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*Inspector
Ian Lackey*

Learning their Trade – The Socialisation Process of Student/Probationer Gardaí

Inspector Ian Lackey

3



*Sergeant
John Jacob*

Outsourcing non-core Garda activities and the need for a robust assessment process

Sergeant John Jacob

10



*Superintendent
Karl Heller*

'Lessons from Victoria' Investigating and managing child abuse cases

Superintendent Karl Heller

19



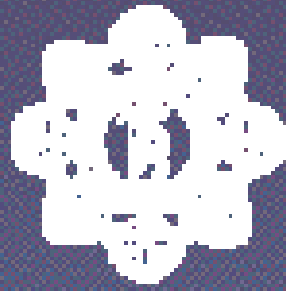
*Superintendent
Christopher Gordon*

Training and Development of Student Probationer Gardaí

Superintendent Christopher
Gordon

25

CONTENTS



MANAGEMENT JOURNAL

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A M G A H U A S I U C H A N A

COMMUNITY



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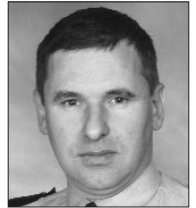
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Learning their Trade – The Socialisation Process of Student/Probationer Gardaí

Inspector Ian Lackey



Inspector Ian Lackey

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, socialisation is conceived as the process through which a novice learns the skills, knowledge and values necessary to become a competent member of an organisation or occupation. Brim and Wheeler (1966) refer to socialisation “as the process by which persons acquire the knowledge, skills and disposition that make them, more or less, able members of their society”. In policing this involves not only learning the laws, procedures and techniques of law enforcement and order maintenance, but also acquiring a range of organisational skills, attitudes and assumptions that are compatible with those of other members of the organisation.

The development of the individual is a complex process. We are continually subjected to different people and different circumstances and to a certain extent we become different people from the people we were. This metamorphosis is especially rapid during the pre-natal, infancy and early childhood years but proceeds at a slower pace throughout life. On the one hand we all show certain common features of growth and development yet on the other hand we show great variation as well.

Successful socialisation often involves a personal metamorphosis. The metamorphosis we are concerned with here is from the time the new recruit enters the Garda College to begin training, through their probationary period and the early years of their careers. Most recruits join the police with high expectations and lofty ideals, but as they go through this ‘metamorphosis’ some can become disillusioned and cynical about police work and the police organisation. Central to past assumptions about police socialisation is the notion of police culture – a system of shared values and understandings that is passed from one generation of police to the next. The conventional wisdom is that as recruits become integrated into the operational (‘street cop’) culture, they adopt conservative, cynical attitudes and in some cases deviant practices (Chan, 2003). Conversely many young police officers embrace their new working environment. They understand the importance of a strong working relationship with the communities they serve and become involved with their local communities through youth groups, sports clubs and other community organisations, very often giving of their free time.

THE PROCESS OF SOCIALISATION

This process of socialisation takes two forms; Formal and Informal Socialisation.

Formal Socialisation deals with the process by which the ‘raw’ recruit turns into an effective member of the service while Informal Socialisation occurs in contacts with existing members when the individual is assigned to a selected station. The prime source of Formal Socialisation is the Garda College and the prime source of Informal Socialisation is the occupational culture of the

service. Socialisation does not just include imparting factual knowledge but attitudes about the service, its system of authority, its way of working. A lot of this is learnt from informal sources. The influence of the formal elements is greatest at the beginning of the socialisation process (i.e. day one in Templemore) when the recruit is somewhat green and has not been exposed to informal sources. Initially recruits are exposed to formal influences and persuaded by them. As they progress through the organisation they are exposed to informal influences and some can learn to be sceptical about the organisation, its senior officers and officialdom.

4 Socialisation is a process of identity transformation. If formal and informal sources of socialisation can account for the individual's decision making then our ability to anticipate the action they will take in given circumstances will be impaired. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) assert that police training is collective, sequential, fixed, serial and closed and involves investiture. Intakes of recruits now numbering approximately 275 are trained at the same time and the process follows a series of identifiable stages;

PHASE I: GARDA COLLEGE

PHASE II: ON THE JOB TRAINING AT SELECTED STATION

PHASE III: GARDA COLLEGE – ATTESTATION

PHASE IV: PROBATION BEGINS AT SELECTED STATION

PHASE V: GARDA COLLEGE – GRADUATION

This closed socialisation mode binds together the recruits in a process which is oriented to investiture into the new status and the stripping away of the old. Desocialisation precedes socialisation. The training school environment encourages uniformity. Organisational socialisation provides the new member with a set of rules, perspectives, prescriptions, techniques and/or tools necessary for them to continue as a participant in the organisation (Van Maanen, 1974).

Socialisation does not begin on entry to the police service. The process of 'anticipatory socialisation' (Merton 1957; Van Maanen 1976) occurs much earlier. From childhood to adulthood, citizens of modern societies are continually exposed to both positive and negative images and stories about police work through personal experience, conversations with friends and relatives, crime news and popular culture. These images and stories provide the basis of a mythic vision (Martin 1999) of police work – one that embodies action, bravery, physical strength, emotional control, and, above all, authority. They also show a vision of the downside by highlighting corruption, miscarriages of justice and bad practices.

Anticipatory socialisation can involve a variety of preparatory activities: information seeking, academic studies, physical training, or simply gaining life experience. Once they have made the decision to join, applicants begin a subtle process of adjusting their physical and attitudinal characteristics to those which will be expected of them.

New recruits can have high ideals and high expectations. Some see a job full of variety and opportunity, a good working relationship with the community they will serve. Some see the abnormal working hours as only strengthening this variety.

In 2005, the author conducted a survey of 100 Gardaí who had successfully completed the Student/Probationer Education and Training programme.

When asked by the interview panel why they wanted to join the service answers varied but some admitted to giving answers they believed the interviewers wanted:

'I wanted a challenging job full of variety and opportunity.'

rather than

'I had just finished in College. The Guards came up and I thought 'Why not?'

The most popular reason was variety. The majority of those interviewed mentioned helping the community yet none mentioned prosecuting members of that same community. All those interviewed saw their role as somewhat idealistic. None mentioned the unsavoury aspects of the job such as Sudden Deaths or Domestic Violence. Most saw themselves as becoming an important part of the community that they would serve, helping people, setting good example.

In Bourdieu's terminology applicants recognise the 'game' as defined by the admission requirements and by their own perception of the job, and adjust their habitus accordingly. This does not involve any sudden change in values or belief systems, but rather a 'softening' of attitudes that leads to a more 'malleable habitus,' capable of being converted into the required 'habitus' for the occupation (Bourdieu 2000).

THE CULTURE OF THE POLICE

The available literature on police culture is contradictory. A lot of the literature concerns itself with accounts of police deviance caused by the existence of cultural traits yet many modern organisations expend considerable time and effort to instil these same traits in their members. Teambuilding exercises such as outward bounds days are common among large businesses. Solidarity amongst the 'rank and file' is often cited as one of the reasons for police deviance. During the Morris Tribunal Peter Charleton, SC talked of the "law of silence" that prevailed amongst certain Gardaí in Donegal (Cusack 2002). At the same time solidarity provides the foundation for cooperation and teamwork. The vast majority of police officers take great pride in the 'vocation' of policework, extolling its uniqueness and potential to make a difference yet organisationally, police officers sometimes tend to isolate themselves from their communities, often becoming arrogant and consumed with maintaining the organisation for organisation's sake (Harrison, 2004).

When talking about police culture we are really talking about the police sub-culture since each new member brings with them various attributes from the wider community. Irish male and female officers between the ages of eighteen and thirty five continue to form the majority population of new recruits. Each of these groups brings with them a variety of cultural traits that weave into the fabric that becomes the police sub-culture.

A considerable amount of police research has chronicled the tendency for police to become isolated. Isolated from previous friends, isolated from the community, isolated from the legal system, and even isolated from their spouse and families (Drummond; 1976 Skolnick, 1966). Police impose social isolation upon themselves as a means of protection against real and perceived dangers, loss of personal and professional autonomy, and social rejection (Skolnick, 1966).

6

The element of danger is generally credited with causing police officers to be suspicious. In an attempt to be attentive to any possible violence the officer becomes generally suspicious of everyone. Likewise, many officers begin to distance themselves from previous friends as they do not seem to understand and appreciate the rigours of being a 'cop'. Likewise, factors such as unsocial shift patterns, days off during the week and court time tend to isolate the officer from persons other than the police. Police also become isolated due to their authority. In order to protect themselves they tend to socialise as a group, again leading to social isolation.

Reuss-Ianni has identified several postulates that are reflective of a 'we-they' world view by police officers, who believe that non-police simply do not understand the true nature of police work. Eventually the 'us-them' outlook could increase police isolation from the citizens. Some of the postulates are:

- (Reuss-Ianni, 1983) That the police officer should not trust anyone. Be suspicious of everyone.

This could be viewed as protecting against citizens who might file a complaint, or a supervisor who might discipline. The threat the officer is guarding against might be physical violence and can underline his/her commitment to the vocation of police work, being prepared to get on with the job despite the possibility of being assaulted whilst doing so.

- *'Don't trust the new guy until you have checked him out'* (Reuss-Ianni, 1983). Trainees and some times officers transferred from another station must 'prove' themselves.

Having gone through the selection process and initial training does not assure one of being accepted. More than often the proof is when the new officer backs up another officer in a physical altercation.

- *'Don't trust bosses to look out for your interests.'*(Reuss-Ianni, 1983). This postulate tells new officers that when supervisors are forced to make a

choice, they will always look out for their own best interests rather than the officers.

Over a period of time this distrust can undoubtedly lead to a sense of isolation between the officer and management. Strong leadership by supervisors can break down any wall of distrust that may exist.

SOLIDARITY

Goldsmith (1990) suggests that police solidarity is the most basic police cultural value. He states:

‘Foremost among all values, attitudes, and practices of the police culture is the bond of solidarity between officers. In an environment perceived as hostile and unpredictable, the police culture offers its members reassurance that the other officers will ‘pull their weight’ in police work, that they will defend, back up and assist their colleagues when confronted with external threats, and that they will maintain secrecy in the face of external investigations. In return for loyalty and solidarity, members of the police culture enjoy considerable individual autonomy to ‘get on with the job’.

In the investigation into May Day riots in Dame Street, Dublin in 2002, out of 150 Gardaí that were present, only 25 cooperated with the inquiry. The Chairman of the Garda Complaints Board stated “*some have put their loyalty to their colleagues ahead of their loyalty to An Garda Síochána*” (Cusack, 2002).

Police behavioural research is filled with findings related to the notion of solidarity among police officers. Some have found that the solidarity starts early in an officers career as they are faced with an informal rite of acceptance. New recruits are often not fully accepted until they have proven themselves to be ‘up to the job’.

Strong feelings of empathy and cooperation among police officers may be observed in their daily behaviours. Analytically, these feelings can be traced to elements of danger and shared experiences of hostility in the police officers role (Skolnik, 1966).

Police deviance literature discusses a phenomenon referred to as the ‘Code of Silence’ or the ‘Code of Secrecy’ (Reuss-Ianni, 1983). The notion is that police officers will never inform on other officers even if that officer is involved in illegal activity. In some cases the loyalty to other officers becomes such a strong cultural value that it appears, and is sometimes referred to as ‘clannish’. Reuss-Ianni offers postulates that help our understanding of the notion of police solidarity:

- Don’t give up on another cop
- Watch out for your partner first
- If you get caught off base, don’t implicate anyone else

(Reuss-Ianni, 1994).

The organisational implications of police solidarity are truly paradoxical. The same characteristic (employee solidarity) that is cited as the breeding ground for police deviance, is also referred to as ‘camaraderie or esprit de corps’. Police do not appear to cooperate with one another merely because such is the policy, but because they sincerely attach a high value to teamwork (Skolnick, 1966). The positive effect of police solidarity would be the envy of many organisations that spend a great deal of time, money and energy in an attempt to build teamwork. Police management can tap this cultural characteristic as they begin to develop various collaborative arrangements with people in the community (Harrison, 1995). Additionally, inter-agency task forces to combat crime tend to be successful due to the willingness of the officer to work in these situations.

8

Greene (1992) states that ‘it is not clear that creating a system of values and achieving a strong sense of agreement among officers regarding their relationships and those between the officers and the public will reduce crime or even make a department more efficient. However what is suggested by the research into organisational culture is that the value and rituals of the members of the organisation must be taken into account by the leadership in order to function effectively. Within the police sub-cultures there is considerable opportunity for the values, beliefs, and rituals to be played out in negative forms, thus providing more grist for the researchers of police deviance. At the same time these same sub-cultures provide the breeding ground for positive organisational change. Dynamic leadership will be a variable as to whether this occurs or not.

Skills such as strategic planning, group problem solving and group dynamics become vital when embarking on collaborative efforts. Understanding the interrelatedness of the various parts of the organisation and being able to focus their efforts towards common goals.

CONCLUSION

Isolation, solidarity and management/street distrust each carry many sub traits that appear as values in many police organisations. These themes and cultural values have, at times, provided the breeding ground for deviant police behaviour. In changing police organisations it is vitally important to identify and develop the positive organisational aspects of these themes.

The Garda Síochána has acknowledged past failings and has begun a process of significant change. We have accepted the findings of the Morris Tribunal. We are introducing new Disciplinary Regulations, a Code of Ethics, and a Corruption and Malpractice Charter.

The Commissioner’s foreword in The Garda Síochána Corporate Strategy 2007-2009 ‘A Time for Change’ states;

‘The successful implementation of our reform and modernisation programme, though challenging and difficult for some, will bring a new professional

discipline and esprit de corps that are essential for success in the complex and challenging policing environment of today and the future.

There is an onus on all of us as professional police officers to ensure we succeed.

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Sergeant John Jacob

Outsourcing non-core Garda activities and the need for a robust assessment process

Sergeant John Jacob

INTRODUCTION

The public sector is required to seek value for money when providing services. Inefficient or ineffective public sector practices result in Governments having to impose higher taxes in order to deliver the level of service demanded by the public. Outsourcing is seen by some as a means of achieving this efficiency and generating effectiveness. According to Gustaffson (1995), contracting out dates back to the 1850's when it was used as a means of improving public administration. While Cant and Jeynes (1998), indicates that the US government has provided some public services by using private companies since the early 1900's. Graham and Scarborough, (1997), pointing to the experience in the UK and Australia, stated that research into the public sector suggests that there is an increased tendency to outsource. Domberger (1998), analysed data collected in the USA, Japan, Australia, the UK, France and Germany and determined that outsourcing in both the public and private sector was increasing. He went on to say that the perceived wisdom suggests that best value is achievable by using competitive market solutions for service delivery. Considering this, there are opportunities for Garda management to look at outsourcing as a means of introducing efficiencies.

This article outlines what outsourcing is. It looks briefly at why a structured approach to outsourcing is considered necessary. It examines how police organisations should determine whether an activity is core or non-core to the organisations functioning. The article proposes a decision making model which could be used in determining the suitability of identified activities for outsourcing within the Garda Síochána.

APPLYING COMMERCIAL PRINCIPLES TO THE PUBLIC POLICE

There is substantial evidence of the application of commercial principles to police organisations particularly in the UK. Home Office Directive 114 of 1983, introduced restrictions on police resources with the result that the public police found it increasingly difficult to deliver on public expectations on non-law enforcement roles. Johnston (1992) states that 'since the police cannot cope with increased public demand for preventative policing, then private industry fills the vacuum by taking on more and more non law enforcement duties' (Johnston 1992; 193). The U.K. Criminal Justice Act, 1991¹ (Section 76 (2)) allowed private policing to take responsibility for the maintenance of order in courtrooms, traditionally the sole preserve of the public police. It also made provisions that police training in the UK could be privately arranged. Talbot (2001) tells us that like all public bodies in the UK, the police must, under a legal framework, demonstrate in an open and transparent manner that it is providing value for money when spending public funds. The police are obliged to show that the services they provide cannot be provided more economically, and/or be performed better by

¹www.opsi.gov.uk/ACTS/acts1991/Ukpga_19910053_en_5.htm

10

another source (Johnson and Scholes (2001). This practice was introduced to the UK in 1994 under the policy of Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT), (Day et al., 1998). The UK Local Government Act, 1999² suspended CCT with the introduction of the Government's 'best value' initiative, under which police authorities are required to produce a best value performance plan (Doherty and Horne, 2002). With the trend towards applying commercial principles to policing functions, the Garda Síochána may soon be required to examine how services are currently provided. The services which are not core police functions may need to be examined to establish if they could be more efficiently and effectively provided by non police persons or organisations, in effect can they be outsourced.

WHAT IS OUTSOURCING?

Outsourcing has been defined, by many commentators including Lie and Hitt (1995) as 'reliance on external sources for manufacturing components and other value-added activities'. This manufacturing focused definition places outsourcing in the business area, and while this is of no relevance to the police service, it does provide an understanding of where the principle was founded. While Gustafsson (1995) classified contracting out as outsourcing, Embleton and Wright (1998) pointed to a difference between outsourcing and contracting out. They viewed outsourcing as a long term process while contracting out is done on a job to job basis. Lankford and Parsa (1999) defined it as 'the process of procurement of products or services from sources that are external to the organisation'. Outsourcing is, 'the concept of taking internal company functions and paying an outside firm to handle them. Outsourcing is done to save money, improve quality, or free company resources for other activities.' (answerstat.com).

Gilley and Rasheed (2000) contend the definition of outsourcing includes arrangements which have been termed, privatisation (Seidenstat, 1996) and compulsory competitive tendering (Beaumont, 1991). Indeed while load shedding or charging for services could be considered forms of outsourcing they will not be explored in this article.

Outsourcing is a management strategy by which an organisation contracts non-core functions to outside service providers. When an organisation outsources functions or services, they hand over operational control of the particular function.

Many management theorists have fuelled the upsurge in outsourcing over the past two decades by arguing that competitive advantage is contingent upon an organisation's ability to identify, concentrate on and deliver its core business competencies and outsource those activities which are non-core (Prahalad and Hamel, 1990, Handy, 1984, Peters and Waterman, 1982). The following section goes on to examine how this can be achieved.

A STRUCTURED APPROACH TO OUTSOURCING

A structured approach to outsourcing is essential to ensuring the best fit

²www.opsi.gov.uk/ACTS/acts1991/19990027.htm



between the outsourcing organisation and the vendor organisation is achievable. Various authors have identified models of outsourcing to help guide the decisions making process. Some of these models are based on the organisation's characteristics, the produce or service provided or the customer's perspective. This results in different lists of factors that can be considered, however, some are more operationally rather than strategically focused. When selecting a model of outsourcing it is essential to be certain of what is to be achieved. There are many advantages, disadvantages and risks associated with outsourcing, which is determined by the model selected; resulting in inevitable tradeoffs. While it is not possible in this article to discuss in detail the areas of importance to consider when outsourcing it is important to identify them at a high level. These areas may be categorised under the following headings:

- Vendor selection
- Operational issues
- Strategic issues
- Contractual issues
- Other issues.

If a structured approach to outsourcing is not applied the whole process will be undermined from the outset. Indeed from a police perspective, the New Zealand police have set down a methodology which they apply when considering outsourcing. This methodology involves:

- 1 Identifying opportunities for outsourcing
- 2 Preparing a business case for the areas identified
- 3 Selection, evaluating service providers proposals
- 4 Transition; negotiating the outsourcing contract
- 5 Contract management
- 6 Contract end; determining an approach about the future of the service. (Doone, 1998).

WHAT ARE CORE POLICE ACTIVITIES?

In a move towards efficient and effective service delivery, for police organisations, the question of what police activities should or could be outsourced is regularly raised. The basic answer to this question is grounded in Quinn and Hilmer's (1994) suggestion that organisations should keep core competencies in house, and outsource all other activities. This poses the question, 'what are core activities?' and more specifically for this discussion 'what are core-police activities?'

The role of the Garda Síochána has been previously defined. Conroy (1970) suggested the role of An Garda Síochána was:

'to maintain law and order and to protect the person and property of the general public. This is done by preventing crime, by detecting any crime that has been committed and securing that the offenders are brought to justice'..... Apart from these basic functions the policeman provides a

public service by befriending any person who needs help and assisting in any emergency which may arise' (Conroy, 1970).

When considering the role of the Garda Síochána, Walsh (1985) provided a broadly similar definition and went on to say that;

'the role definition does not make the Gardaí purely a 'law enforcement officer' or a 'social worker'. Neither term alone is an accurate reflection of the reality of Garda work'. (Walsh, 1985).

The function of the Garda Síochána was not codified definitely until 2005 when the Garda Síochána Act identified its functions. It states:

The function of the Garda Síochána is to provide policing and security services 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, including by detecting and investigating crime,*
- and*
- (g) regulating and controlling traffic and improving road safety.*

(Garda Síochána Act, 2005 Section 7 (1).

Establishing what constitutes core policing tasks should not be determined by how well these activities fit into a definition. Determining tasks as core and non-core is a difficult process considering the complexity of the police organisation and the eclectic demands of the public it serves. Accordingly the decision as to whether a task is core or non-core will be determined by examining them in the light of a number of questions such as:

- Is this a task which requires the exercise of a police power (i.e. stop and search/arrest)?
- Is this a task that the public would expect the police to perform exclusively?
- Is state security involved?
- What is the strategic alignment of the activity to core business?
- Is there a high element of community commitment expected on the part of the Gardaí?

The answer to these questions will determine whether a task is core or non-core and not their ability to fit neatly into a definition of policing functions. This also has relevance when deciding whether to outsource or not.

Indeed core activities may well change from time to time depending on the direction police management may have to take to meet unforeseen demands, or because of outside influences.

There is a certain consensus among authors as to what the primary role of the police is. For the purpose of this discussion the function of the Garda

Síochána is determined by Section 7 (1) of the Garda Síochána Act 2005. Based on this definition, core-policing tasks are only activities which support the delivery of these services; all other activities could in all likelihood be outsourced.

THE DECISION PROCESS

Many writers outline what should be considered when deciding to outsource, however much of the writing is geared towards the manufacturing industry and where it refers to the service industry it is directed at the private sector. There are no definitive models which can be applied directly to the Irish public sector service organisations.

14

It should be borne in mind that there are strict guidelines set down by regulation³ for the issuing of contracts in the public sector. These guidelines are put in place to assist in selecting a suitable service provider but also to ensure accountability and transparency in the selection process. This is a key process as government contracts are much sought after by private companies and there must be no suggestion of unfair procedures in the issuing of such contracts. That said, the decisions to outsource must also be accountable and transparent as these decisions are scrutinised to a high degree, not only by outside vendors but by sector and Government auditing and accounting sections. Consequently a thorough understanding of the rationale behind the decision and the market capability to deliver what is required must be painstakingly undertaken to allow an informed decision to be made.

Power et. al. (2004) cautions that a minimum knowledge of outsourcing methodologies and a failure to recognise business risks are traps which organisations should avoid if they are to have any chance of success when contemplating outsourcing.

Lonsdale (1999) proposes a risk management model for outsourcing. This model sets out three main requirements, one of which is specifically market based, and the other two, which have equal importance for both the public and private sector. The requirements outlined by Lonsdale are:

- Retain resources responsible for the present and future competitive advantage
- Avoid monopolistic or oligopolistic markets
- Manage post contractual dependencies.

It is necessary somewhat to alter the first requirement to cater for the provision of police services but the other two requirements remain relevant. According to Lonsdale (1999) the decision to outsource or not, cannot be based on a list of criteria, rather it has to be addressed in a step by step fashion taking into account the risks at each decision point. In order to make the model relevant to the police the overarching question should (in the view of the author) be the requirement to exercise police power. Figure 1 sets out the author's adaptation of Lonsdale's model for decision making for use by the Garda Síochána.

³Public Sector Procurement Regulations 2006 (SI 329 of 2006) which implements the provisions of EU Directive 2004/18/EC into Irish Law.

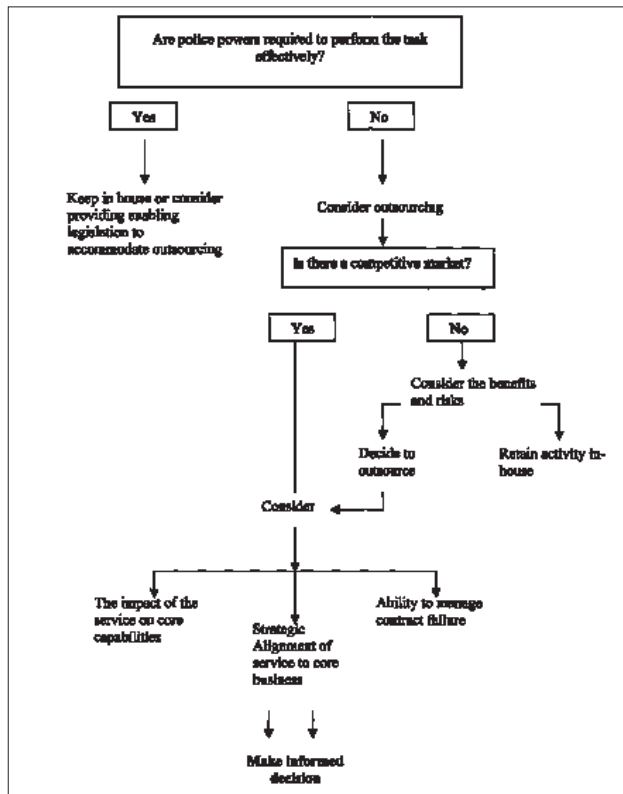


FIGURE 1 Evaluation model adopted for use by the police from Lonsdale's model as presented by Papaioannou (2002).

CONCLUSION

The Garda Síochána is performing multitudinous tasks which have historically been delivered by the organisation. Some of these tasks cannot be deemed core policing functions. Considering this there is significant scope to outsource some specific activities to external specialist organisations.

The ramifications of undertaking the process of outsourcing must be understood if outsourcing is to form part of the long-term strategy of any organisation. According to Power et. al (2004) failure of management to understand these ramifications will result in ambiguous contracts, unachievable milestones and deliverables resulting in conflict between the vendor and client. Accordingly any organisation, which is considering outsourcing, should evaluate the benefits and risks carefully. This cannot be done without a structured approach to the process which will allow a properly informed decision to be reached.

I propose that the model presented here offers significant potential for consideration in this regard by the Garda Síochána when contemplating the outsourcing of any activity.

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C E N T R E

The Emerging Accountability Framework

In recent years, the concept of accountability has gained much prominence within many public organisations. However, the concept is not a recent one and can be found rooted in the famous aphorism of the Roman Poet, Juvenal, when he questioned “*who will guard the guardians themselves*”.

Accountability in police organisations is a much broader concept and this was highlighted in the Patten Report. The Patten Report highlighted various aspects of accountability including the following:

- Democratic accountability, in which the elected representatives of the community tell the Police what sort of service they want from the Police, and hold the Police accountable for delivering it.
- Transparency in which the community is kept informed, and can ask questions about what the Police are doing and why
- Legal accountability by which the Police are held accountable for a misuse of their powers
- Financial accountability which refers to the Police Service being audited and are held to account for the delivery of value for public money
- Internal accountability by which Police Officers are accountable within their organisation.

Jones (2003) emphasised how police accountability encompasses broader questions of police effectiveness. Police effectiveness is dependent on information and co-operation provided by the public. In turn, this depends on the police service being viewed as legitimate and worthy of trust and co-operation. Effective mechanisms of accountability and governance are essential in promoting such legitimacy.

Concepts of accountability and governance gained prominence in the Morris Tribunal. Mr. Justice Frederick Morris highlighted that without a management structure being restored to the Garda Síochána that is based on strict compliance with orders and immediate accountability, there is a danger that events that occurred in Donegal will be repeated and that such conduct may multiply if allowed to go unchecked .

The Garda Síochána Act 2005 has been a fundamental catalyst in the transformation and reform of the Garda Síochána. The Act goes to the very core of policing providing mechanisms in which accountability and governance can be embedded within this organisation. Such provisions within the act have manifested themselves in the following developments:



*Learning their Trade –
The Socialisation Process of Student/Probationer Gardai*



*Outsourcing non-core Garda activities and the need for a
robust assessment process*

P O I N T

Framework of the Garda Síochána

- The establishment of the Garda Inspectorate which aims to benchmark the overall policing performance of the Garda Síochána and to promote best practice in the core operations of the Garda Síochána. The Garda Inspectorate aims to ensure that the Garda Síochána uses its resources as efficiently and effectively as possible.
- The establishment of the Garda Ombudsman Commission which provides the public with an independent and effective oversight of policing and deals with the public's complaints concerning the Gardaí.
- The Audit Committee advises the Garda Commissioner on financial matters relating to his function.
- The establishment of Joint Policing Committees which aim to ensure that the policing needs of communities are effectively met.
- The Garda Whistleblower's Regulations facilitate the confidential reporting of corruption and malpractice within the Garda Síochána.
- The establishment of a performance and accountability framework which aims to improve efficiency and effectiveness throughout the organisation.
- The introduction of new discipline regulations since 1st June 2007.

New obligations and structures in relation to accountability will ensure that sufficient 'checks and balances' are in place to ensure that trust in the Garda Síochána is not undermined, to ensure that resources are used effectively and efficiently and that the needs of the public are met. Professionalism, honesty, integrity and accountability will be grounded in the culture of the organisation at every level, beginning with entrants into the Garda College and permeating throughout the entire organisation. Recent developments and changes which have resulted from the Garda Síochána Act 2005 are positive steps in furthering this organisation in its reform and renewal into a world class organisation.

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T.P. FITZGERALD, EDITOR



*'Lessons from Victoria'
Investigating and managing child abuse cases*



Training and Development of Student Probationer Gardaí

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'Lessons from Victoria'

Investigating and managing child abuse cases

Superintendent Karl Heller



Superintendent Karl Heller

Victoria Adjo Climbie was eight years and three months old when she died at St Mary's Hospital, Paddington on the 25th February, 2000 at 3.15pm.

A post mortem examination found the cause of death to be hypothermia which had arisen in the context of malnourishment, a damp environment and restricted movement. She had 128 separate injuries on her body, showing she had been beaten with a range of sharp and blunt instruments.

Dr Nathaniel Carey, the Pathologist carrying out the post mortem said, "*It was the worst case of deliberate harm to a child he had ever seen*".

(Laming 2003)

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this article is to assist Garda managers and Garda investigators approach crimes in this category in a sensitive and appropriate way, to develop a team approach with social services, to enhance standards of criminal investigations and improve the prospects for the safety of children. The experiences alluded to in this paper refer mainly to the procedures currently in place with regard to the implementation of "Children First"¹, the National Guidelines for the Protection of Children in the Ballymun area of Dublin, and lessons learned from the Victoria Climbie Inquiry.

Like Laming's report this article is dedicated to Victoria's memory.

A TEAM APPROACH

One of the most important challenges facing police practitioners and managers in the 21st century is to find ways to enhance collaboration between the caring role of the social workers (Health Service Executive) and the criminal investigative role of the Garda Síochána. Their separate and complimentary roles require careful understanding to ensure an effective, sensitive and appropriate response to child protection.

In September 1999 the National Guidelines for the Protection and Welfare of Children "Children First" recommended that;

"Designated personnel at investigation and management level will remain involved with the case until the investigation is completed".

(Children First 1999)

Laming affirms this objective and in child protection cases he advocated that agencies are required to work together.

"It is a multi-disciplinary task".

(Laming 2003).

¹ Following the submission of this report to the Minister of State in June 1999, a legal review of the guidelines was completed by the Attorney Generals Office.

The Ferns Report² which was presented to the Minister for Health and Children in 2005 recommended the consideration of the implementation of a Specialised Child Protection Unit. Dr Helen Buckley a member of the inquiry team has previously made similar recommendations concerning the need for specialised collaborative work between the Garda Síochána and the Health Service Executive. She advocates strongly the need to commit to a high level of commitment and acknowledgement from both organisations of the value of working together.

The report of the Joint Oireachtas Committee³ on Child Protection in November, 2006 recommended that consideration be given to the establishment of Regional Child Protection Units within the Garda Síochána.

20

The Garda Síochána and the Health Service Executive at Ballymun on Dublin's north side provide an opportunity to view a partnership approach in action. Modelled principally on the recommendations of "Children First" and operating in compliance with the Garda Commissioner's instructions and conforming to local Child Protection Practice Guidelines 2005, produced under the auspices of the local Child Protection Committee, this Garda District has adopted many of the important concepts promulgated by Lord Laming in his straight talking report into the management and investigation of the disturbing abuse and ultimate death of an 8 year old child.

The Garda Síochána and the Health Service work co-operatively in the Ballymun Sub District to:

- Consider notifications
- Review progress in each case
- Assign personnel and supervise
- Assess files jointly.

This liaison is committed to ensuring that both agencies manage their separate roles in a way that is complimentary to one another whilst ensuring that the shared objective of child protection and welfare is realised.

The Garda Superintendent for the District designates Garda investigators and managers who remain with each case until its closure. The collaboration of these key agencies has ensured that the Children First Guidelines are a cornerstone of all criminal investigations into crimes concerning child protection.

Difficulties such as poor inter-agency communication and delays in communication are avoided by a full sharing of information on an almost daily basis by investigators and at formal management liaison meetings.

²This report was presented to the Minister for Health and Children in October, 2005. The members of the inquiry expressed the hope that should the type of abuse chronicled in this report ever occur again, there will be mechanisms and procedures in place which will enable victims promptly to report

³This report was presented to Government in November, 2006, the committee made 62 recommendations which it considered necessary to ensure enhanced levels of child protection.

The co-ordination of the agencies is aimed at ensuring that;

- (i) The welfare of the child is protected
- (ii) Everything possible is done to assist the criminal investigation and protect available evidence
- (iii) There is a free flow of relevant information between the agencies
- (iv) Decisions and actions follow consultation within and between the agencies.

CRIME INVESTIGATION

The practice employed in the Ballymun model of Child Protection Investigation and Management does not place any onerous demand on the investigator or manager and has its roots in managers “doing their job”.

“What is critical is the effectiveness of management and leadership”.

(Laming 2003)

21

In practice, this means ‘adopting’ a model of work that delivers:

- Sensitivity to the needs of the child
- High standards of criminal investigation files
- Excellent tracking and monitoring of files
- Professional standards of crime investigating
- Development of Garda crime investigators
- Enhanced liaison with the Health Service Executive and Sexual Abuse Assessment Units
- Professional standards and auditing of files
- Monitoring of sex offenders
- Improved criminal intelligence gathering.

Information technology has served all police services well including the Garda Síochána. That said, Laming clearly identifies the need to manage and track the criminal investigation file in Child Abuse cases in an approach that embraces both the new and the traditional policing strategy. He (Laming) advises that the Police Manager must along with computerised recording and tracking take an active role to ensure a proper criminal investigation is carried out.

“Sometimes it needed nothing more than asking pertinent questions or taking the trouble to look at a case file”.

(Laming 2003).

To achieve this required standard of best practice in Ballymun the manager (Detective Sergeant) physically opens each and every investigation file on a regular basis and identifies matters requiring attention, including the status of statement taking, interviews of suspects and gathering of evidence. The local Superintendent subsequently carries out a review of each file. This has ensured that the tracking by management envisaged in “Children First” is

achieved as the investigation progresses from A to Z. The Garda investigator in turn develops his/her investigative skills, and as a consequence has a clear understanding of their crime investigation role and utilises standard investigative techniques including preservation/examination of crime scenes, photographs of injuries, interviews of child/witness/suspect and the gathering of corroborative evidence. Of note, in his recent reports to the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform Judge Morris alludes to this basic policing practice.

“.....there is actually no substitute for imposing a requirement – to review files by physically taking them up and looking through them on a periodic basis”

(Morris 2005).

22

This pro-active supervisory approach ensures that a professional criminal investigation is carried out in each and every case. This coupled with a joint tracking system are key to the successful development of a policing model in child protection criminal investigations.

This approach has recently been embedded in Garda policy and sets out that all complaints of child sexual abuse will be subject to review and scrutiny.

During the course of the investigation of allegations of child abuse it is essential for managers to be mindful that such an investigation is not accorded a lower status than other criminal investigations.

“.....the investigation of crime against children is as important as the investigation of any other form of serious crime”.

(Laming 2003).

WELFARE OF THE CHILD

The reticence of victims in disclosing child sexual abuse is well documented; if the needs of the child victim are to be met, primary consideration should be given by the Garda investigator to minimising the stress involved with the criminal investigation. It is essential that the child is treated with appropriate sensitivity.

The criminal investigator and manager should be aware that the welfare of the child is the paramount feature of the criminal investigation. I believe to achieve this aim there should be constant and thorough sharing of information with the social worker (Health Service Executive).

Both Laming and the Children First Guidelines place considerable emphasis on an early strategy meeting/contact between the police (Garda) and the social worker.

“In addition to the initial strategy meeting, at any point during a child protection enquiry, it may be appropriate to convene a strategy meeting or discussion....”

(Children First 1999).

Laming develops this point further in his observation that it is of the utmost importance to the criminal investigation that a competent police manager attend at the strategy meeting in order that some independent and critical police analysis takes place regarding available information.

The most recent directive on child protection poses the question which should be considered in each case by both the investigator and the manager is the child safe? To address this fundamental issue consideration should be given to establishing that the child has been seen by the investigating member. The investigation may in some cases be protracted, initial enquiries must establish if the child is currently at risk, this should include establishing if the suspect has contact with the child or indeed other children. No delay should occur in ensuring that the child is seen to enable an assessment be carried out regarding his/her personal safety and the advancement of any criminal investigation.

23

To this end the actions regarding the safety of any child should therefore be active rather than passive. In a Ballymun context, all steps that secure and protect the needs of a child at risk are jointly assessed by the Garda Síochána and the Health Service Executive.

CONCLUSION

The designation of a liaison management team (Detective Sergeant and Inspector) under the auspices of Children First at Ballymun and the successful collaboration of Garda investigators and Child Protection workers (Social Workers/Health Service Executive) have improved tracking systems which chart the progress of each investigation and strengthened the child protection framework. The enhanced sharing of information between agencies and increased understanding of roles and responsibilities has assisted significantly in prioritising the welfare of the child.

The collaboration between the Garda Síochána and the Health Service Executive in the area is serving to strengthen and enhance child protection through strong communication channels and a clear understanding of roles and responsibilities through a process of mutual trust and respect.

The model of child protection police work at Ballymun which is based on principles of putting children first along with effective, efficient criminal investigations and robust management of investigations is aimed at ensuring a consistent and high standard of service for children at risk.

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24

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Training and Development of Student Probationer Gardaí

Superintendent Christopher Gordon



Superintendent
Christopher Gordon

INTRODUCTION

This article examines Student Probationer training and development in the Garda Síochána in the context of organisational renewal and reform as set out in the Garda Síochána Policing Plan 2007 entitled “A Time for Change”. Two of the six strategic imperatives mentioned in this plan include the requirement to: (i) to engage, train, develop and motivate staff and (ii) to renew and invigorate the culture of the Garda Síochána. It is argued that there is no better place to commence this process of change than with new entrants to the service. This is particularly the case at the current time of accelerated recruitment. There are now 2,200 student/probationers¹ in the organisation. This represents 21% of organisational strength at Garda rank. The potential for renewing organisation culture in a short number of years is a realistic aspiration against a background of such numbers in the initial period of training.

BACKGROUND

Training and development of student/probationers is segmented into two parts: training which is largely conducted in the Garda College at Phases I and III and development which takes place in the operational policing environment on Phases II and IV. The development side of the programme has a crucial influence on the future of junior people, particularly as two-thirds of a student/probationer’s time is spent in the operational setting with only one-third in the Garda College.

Garda student probationer training was comprehensively reviewed by the Keating Report in 1999 (the Garda Síochána, 1999). The Student Probationer Education, Training and Development Programme (SPETDP) was developed into a competency based programme involving 12 competencies, clustered around three pillars of Tasks, Values and Relationships. Student/probationers must show evidence of achievement of these competencies as they progress through the five phases of the programme over a period of 104 weeks. The SPETDP has sometimes been criticised as too academic and theoretical and not providing student/probationers with the skills necessary to perform as efficient and effective policemen and women. This argument is not without merit as the introduction in 2004 of the Bachelor of Policing Studies Degree (Level seven - awarded by the Higher Education and Training Awards Council - Hetac²) for graduates of the training programme measures academic achievement rather than practical policing skills.

More recently, greater emphasis has been placed on practical assessment of learning in response to these concerns:

¹An individual is regarded as a Student Garda for the first 58 weeks of training. A Student Garda has no police powers. Following attestation after week 58 the individual becomes a Probationer Garda with full police powers. The Probationary period lasts for a further two years.

²Hetac is the qualifications awarding body for third-level educational and training institutions outside the university sector

BEHAVIOURAL SKILLS ASSESSMENT (ROLE PLAYING)

Significant focus is now placed on behavioural skills with the introduction of role playing using professional actors. These role plays incorporate several simulated policing situations. One such scenario enables the student/probationer to experience what it is like to be the first Garda to arrive at an incident where a person suffering from a mental illness is armed with a knife and threatening harm. Other scenarios enable the student/probationer to experience such roles as conducting an interview with a gay victim of an assault and dealing with an irate motorist on the telephone who is making a forceful complaint about the receipt of penalty points. The role plays are recorded on video and assessed using seven competencies including legal knowledge, communication skills and respect for human rights and diversity. Prior to the introduction of these role plays, student/probationers were expected to acquire these skills through observing their experienced colleagues during periods of field training. As student/probationers are allocated across 24 Garda divisions they are exposed to multi-faceted policing practices where the quality of learning can be difficult to validate. It is envisaged that this standardised role play training will enhance the quality of interaction with the public and have a positive impact on the relationship between the organisation and the public.

It has been established that some student/probationers can achieve high marks in written examinations but find it difficult to transfer their learning to simulated policing situations such as described above. These role plays have presented significant challenges to student/probationers in their approach and commitment to training, but offer immense learning opportunities.

CRIME SCENE MANAGEMENT

Another area of development in the SPETDP is the preservation of crime scenes, an issue that attracted criticism in the Morris Tribunal. Knowledge of procedures and practices in this area is critical for success in the investigation of crime. Hence initial training in this area is important as it is a duty that often falls to junior members. The training programme now includes a crime scene management module which comprises three scenarios:

1. An indoor scene where a body is found in suspicious circumstances
2. An outdoor scene where a body is found on farmland in suspicious circumstances
3. A fatal hit and run collision on a country road.

The crime scenes are located outside of the Garda College in three fixed locations in Templemore town, which brings a greater element of realism to the exercises for the trainees. Each student/probationer is assessed on his/her performance as the first Garda responder to arrive at the crime scene.

COURT PROCEDURE TRAINING

Another initiative in the programme to enhance professional skills is an initiative with the Honourable Society of King's Inns³. This involves trainee barristers from the King's Inns participating in simulated court exercises with Garda student/probationers. In February 2007, eight courtrooms were operated simultaneously for a period of five days in the Garda College. Thirty six trainee barristers and 275 Garda student/probationers participated. This venture has proved to be exceptionally beneficial for both organisations. The initiative is now incorporated into the Phase III programme of the SPETDP.

27

WRITTEN ASSESSMENTS

A further area of change concerns written assessments. It has been recognised that learning by rote is of little benefit when it comes to the practical application of a subject. Legal and other examinations have been transformed with the introduction of scenario type questions. For example, a detailed scenario surrounding an offence such as burglary or criminal damage is posed and student/probationers must answer a range of multiple choice questions on how they would deal with the incident.

These initiatives to enhance on-the-job skills will ensure that junior Gardaí are equipped to deliver a quality police service when attending incidents, the courts or in their general interaction with the public.

DEVELOPMENT OF STUDENT/PROBATIONERS

The professional development of student/probationers is the responsibility of Divisional⁴ and District⁵ officers with the support of Divisional training units and operational supervisors. The formative periods when student/probationers are assigned to Garda stations are crucial to their long term development into efficient, effective and enthusiastic members of the Garda service. Any shortcomings in their effective management during these formative stages can have serious negative implications for them.

Developing student/probationers is a challenging task as the advice and guidance required on a day-to-day basis can vary from person to person. This is particularly the case when graduates of the Garda College can now range in age from 20 to 38 years. The needs of a 38 year old who has

³Based in Dublin, the Honourable Society of King's Inns school of law is the oldest institution of professional legal education in Ireland.

⁴Divisional Officer is of Chief Superintendent rank and responsible for Garda districts within the divisional area

⁵District Officer is of Superintendent rank and responsible for Garda station(s) within the district area

considerable life and work experience in comparison to that of a 20 year old who joined soon after secondary school or college are likely to be quite different. The younger individual may feel like a fish out of water when assigned to a Garda Station for the first time. Indeed, almost all probationers will find their initial days and weeks on the job with full Garda powers quite daunting. It is essential that individuals are given time to settle into their role as each will acquire greater confidence and progress at a different rate. The decision making skills of a junior Garda must be developed and will not compare with those of a Garda with a number of years' experience. People will make honest mistakes and should be accepted as a learning experience.

28

Inevitably, in a large public sector organisation some corrupt or unsuitable individuals will be attracted to the power and authority associated with the role; and the Garda Síochána is no different in this respect. Despite rigorous screening and background checking, a small number of people joining the service may lack honesty, integrity or aptitude and may have personal characteristics that are likely to have a negative influence on their colleagues. The latter issue was highlighted in the Morris Tribunal (Burnfoot Module), which referred to “a small, but disproportionately influential, core of mischief-making members, who will not obey orders, who will not follow procedures, who will not tell the truth and who have no respect for their officers”. The challenge is to create a culture of public service grounded in honesty, integrity, respect, professionalism and accountability that enables the identification and discharge of such individuals at the earliest opportunity.

Garda managers and supervisors (sworn and unsworn) must ensure that student/probationers in their care develop the competencies to conduct their work in accordance with the eleven organisational values highlighted in the Corporate Strategy and Annual Policing plans. It is worth reiterating these values here:

- 1 Having respect for people and their needs
- 2 Protecting human rights
- 3 Being a courteous and caring public service
- 4 Maintaining partnerships with the community
- 5 Accepting individual responsibility
- 6 Ensuring transparent public accountability
- 7 Providing ethical leadership
- 8 Practising disciplined professionalism
- 9 Being honest and truthful and adhering to the principles of fairness and justice

- 10 Promoting and accepting diversity in all its forms
- 11 Continuously learning and embracing change.

These values are fundamental and must continuously be reinforced to all personnel.

MONITORING DEVELOPMENT

The crucial tool for monitoring the development of a student/probationer is the Experiential Learning Diary (ELD). The ELD commences at the start of training and is maintained until graduation some 104 weeks later. This document records all evidence of progression, self-monitoring, feedback, advice, guidance direction and commendations. It also records disciplinary issues, difficulties, problems experienced and a strategy for resolving these issues.

29

When a manager or supervisor regards the behaviour or performance of a student/probationer as unacceptable, the individual concerned should be advised of the issue and an appropriate entry made in the ELD. For example, where a student/probationer is late for work, fails to submit a report or a file despite reminders or is discourteous to a member of the public the ELD should contain a record of this.

A special counselling record should be used in situations where a student/probationer does not improve despite advice and guidance or in more serious cases of underperformance or misbehaviour. This is recorded on a form CR1 where the issue is set out by the supervisor with an agreed course of action for improvement. The form is signed by both the supervisor and student/probationer.

Every manager and supervisor is required to be familiar with the obligations pertaining to a student/probationer during each phase of his/her training. This information is required to be included in a tracking form attached to the ELD.

POLICE CULTURE AND STUDENT/PROBATIONER DEVELOPMENT

There are a number of key issues that affect the development of student/probationers. International research on policing has found that a major socialisation of student/probationers takes place on their assignment to police stations. The process of socialisation is how the individual student/probationer learns the values, attitudes and acceptable behaviours required to participate as a member of the organisation. Police organisations are internally culturally diverse and student/probationers will encounter both good and bad models of practice (Chan 2003). How often good and bad models are encountered will depend on the prevailing culture of the organisation and how training is organised (Fielding 1988). It can also depend on the assignment of student/probationers to different

stations and units and to different supervisors and peers, which generates contrasting experiences for the individual (Manning and Van Maanen 1978).

A study of recruit police training in New South Wales referred to a problem of 'training decay' which occurred during the field training period. Experienced personnel often substituted conventional shortcuts for proper procedures which served to undermine confidence in the college-based training. Similarly, experienced personnel were often reluctant to criticise student/probationer practices in formal assessments (Centre for Applied Research in Education 1990). Fielding (1988) observed that student/probationers who confront how great their ignorance of practice is; are strongly influenced by experienced officers who pass on practices which may not be in line with official procedures. Student/probationers begin to see the limitations of formal procedures and can develop contempt for academic knowledge.

Examples of training decay in police environments include visual impressions such as standard of care of uniform, haircuts, dress and deportment. Invariably, some student/probationers fail to maintain the standards set in police training colleges. Dress and deportment is often the standard by which citizens judge a police officers attitude and interest in their job.

It is important that managers and supervisors mentor and develop individuals where there is any deviation from organisation values and practices.

ADDRESSING STUDENT/PROBATIONER DEVELOPMENT

Changing and renewing the culture of an organisation must be led by top management. The necessity for change in the Garda Síochána is evident from the Morris Tribunal and the Report on the Implementation of the Garda Síochána Act 2005. A roadmap for organisational change was set out in the Commissioner's Corporate Strategy 2007-2009. In this context, cultural renewal at student/probationer development stage was a major agenda item at the Commissioner's Conference with all Chief Superintendents in March 2007 at the Garda College. The issue is of significant importance as it is anticipated that 33% of Garda rank will have less than five years service by 2010. Internal working groups at the conference, generated proposals on how the organisation could improve in this area. A significant recommendation was the inclusion of student/probationer development on the agenda of all divisional and district Performance and Accountability Framework meetings. This will ensure that the performance and behaviour of student/probationers is monitored closely by Chief Superintendents and Superintendents throughout the organisation.

The Student Probationer School at the Garda College has developed a rolling programme for Sergeants and Inspectors responsible for the day-to-day management of student/probationers in Garda Stations. The programme outlines the role of supervisors in the development of student/probationers, the standards they must demonstrate for progression and strategies for dealing with unacceptable performance and/or behaviour. Considerable emphasis was given to the importance of providing advice, guidance and feedback on performance and the recording of same in the student/probationers ELD. The objective is to ensure that student/probationers are managed in a fair and consistent fashion and that supervisor's and divisional training staff cooperate in a systematic way particularly in dealing with problematic individuals.

31

CONCLUSION

This article examined recent developments in the Garda Student Probationer Training and Education Programme in the context of organisational change and cultural renewal. It underlined the importance of student probationer development during the operational phases of training at Garda Stations across the country. Key issues in development were mentioned along with the steps being taken to address identified issues within the system.

Accelerated recruitment means there are now 2,200 student/probationers in the service. Given these numbers, the article stresses the significance of focusing on junior personnel in the pursuit of cultural change and renewal in the organisation. The achievement of real change requires altering individual behaviours, cementing new and better ways of doing business and the continuous reinforcement of organisational values. Training and development of junior Gardaí is not just a matter for the Garda College; it is the function of every manager and supervisor throughout the organisation. If carried out effectively it will not only benefit the individual but will make a valuable contribution to the future development of the Garda Síochána.

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32

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