as different and unruly, their human right of being protected from arbitrary arrest and search has, if not breached, at the very least has been compromised. So too is their freedom of movement as they are continually shifted on or followed, as ESM10 and ESM11 recounted. These people
undoubtedly have an effect on business and on businesses bottom line (profit). But as ESM8 said “it is not within the gift of An Garda Síochána to resolve what actually are the core issues that trigger all the behaviour”. What causes this behaviour is a web of social and personal issues to do with poverty, drug abuse, mental illnesses, child abuse and dysfunctional families (McVerry, 2003). The gardaí are doing, or are trying to do, what Bittner (1990) suggested when confronted with a problem even if it is not a policing problem. ESM4 expressed it in this way: “there is considerable pressure to deal with issues that really should be dealt with by other agencies but [which] we tend to take on board because of the professional police force we are”. It is debatable that taking on problems outside one’s professional expertise is, in fact, professional behaviour. It is also questionable that taking on a non-police issue, with what can only be described as risky measures, is the most professional method of vindicating the human rights of each individual.

**Corruption**

One of the characteristics listed for an occupation or job to be considered a profession is a code of ethics. A code of ethics would legislate against police corruption. Corruption, according to Kleinig (1996, as cited in Newburn, p.599), is “an ethical problem” because “corruption is to be conceived at its heart as a motivational transgression”. Kleinig (1996, p.599) defines corruption as follows: “police officers act corruptly when, in exercising or failing to exercise their authority, they act with the primary intention of furthering private or departmental/divisional advantage.” This is as Kleinig (1996), acknowledges, “a very radical definition” because it includes “doing what one is duty bound to do solely for personal advancement” (Kleinig, 1996, p.599). Hence, there is an emphasis on the motivation of a particular act. ESM18 is a long serving member of the Garda Síochána in the north inner city and has observed the behaviour of many senior officers who have served there. ESM18 is able to say that policing was carried out in a manner that depended on “where their agendas
lie” (ESM18). According to ESM18 “some superintendents had the agenda that if they were well in with the business people, they might have a better chance of being promoted” (ESM18). This approach could lead to a situation where an inordinate amount of attention is given to one area of the district over another. The dilemma facing a police manager in this situation is encapsulated in the following quote taken from ESM 4’s interview.

The problems in O’Connell Street are very low level, low impact stuff, it is not major stuff. But whereas if you look at the other side of the district, where there has been literally a huge number of murders over a period of time, and there hasn’t been a murder down there in a number of years, I think it is absolutely essential, because if something happened down that side of the district, and there was murders going on, the same issue would arise.... Whether it is a career influencing situation, if I didn’t cover O’Connell Street, you know, I would argue, if I didn’t do the same in Sheriff Street, and there was an increase in major crime down there then the same could be said for down there as well. (ESM4).

In the scenario presented, ESM4 equates a failure to police serious crime in one area with a failure to police low-level incidents in another area. Whilst, not agreeing that the failure to police the O’Connell Street area was career-stopping, the interviewee acknowledged that there was pressure placed on them to police in a certain manner.

A lot of issues that they put pressure on me over don’t really affect or are not part of the Garda core function, but at the same time the police end up dealing with these issues, so that, externally there is considerable pressure to deal with issues that really should be dealt with by other agencies but [which] we tend to take on-board because of the professional police force that we are....Some of it is probably coming from outside, they are probably responding to some of the media reports and the subsequent questioning by politicians –you know- that suggest.... that the likes of O’Connell Street is unsafe (ESM4).

Similarly, as ESM7 pointed out, the Minister appoints the Commissioner who appoints the officer corps of the Garda Síochána with Cabinet approval, so it is not inconceivable that policing could be carried out in such a way as to curry favour with a particular minister. Is policing carried out in the manner it is in the north inner city because individual police managers down through the years have seen it to be to their advantage to police the city centre in the way that the business people wanted? Was it because policing in this way would
enhance their career prospects? If this is the case, then it falls within Kleinig’s (1996) definition of police corruption, not by doing any deviant acts, but by virtue of the motivation for this type of policing. ESM3/3a and ESM4 raise the issue in their interview that policing is done in a certain way because of external pressure. Whilst ESM4 does not believe that policing in a manner that is dictated by external pressure is ‘career-stopping’, ESM3/3a, is categorical that it is, and it is here that policing in a certain manner might not be defined as matching Kleinig’s (1996) definition of corruption, but rather, the autonomy of the policing professional is removed with regard to what type of policing can be carried out by them.

**Autonomy and discretion**

Speaking about policing decisions, ESM 5, a garda inspector, describes the process as they see it. The interviewee was asked: ‘Where did the demand for a police service in the city centre came from?’ In reply they said

> It was being driven in the media. While saying that, media does not drive the Garda action from my perspective. But it does drive it from the business community’s perspective - I mean you can say okay, well the business community can demand and they get, but I don’t agree with that either, because I do think that the business community have had a rather difficult period of time over the last number of years, with this I suppose the whole recession. I come from a business background myself but when you are looking at the resources that we have at this moment in time and the limited resources that we have, I suppose certain areas have to be prioritised. Really during the day the area that is a need of priority because of all the antisocial behaviour that is occurring is the O’Connell Street area.

Counterfactually, it could also be said that policing in this manner is carried out because, as ESM3/3a has said, “if (he) can't do it, they will find someone who can” (ESM3/3a).

ESM3/3a identifies these forces as emanating from the power elite (the business community) but, as ESM15, has remarked in relation to education, “there will be nothing in writing” (ESM15). This exposes another shortcoming in the professionalism of the public police by acknowledging, that even as professionals in their field, their autonomy is severely compromised. The fact that these two situations can exist reflects an even greater problem
with the organisation. As Carlan and Lewis (2009) have shown, professionalism involves depending on the organisation for proper standards of behaviour. A long-serving Garda Sergeant in the division being researched (ESM18) discussing the management changes that they had seen, said

*It depends on the superintendent, I have seen superintendents here that had very little time or didn’t give any much attention to the normal local people...They don’t have a voice. They, [superintendents] would give a lot of attention to the business people, up-town, and you know these people are paying tax and that maybe what they were thinking at the time. Again, some superintendents had the agenda that if they were well-in with the business people they might have a better chance of being promoted to a different rank. You had other superintendents who did care about the people... Again, it depended on the structure at any one time within the division, where their agendas lie and the interests they have.*

But if self-serving behaviour, as described, is rewarded, then the professionalism of the whole organisation and, in this case, the concept of policing as a ‘profession’ is called into question. This is because two keystones of professionalism, i.e., ‘ethical behaviour’ and ‘autonomy’, are shown to be under threat in the policing of the north inner city. This lack of autonomy was captured by a garda who, when interviewed, describes a meeting where the attendees included several representatives of the IFSC, people who were described by the interviewee as being: “extremely influential”. The behaviour of certain senior Gardai at that meeting elicited the following comment from the interviewee: “*the inspector who was there was absolutely panicking... and promised them the moon, sun and stars*”. The interviewee goes on to say that: “*I think they [powerful people] abuse policing because management gives them extra attention because of their influence [and] that will affect promotion for people in this station*” (ESM2). This is echoed by ESM6, describing current policing they say

*...what we are currently tasked with resolving or putting a bay is not a policing issue. It is an issue where a number of other systems and services within society have let their people down and it doesn’t make sense to me for the Gardai, going out, clearing up a drug user problem, which, by and large, what is being complained about is hanging around and shouting out loud to each other and discussing drugs, because it doesn’t make sense that absolutely everybody down there is a drug dealer.*
Having shown that external pressure on policing exists and that it results in an unfair distribution of a public resource, because these resources are diverted from serious drug and public order issuers in the residential areas to ‘low level, low-impact,’ non-crime issues’ in the business district, it is now possible to say that the external pressure has a deleterious effect on police professionalism. It distorts some of the core functions of the Garda Síochána, whereby, it allows civil society potentially to break down in certain areas. It thereby puts the peace of society and the public order of society at risk. It exposes already vulnerable people to a situation where their human rights are at risk as opposed to their human rights being vindicated. This gives rise to a possible charge of corruption as the motivation of personnel in the organisation may be compromised. It may consist of something other than the public good. It removes autonomy from the professional police in the area as internal pressure compounds the already existing external pressures. It undermines the ethos of the whole organisation because behaviour, that is less than professional, gets rewarded.

**Part 2**

A common feature running through all the interviewees’ narratives was the apparent lack of Garda resources. From the research, it is clear that decisions about resource allocation are being made on criteria other than one based on needs. McKevitt (1988) says decisions and resource allocations are fundamental activities of public sector management. A professional approach to this key area could have a role in mitigating the effects of external power. The police service lacks many of the attributes necessary to be a profession but, by engaging with two characteristics of a profession, it could be rendered fairer and more equitable.

**Reflection in practice**

It was apparent from the interviews that all cohorts of this research engaged in reflective practice on the policing institution. A number of interviewees touched on the social context
of the area being policed and the way that they were being policed. ESM 2 had this to say “rather than being realistic and being honest with the public about resources, they are painting this false, amazing, look of policing, and I think that is terrible. The area that I worked in was neglected for that four hours” [i.e. during the filming of the current affairs programme] (ESM2). ESM 18, a long-serving sergeant, reflecting on policing in the district recognised that there are different types of Gardai I think individual Gardai police in different ways. At any time you have got good guards, you have bad guards and you have conscientious guards, and have guards who don’t give a shite.

Perhaps mirroring the Metropolitan Police Services’ (2009) requirement that “recruits understand the communities they serve”, ESM18 goes on to say

I think in fairness, everyone should get a fair crack of the whip, the local people Sheriff Street, Summerhill should get a fair hearing, and the shops should get a fair hearing, but everything has to be balanced and fair, and then if you do that I think everyone ends up being happy.

Discussing the allocation of resources and further underlying the need to understand communities, ESM 4 describes the approach taken “…prioritising is what I do”. The superintendent continued:

I have two demographics here, to the east of the division, we have a residential area, and we have a great relationship with the people down there... Then, there is the business community uptown; there is huge political pressure from councillors, TDs, the business organisations, the tourist board, you know – commerce; Dublin city centre business associations, in relation to policing the city centre. Which again requires resources to do that - I have a balance, very much so and again it is prioritisation, and I have had to break down some units and change the work descriptions in some cases to make sure that there is uniform personnel in both these locations as often as possible.

Discussing the result of a policing operation, the chief superintendent said: “The impact for us here in the north central….. Is the businesses are getting on with business and the only fear now is that, we will stop doing what we are doing” (ESM3/3a). When asked about how they would improve matters into the future, the chief superintendent spoke at length about
community policing where policing was done “according to needs and every street in the
division would be owned by an individual Garda; that is going to provide a consistent police
service there”.

The community reflecting on the police service they receive showed an understanding of the
gardai and their role: “we need to largely take the politics out of it; I think it is absolutely
essential - we have a dysfunctional system here. I think it serves nobody well, least of all the
average Garda out there on the beat” (ESM8). Whilst a community activist ESM 19,
identified the need for the Gardaí to understand the community they are working in

We need short-term stuff here, say Summerhill for instance, we have been asking and
telling [the Gardaí] how long that has been going on there and just the intimidation
of the presence of them above, never mind what they are doing, just a presence. I
would like the Garda to sit down and say; okay on the short-term what can we do to
stop this? But they don’t seem to do that, they think that they need to look at the
bigger picture and whilst they are looking at the bigger picture, which is great, you
know what I’m saying, we are still suffering. It looks like you are not doing
anything...Summerhill, me thinks, is now going on too long and I’m afraid it will get
out of hand altogether, and get back to the bad old days (ESM19).

When asked how policing might be improved, ES25, a community drugs worker, was
definite:

The Gardai must recognise that community policing is specialised...... Ensure that
the people applying for it would have the requisite attributes.... A clear understanding
of what community policing is... Community policing is walking the beat, engaging
with people... engagement with youth organisations...

He continued, in order for this to happen [you would need]

A superintendent who had experience in community policing. I think he would be
able to balance what needed to be done and not alone would he be able to balance, he
would be able to explain to community groups or to business groups the reason why
that balance is needed..... And he would be able to get consensus then from
community groups and business people as to where the priorities lie at any one time.
(ESM25)
According to this interviewee, to improve policing it is also necessary to:

...remove the political because that is a big problem. Because whoever the Minister might be, whatever department he might be in, if he rings the Commissioner to say he has a Mr [names a prominent business representative] on or whoever about what is going on up there, whatever it might be, and he need something done, then the Commissioner will just ring up and say, I want that done, it will be done. The impact that would follow in the community it wouldn’t even be on the radar (ESM25).

Two incidents in this research could be subjected to critical reflection. The issues raised touch on some of the concerns in the area, i.e., open drug dealing and allocation of policing resources. One such example is when ESM 10 discusses drug dealing and the fact that it appears to be permitted and suggests that “the lads” (the Gardai) have their own personal reasons for allowing it continue. ESM 10 suggests it is happening because the guards are waiting for the big one, the large drug seizure, which could enhance their careers. By allowing the drug sales and dealing to go on, there is a risk of serious ramifications for the community. Critical reflection on this issue would have to weigh the benefits of stopping the drug dealer on the day in question (but knowing that the drug dealer would be back tomorrow) or it could be necessary to wait a number of days in order to catch the drug dealer with a larger haul. The benefits of this might be that the dealer will be off the streets for a long time or the motivation might be if the Garda gets the big haul it will enhance their career, notwithstanding the risk to the community of allowing the drug-dealing to continue for a period of time. The motivation for this decision making process is at the heart of ethical policing. Critical reflection has been described as an ethical process that has to be open and honest with personally implicit but publicly explicit outcomes that are open to examination and criticism by others (Christopher, 2015, p.9). It is clear that in order to properly reflect on this issue, a detailed knowledge of the social context of the area being policed would be required.
In the course of this research ESM4 commenting on policing in the north central division said that they expected to be sanctioned if they failed to police the “low-level low impact” issues on O’Connell Street, in the same way that they would be sanctioned for failing to properly investigate murders and serious crime in the residential area. There is a certain naïveté in this answer, whereby the interviewee told the truth as they saw it without apparently noticing the difference between the two scenarios that could attract similar sanctions. Critical reflection “involves the analysis of knowledge, power and reflexivity to understand how assumptions are influenced in the context of social and structural assumptions” (Hickson, 2011, p.832). There are a number of social and structural assumptions included in ESM4’s answer that might perhaps benefit from engagement with critical thinking.

Many participants in this research (ESM 8, [Public Representative] ESM 10 [The Other], ESM 11 [The Other], ESM 12 [Professional], ESM 13[NGO], ESM15 [Professional], ESM17[NGO], ESM 19 {NGO}, ESM23[ Resident], ESM 25[NGO], ESM27[Business]) referred in various different ways to how the lack of policing undermined the norms of civil society by appearing to permit illegal activity, by failing to police areas, or by policing as a form of containment. These issues give rise to a lack of trust in society and to the unravelling of communities (Punch, 2005). As Christopher (2015) has said, by policing in this manner, a police service fails in its function of preserving the peace and representing the face of democracy. Alderson (1998) has also written that the police have a role in maintaining the social contract. This lack of policing is fundamentally unfair because “any markedly unjust distribution of fundamental social assets tends to vitiate the social contract made” (Alderson, 1998, p.32). This research has shown that when it comes to external pressure on the police two groups matter: ‘the business people’ and ‘the registered voters’. The ‘other’ does not count, yet they have fundamental human rights. However, because of their lack of power these rights would appear to be at risk (ESM3/3a, ESM10, and ESM11). As Alderson (1998)
puts it: “we have been faced with this shift of modern philosophy of government from the dominance of utilitarianism towards that of human rights” (Alderson, 1998, p.177). Critical reflection at all levels in the Garda organisation could enable this shift of emphasis to be recognised and acted upon.

**Peer review in practice**

Could critical reflection and peer review work in the Garda Síochána? If one looks at the interview of ESM6, it is clear that this interviewee believes that they are not performing as they ought to be due to their deployment away from their core function of investigating drug crime. They anticipate future difficulties in the residential areas because of this, and they attribute this to the external power on the Garda Síochána. Critical reflection would oblige ESM 6 to explain the failure to police the drug problems in the residential areas in the terms used above.

If a peer review model was adopted, it could lead to an improvement plan for that type of policing failure identified by ESM6 in cooperation with colleagues. Then the effectiveness of that plan could, after a period of time, be assessed by a professional peer review process. It is not difficult to imagine the issues that some senior ranks would have to deal with if such a process were in place. The success or failure of ESM6’s policing plan may lie in the control of some other person. That person may be an inspector, superintendent or a chief superintendent. A process, like the one envisaged, would explicitly account for policing in the division and why it was done in such a way. It could promote a culture of exposing external pressure head-on, and in the process, compel the Garda Síochána to confront the issue in an open and explicit manner as envisaged by Christopher (2015). This is because, as Morris (2002), claims the operation of power is visible in the outputs achieved and not its manifestation. Perhaps ESM26 gave an insight into how power operates when they said that
they never criticise the Garda Síochána in public, but could be “quite frank “(ESM26) in private.

Chapter Summary

This chapter set out to answer two questions. The first section dealt with the effects that inequitable and unfair policing has on the professionalism of the police service. The professionalism of the police service was compromised by a lack of clarity, on behalf of some police officers, as to what exactly the role of the Garda Síochána is, that is, where were the boundaries of professional policing. This was shown by the amount of interviewees who mentioned that what they were engaged in was not a Garda problem. There was a failure by the Garda Síochána, identified in the research to uphold two of its primary functions as set out in the Garda Síochána Act 2005. These are ‘preserving the peace and public order’ and ‘vindicating the human rights of every person’. The type of policing that has resulted from external pressure was described as having the potential to be corrupt as policing in the manner described raises questions about the motivation of ‘why’ this was happening. Similarly, policing in this fashion exposes a lack of autonomy in relation to professional practice. The second part of this chapter tackled the fourth research question and proposed a solution as to how the shortcomings in policing may be overcome by adopting two of the tenets of professionalism, namely ‘critical reflection’ and ‘peer review’. Critical reflection by interviewees was demonstrated to show how various cohorts viewed the problems of the policing institution. Two scenarios were presented that had arisen within the interviews and a process of critical reflection on these incidents generated issues that could enrich future decision making. A key component of critical reflection is peer review. The necessity and benefits of introducing a peer review system based on the experience of another minor profession was discussed. Having answered all four research questions, the next chapter will summarise the research and make recommendations, as appropriate.
Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion

In the final chapter of this research the conclusion as to the existence of external power will be made explicit, as will the effects of this power on the policing service that the public at large receive in Dublin’s north inner city. The effect of this power on the Garda Síochána’s personnel and organisational performance will also be demonstrated. The chapter itself ends with a recommendation that critical reflection and peer-review, informed by a Rawlsian perspective, could offer an antidote to the negative effects of this external power.

In the first chapter of this research project, the rationale and motivation for this project was set out. The reason for conducting the research in the first place came from the author’s perception that policing had failed in the north inner city. This perception was based on the author’s almost forty years’ experience as a member of the Garda Síochána, with much of it spent in north inner city area of Dublin. This apparent failure to adequately police one area of the city, prompted the question ‘why was this so?’ The question of ‘why policing is done in a certain way’ rather than ‘how’ it was done was central to the approach taken in this research. Different answers can be obtained by questioning why something is done as opposed to how something is done. The answer hinges on different areas of the decision making spectrum as the ‘how depends on the ‘why’.

A number of academics have suggested that the function of the police is the maintenance of social order (Reiner, 1985, Loader, 2000, Bittner, 1990 and Brogden and Ellison, 2013). Barlow and Hickman-Barlow (1999, p. 647), link policing activity to the “particular character of the political economy in place at [the] time.” Manning (2013, p.104), asks if the police have a role in shaping equality, justice issues and basic rights, as tenants of democracy. Alderson (1998) believes that policing fairly and justly is part of the social contract and
Christopher (2015) hold the view that policing is the accepted face of democracy. Whilst not remotely exhaustive the above gives a feeling for the conflict that is inherent in policing. Should the Garda Síochána police in a manner that sustains social division or should it police in a manner that fosters justice and fairness? The answer to the choice between policing that sustains social order or promotes social justice is what motivates the police professional, in other words, why is a particular approach to policing taken? Showing how a police service deals with its policing problems can demonstrate how effective a police service is or otherwise, but it cannot answer, what gets on a policing agenda, which Bachrach and Baratz (1970), discussing power, describe as “non-decision making”. Likewise, Lukes (2005, p.29) describes this non-decision making as “two dimensional power”.

This thesis opened with a description of 18th century Dublin that is worth repeating. Back then, the police force was requested by one of the merchant’s guilds to patrol the entries to the city in order to prevent the poor and hungry coming into the business area from the hinterland and upsetting the propertied classes (Dickson, 2014). Of course, at that time police officers were the representatives of a foreign colonial government. This research has shown that in the early 21st century, despite revolutionary change, an indigenous police service has to a certain extent, maintained that role. All that has changed, it would appear, is who the police are working for and maybe that has not really changed that much. The Dublin of today is a very different place than it was then. The indigent poor are those that Reiner (2009) has called ‘police property’, who enter the city centre to access services and who often come from housing areas adjacent to the city centre. The north inner city of Dublin is a reflection of Irish society after almost 30 years of neoliberal globalisation, with wide social divisions. This research has shown that there is a difference between the way the people described as ‘police property’ (Reiner, 1985) are policed from the rest of the population. The research has also shown that there are differences between how the affluent areas, the business areas and the
local authority areas are policed. The reason why there is a difference in the way different people experience policing and the way different areas are policed, has been shown to be due to the undue influence of the power elite in Ireland.

These differences in policing manifest themselves in various ways within the north inner city. The policing of the ‘other’ as ‘police property’ means that these people’s basic human rights are put at risk by the police. The rights that are at risk are the right to freedom of movement and the right to be free from arbitrary arrest and search. The rights of these people are put at risk because they, as a group, are seen to be a limiting factor to the profitability of the business area. These people occupy the public space of the city and as a consequence are subjected to policing by the public police. The public space is out of the reach of private enterprise such as security companies. Therefore, to protect profitability, those with social capital, i.e., the power elite, use their social capital to access a disproportionate amount of the scarce public service which is public policing. It is acknowledged by the Garda Síochána members interviewed for this research that what was happening in the business area during the research period was not essentially a police problem. Nonetheless, the police seem very keen to intervene to an extent that runs the risk of being described as oppressive policing of the ‘other’. Meanwhile, in other areas of the north inner city policing seems to be absent. There are detailed accounts from a number of interviewees detailing a wide range of serious crime and public order incidents happening in the local authority housing areas that do not provoke a police response, despite the damage being done to these vulnerable communities.

The policing service described in this research falls short of what is suggested a police service should be. For Christopher (2015), a police service is the acceptable face of democracy and for Alderson (1998), it is the means by which the social contract is enforced and supervised. These are the essential ingredients of a normal functioning civil society. To maintain democratic legitimacy means that the actions of the police and policing have to
conform to accepted norms, i.e., actions provoke reactions, thus, expectations are created and expectations have to be met. These expectations are central to Alderson’s (1998) view of the social contract when people consent to being policed, but that policing must be fair and equitable. This research has shown that policing in the local authority areas of the north inner city of Dublin does not measure up to those criteria. Actions such as drug dealing and antisocial behaviour do not seem to warrant a police response commensurate with how one would expect the police to respond. The policing of these communities seems to be one of containment. This is graphically illustrated by one of the research interviewees (ESM23) who contrasts the policing response to a person alleged to have committed an offence of shoplifting in an affluent area with the lack of police response to the daily mayhem that occurs on the street outside their house. The contrast between the satisfaction levels expressed by the resident of the affluent area interviewed (ESM22) with the local authority area resident interviewed (ESM23) could not be starker.

There are serious long-term implications for society from this type of policing. As a number of interviewees have pointed out, it would appear that there is an acceptance by the Garda Síochána of a level of drug dealing, drug use and antisocial behaviour in the local authority areas. The lack of consequences arising from this type of behaviour for those engaged in it has been highlighted as a risk to the well-being of the residents and in particular to the children. Arguably, this type of behaviour may become even more deeply entrenched and that a community that is already under stress can become overwhelmed. Ultimately, there are consequences for this type of behaviour. The consequences become apparent when the drug dealing moves out of the area and the perpetrators are arrested for serious crime, but not before they have managed to normalise that behaviour for the next generation. In the testimony of the professionals interviewed for this research there is a clear indication of the scale of this normalisation process that has taken place. A further consequence of a failure to
provide a policing service to local communities is that some people in these communities may feel compelled to take the law into their own hands. This scenario occurred in the late 1980s where attempts by the communities to police themselves quickly descended into mob violence (Punch, 2005).

The foregoing begs the question, why is this happening? This research has shown that a combination of issues have led to this situation. Primarily, it is the disproportionate amount of policing that is devoted to a non-policing issue that puts a strain on scarce resources, and therefore those with less power or social capital lose out. The research has shown that this is because the Garda Síochána is subjected to external pressure from the power elite at different levels. From the interviews it is clear that pressure is put on the police at all levels. The pressure at higher levels manifests itself as internal pressure, or as one interviewee described it “agency pressure” (ESM3/3a). This pressure has the effect of distorting the fair and equitable distribution of a public resource, with the effects on a vulnerable part of society as outlined above.

It is argued in this research that policing in this manner is the antithesis of professional policing. This type of policing would appear to be self-serving in so far as, there is a perceived personal advantage to be gained by police managers by acquiescing to the demands of the power elite. This type of policing has been described as corrupt by Kleinig (1996). It also has the potential to reduce the professional independence of senior police managers by removing some of the discretionary power that should be implicit in their positions. There is also the issue raised by the interviewees that the policing being carried out in O’Connell Street and its environs is going beyond the remit of policing, as generally understood. The role of the Garda Síochána and what is expected of it as an organisation is explicitly set out in legislation in the Garda Síochána Act 2005. There is no mandate for the Garda Síochána to go beyond that which is democratically required of it. As a result of the type of policing that
is carried on in the north inner city of Dublin the policing mandate is not achieved in part of the area and it is exceeded in other areas.

The distortion of the fair and equitable distribution of public policing reflects a lack of professionalism on behalf of the Garda Síochána in the north inner city of Dublin. This lack of professionalism is shown in the way that decisions about resource allocation are made. For example, the research has shown three particular instances where proper professional reflexivity or reflection might have produced different results. These examples highlight, amongst other things, a lack of appreciation of the complexities of the area being policed and a lack of understanding of the dynamics and power relations amongst some of the relevant actors. What this shows, perhaps, is that by taking on some of the attributes of minor professions that the deleterious effects of external power could be mitigated. This could have benefits for both the Garda Síochána and society at large.

Two aspects of professionalism that may help mitigate the effects of external power are suggested. These are critical reflection and open peer review. What is apparent in the operation of power is that power itself is not immediately visible but its effects are clear. It is suggested in this research that the operation of power takes place within the decision making process at all levels in the Garda Síochána. Critical reflection on why decisions are made, particularly with regard to resource allocation, could bring the operation of power out into the open. As the mechanisms of power are secret and are inherently anti democratic, a process of critical reflection could neutralise the effect of this power. In order for critical reflection to work effectively it must be open. Therefore, alongside critical reflection, a process of peer review could operate. This would enhance the value of critical reflection and make it more than just a tick-box exercise, as Christopher (2015) suggests.
The argument about police professionalism is an ongoing argument and it is not clear that professional policing is what the public in general want (Reiner, 2009). However, if the Garda Síochána wishes to live up to its mandate, it could engage with some of the aspects of professionalism that are best suited to enable it to deliver on its mission. As Manning (2012) has put it, management have put a gloss on professionalism to suit the Ministry and the powers that be. However, in a changing society, this may not be sufficient. Democratic legitimacy is a topic that seems to be gaining traction as the recession and austerity take their toll on society. As Reiner (2009) has argued, policing the “other” and working class communities in this fashion may be acceptable to the powers that be and the general public, but should not be acceptable to a police service, one of whose aims is to respect the human dignity of everyone. This research argues that by making an effort in the direction of normative professionalism, policing in Dublin’s north inner city could contribute to making a small part of Irish society a fairer, more equitable and just place for its people. The issues raised in this research are particular to the north inner city of Dublin but it is conceivable that similar situations exist elsewhere in other Garda divisions in Ireland and further research may provide a deeper insight into the operations of power in Ireland.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Critical reflection

According to Rodgers (2003), professional policing involves either community orientated policing, problem oriented policing or zero-tolerance policing. The policing approach taken in the north inner city of Dublin has been shown to be a mixture of Community orientated policing for the business community, with the effect that a zero-tolerance policing approach exists in the business area. From the interviews it would appear that a problem orientated policing approach to the residential areas could yield results. Also from the research it is clear
that due to an imbalance in power caused by a deficit of social capital the residential areas are not getting a ‘proper’ police service. This failure can be categorised as an institutional failure as norms are not being met and as a failure, in terms of distributive justice because it appears that those in most need of a policing service are failing to receive same. This failure is contrary to a Rawlsian concept of justice because the inequality in the provision of the policing service is in favour of those who already possess social capital. This presents police managers and police practitioners with an ethical issue, as described by Griffen (1998), where the requirements of police leadership require a police leader to do what’s morally right. The Irish Constitution (Section 40.1) guarantees ‘equal treatment for all’ and the Garda Síochána Act 2005 requires all members of the Garda Síochána to recognise the dignity of every human being. This would appear to place strict parameters around the allocation of a public resource that cannot be \textit{paraeto optimal}. From the above it appears that both the constitutional and the legal requirements on the Garda Síochána to treat people fairly are being circumvented by the powerful in Dublin’s north inner city. It is within this constitutional and legal framework that critical reflection is suggested as an appropriate mechanism, whereby the effects of external power may be neutralised.

Critical reflection, as described, is a way of framing questions about the professional practice of members of the Garda Síochána in the north inner city of Dublin. By engaging in critical reflection that recognises the need for ‘fairness’ and ‘justice’ in the provision of a police service, the providers of the police service in the north inner city of Dublin, could answer for themselves the ‘why’ question of policing. Such questioning could reveal to the practitioner the reasons underpinning certain policing actions. It would involve each member of the Garda Síochána engaging with the social environment in which they work. This will necessitate a deep involvement and understanding with the community. This process is referred to by interviewee ESM 3/3a where speaking about the future they envisage a Garda assigned to
every street, who would have a deep knowledge of the community they serve. This is similar to the demands that the London Metropolitan Police (2009) require of their newly trained recruits.

For critical reflection to be effective there is a requirement that police managers understand the mechanism whereby external power can have an influence on policing. This recognition of external power and its role in the agenda-setting process would enhance the decision making arising from the agenda setting, if such decision making was informed by Rawlsian concept of distributive justice. This, in turn, would have a knock-on effect on the fairness, reputation and professionalism of the Garda Síochána. It is, as both Hickson (2011) and Christopher (2015) point out much more than reflecting on a process it is a reflection on the ‘whys’ of policing. Most importantly, the results of critical reflection on police practice, if framed within the legal parameters stated above should compel the Garda Síochána to be more cognisant of the needs of all sections of the community they serve in Dublin’s north inner city and by engaging in peer review ensure that where there are shortcomings they are resolved.

**Peer review**

A proper peer review system is essential for critical reflection to be effective. The position of policing in Ireland, as a profession, is weakened by the absence of such a peer review system. A model based on something similar to that which is operated in the Department of Education and Skills (DES) in Ireland, involving the teaching profession and the Inspectorate, could be suitable as a peer-review model for the Garda Síochána. There are governance institutions reviewing the Garda Síochána, such as the Garda Síochána Inspectorate which operates at a strategic-organisational level and there is the Garda Síochána Ombudsman Commission, which deals with complaints and other issues. Both of these organisations are
external to policing as a profession. Their personnel come from different walks of life and
often from different countries. Their experience is different from members of the Garda
Síochána. While there is no argument that the Garda Síochána Inspectorate brings fresh
thinking into the strategic management of the Garda Síochána, nevertheless, it could be
argued that there is a lack of professional peer review of Garda activity in Ireland, as all the
current review processes are done by “outsiders” or are adversarial in nature.

As one of the minor professions, policing in Ireland has much in common with teaching,
social work and nursing. Teaching is a profession where professional peer review operates.
The Department of Education and Skills (DES) operate an Inspectorate division for the
education system. This Inspectorate is staffed by fully trained teachers and as such cannot be
compared to The Garda Inspectorate, which is made up of members from different walks of
life and different countries. The DES Inspectorate is an inspection process designed
specifically for the Irish teaching system. “All inspectors are experienced teachers” (DES,
2015) and a further aim of the Inspectorate is “to promote the Irish language” (DES, 2015).
This particular aim places the Inspectorate firmly in the specific Irish milieu of the
professionals being evaluated. As the inspectors have undergone the same education and
training as those being evaluated, it fits into the peer group review as befitting a profession.
The advantage of such a peer group review is that having undergone the same training and
education as the rest of the profession, a fuller understanding of the issues in the profession,
specific to Ireland, can be developed. Without such a peer review system, critical reflection
could result in being nothing more than a tick-the-box exercise. Therefore, when the
inspections are carried out with the aim of promoting “best practice and school improvement
by advising teachers, principals and boards of management”, these inspections are carried out
by fellow professionals who’ve chosen a separate career path in the DES. If such a system,
were to operate in the Garda Síochána, who are a smaller group in number than teachers, it
would be possible for a number of Gardaí to leave the Garda organisation and to follow a separate career path within the Department of Justice.

This would be a method whereby two of the criteria necessary to describe an occupation as a profession, namely ‘critical reflection’ and ‘peer review’ could be incorporated into the policing situation. Critical reflection and peer review could be useful in shining a light on the decision making processes in relation to the allocation of policing resources. By having the peer review system outside of mainstream policing, it could offer protection to those police officers who could be subject to the influence of external power.
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Appendix 1

Research area

The area of this study is a small part of the north inner city of Dublin. The city of Dublin - the capital city of Ireland – has a small compact city centre area which is divided in two by the River Liffey [see Figure 1, p.76]. The main thoroughfare of Dublin is O’Connell Street, the entire length of which is contained within the ‘C ‘policing district. It is a wide boulevard with historic buildings and shopping areas adjacent to it. The north side of the river has historically been viewed as the poorer side of the city. It has long since been less fashionable than the Southside of Dublin (Ferriter, 2004). The ‘C’ district stretches from Capel Street in the west, to Dublin Port in the east. It extends from the Liffey in the south, to Parnell Street and Sean Mac Dermott Street in the north. For policing purposes, the area has been divided into sectors one to five running from east to west. These sectors are only referred to in this research to enable the reader grasp some of the terminology used by the interviewees (An Garda Síochána, 2013). Essentially, sectors two and three are residential areas in the East of the district, whilst sectors four and five, encompass the business areas. Sector one, is the port area of Dublin and as such is distinct in terms of its policing needs and requirements, as it is in fact, private property (Hasse and Pratschae, 2008).
Figure 1. Map of Store Street Sub-District
The large retail area that is centred about O’ Connell Street, includes, Henry Street, Marlborough Street, Capel Street, Abbey Street and North Earl Street. The streets to the west of Amiens Street represent one of the busiest shopping areas in the country. To the east of
Amiens Street there is a large residential area which is known as Seville Place, Sheriff Street and the North Wall. This area has a significant amount of extremely disadvantaged local authority housing and it is adjacent to a large development of very affluent residents located in the Irish Financial Services Centre [IFSC]. The IFSC contains a number of apartment blocks and is described by the Irish Central Statistics Office as very affluent [see Figure 2]. It is here in the Docklands area that the acute juxtaposition of wealth and social deprivation is most evident (Hasse and Pratschae, 2012).

The eastern-end of the Docklands area is now in the process of being redeveloped as the Irish economy slowly gets back on its feet after the great recession of 2007. According to the participants of this research one of the main criminal activities in this area is drug dealing. Drug dealing, by its nature is not recorded unless there is an arrest. Reports by concerned residents about drug dealing are not recorded as a crime for the very arcane reason that the injured party in drug dealing is the public at large.

According to Keogh (1997) there is a strong link between crime in the north inner city of Dublin and drug or alcohol abuse. The city centre area itself is unique in that it has five drug treatment centres within its environs. This set-up inevitably attracts a large amount of drug users to the city centre for their medication. It also is a magnet for the illegal drug dealers to what could be described as their prospective market. What this in effect means is that the public space that is the city centre is contested by two groups of people. One group the ‘respectable people’ are the persons who work, shop and otherwise do business in the city centre. The second group ‘the other’ gather together to receive their medication for their drug addiction and as a result of the disinhibiting effects of their medication they are loud and boisterous to the consternation of passers-by. Some travel into the city centre, some are homeless; they all tend to congregate in the area (Connolly, 2012). This situation has in the past been the subject of press coverage and TV coverage. The problem is primarily a public
Health and social services issue but it falls to the Gardaí to deal with this problem because, unfortunately, it would appear that due to austerity that the other agencies have not managed to come to grips with the situation (Connolly, 2012). This behaviour has been the subject of at least two studies carried out by concerned interests. This was as a result of the setting up in 2011 by the then Lord Mayor of Dublin of the Dublin City Local Business Policing Forum. The first of these reports was entitled ‘A Rapid Assessment Research [RAR] of Drug and Alcohol Nuisance in Dublin City Centre’. The behaviour of these people characterised as nuisances is described in the report as “behaviour such as congregating in groups or shouting, that is not intended to offend but can do so” (Van Haut, Bingham, 2012, p.4). This report makes a number of recommendations to improve the situation. These recommendations were “founded on the premise that the issues being addressed are not primarily policing or criminal justice matters” (Van Haut, Bingham, 2012, p.5).

The Garda response to this issue has been a number of policing operations in the small area bounded by O’Connell Street, Abbey Street, Eden Quay, and nearby Marlborough Street. The latest operation [2014] is called Operation Spire (www.garda.ie). It has generated a large amount of publicity and support amongst the business community in the city centre. The nature of the behaviour of the users of the drug treatment centres does much to discourage people from looking in shop windows in the area. This has a reported knock-on effect on the amount of money spent in the affected businesses (Fegan, 2013).

A not unrelated situation to the above exists elsewhere in this district; it involves the open selling of drugs in the streets of local authority housing areas. In scenes not too dissimilar to those portrayed in the U.S. television crime drama The Wire, drug dealers congregate in the middle of Sheriff Street and at Summerhill. They carry on their business with seeming impunity. To compound matters the area of Seville Place and Sheriff Street abuts onto the wealthy apartments in the IFSC. From a perusal of the map it appears that Sheriff Street
should be a part of the IFSC. It was however for some reason left out. The area was prior to the financial crash prime real estate and with the imminent recovery it is again becoming desirable. In very recent times (Dublin City Council, 2014), permission was given for a large block of the Docklands below the Royal Canal to be redeveloped. It has been the subject of local agitation for a number of years. The area of Sheriff Street and North Wall, is well served with social amenities. It has three schools, a church and number of shops. There is no school in the IFSC development, yet there are very few of these privately owned apartment residents sending their children to local schools (Moore, 2008; McCarthy, 2013).

There are a number of joint policing committees set up in the district where the elected representatives and members of the gardaí meet in a formal setting to discuss issues of mutual concern. These forums are a requirement under Section 36(2) of The Garda Síochána Act 2005. Their usefulness has been questioned by Conway (2012) and others - ‘they are merely talking shops’. The formal joint policing committees required by the legislation have been supplemented in the ‘C’ District, with more local community policing forums and the aforementioned Dublin City Centre Business Policing Forum. The area in which this study was conducted is one in which all the manifestations of early 21st century living are obvious. The social divide is wide in the area with the extremely disadvantaged and the very affluent intermingling side-by-side (Hasse and Pratschae, 2012).
Appendix 2

Eunan Dolan
Professional Doctorate Student
Institute of Criminal Justice Studies
University of Portsmouth

REC reference number: 12/13:19
Please quote this number on all correspondence.

17th October 2013

Dear Eunan,

Full Title of Study: Policing with the consent of the Minister: A study of the effects of external power on policing in Ireland.

Documents reviewed:
Consent Form
Invitation Letter
Participant Information Sheet
Protocol

Further to our recent correspondence, this proposal was reviewed by The Research Ethics Committee of The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. I am pleased to tell you that the proposal was awarded a favourable ethical opinion by the committee subject to some minor corrections as indicated.

Kind regards,

FHSS FREC Chair
David Carpenter

Members participating in the review:
- David Carpenter
- Richard Hitchcock
- Jane Winstone
Appendix 3

Participant Information Sheet

Dear Potential Participant,

I am a part-time professional doctoral student at University of Portsmouth studying for a qualification in criminal justice. I am also the Detective Superintendent in the North Central division based in Store Street. This letter is a request for your help. I am currently doing a piece of research connected to my course of study. This research will seek to explore the effect if any that external power has over the operations of the Garda Síochána in this area. In order to gain an insight into this question, it is necessary for me to identify people who may have something to offer on the topic that I am researching. Because of your position, address, situation, I think that you are such a person. Therefore I wonder would it be possible for me to interview you in relation to this matter at a time and place of your convenience.

Before agreeing to meet me I want to reassure you of the following:

Your anonymity and confidentiality will be protected at all times. You will be in control of the interview and able to terminate at any time you want to. You can choose what you want to talk about or answer. A refusal to be interviewed will not cause any offence.

The interview will be recorded and then transcribed for research purposes only. No third party will have access to it. At the conclusion of his research process the audio recordings and transcripts will be destroyed. Until that time it will be kept securely by me.

Any quotes from your interview used in the research will be used in such a way as to protect your anonymity. Should any matters of a criminal nature be disclosed during our interview, I am obliged to inform you that I will refer the issue to the appropriate authority. Furthermore, should any issue in relation to inappropriate Garda behaviour arise during our interview, I will report this matter as above and inform you of your right to make a complaint to the Garda Síochána Ombudsman’s Commission and provide you with the necessary information to do so.

This research is completely independent. It has not been commissioned by the Garda Síochána in any way. The university appointed supervisor for this research is Dr. Adrian James [adrian.james@port.ac.uk].

If you feel you can participate I can be contacted at any time as follows:

E-mail: eunan.dolan@hotmail.co.uk

Telephone: 0868281123

Post: Institute of Criminal Justice Studies, Ravellin House, Museum Road, Portsmouth, Hampshire, PO1 2QQ, United Kingdom

Thank you for reading this letter considering my request.

Yours sincerely,

Eunan Dolan
Appendix 4

Consent Form

Name of Researcher: Lunan Dolan

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read the interviewee notes / or had the notes read over to me and I understand the information sheet dated for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, and that any data collected will be destroyed forthwith.

3. I understand that data collected during the study, may be looked at by individuals from the University of Portsmouth, or from regulatory authorities. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my data.

- I agree to my interview being audio recorded
- I agree to being quoted verbatim
- I agree to the data I contribute being retained for future, approved, research

I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant: ________________________ Date: ____________ Signature: ________________________

Name of Person taking consent: ________________________ Date: ____________ Signature: ________________________

When completed: 1 for participant; 1 for researcher’s file;
Appendix 5. Schedule of questions for Garda Volunteers

Interview instrument for members of the Garda Síochána

1. Can you tell me about yourself and your service to date?

2. How do you yourself police this district?

3. Why do you police the district in this way?

4. How would you describe the way the district is policed?

5. Why do you think this is so?

6. If you were in charge, what way would you do it?

7. Do you think there are any constraints on you in the way that you police or in a way that you think of policing should be done?
Appendix 6. Schedule of questions for non-Garda Volunteers

*Generic interview instrument for research subjects outside of the Garda Síochána, organisation*

1. Can you tell me about yourself?

2. Do you think that the police service meets your needs?

3. Why do you think this is so?

4. What do you want from the police service?

5. What do you think needs to happen for you to get the service you require?

6. What is stopping this from happening?
An Garda Síochána

Ard-Chonnfert,
Réigiún Chathair Átha Cliath,
Roláin Lár Thuaidh,
An Garda Síochána,
Srúid An Stórasa,
Baile Átha Cliath 1.

Chief Superintendent,
Dublin Metropolitan Region,
North Central Division
An Garda Síochána,
Store Street,
Dublin 1.

Tel/Telex: (01) 6668092/93/94/95/96.
Fax/ Facs: (01) 6668094

Please quote the following ref. Numbers: DMNC

D/Superintendent Dolan
Store Street

RE: Request for Permission to interview members of the Divisional Staff for Professional Doctorate in Criminology Research Project.

Further to your request to conduct research interviews amongst Garda personnel stationed in the DMR North Central Division in connection with the above project, I am happy to grant you permission on the following conditions.

A. Complete confidentiality in relation to all participants will be maintained at all times.
B. There will be an understanding that data contained on the Garda Pulse System or any other information system property of An Garda Síochána will not be used or accessed for the purpose of your research.

Good luck in your endeavour.

Patrick Leahy
Chief Superintendent

2. May 2013
FORM UPR16
Research Ethics Review Checklist

Please include this completed form as an appendix to your thesis (see the Postgraduate Research Student Handbook for more information)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postgraduate Research Student (PGRS) Information</th>
<th>Student ID:</th>
<th>UP189681</th>
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<tr>
<td>PGRS Name:</td>
<td>Eunan Dolan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department:</td>
<td>Institute of Criminal Justice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Supervisor:</td>
<td>Dr. Adrian James</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Start Date: (or progression date for Prof Doc students)</td>
<td>October 2011</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Study Mode and Route:</td>
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<td>MPhil ☐</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Full-time ☐</td>
<td>PhD ☒</td>
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<td>AN EXPLORATORY STUDY TO ASSESS PERCEPTIONS OF THE POWER DIVIDEND: DOES EXTERNAL POWER AFFECT THE FAIRNESS OF PUBLIC POLICING IN DUBLIN'S NORTH INNER CITY?</td>
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<td>Thesis Word Count: (excluding ancillary data)</td>
<td>47,252 words</td>
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If you are unsure about any of the following, please contact the local representative on your Faculty Ethics Committee for advice. Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the University’s Ethics Policy and any relevant University, academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study. Although the Ethics Committee may have given your study a favourable opinion, the final responsibility for the ethical conduct of this work lies with the researcher(s).

UKRIO Finished Research Checklist:
(If you would like to know more about the checklist, please see your Faculty or Departmental Ethics Committee rep or see the online version of the full checklist at: http://www.ukrio.org/what-we-do/code-of-practice-for-research)

| a) Have all of your research and findings been reported accurately, honestly and within a reasonable time frame? | YES ☒ | NO ☐ |
| b) Have all contributions to knowledge been acknowledged? | YES ☐ | NO ☒ |
| c) Have you complied with all agreements relating to intellectual property, publication and authorship? | YES ☒ | NO ☐ |
| d) Has your research data been retained in a secure and accessible form and will it remain so for the required duration? | YES ☐ | NO ☒ |
| e) Does your research comply with all legal, ethical, and contractual requirements? | YES ☒ | NO ☐ |

Candidate Statement:
I have considered the ethical dimensions of the above named research project, and have successfully obtained the necessary ethical approval(s)

Ethical review number(s) from Faculty Ethics Committee (or from NRES/SCREC): 12/13/19

If you have not submitted your work for ethical review, and/or you have answered ‘No’ to one or more of questions a) to e), please explain below why this is so:

UPR16 – August 2015