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Does Gender Impact on Career Progression in the Garda Síochána?

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Does Gender Impact on Career Progression in the Garda Síochána?

A thesis submitted to the Dublin Institute of Technology in part fulfilment of the requirements for award of Master (M.A.) in Criminology

by

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25th September 2009

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Declaration

I hereby certify that the material which is submitted in this thesis towards the award of **Masters (M.A.) in Criminology**, is entirely my own work and has not been submitted for any academic assessment other than part fulfilment of the award named above.

Signature of Candidate : _____
(Goretti Sheridan)

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ABSTRACT

Little is generally known about the factors affecting the managerial advancement of women in police forces internationally. There is a dearth of research on women and policing in the Garda Síochána. Women are 50 years in policing in Ireland and would appear to have been totally restricted in their progression up until the last decade.

The principle aim of this study is concerned with exploring the research question ‘Does Gender Impact on Career Progression in the Garda Síochána?’ It concentrates solely on policewomen. A comprehensive analysis of national and international literature is summarised in a literature review. An extensive examination of 50 years of archived material in the Garda Museum relating to females in the Garda Síochána is carried out. The primary research method utilised to appraise the research question is a comprehensive survey of 173 senior policewomen in the Garda Síochána in which gender issues are addressed. The study concentrates on the population of all female sergeants, inspectors and superintendents (n297).

The thesis reports on the patterns of female representation in the Garda Síochána, the deployment and specialisation of policewomen, the perceived attitudes of policemen towards policewomen, discrimination against policewomen and external factors inhibiting policewomen’s advancement. These issues are examined from a historical perspective and a contemporary perspective.

The under-representation of policewomen in senior ranks was explored and charted to show they are wholly under-represented both laterally and horizontally throughout the organisation. The study has demonstrated that women have only made limited headway into strategic positions of power in the Garda Síochána, both in terms of gaining experience in specialist units and in terms of progression through the ranks. There is evidence to show that deployment patterns differ for men and women in ways that may disadvantage some women. Tentative evidence was proffered that the amount of sexual harassment and discrimination experienced by policewomen in the Garda Síochána is diminishing to some extent compared to that reported in international research. However, there are still a number of discriminatory factors which negatively affect the quality of some policewomen’s work environment and career prospects. Further, gender-related career barriers, such as work-life balance, pose specific difficulties for some senior policewomen, particularly those with children.

In summary, the data gathered during this study combine to affirm the research question that gender impacts on career progression in the Garda Síochána for some policewomen, but not all policewomen. This suggests that policewomen are experiencing greater gender equality in certain spheres of policing, and certain obstacles to their progression are being dismantled.

It is recommended that further research be undertaken to examine gender issues in policing in greater depth, perhaps by using a qualitative methodology. Suggestions for such research are made in the study. A number of practical and interdependent initiatives suggest themselves from the research findings which can assist the Garda Síochána in developing a workplace favourable to gender differences. It is important for the Garda Síochána to create a work environment so all employees can reach their full potential, thereby allowing the organisation to optimise both individuals' achievements and organisational performance.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Garda Síochána : Irelands National Police Force
(Irish for Guardians of the Peace)

Gardaí : Police Officers

ABBREVIATIONS

CID : Criminal Investigation Department

HRM : Human Resource Management

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Gendered Policing

Gender relations have never occupied a central space in mainstream policing literature and most major studies have either ignored women or made token reference to them (Heidenshon, 1992, 2008). This relative invisibility of women in the academic literature is indicative of the general neglect of gender issues in policing *per se*. Martin (1980), Jones (1986), Heidenshon (1992), and Silvestri (2003) have now paved the way in terms of theorising policewomen's experiences. The research on women and policing continues to provide substantial evidence of the continued discriminatory gendered nature of policing. Despite a barrage of new directives, and equal opportunity policies in policing, research continues to confirm the idea that while theoretically women have become part of policing, they are not fully accepted by their male colleagues and continue to be subjected to sexual harassment, discrimination and differential deployment.

1.2. Aim and Contribution of Study

Women have been policing in Ireland for 50 years, long enough for them to have started and ended their careers. There is a dearth of literature on gender issues in the Garda Síochána. Although internationally, there is a considerable body of research on policewomen's tribulations as 'tokens', on their marginalisation by male colleagues and supervisors, and on the persistence of harassment at work, only a handful of studies have focused on women in supervisory ranks. The current study attempts to fill this void. At the time of writing, no other national or international studies were located that examined these issues in the Garda Síochána. This study examines the deployment and promotion practices in the Garda Síochána to determine if there is evidence of systematic gender bias.

This thesis aims to contribute to the small, but growing numbers of works concerned with gender equality in policing (Martin, 1980; Jones, 1986; Heidenshon, 1992; Holdaway and Parker, 1998; Brown and Heidenshon, 2000; Westmarland, 2001; Adams, 2001; Silvestri, 2003; Archbold and Schulz, 2008). The research question upon which this thesis is based is ‘Does Gender Impact on Career Progression in the Garda Síochána?’ The focus of this study is to analyse the perceptions, attitudes and behaviours of female sergeants, inspectors and superintendents in the Garda Síochána with regard to a number of issues where gender has salience.

It is believed the findings in this study will provide valuable empirical evidence in policing. It is hoped the findings of this study, together with its conclusion and recommendations will assist the Garda Síochána in considering the relevant position of its members and increase awareness of the potential influence of gender on an individual’s professional ambitions and aspirations.

1.3. The Research Site

To set the scene, this section provides a very brief overview of the Garda Síochána, including its rank structure, and womens entry therein. The Garda Síochána is the national police force of the Republic of Ireland. It was created in 1922 and remains the sole police force in the country. It is unique from a policing perspective in that it is concerned with both regular policing and the security of the state.

The Garda management and control structure consists of a Garda commissioner, who is appointed by the Government, two deputy commissioners, and eleven assistant commissioners. In addition there are a total of 51 chief superintendents, 183 superintendents, 338 inspectors and 2213 sergeants.¹ The Garda Síochána has a single

¹ The Garda Síochána is divided into regions, each of which is commanded by a regional assistant commissioner, divisions commanded by a chief superintendent and districts commanded by superintendents and inspectors. Each district comprises of a number of Garda Stations. There is a total of 703 Garda Stations.

point of entry with all the recruitment to the Garda Síochána being done at Garda rank, equivalent to that of constable in the British policing system.

The first policewoman was appointed to the Garda Síochána in 1959. It was only as recently as 1989 that the first female superintendent was appointed and less than a decade ago in 2003 when the first female assistant commissioner was appointed (HRM, 2009). These appointments represented milestones in Irish policing, and the progress of policewomen therein. The proportion of policewomen in the Garda Síochána has increased from 1% in 1979 to 22% in 2009.² At present, the majority of females are clustered in the lower ranks, and 70% of them have less than 10 years service (HRM, 2009). Furthermore, they occupy just 11% of all supervisory positions.³

A significant catalyst for the advancement of women in policing in Ireland has been equal opportunities legislation, and as Ireland became subject to European Directives on equal pay and equal treatment. Up to 1974, when the Anti-Discrimination (Equal Pay) Act was passed, policewomen received 85% of men's pay. The Employment Equality Act 1977 prohibited employers from discriminating against an employee or prospective employee in relation to employment and promotion on the grounds of sex or marital status of a person. Section 12 of the act excluded employment in the Garda Síochána from the act until 1985 when the European Communities (Employment Equality) Regulations came into operation and lifted their exemption.

The Employment Equality Act 1998 repealed the Anti-Discrimination (Equal Pay) Act 1974 and the Employment Equality Act 1977. It considerably broadens equality legislation by outlawing discrimination on a wide range of grounds including gender.⁴

² See Table 1.2. Garda Female Strength 1979-2009, Appendix C.

³ See Table 1.1. For the Current Strength of the Garda Síochána, Appendix B.

⁴ The Employment Equality Act 1998 broadens equality legislation by outlawing discrimination on the grounds of gender, marital status, sexual orientation, age, religious belief, race, colour, nationality, ethnicity or being a traveller. In particular it deals with harassment in the workplace. The act outlaws discrimination in relation to access to conditions of employment, training or experience, promotion or re-grading or classification of posts. Section 27 of the Employment Equality Act 1998 permits the Garda Síochána to discriminate on the grounds of gender in certain defined circumstances. This limited exclusion for the

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 provides a comprehensive analysis of international and national literature on the subject of gender and career progression, highlighting key discourses such as minority status of policewomen; policemen's attitude towards policewomen; gendered deployment; and multiple role stress. Perceived and real barriers to career progression are highlighted in this chapter.

Chapter 3 outlines the key research questions investigated in this study. The methodological approaches aimed at addressing these questions are explained. They include analysing 50 years of archived documentary data from the Garda Museum, as well as sourcing statistics from Garda Human Resource Management. In addition, details surrounding the principle methodology utilised is discussed. Research access and ethics are also highlighted and analysed.

Chapter 4 outlines the findings from the data collection stages. These findings served to confirm there is a relationship between gender and career progression in the Garda Síochána. These findings are combined with some discussion; however, the main discussion is in Chapter 5 where the key theoretical strands are brought together. Finally, Chapter 6 includes concluding thoughts on the current research and literature, by drawing the key findings and assessing how they have answered the research question. Some recommendations are suggested for the Garda Síochána.

Garda Síochána is attributed to the interests of privacy and decency, in violent situations such as riots, and for the maintenance of the appropriate gender balance for the purpose of the service.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

Women internationally make up a paltry proportion of police forces. Key issues debated in the modern dialogue about gender and policing centre on equitable treatment and recognition of difference and diversity (Heidenshon, 2002, 2008). Kanter (1977) proposes that policewomen's experiences are based on their being in a minority and not their gender *per se*. Researchers have voiced concerns that opportunities for women to advance through police forces are hampered by external and internal barriers, such as family commitments (Whetstone, 2001; Schulz, 2003) and attitudes of male colleagues (Martin, 1989). These barriers have been attributed to creating hurdles precluding women from gaining leadership roles in policing.

Research has rarely focused on issues surrounding upward mobility of policewomen and the decision-making process policewomen follow in deciding whether to engage in the promotional process. There is a dearth of literature on the working experiences of women in the Garda Síochána, and almost none on the promotional process. It is within this context that the present chapter analyses a comprehensive range of national and international literature on the impact of gender on career progression in the police. The review is structured under a number of themes including the effects of being in a minority, policemen's attitudes towards policewomen, gendered deployment, and multiple stress roles.

2.2. Experiences of Being in a Minority

Martin (1996) discusses the impact of equal opportunities policies on policewomen in the UK concluding that opportunities for women's entrance and progression in policing compared to their male counterparts are improving. Brown(1998) believes Martin(1996) is premature in concluding that women have equal opportunities in the police by pointing out how women's numbers, role and status are still marginal in the police, with women being wholly under-represented both laterally and horizontally therein.

2.2.1. Numerical Representation

Kanter (1977) believes that women's inferior status in the workplace is attributed to their low proportional representation, which she refers to as 'tokenism', and the experiences that accompany this, rather than to their gender *per se*. In a study of women in a business corporation, she defined *skewed* groups as those in which there is a large preponderance of one type over another which she defined as a ratio of approximately 85:15, where the numerically dominant types control the whole group. The minority group are called 'tokens', for 'they are often treated as representatives of their category and not as individuals.

The importance of Kanter's (1977) work and its relationship to women in policing in all ranks is not merely in her discussion of ratios, but in her description of how tokenism affects those who are few in number. She demonstrates that 'tokens' are faced with 'token dynamics' or experiences, namely visibility, isolation, and assimilation and as a result they suffer performance pressures where they feel they need to work harder to prove themselves.

Kanter's (1977) analysis of these experiences is particularly pertinent to an analysis of policewomen's marginal position. The overall percentage of policewomen in the US is 12.7% (Lonsway et al, 2002) which compares to 18.1% in the UK (Metropolitan Police Authority, 2005). As outlined in chapter 1, policewomen in the Garda Síochána make up 22% of the workforce. As females progress in the Garda Síochána they occupy fewer positions, for example 12% (264) of sergeants are female, 7% (24) of inspectors are female, and 5%(10) of superintendents are female. This compares to 1949 male sergeants, 314 male inspectors and 173 male superintendents.⁵ As isolation, visibility, and assimilation are likely to be most powerful when women are in a greater minority, it is hypothesised that senior policewomen will experience these dynamics to a greater extent than their junior colleagues.

⁵ See Table 1.1. The Current Strength of the Garda Síochána May 2009 at Appendix B.

2.2.2. Coping Strategies Employed by Policewomen

Some studies suggest that women's under-representation in senior and supervisory ranks is due to women not being confident and aspiring to promotion to the same extent as men (Wexler and Quinn, 1985; Galerin, 1992; Martin, 1996). Wexler and Quinn's (1985) study of 21 policewomen found that women judged themselves less competent than men in a number of operational and tactical areas and in supervisory areas. While the sample is small, it nonetheless demonstrates that some policewomen may undermine their professional ability. The self efficacy approach to career development may be explained by Bandura's (1977) social learning theory. It suggests that a person's beliefs about their ability to successfully perform a given task or behaviour can significantly influence their behaviour. Lack of belief in one's ability can reduce aspirations, hence creating a barrier to career progression.

Furthermore, Kanter (1977) found that, regardless of sex, people in the minority who are placed in perceived powerless and low mobility situations respond similarly: they lower their aspirations and develop different patterns of occupational behaviour from those with wider opportunities and more power. She implies these minority groups are highly visible as people who are different and yet not permitted the individuality of their own characteristics. In the current context of policewomen and career progression this theme holds resonance. Kanter (1977) suggests that women are stereotyped by men into specific roles and they then begin to behave according to that stereotype. She posited that women are faced with an occupational role dilemma of either fading away and accepting the low expectations for the minority group or fighting the stereotypes and maintaining a higher profile for women in the workplace.

This hypothesis has been examined by Martin (1979), where in an observational study of 28 policewomen, she identified a typology of role traps policewomen resort to. 'POLICEwomen' were those who sought to be treated like their male colleagues and hoped to counter negative stereotypes by engaging actively in patrol work, making arrests and competing with policemen. 'PoliceWOMEN' accepted that policemen did not see them as equals, and were not careerists. They found it easier to construct their identity by

conforming to pre-existing stereotypes as devised by policemen. They were more accepted by policemen as they presented no competition to them in the promotion process. Martin (1979) describes women's adaptation to policing as falling along a continuum between 'POLICEwomen' and 'PoliceWOMEN'.

Halford (1987) stated she was bewildered by the inability of some very senior men to cope with a woman of comparable rank. Men appeared to deny women's competence however compelling the evidence. Martin and Jurik (1996) suggest that senior policewomen can face additional pressures in that men can invalidate their authority, by undermining their work efforts and magnifying their failures. 'Their visibility as tokens leads to little margin for error. The errors of individual women are exaggerated and generalised to all women as a class' (1996:69).

Silvestri (2003) posited that senior police management is perceived to be 'a club' and this acts as a barrier for senior policewomen. She said policewomen feel uncomfortable in management positions as they are not trusted by their male counterparts and are intentionally excluded from 'men only' discussions like golf, football and sexual exploits. She also found that many senior policewomen felt themselves especially isolated, having to outsmart their male colleagues in a male dominated world. Likewise, a female sergeant in Martin's (1989) study said that being isolated was a central experience of being a female supervisor.

The need to achieve organisational belongingness was a central feature of some senior women's narrative in Silvestri's (2003) study. Senior policewomen were characterised with a desire to 'fit-in' with the prevailing male cultures and power structures of the organisation, to integrate themselves within it and not look for visibility as women. Some women felt they had succeeded in joining the 'boy's network' by adopting male models of identity and behaviour: 'trying to be more aggressive than they need [ed] to be to prove a point' (Silvestri, 2003:119). One participant stated 'I wanted to be accepted and I never isolated myself... you don't want to be the one that stands out.' (Silvestri 2003:119). For women who feel they have managed to be accepted as 'one of the boys' after much effort, they may be less likely to relinquish this, by separating from this and

pursuing promotions (Martin, 1990). The feelings of isolation and increased level of visibility that comes from being a female in a male dominated peer group adds to the stress of a management position (Kanter, 1977).

In the policing context, Low (1993), Daum and Johns (1994), and Archbold and Schulz (2008) in their three individual studies revealed that the majority of policewomen believe they must work twice as hard as men in order to receive the same credit as their male counterparts. Also, policewomen are often viewed by policemen as working too hard and thus are seen as a threat by policemen as they disrupt the bonds of male group solidarity and undermine the definition of police work as men's work (Martin and Jurik, 1996).

2.3. Attitudes of Policemen Towards Policewomen

It is a common assertion that the single largest career barrier for women in policing is the attitudes and behaviour of their male colleagues. According to a number of commentators, they continue to oppose the presence of women on patrol and believe women are not physically or emotionally able to handle the job (Jones, 1986; Young, 1991; Heidenshon, 1992; Reiner, 1992; S.E. Martin, 1996). The issue of women in policing appears to be a contentious issue. Policing has always been described as one of the most 'gendered' professions, a male bastion (Martin, 1989, Heidenshon, 1992) premised on excluding and deriding women, (Young, 1991; Martin and Jurik, 1996). Heidenshon (1992) notes that gender was made important to policewomen rather than by them, at the insistence of male colleagues. She maintains that 'much research on women in policing is basically how women cope with policemen rather than with policing' (1992:84).

Gendered power and social control are concepts which must be explored when examining women's under-representation in supervisory and senior positions in policing. Young (1991) suggested that policewomen are denigrated, given low status, condescended to and denied social value by policemen. He stated that this in turn undermines policewomen's confidence in their ability to work as effectively as policemen. He

believed women would never be allowed by their male colleagues to occupy primary positions within the police, thus assuming the impossibility of gender equality in policing. A critique of his work however, is that he concentrated his research on the perspectives of policemen on policewomen.

The theory of masculinity has been a stumbling block to reform in the police. Policemen have drawn on images of the 'masculine cop' to enhance their sense of masculinity and to resist women's growing presence in policing (Martin and Jurik, 1996). The persistent myth that productive policing is directly linked to physical ability can have a negative effect on the careers of policewomen. Balkin (1988) and Lunnenborg (1989) found that even when policewomen demonstrate that they can do the job; policemen persist in believing they can not. This is because of a 'macho' desire to exhibit strength and superiority (Lunnenborg, 1989). In police departments such as the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) and Fraud where physical strength is transparently not a central requirement, discourses suggesting that women are not emotionally strong enough to cope are utilised instead (Martin and Jurik, 1996).

Silvestri (2003) postulates that using policewomen's physical 'unsuitability' as a justification for their continued exclusion becomes less tenable as women move upwards in the police hierarchy, with police managers the least likely to be called upon to exhibit physical displays of strength and prowess. She believes that the culture of masculinity, which is so often used to explain women's negative experiences and lack of progression in policing, 'does not possess sufficient explanatory power for making sense of the experiences of women who hold rank' (2003:39).

Discrimination by policemen against policewomen is a particularly potent method of preventing women from gaining full acceptance in policing. Discriminatory treatment is defined in terms of limited job related opportunities and exposure to sexual harassment (Brown, 1998). Sexual harassment can be seen as a means for policemen to exert social control and power over women by sexualising their bodies and treating them as sex objects, rather than police officers (Hunt, 1990; Thomann and Seritella, 1994). Campbell

(2000) reports how the Los Angeles Police Department in the 1990s had an organisation called 'Men Against Women', which purportedly had the explicit aim of driving women out by sexually harassing them. Anderson et al (1993) in a study of 2000 police officers in the UK found that 46% of policewomen had suffered harassment or abuse. They concluded that females working in male-dominated environments were particularly at risk of harassment and this impacts on their confidence and hence their career progression.

2.4. Gendered Deployment

An indicator of workplace justice and equity is patterns of deployment. Differential deployment to investigations and specialised units in policing is a form of discrimination and can act as a barrier and restrict career prospects for policewomen because of their limited exposure to the broader policing environment (Jones, 1986; Anderson et al, 1993; Martin and Jurik, 1996; Holdaway and Parker, 1998).

Jones (1986) made links between differential deployment and policewomen's under-representation in specialist and supervisory posts. She conducted a questionnaire survey of 119 policewomen and 244 policemen, and completed 40 interviews with policewomen in the Medshire police force. She devised a 'cause and effect spiral' which graphically depicts the police environment and culture as male oriented. She demonstrates that because some policemen doubt policewomen's abilities they deploy them in 'feminine' roles and reserve roles in areas such as the CID, traffic, firearms, and so on for themselves. One consequence arising is that policewomen cannot gain the necessary breadth of experience to further their careers. Jones (1986) argues that these women have fewer opportunities for advancement and that the lack of confidence that flows from this leads to a lack of commitment to the job. This in turn results in fewer women aiming to achieve promotion, which reinforces male stereotypes about women's lack of ability and ambition.

Holdaway and Parker's (1998) study of the employment experiences of policewomen in the UK found that 78% (205) of their participants had not applied for promotion in the previous three years. Almost one quarter of women (24%) reported that they felt they lacked in experience with 11% believing they lacked in skills/abilities, which could be an accurate view, although perhaps dependent on the selective patterns of work deployment. They found evidence of women being 'ghettoised' into stereotypical feminine roles, such as child abuse, sexual assault investigations, and administration, and excluded from roles such as CID, traffic, firearms, and drugs. They found that CID was a 'particular enclave of discriminatory and exclusionary practices' (1998:59) where policewomen working in a similar environment to CID in the Sexual Offences and Child Abuse Unit were not given the title of Detective Constable; were not afforded permanent status; and their services were not formally recognised as training for permanent posting to CID. Instead they were regarded as specialists, distinct from the CID, working in an area particularly suited to policewomen. Holdaway and Parker (1998) found that policewomen in their study had not been adequately exposed to crime work and their opportunities to enter the CID or to seek promotion was thereby restricted.

Westmarland's (2001) study on policing illustrated similar trends. In her study of the deployment of policewomen in two British police forces, she reported evidence of fewer women (12.5%) than men (35%) being successful when applying for CID. In addition, 14 out of 17 police officers in the Child Protection Unit in one police force, and 17 out of 32 in the other were female. She demonstrated that women were unfairly disadvantaged in their deployment compared to their male colleagues.

Boni and Circelli (2001) propose formal and informal mechanisms as explanations or justifications for the differential deployment practices for policemen and policewomen. They include negative attitudes of policemen about the ability of policewomen; the belief that policewomen should have a restricted role; self selection by policewomen into particular departments, where perhaps the working hours are conducive to family commitments; and 'chivalry' by male officers and supervisors where they perhaps shield

policewomen from potentially violent situations. They state that these mechanisms all serve to curb policewomen's career progression.

2.5. Multiple Role Stress

Another career barrier commonly cited in literature is work-family conflict. Whetstone (2001) found that family and childcare played much larger roles in policewomen's decisions to forego promotional opportunities than they did for policemen. The three main reasons policewomen did not take part in the promotional process were childcare, preference to remain in current assignment and the possibility of having to work 24-hour shift-work. The study found that policewomen are more likely than policemen to be constrained in their occupational upward mobility by gender-specific normative expectations and responsibilities, such as childcare and family commitments.

Holdaway and Parker's (1998) study found that 17% of policewomen compared to 5% of policemen indicated that potential conflicts with domestic commitments were a reason they had not applied for promotion. Also, in their study, 16% (42) of women but just 4% (13) of men with children reported that home duties often or very often interfere with work, which suggests that many more women had disproportionate responsibilities regarding child care and work related to it. They also found, like Whetstone (2001), that work-family conflict had an impact on aspirations for promotion, thereby acting as a career barrier to upward mobility for some policewomen. This area of research is important because it articulates the complexity of some of the variables that play a role in the progression of policewomen.

Studies by Dick and Jankowicz (2001) and Dick and Cassell (2004) revealed that the majority of policewomen accept the dominant oppressive perceptions and construction of police work and their position as 'token policewomen'. However, by doing so, this enables the working practices that act as barriers to mothers returning to work or progressing up the career ladder to go unquestioned and indeed to be treated as necessary.

They believe that by policewomen constructing an identity that policing necessitates working practices that render the job incompatible with motherhood, they 'consent' to the idea that combining roles in policing and motherhood is not possible.

2.6. Conclusion

It has been the intention of this chapter to set the broad theoretical framework for the thesis, as well as examining some of the specific debates within the literature concerning gender and policing. The research reviewed shows much evidence to support the view that the work of policewomen is constrained by societal structures of engendered inequalities. Heidensohn's (1992) argument that women are excluded from full membership of the police has been found to have more than a little credibility.

Internal and external barriers have been documented which play upon the employment experiences of policewomen. Women, however, are not passive in the wake of these constraints. In some ways policewomen reinforce the dominant assumptions about police employment their male colleagues espouse. In other ways they reject their marginalisation within the workforce. Evidently the problems surrounding female career progression are deep rooted and complex and these are inextricably intertwined. The following chapter details the research undertaken in the current study.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

The issue of gender and policing has been shown to be a complex issue affected by multifarious external and internal factors. This chapter outlines the research strategies adopted to extend the current analysis of gender and policing in Ireland. It documents the processes undertaken, the data collection methods chosen and the justification for same. It also includes ethical considerations and concerns.

3.2. Hypotheses

The research question which guided this study is:

Does Gender Impact on Career Progression in the Garda Síochána?

The study examined the following issues:

- The under-representation of policewomen in supervisory and management ranks in the Garda Síochána;
- The impact of gender in relation to policewomen entering specialist units, and being promoted in the Garda Síochána;
- The perceptions held regarding the role of policewomen in the Garda Síochána;
- If policewomen experience discrimination by their male colleagues in the Garda Síochána;
- If external gender-based factors have an influence on the career progression of policewomen in the Garda Síochána.

3.3. Research Approach

The researcher's endeavour in this study was to adopt an exploratory feminist approach, enabling female supervisory ranking members of the Garda Síochána to report on themselves, to identify concerns appropriate to them, and for their views to stand in their own right without reference to any male perspective. Policewomen in management positions remain in relatively uncharted territory in terms of research and analysis

(Silvestri, 2003) with the majority of studies focusing exclusively on the lowest levels of the organisation, favouring the lives of the rank and file police than those of their managerial counterparts. Policewomen in management positions in the Garda Síochána are knowledgeable agents who can contribute to the current state of knowledge about gender and policing. Heidenshon (1992) believes it is important to evaluate exclusively policewomen's views when researching policewomen's experiences. She does not lend weight to evaluating policemen's perceptions of their experiences.

3.4. Research Design

The primary research design was a correlational design utilising a cross-sectional survey methodology. Such a quantitative approach is based on deductive reasoning which 'moves from a pattern that might be logically or theoretically expected to observations that test whether the expected pattern actually occurs in the real world' (Maxfield and Babbie, 2005:23). In the context of policing and gender, quantitative methods can be used to combat suggestions that an individual woman's complaint is atypical, for instance in looking at their difficulties in achieving promotion (Jones, 1986; Halford, 1997). A quantitative approach can serve to 'put a problem on the map' (Reinharz, 1992:79) by showing that it is more widespread than originally thought. Of course it can also show that a problem is not that prevalent either. The data collected from the survey was supplemented with a documentary data collection process. Details of this component of data collection are described in the following section.

3.5. Documentary and Statistical Data

Archived documentary data spanning 50 years relating to female members in the Garda Síochána was analysed at the Garda Síochána Museum by the researcher. She spent a period exceeding 100 hours researching this line of enquiry. Original documents, some handwritten, some typed and signed, were organised into chronological order dating from 1948 until 1996. They were then analysed. The trail of correspondence amongst Garda Officials and with the Irish Government was examined. The content of the data

collected proved extremely relevant to the current study, as it served to provide a backdrop to the entry of women into the Garda Síochána in 1959, their initial training, their deployment, and their progression thereon. In addition, the author analysed documents dated between 1936 and 1961 relating to women's entry into the Garda Síochána in the National Archives Museum. This data provided insights relating to the campaigns sustained to recruit women into the Garda Síochána. Historical documents are a rich source of data for social research, providing a rich vein for analysis (Punch, 2005). The author was satisfied the documents were authentic, providing a credible account of events relating to women in the Garda Síochána. Statistics were sought by the researcher from Garda Human Resource Management in Garda Headquarters. The information sourced included current and previous statistics on the numerical representation of policemen and policewomen.

3.6. Primary Data Collection Instrument

The following section outlines details surrounding the primary data collection instrument, the questionnaire.

3.6.1. Survey Sample

Research participants for this study were all female sergeants, inspectors, and superintendents in the Garda Síochána. The entire population of 297 women in these ranks was surveyed.⁶ It was decided to exclude three female chief superintendents and one female assistant commissioner who hold management ranks in the Garda Síochána due to the likelihood of them being identified in the research.

The rationale for selecting this population was that all participants have experienced at least one promotion and are in a position to consider applying for further promotions. They have a range of work experience spanning a period of five years to in excess of thirty years. By analysing the experiences, attitudes and perceptions of these females a collective snapshot of supervisory ranking women in the Garda Síochána is provided

⁶ This population (n297) excluded the researcher who is a female sergeant in the Garda Síochána.

offering the potential to provide more generalised discussions on the position of senior policewomen.

173 surveys were returned in this study (see Table 3.1.). Official Garda records suggest that 24 females from the population surveyed were on either term-time, unpaid maternity leave, carer’s leave, unpaid special leave, or career breaks at the time of the data collection (HRM, 2009). However, it was not possible to establish accurately the number not available due to sick-leave, job-sharing, maternity leave, parental leave, and annual leave. Therefore the known available sample was 273 and not 297. Thus, the overall response rate was 63%. This can be regarded as a high response rate for a postal survey and is good for analysis and reporting (Maxfield and Babbie, 2005). As can be seen from the table below the participation population appears to be representative of the population surveyed.

Table 3.1 –Breakdown of Population Surveyed and Participation Rates

	Population Surveyed		Participation Rates	
	No.	%	No.	%
Superintendent	10	3.5	5	3
Inspector	24	8	14	8
Sergeant	263	88.5	154	89
Total	297	100	173	100

3.6.2. Survey Design

A fixed-design strategy was employed in the current study in the form of a postal questionnaire survey. The data collection instrument partially replicated elements of Jones’s (1986) UK study on ‘Policewomen and Equality’ and Adams’s (2001) Australian study of ‘Women in Senior Police Management’. With regard to building on existing data collection instruments, both researchers utilised questionnaire surveys to measure the concept of gender and policing in England and Australia. These studies were relevant to the various theoretical perspectives integrated in the present research. There is

evidence to show that modifying an instrument that already exists provides for a valid data collection instrument (Bachman and Schutt, 2008). By replicating elements of such surveys, comparisons can be drawn with other police forces.

Some amendments were made so as to tailor the survey specifically to suit the current study on the Garda Síochána. These amendments included changing terminology so as to provide clarity to the participants. In addition, other questions were devised in order to address themes which arose in the literature.⁷ Therefore a part-replication strategy was employed.

Despite the limitations of conducting a questionnaire, for example, non-verbal communication cannot be observed, low response rate, the participants may not answer the questions truthfully (Hagan, 2000), it was determined that the questionnaire was the most suitable collection instrument to use as an effective means of collecting data from a large sample over a wide geographical area. The majority of participants engage in shift work and are stationed countrywide. Furthermore, the author was conscious of her own biases as a female member of the Garda Síochána, and felt it was better not to engage with participants in a face to face interview capacity.

A draft survey was piloted among 10 colleagues. Amendments were made as required. On the 21st June 2009 survey packs including a cover letter (see Appendix F), the questionnaire survey (see Appendix G) and a self-addressed return envelope were posted to each participant. The cover letter included appropriate information such as why the survey was being conducted, how and why the respondent was selected, and why it was important for the participants to take part and return the questionnaire, and the fact that all answers would be treated with the utmost confidentiality (Maxfield and Babbie, 2005).

The questionnaire survey collected quantitative data which allowed the researcher to subject it to rigorous analysis. The following topics were included in the questionnaire:

⁷ For more information see the Explanatory Chart on the Survey Questions at Appendix D.

- demographic information;
- issues relating to participants workplace experiences in the Garda Síochána;
- career intentions of the participants;
- their views on the perceived and real barriers to career progression in the Garda Síochána; and finally,
- participants were invited to furnish comments on the contents of the questionnaire, or on any other aspect which they believed to be relevant to gender and career progression in the Garda Síochána.

The use of set structured questions ensured uniformity in the way questions were posed, consequently lessening the effect of the researcher's inherent bias as a female Garda. Standardized questionnaires have an important advantage in regard to measurement. 'The survey researcher is bound to the requirement of having to ask exactly the same questions of all subjects and having to impute the same intent to all respondents giving a particular response' (Maxfield and Babbie, 2005:272). At the same time, survey questionnaires have their weaknesses. Firstly, by standardising questions one could say we are trying to 'fit round pegs into square holes'. Survey research is generally weaker on validity and stronger on reliability as it presents all subjects with a standardised stimulus (Maxfield and Babbie, 2005).

In addition to the highly structured close-ended questions and to ensure the current picture of policewomen's experiences did not suffer from the inappropriate constraint the structured survey may have placed on them, a number of qualitative open-ended questions were incorporated. These were added for explorative purposes to allow the participants to elaborate and volunteer information about their personal experiences, thereby enhancing the quality of the quantitative data. This resulted in the collation of rich data.

3.6.3. Research Process: Access, Ethics and Procedures

In the policing environment, it has moreover, being claimed that police officers are distrustful and are not necessarily willing to complete questionnaires about sensitive issues (Ott, 1989). It has been argued that gaining access has been particularly delicate (Brown, 1996). Access in this study was secured directly with participants as the researcher is a member of the Garda Síochána, and therefore is afforded immediate access, namely an *inside insider* as per Brown's permutations (Brown 1996). This is in contrast to Silvestri (2003) who found the process of gaining access to senior policewomen to be fraught with difficulties.

Approval to carry out this research was granted by the Garda Research Unit. Details of the participant's names and stations were sought from Human Resource Management. The survey was compiled using the online computer tool www.surveymonkey.com. Initially, it was anticipated that the online computer survey would be distributed electronically. However, this was not feasible owing to the inconsistent access to external email in the Garda Síochána. It was then decided to distribute the survey through the internal post system in the organisation.

The voluntary nature of participation was conveyed by the researcher; thereby their completing the questionnaire was implying their consent. The researcher included contact details in the event that clarification would be sought by participants, and informed them they could access the results of the study if they so wished. All questionnaires obtained during the research were kept in a secure place, affording added security to the participants. Individual surveys had no identifiable features on them, thereby concealing the identity of each participant.

Due to the small numbers of females in senior ranks in the Garda Síochána, confidentiality and anonymity were essential. As Silvestri (2003:81) pointed out in her study 'senior policewomen's demand for anonymity and confidentiality also serves to tell us much about their understanding of what may happen as a result of 'speaking out''. By

assuring confidentiality, the researcher reaped more complete and informative questionnaires.

The Code of Ethics of the British Society of Criminology provided guidelines in terms of ethics which shaped the approach in this study. Weighing the potential benefits from doing research against the possibility of harm being done to the people being studied – or harm to other people - is a fundamental ethical dilemma in all research (Maxfield and Babbie, 2005). The participants and the Garda Research Unit were made aware the research was being carried out in part requirement for the Masters in Criminology in the Dublin Institute of Technology, and would be available to them at their request.

3.6.4. Data Analysis

The methods of analysis depend upon the data produced. This study collected data using nominal and ordinal variables. Details were documented regarding each individual survey circulated. Data preparation checks were carried out to ensure quality data had been collected in the surveys. This included recording details of participation in completing the questionnaires.

A computer aided analysis package called SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Scientists) was used in the data analysis process. An instruction class was provided on SPSS during the second year of this Masters course which assisted the researcher in her analysis. Once the data was prepared, coded and labelled, it was inputted. Each individual survey represented a case. The key variable in this research was ‘gender’ which represents an independent variable. The researcher aimed to ascertain if gender impacted on the dependent variable ‘career progression’ in her analysis. With regard to the open-ended questions, the data provided was analysed and recurring themes were identified.

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter has provided an outline of the data collection methods employed during the current study. The following chapter outlines the findings from the data analysis process.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

As previously stated, literature and research on the experiences of women in the Garda Síochána is sparse. This chapter documents the findings from an extensive examination of 50 years of Garda archival data and a comprehensive survey with 173 senior policewomen in the Garda Síochána. The first section of the chapter sets the context by presenting some of the key issues that emerged from the archival material. In the second section the key themes emerging from the survey research are highlighted. The data also draws on statistics from Human Resource Management in the Garda Síochána.

4.2. History of Women in the Garda Síochána

Having analysed the data in the Garda Museum, the themes which became apparent included discrimination against policewomen based on their numerical representation, entrance requirements, and the necessity to retire upon marriage and deployment practices.

4.2.1. Women's Entrance into the Garda Síochána

According to documentation obtained in the Garda Museum the history of women's entry into the Garda Síochána begins with the First World War in 1917, as a result of campaigns and pressure from the Irish Suffragette Movement. Two 'women-police' were appointed to the Dublin Metropolitan Police but were not attested as police constables and had no power of arrest. Their chief duties included such tasks as assisting policemen in the suppression of immoral conduct by females, watching disorderly houses, detecting cases of fortune telling and shop lifting (26th April 1948).⁸

⁸ In 1948 there were 3 women-police appointed in the Garda Síochána. It was believed by Garda Management in 1948 that these women did 'useful work' and were a necessary requirement in policing. These type of women-police were employed in the Garda Síochána up until 1973.

In 1926 the National Women's Council of Ireland raised the question of appointing policewomen and the matter was raised in 1930 by the Cork Council of Women. In December 1935, the Joint Committee of Women's Societies and Social Workers urged the Minister for Justice to sanction the appointment of policewomen with the same status as policemen. For the next 20 years, a sustained campaign was waged for the recruitment of policewomen by organisations such the National Council of Women for Ireland, Irish Women's Workers Union, and the Catholic Women's Federation.⁹ The Joint Committee of the Women's Societies and Social Workers led a successful campaign in the 1950's for the recruitment of policewomen by making the issue a topic of national debate and they promoted their activities through the media (28th October 1955).¹⁰ Finally, in January 1958, Oscar Traynor, the then Minister for Justice, approved the recruitment of policewomen with the same powers as their male counterparts (2nd Jan 1958).

Twelve policewomen were recruited and assigned to Dublin stations in 1959 and assistance with their training was provided by the British Home Office.¹¹ While, initially, it was considered that the work of policewomen would be similar to that of policemen, it transpired that they worked primarily in the investigation of crimes in which women and children were the victims or perpetrators. For example, they investigated incidents of prostitution, infanticide, begging, thefts, and domestic violence. They worked on the periphery of their male colleagues.¹²

⁹ National Archives, DT (Department of the Taoiseach), S6210, File on the Appointment of Women Police

¹⁰ The Joint Committee of Women's Societies and Social Workers highlighted that 'the Republic is still without a women police-force, in spite of urgent demands from many quarters'. They campaigned for Dublin City Council to press the matter with the Garda Commissioner. In December 1952, the Commissioner of the Garda Síochána informed the Minister for Justice that he was 'convinced of the present need for policewomen in Dublin'. The Minister replied in March 1953 and rejected the Commissioner's proposal

¹¹ Women Sergeant Prissick from Liverpool City Police was employed to assist in training the first 12 female recruits from July until December 1959.

¹² Various Reports dated from 1958-1971, Garda Archives, 2009

4.2.2. Equality in the Garda Síochána

Analysis of Garda archival material highlights the concern expressed by the Government and the Garda Síochána about the effect of the marriage bar on financial resources.¹³ The specific concern appeared to be that the bar would lead to money being wasted training female recruits who would resign on getting married.¹⁴ A discussion took place in the Dáil on the possible vetting procedures at the interview stage that would weed out those most likely to marry. One Government deputy suggested that ‘while recruits should not actually be horse-faced, they should not be too good looking; they should be just plain women and not targets for marriage’ (Dáil Debates, Vol. 168, c.629, 22 May 1958). The requirement to resign once policewomen married remained until 1973 when the marriage ban was lifted. In the following year 14 out of a total of 6,217 Gardaí were women, which amounted to one quarter of a percent of the total force, thus representing only a tiny minority (HRM, 2009).

Initially, eligible females had to be at least 20 years old, compared to 18 years for males, to join the Garda Síochána. In 1973, the Minister for Justice sought the Commissioners observations on the possibility of reducing the age requirement to enter the Garda Síochána from 20 to 18 years so that women would be on a par with their male counterparts. This came as a result of a complaint being made by a member of the public that the Garda Síochána discriminated against women on its entrance qualifications. The Commissioner’s response to the dialogue was that policewomen’s:

... functions are onerous and she may find herself on her own having to exercise judgement and responsibility calling for mental and physical maturity. I doubt if a girl would have reached that necessary degree of maturity at the age of 18 or 19 years. I consider a male arrives at that necessary degree of maturity and sense of judgement to perform police functions at an earlier age than a woman.

(27th September 1973).

¹³ When a policewoman in Ireland got married she was obliged to retire due to the civil service marriage ban which was in place for all civil service jobs. In the early days the numbers of women being recruited were extremely small and most of them served to replace the policewomen who retired on marriage.

¹⁴ The Commissioner felt that ‘unmarried women would be less likely to be burdened with domestic matters, and accordingly would apply themselves whole-heartedly to their profession’. However, he did indicate that ‘the balance of advantage would lie in favour of permitting married women to remain in the force’ once recruited and trained. Reports dated 4th and 9th Jan 1958, Garda Archives, 2009

The upshot was the age limit was not reduced for women. Furthermore, policewomen received only 85% of men's pay until the Anti-Discriminatory Pay Act 1974 ensured they received equal pay.

As well as the small numbers of policewomen recruited, the inequity in the entrance requirements and levels of pay between policewomen and policemen reinforced women's subordination to men in the Garda Síochána. In addition, their deployment was restricted to dealing with incidents involving children and women. Similar themes arose in the contemporary research which was carried out.

4.3. The Questionnaire

This section highlights the findings from the comprehensive survey of 173 senior policewomen including a brief outline of the demographic profile of the research participants.¹⁵ Themes identified in the research include the under-representation of policewomen in the Garda Síochána, work experiences of policewomen, the undermining of policewomen by policemen and external gender-based barriers.

4.3.1. Demographic Profile of Participants

As can be seen from Table 4.1. below 54% of senior policewomen in this study have between 11-20 years service and 49% are aged between 36 and 45 years. 55% of participants are married and 55% have children. Interestingly, 46% have sought additional educational qualifications in areas such as psychology, financial management, police science, law and community studies since they joined the Garda Síochána.¹⁶

Table 4.1. Demographic Profile of Research Participants

Service in the Garda Síochána	
5-10 years	21%
11-20 years	54%
Over 20 years	25%
Age Range	
26-35 years	31%
36-45 years	49%
46-55 years	20%
Marital Status	
Single	30%
Married	55%
Widowed/Divorced/Cohabiting	15%
Children	
No	45%
Yes	55%
Academic Qualifications Obtained since Joining the Garda Síochána	
No	54%
Yes	46%

¹⁵ Full Quantitative Data Analysis Details are listed at Appendix E.

¹⁶ The high education level of the participants echoes findings by Wertsch (1998) and Schulz (2003) who found that policewomen were exceptional in their educational level.

4.3.2. Under Representation of Policewomen

The current thesis confirms that women are under-represented both laterally and vertically in the Garda Síochána.¹⁷ In the current study 40% of participants believe there are fewer opportunities for promotion for females compared to their male colleagues. As demonstrated in Table 4.2. in 2008 45% of women compared to 67% of men eligible to go for promotion applied for same. Approximately one quarter of both males and females were successful but the reduced numbers applying for promotion amongst female candidates resulted in fewer numbers achieving promotion.

Table 4.2. Promotion Figures for 2008 for all Ranks in the Garda Síochána

	MALES	%	FEMALES	%
Eligible for Promotion 2008	1569	100%	502	100%
Applying for Promotion 2008	1056	67%	227	45%
Successful in Promotion 2008	254	24%	58	25%

Source : Human Resource Management, 2009.

Whilst women hold fewer supervisory positions than men, one wonders is this under-representation due to not enough women putting themselves forward for promotion. 83% of participants have reported that they have not applied for promotion since achieving their last promotion. However, the study reveals that 49% of them had only been promoted to their current rank in the last 2 years, which indicates that perhaps these women had insufficient service to seek further promotion.¹⁸ However, there may be other underlying factors why they did not apply for promotion.

Participants are currently deployed as set out in Table 4.3. below. Almost one third are employed on administration duties with just 5% of participants employed on detective duties. Furthermore, there are currently 1933 detectives in the Garda Síochána of which 262 (13.5%) are female (HRM, 2009). This figure includes females at Garda rank. It would appear that as female's progress by rank, their representation in the detective unit

¹⁷ See Table 1.1. Current Strength of the Garda Síochána May 2009 at Appendix B and Table 1.2. Garda Female Strength 1979 – 2009, Appendix C.

¹⁸ There is a requirement in the Garda Síochána to have at least 2 years service in any rank before one is entitled to present for promotion to the next rank.

decreases. These figures are significant as the exclusion of women from detective units, also referred to as the CID, has been highlighted in other police forces as a means to discriminate against women (Holdaway and Parker, 1998; Westmarland, 2001).

Table 4.3. Current Job Description of Participants – Percentage Representation.

Current Job Description	%
Operational Duties	44%
Administrative Duties	29%
Specialist Unit	20%
Detective Unit	5%
Other	2%

When asked to indicate the areas in which they had gained experience during their career 80% felt that their gender influenced their deployment experiences to an extent. 65% of participants have had experience in administration duties, yet less than one fifth (18%) of participants have had experience in drug units, 8% in the fraud unit, 20% in traffic and only 2% in scenes of crime units. It is worth drawing attention to these sections as these are areas where women have been traditionally under-represented (Jones, 1986; Holdaway and Parker, 1998). Participants indicating their experience in sexual assault (41%) and child protection (27%) investigations appear to be small given that literature implies this is where policewomen are most often deployed (Holdaway and Parker, 1998).

Over half the respondents (57%) stated that supervisors treat female members differently when allocating duties compared to policemen. Common themes were identified in their responses such as supervisors failing to allow two women to patrol together, excluding women from detective units and detailing women to work in the public office as they are deemed to have more inter-personal skills to deal with the public. Some respondents felt their supervisors were paternal towards women, whilst others stated that women had to deal with all sexual crimes or crimes involving children. Four policewomen reported that supervisors considered pregnant women a hindrance when faced with deployment issues. One supervisor was reported as saying that if he had a choice he would not have women

working as they have babies and go on maternity leave. Clearly, there is evidence of biased deployment of women in the Garda Síochána.

4.3.3. Experiences of Policewomen in the Garda Síochána

Whilst policewomen are in the minority in the Garda Síochána, 60% of participants stated that they experienced a positive aspect to being such. Examples provided included experiencing positive discrimination due to their being a women by gaining positions in specialised units such as drugs, crime task force, and traffic because they were women. Also, they experienced situations in which their positions as policewomen were 'sexualised' by the public who requested that a female investigate their sexual assault complaint which resulted in positive feedback.

Nearly, three quarters (72%) of participants reported that they have not felt isolated from policemen solely based on their gender. This compares to 28% who stated they did feel isolated. A number of participants spoke of the 'boy's club' where men exclude policewomen from work golf outings and from conversations on such topics as football, horses, and sex. One participant reported 'you are never 'one of the lads' no matter how accepted you are there will always be a time when you are excluded' whilst another implied that 'senior male members of the same rank believe they are superior to women'. As with international literature (Kanter, 1977; Low, 1993; Daum and Johns, 1994), 65% of participants suffer performance pressure and believe policewomen have to work harder than policemen to prove themselves to their peers. One participant commented 'In order for women to succeed half as much as men, they must do everything twice as well'.

Interestingly, 67% of participants indicated they did not feel a sense of camaraderie with other policewomen. Some mentioned that camaraderie is a gender-neutral feeling in policing, or that they just simply have nothing in common with the other policewomen. Recurring themes included that some policewomen tend to become more masculine in their behaviour to be accepted by policemen, whilst others see women as a threat, and that women are competitive and jealous of each other. In addition, it was felt that due to

the recent increase in the numbers of women joining the Garda Síochána camaraderie is not as evident as it was when their numbers were smaller. Evidence in this study supports Silvestri's (2003) conclusions that many women in policing do not seem to identify with other women and work as a sisterhood.

4.3.4. Undermining Policewomen's Ability

Young (1991) indicated that policewomen are given low status, and denied social value by policemen. Evidence to the contrary is found in the Garda Síochána where 80% of participants disagreed that 'policemen undermine and disrespect policewomen'. Additionally, 83% would recommend a career in the Garda Síochána to another female. This in itself asserts that policewomen believe policing is a suitable career for women. Three quarters (74%) of participants indicated that the attitude of their male colleagues did not form a barrier to them progressing in their career. It would appear from these figures that policewomen in the Garda Síochána have achieved legitimacy amongst their male colleagues.

Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that policemen do not fully accept policewomen in the Garda Síochána. A further examination of the data indicates that 57% of the participants believe 'policemen find it hard to cope with women doing well in their career' and that 42% indicated that 'policemen find it hard to fully accept a female supervisor'. A significant barrier to career progression highlighted by almost half (46%) of the participants was the attitudes of senior ranking staff. It would seem that whilst policewomen perceive they have achieved legitimacy to an extent amongst their male colleagues, they have not fully achieved same with senior management. These barriers however do not appear to impact on the progression of all participants.

Brown and Heidenshon (2000:13) state 'the bedrock of opposition to women as police officers relates to their physiques and sexuality'. Women's bodies are somehow deemed as unsuitable to the task of policing. Whilst 59% of participants believe that policemen actually find it difficult to accept that women should perform the same duties as they do, the vast majority (91%) of them believe that policewomen should take on all the same

duties as policemen. This data suggests that policewomen in the Garda Síochána do not feel fully accepted as equals by their male colleagues regarding deployment issues.

Exploring this theme, policewomen were asked to assess their own capability in dealing with a number of situations in comparison to policemen. They believed they were better than men at dealing with a wide range of situations including intervening in family crises/domestic disputes (59%), clerical work (65%), supporting victims of crime (54%), and questioning adult (61%) and child (64%) victims of sexual assaults. In policing literature this work has been seen as stereotypically 'women's work'. Incidents such as domestic disputes are potentially violent, yet such work is seen as being 'rubbish work' by policemen (Walklate, 1996). Whereas policewomen are decried by policemen for not being capable in potentially violent situations, 79% of participants agree that 'policewomen are as good as policemen in potentially violent situations'. Policewomen in the current study feel they possess the attributes required to handle policework. Almost three quarters (73%) of participants disagree that 'policework is too dangerous for women', even though the vast majority (86%) of them have struggled unaided with a violent prisoner on at least one occasion.

Literature posits that social control of policewomen is exercised by policemen through sexual harassment and discrimination and this serves to act as a barrier to their career progression (Thomann and Seritella, 1994). This does not appear to be the case in the current study where the majority of participants stated that sexual harassment (94%) and discrimination (79%) did not act as barriers to their career progression. Furthermore, over three quarters (78%) reported that they were not at the time of the study being exposed to discriminatory, intimidating or undermining behaviour. However, it is noteworthy that over one fifth (22%) of participants were experiencing these behaviours, with the largest number of these women being undermined by their colleagues. The majority of instigators of the behaviours were male. Some participants described how the experiences made them more determined to succeed, however, the majority of experiences had a very negative impact such as losing confidence and being sick due to stress.

Recurring themes included being excluded for decision-making processes, comments being made about their lack of ability, and being commented on due to their sexual preference. One female stated ‘the unhappiness in my current role goes home with me and I comfort eat’. Another female felt pressurised to tell the station party she was gay so as to avert further speculation on her sexuality. Unbelievably, some participants decided not to go forward for promotion due to their treatment, with one participant actually contemplating ‘quitting’ her job. As can be seen, where females do experience discriminatory treatment, it can have a detrimental impact on their working and personal life.

It is noteworthy in this study that whilst a large proportion of the participants reported they were not exposed to discriminatory, intimidating or undermining behaviour, there is opposing evidence demonstrating they were exposed to harassing behaviour. About two thirds (64%) of participants reported that they heard male colleagues talking excessively about sex in the previous five years. The majority (89%) had heard comments being made by policemen about the physical appearance of other women and 35% had heard suggestive jokes about their own physical appearance within the same time period. It could be that policewomen have become hardened to the actions and ‘chat’ of their male colleagues. These actions and comments effectively constitute acts of sexual harassment and serve as a means to degrade and effect social control over them (Thomann and Seritella, 1994).

4.3.5. Work-life Balance

Literature suggests that the conflict between balancing work and family life create a barrier for policewomen in their career (Holdaway and Parker, 1998; Whetstone, 2001). When asked about the influence of external gender-based factors on career progression 77% of participants with children indicated that family commitments create a barrier for them. This compares to 16% of women without children. Additionally, 55% of mothers indicated that childcare creates a barrier for them. Almost three quarters (73%) of participants agreed that the ‘Garda Síochána should do more to make it possible for

women to combine a police career with childcare’. It would seem that these women believe that they do not have an equal opportunity to become parents and thrive in policing.

The degree of conflict between participant’s work life and family life was assessed by asking how each impact upon the other. 58% of all participants stated that work impacts upon their family and/or home environment, whilst 31% stated their family/home life impacted upon their work environment. As is highlighted in Tables 4.4. and 4.5 below, the impact for participants with children was greater than those without.

Table 4.4. Impact of Work on Family and/or Home Environment for Participants With and Without Children

	YES	NO
No Children	15%	85%
Children	46%	54%

Table 4.5. Impact of Family and/or Home Life on Work for Participants With and Without Children

	YES	NO
No Children	52%	48%
Children	64%	36%

Juggling family and career responsibilities was aggravated by factors including shift-work, overtime, taking phone-calls when off duty, and being transferred long distances from home. One participant highlighted the stress felt as a result of investigating child pornography and abuse cases whilst being a mother, and feeling unable to discuss same with family members. Currently, there appears to be an ‘irresolvable conflict’ for some participants between being a policewoman and a mother in the Garda Síochána.

4.4. Conclusion

The findings in this study appear to be consistent with previous research on gender and policing which has shown that women face considerable obstacles in progressing their career in policing. However, there were exceptions to the literature, in that for example, only a small proportion of participants experienced isolation, and 80% of them believed policemen do not undermine or disrespect policewomen. This chapter identified themes relevant to women's progression in the Garda Síochána, and these themes will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1. Introduction

Women are 50 years in policing in Ireland and would appear to have been totally restricted in their progression up until the last decade. In this chapter, the key findings presented in the preceding chapter are drawn together and a theoretical framework explaining policewomen's perception of the impact of gender on career progression in the Garda Síochána is proposed. It is imperative to remember that the issues highlighted in this study were not raised by all participants, and therefore cannot be taken as representative of all participants, and all female members in the Garda Síochána.

5.2. Equal Opportunities for Senior Policewomen in the Garda Síochána

Historical data sourced in the current study correlates with international literature that progress for women in policing between the early part of the 20th century and the 1980's was slow (Young 1991, Brown, 1998). Contemporary data confirms this is still the case. There is strong evidence indicating that policewomen are currently under-represented both laterally and horizontally in the Garda Síochána in comparison to their male colleagues, hence their role in exercising social control is severely curtailed therein. These differences are attributable in part to the fact that women have not been policing in Ireland in significant numbers long enough to have shown up in the highest ranks. Currently, their power and influence as senior officers is limited.

The current findings confirm Kanter's (1977) assertion that female workers struggle to climb the corporate ladder in a predominantly male organisation as 40% of participants believe there are fewer opportunities for promotion for policewomen compared to policemen in the Garda Síochána. It is shown that policewomen do in fact attempt to achieve promotion and are successful in doing so. However, the problem is that there would need to be a higher proportion of policewomen compared to policemen attempting to achieve promotion in order to extend their social control into the higher echelons of the Garda Síochána. Baxter and Wright (2000) show mathematically that to effect even a

small increase in the proportional representation of women in senior management levels there needs to be a substantial increase in the representation of women in the lower ranks. There is evidence supporting the fact that progress is being made as women's representation in the force is increasing annually.¹⁹ Nonetheless, there are underlying factors which appear to impact on the decisions policewomen take when contemplating going for promotion, such as lack of experience, and childcare.

Kanter's (1977) hypothesis on 'assimilation' holds true in the current study as it is demonstrated that policewomen in the Garda Síochána were historically deployed and are currently deployed differently to their male colleagues to areas deemed to be 'feminine' and are predominantly excluded from 'male' roles. Also, they are largely excluded from senior positions in the Garda Síochána. This affirms Jones's (1986) and Holdaway and Parker's (1998) argument that policewomen face differential deployment which can restrict their experiences and inhibit their career prospects.

From the outset, gender certainly appears to have an impact on the opportunities available to policewomen to enter specialist units and achieve promotion. However, at variance, each of the senior women in this study has been successful in achieving at least one promotion, thereby implying that their minority status and deployment have not restricted their career progression. There is evidence to support the theory that supervisors are paternal towards policewomen, that some policewomen have chosen certain posts that are conducive to family commitments and that the negative attitudes of policemen have impacted on their deployment. To forward this premise, an in-depth interview with each participant might glean specific information regarding their deployment experiences. By doing so, it would be possible to accurately ascertain if the mechanisms proposed by Boni and Circelli (2001), which explain the differential deployment of policewomen, hold explanatory power for policewomen in Ireland.

¹⁹ See Table 1.2. Garda Female Strength 1979-2009 at Appendix C

5.3. Status and Prestige of Senior Policewomen

The issue that some policewomen working in a male-dominated profession feel isolated in the Garda Síochána was implicit in the work of Kanter (1977) and Silvestri (2003) who highlighted that senior women in policing often experience isolation. Kanter (1977) would have expected the majority of the participants in the current study to experience isolation given their minority status, but this was not the case. According to Silvestri (2003), feelings of isolation result in women feeling the need to emulate their male colleagues in order to be accepted. Some evidence was found in the current study which supports this where women were reported as being more masculine in order to be acknowledged in work. Others made special efforts not to 'isolate' themselves from policemen. Policewomen should not feel the need to emulate their male colleagues in order to be acknowledged.

International literature specifies that women can use professionalism as a strategy for gaining acceptance and that one of the key ways in which policewomen demonstrate professionalism is through extremely hard (Heidenshon, 1992; Low, 1993; Martin and Jurik, 1996; Archbold and Schulz, 2004). This notion is present in the current study with two thirds of policewomen feeling the need to work harder than men to prove themselves to their peers. The report that some senior policemen think they are superior to women of the same rank confirms Halford's (1997) theory that no matter how compelling the evidence of a woman's competence, they are never accepted by men of comparable rank. In addition, as in Adams's (2001) study, the attitudes of senior management was seen as a barrier to career progression for almost half the participants in the current study. These attitudes can cause stress to policewomen.

The majority of participants in the current study did not feel there was a sense of camaraderie amongst policewomen. This may be confirmation of Kanter's (1977) finding that women turning their backs on other women may be a necessary survival tactic when women gain seniority, as they are desperate to 'fit in' and prove they are as good as men. It may well have been a survival tactic; however, it may be due to the extremely low numbers of women in the higher ranks and the lack of opportunity to bond

with their female peers. Whilst exploring the instances of discriminatory, intimidating and undermining behaviour, it was established that some policewomen instigated such behaviour against their female colleagues. Discrimination coming from other women may be particularly frustrating given that women would be looking towards other females for support and advice. Silvestri (2003) depicts this as 'being in the sisterhood with no sisters'.

The proposition that policewomen develop coping strategies or resort to role traps in order to survive in policing recalls Martin's (1979) typology where he distinguishes between 'POLICEwomen' and 'policeWOMEN'. 'POLICEwomen' show higher commitment to their jobs and do the same duties as policemen and 'policeWOMEN' conform to pre-existing stereotypes devised by policemen. It seems that Ireland's senior policewomen on the whole are falling along Martin's (1979) continuum of 'POLICEwomen' and 'policeWOMEN'. They appear to represent Westmarland's (2001) new breed of policewomen who can combine both femininity and competence. They have successfully competed against policemen and achieved at least one promotion, and some have also engaged in traditional feminine roles in their careers.

5.4. A Challenging Environment for Senior Policewomen

Negative male attitudes are often cited as significant barriers that may deter women from aspiring to and achieving promotion (Wexler and Quinn, 1985). This study appears to show that male stereotypes about women's ambition and ability have been partially eroded in the Garda Síochána. This contrasts greatly with Jones's (1986) study and with the findings from the Garda Museum regarding the initial entry of women into the Garda Síochána. Currently, policewomen believe policemen do not undermine them, yet there is evidence indicating there are other underlying factors such as policemen doubting policewomen's ability as supervisors, policemen finding it hard to deal with policewomen who do well in their career, and sexualised attitudes. Nevertheless, this does not appear to impact on the aspirations of all policewomen to achieve promotion.

The findings in this study have refuted the proposition posed in the literature that sexual harassment is highly prevalent in policing (Anderson et al, 2003). However, there is evidence to support the theme that sexualised behaviour or attitudes is tolerated with discourses on excessive talk about sex, and passing comments on women's bodies. The evidence lends support to Kanter's (1977) hypothesis that women's bodies are highly visible in male dominated workplaces, and to Hunt's (1990) finding that women's bodies are treated as sex objects, rather than as police officers, which creates an obstacle in the way of gender equality in policing. Even if women tolerate some degree of sexual banter, and joking there should be careful consideration of negative outcomes for women as a group and for men who are made uncomfortable by such behaviours.

Kanter's (1977) findings on women in the workplace have proved to be significant in this study. However, some findings imply that the effects of tokenism on those who are few in numbers should be reconsidered. It is not suggested that tokenism does not exist or that policewomen do not face challenges in policing. Instead, it is asserted that there may be more complex issues influencing their progression. Their numerical representation in policing may not provide a full enough picture of workplace experiences for all minority groups in the workplace.

For example, Ott (1989), in an application of Kanter's (1977) thesis, proposed that the incursion of women in policing is particularly opposed by men. In contrast, Ott found that a typical feminine occupation, nursing, is not resistant to the migration of men into the profession. She states that the status and prestige of a group are salient features of the likely discriminatory treatment of minorities. Thus, male dominated organisations are said to suffer loss of prestige with increasing numbers of women. This indicates that gender and not necessarily being in a minority has a huge impact on career progression for policewomen. She observed that the focus on tokenism may actually hinder women's progress because it detracts from sexism in the workplace and in the larger society. She stated women are constrained in their upward mobility due to gender-specific normative

expectations, such as those mentioned by Whetstone (2001), namely childcare and family commitments.

5.5. External Gender Based Factors

Jones (1986) found that policewomen were expected to choose whether they wanted to be a mother or a policewoman, and faced overt hostility if they decided to be both, whereas, women in the Garda Síochána appear to be able to combine both work and family life. However, for some participants, their careers are on hold as they have decided to forfeit further promotions pending raising their children, and others have opted for part-time work, and administrative roles as the working hours are more conducive to family life, thus restricting their operational experience. Additionally, some policewomen voiced concerns regarding the way supervisors deploy pregnant policewomen. Home responsibilities may contribute to the finding that not as many policewomen put themselves forward for promotion compared to policemen. This is supported by Holdaway and Parker (1998) who found that more than three times as many policewomen as policemen cited potential conflict between home and work as reasons why they did not apply for promotion.

Westmarland (2001) suggested that policewomen are confident and freely choose their career directions. However, their choices are 'constrained' by certain barriers. It holds true that these barriers are not present for all policewomen in the current study, for example, family and child-care commitments. As certain barriers are weakened or removed, other issues may gain greater salience and prominence for policewomen, for example, when a policewoman has a baby.

The majority of participants indicated that the Garda Síochána needs to do more to make it possible for women to combine a police career with childcare. Garda management provides work flexibility through initiatives such as job-sharing and term-time. Family friendly policies will be best developed through consultation with its members to ensure a balance is reached between achieving organisational objectives and meeting the

individual needs of its members. Opportunities to achieve promotions and enter specialist areas whilst working part-time need to be explored. With 70% of females having below 10 years service, it will be hard to retain women in the Garda Síochána in the future if arrangements are not put in place to support a work-life balance.

5.6. Conclusion

As the number of females in the Garda Síochána rises, albeit at a slow pace, they are now an ever-increasing section of the composition of Irish policing. The work in this research provides much evidence to support the view that their work is constrained by societal structures of engendered inequalities. The policewomen in this study seem to have worked their way through the ranks and 'successfully' negotiated the masculine nature of policing. It could very well be that those policewomen who were unable to deal with the male culture of policing left the profession or did not go for promotion. Consequently, it could be perceived that the females in this study have demonstrated their resilience and adaptability to the police culture. In the same way, women with significant work/family conflict may have been more likely to leave the Garda Síochána before attaining a promotion or to have remained at Garda rank. This suggests that policewomen are experiencing greater gender equality in certain spheres of policing, and certain obstacles to their progression are being dismantled.

The next reasonable step in forwarding a programme of research in this area would be to research females at Garda Rank and explore the experiences of the four women excluded from this study to investigate if the results arrived at in the current study are relevant to all females in the Garda Síochána. Whilst this study adapted a quantitative approach, the researcher believes that in-depth interviews with females would result in more qualitative data which would serve to affirm or refute issues highlighted in this study. Implications for further research are listed at Appendix A.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Introduction

The current study focuses on the experience of female supervisors in the Garda Síochána. The purpose of this study was to address the question ‘Does Gender Impact on Career Progression in the Garda Síochána?’ National and international literature was examined in relation to gender and policing. Archived documentary data in the Garda Museum was analysed and a postal questionnaire was utilised to appraise the research question. This study has indicated in numerous ways that gender impacts on the experiences of policewomen in the Garda Síochána. Many of the issues that have been raised have been investigated on a superficial level only and would benefit from further and more intense research.

6.2. Revisiting the Research Question.

‘Does Gender Impact on Career Progression in the Garda Síochána?’ In order to answer this question several lines of enquiry were employed. Firstly, the under-representation of policewomen in senior ranks was explored and charted to show they are wholly under-represented both laterally and horizontally throughout the organisation. The study has demonstrated that women have only made limited headway into strategic positions of power in the Garda Síochána, both in terms of gaining experience in specialist units and in terms of progression through the ranks.

Another line of enquiry was to ascertain if policewomen experienced discrimination at the hands of their male colleagues. Tentative evidence was proffered that the amount of sexual harassment and discrimination faced by policewomen in the Garda Síochána is diminishing to some extent compared to that reported in international research. However, there are still factors which negatively affect the quality of some policewomen’s work environment and career prospects. The reduction in opposition from policemen opens up the possibility of encouraging more women to join, remain and thrive in the Garda Síochána. Possible reasons for this reduction in male opposition is that over the past

decade there has been a large increase in the numbers of females joining the Garda Síochána and perhaps policemen, who have been used to working in an almost exclusively male domain, are now interacting more with females as colleagues, thereby realising their value.

There was confirmation that policewomen's career patterns have been restricted due to external gender-based factors. Issues identified as facing policewomen included combining work and family life. For some policewomen their roles as mothers have restricted their progression in policing. There was confirmation that gender certainly has an impact on the career progression of these women in the Garda Síochána. The issue of how policewomen can advance their careers is now a key gender equality issue in the Garda Síochána.

While the Garda Síochána has been gradually increasing the numbers of women recruits, it has a long way to go in terms of providing career paths for those women. Improving the representation and experiences of women in the hierarchy therefore must be a key goal and, to do this, a whole range of issues need to be tackled. It is important to understand how policewomen can be better assimilated into what has traditionally been a male-dominated profession.

6.3. Recommendations

A number of practical and interdependent initiatives suggest themselves from the research findings which can assist the Garda Síochána in developing a workplace favourable to gender differences:

- It is important that policewomen who have gained promotion to management positions are visible to those more junior in service. An initiative such as a mentoring programme should to be undertaken by senior police managers. This could provide women recruits with guidance but also act as a conduit to feed back to senior management the experiences and/or difficulties faced by females at the bottom of the organisational hierarchy.

- It is recommended that a Career Development Unit be created in the Garda Síochána. There needs to be a realisation of the differences between policemen and policewomen and the diverse range of skills they each possess. Careers for police personnel should be developed in a systematic way. This unit would be able to supply members on a confidential capacity with information regarding the specialist units, promotions, and the skills and abilities required for same.
- Policing is a varied occupation, and while some crime-fighting is involved, there are many duties that could be performed within normal working or part-time hours. Flexible work patterns, such as permanent night shifts, which will allow front-line policing to be organised in different, perhaps more family-friendly, ways should be considered. Such changes will, themselves, produce a reconstruction of policing as it becomes apparent that a ‘good’ police person need not be one that has been prepared to subordinate home to work for a number of years.
- The evidence shows that part-time work is seen as a type of stop-gap which does not encourage career development. Gardaí are not, as yet, invited to apply for specialist units and promotions on a part-time basis. Policies should be established in order to research the possibility of having members working part-time in specialist posts and getting promoted therein.

It is appreciated that the recommendations in this report may be difficult and expensive to implement. They may not all be entirely practical given the budgetary and staff constraints within which the Garda Síochána is forced to work.

6.4. Concluding Thoughts

In summary, the data accumulated during this study combine to affirm the hypothesis that gender impacts on career progression in the Garda Síochána for some policewomen. This suggests that the Garda Síochána needs to concern itself with gender issues voiced by its policewomen since these issues were found to be associated with less satisfying personal and work outcomes.

It is hoped that the findings of this research, and the recommendations made, will stimulate further debate which can be translated into firm action. Consequently the issue is not solely one of gender, rather it is about creating a work environment so all employees can reach their full potential, thereby allowing the organisation to optimise both individuals' achievements and organisational performance.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS OF THE RESEARCHER

I am currently employed as a female sergeant in the Garda Síochána working in a predominantly male environment. I have been employed in the Garda Síochána since 1993 and have seen many changes taking place, including the increasing numbers and impact of policewomen. It is now 50 years since the first twelve policewomen were recruited in Ireland. I had the pleasure of meeting 8 of these recruits at a recent function which celebrated women's 50 years in policing. Having researched the archived material in the Museum, it was a pleasure to put faces to their names.

I decided to research the impact of gender on career progression in the Garda Síochána as I believed this was an issue worthy of exploration. I concentrated this study on females as I understood the issue was more prevalent for women than men. As a female researcher of policewomen I was soon to acquire the label of 'feminist' in my workplace with remarks being made by my male colleagues about policewomen, such as them 'breaking the glass ceiling'. This appeared to be an easy accomplishment given my interest in studying my female colleagues and apparently neglecting my male colleagues. As a police researcher researching a police organisation I was classified as an 'insider insider' as per Brown's (1996) permutations. Thereby, I was afforded immediate access to the research participants. In addition, I knew quite a few of the participants which I believe assisted me in getting a good response rate in the survey.

I found the experience of researching this topic rewarding. I received rich qualitative data from the participants; however, unfortunately I was unable to report on all the issues raised. Some participants thanked me for highlighting the issue of gender and policing. Comments made included:

'I'm delighted you are highlighting the issue of how women are treated in this job';
'I think that this is a fantastic survey and I hope that your results and study will impact upon the decision making process within the Garda Síochána';
'I'm interested to see the results of your study and if they will have any impact in the Garda Síochána'.

In addition I did receive some criticism with one participant stating the questionnaire was 'totally biased' against men, and also another highlighted my failure to address issues such as nepotism and bullying.

All in all, completing this thesis was a challenging but rewarding experience. It was a learning curve for me and I am delighted to have accomplished the goal of completing this research, and the MA in Criminology.

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APPENDIX A

Implications for Further Research

Implications for Further Research

This study is limited to the perceptions of female sergeants, inspectors and superintendents in the Garda Síochána. During the course of conducting this research, it became clear there are other areas which would benefit from further research, hence expanding our knowledge on gender equality issues in the Garda Síochána.

- Whilst this study aimed to survey supervisory females in the Garda Síochána, the study suffers in that female chief superintendents (n3) and the one assistant commissioner in the Garda Síochána were not included in the research. Whilst the reason for not including this population in the current study was stated, mainly to protect their identity, it is anticipated that they would provide invaluable information to a study on gender and career progression in the Garda Síochána.
- As the numbers of women progressing through the ranks in the Garda Síochána is increasing their presence becomes more relevant to research. The impact these women have or will have on policing in the future is under-researched. What type of management styles do they adopt in comparison to their male colleagues? What problems do/will they face? Are these women atypical of the women who have gone before them and those who will come after them?
- Carrying out research amongst male members of the Garda Síochána would contribute to the field of research, for instance, their views might serve to affirm or negate those views held by their female colleagues. The use of male informants in many ways can strengthen the data from policewomen, as they may offer corroboration regarding the extent and seriousness of certain experiences.
- Research into the perceptions held among rank and file Gardaí in the Garda Síochána would serve to make important contributions to the study of gender and career progression. For example, an examination of female policewomen at Garda rank would provide data on the relevance of Kanter's (1977) hypothesis on 'tokenism' and whether these category of policewomen experience the effects of tokenism to the same extent as their female colleagues in management.
- One theme which arose in the research was 'sexuality' with a small number of participants indicating they were gay. Perhaps this aspect of research could be furthered in order to assess the perception of the impact of sexuality and career progression in the Garda Síochána. This is an under-researched area internationally. However, I am aware it may be difficult to identify openly gay policewomen and/or policemen for such a study.

APPENDIX B

Table 1.1. Current Strength and Rank Structure in the Garda Síochána (May 2009)

**Table 1.1. Current Strength and Rank Structure in the Garda Síochána (May 2009)
including male-female representation**

Strength of the Garda Síochána - May 2009					
	Male		Female		Total Strength
	No.	%	No.	%	
Commissioner	1	100	0	0	1
Deputy Commissioner	2	100	0	0	2
Assistant Commissioner	10	91	1	9	11
Chief Superintendent	48	94	3	6	51
Superintendent	173	95	10	5	183
Inspector	314	93	24	7	338
Sergeant	1949	88	264	12	2213
Garda	8733	75	2894	25	11627
Total	11230	78	3196	22	14426

Source : Human Resource Management, Garda Headquarters, 2009.

APPENDIX C

Table 1.2. Garda Female Strength 1979-2009

Female Garda Strength-Figures as at 31st December 1970 – 2009 (May)

		FEMALE		FEMALE		FEMALE		FEMALE		FEMALE		FEMALE		FEMALE	
YEAR	1970		1971		1972		1973		1974		1975		1976		
TOTAL	4390	8	4632	8	5341	8	5779	12	6217	14	6525	22	6588	22	
%		0.18%		0.17%		0.15%		0.21%		0.23%		0.34%		0.33%	
YEAR	1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		
TOTAL	7021	26	7624	66	7884	81	8270	120	8380	171	9299	227	9797	266	
%		0.37%		0.87%		1.03%		1.45%		2.04%		2.44%		2.72%	
YEAR	1984		1985		1986		1987		1988		1989		1990		
TOTAL	10103	308	10283	347	10537	373	10521	380	10457	380	10401	380	10635	417	
%		3.05%		3.37%		3.54%		3.61%		3.63%		3.65%		3.92%	
YEAR	1991		1992		1993		1994		1995		1996		1997		
TOTAL	10867	486	11038	560	10928	613	10828	687	10810	804	10823	866	10960	949	
%		4.47%		5.07%		5.61%		6.34%		7.44%		8.00%		8.66%	
YEAR	1998		1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		
TOTAL	11233	1093	11456	1250	11640	1411	11814	1543	11899	1704	12018	1848	12209	2058	
%		9.73%		10.91%		12.12%		13.06%		14.26%		15.38%		16.86%	
YEAR	2005		2006		2007		2008		2009						
TOTAL	12264	2181	12954	2508	13755	2834	14435	3132	May 14426	3196					
%		17.78%		19.36%		20.60%		21.70%		22.15%					

Source :Human Resource Management, Garda Headquarters, 2009.

APPENDIX D

Explanatory Chart on Survey Questions

Explanatory Chart on Survey Questions

The following Chart identifies questions which were replicated in this study from Jones's (1986) study and Adams's (2001) study, including details of amendments made where applicable. In addition new questions that were devised by the researcher are highlighted:

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION	SOURCE	ADDITIONAL NOTES
1.1, 1.2, 1.3.	Researcher	Basic demographic details sought.
1.4	Jones (1986)	The category 'co-habiting' was added in order to be more inclusive and accurate in the current climate.
1.5	Jones (1986)	Age categories of children were added as the researcher believed the impact of having younger children would be different to older children, for example – childcare requirements.
1.6.	Jones (1986)	Phraseology amended to cater for Irish Education System
1.7.	Jones (1986)	Copied directly from Jones's study.
WORKPLACE EXPERIENCES	SOURCE	ADDITIONAL NOTES
2.1., 2.2., 2.3.	Researcher	Statistics on the current distribution of females in specific areas of work were sought in this question.
2.4.	Adams (2001)	This question was included as literature indicates that policewomen as mothers and carers often miss out on career opportunities due to their absence from the workplace.
2.5.	Adams (2001)	Adams's term Career Advancement was changed to Career Progression.
2.6.	Jones (1986)	This question was amended to reflect the current sections/units in the Garda Síochána. Considerable changes were made in order to make the question relevant and meaningful to the participants.
2.7.	Jones (1986)	Participants were invited to state why they enjoyed their most enjoyable section in order to provide more qualitative data.
2.8.	Researcher	This question was added in order to explore why participants disliked certain sections. Jones did not ask this question in her study.

2.9.	Researcher	This question was asked in order to assess the extent to which gender is perceived to have influenced the participants deployment.
2.10.	Jones (1986)	Literature indicates policewomen are deployed differently to policemen and this question was included so as to allow the participants to provide data on same.
2.11.	Jones (1986)	This question was amended so as to reflect units/sections in the Garda Síochána. Sections such as firearms, drugs, and fraud were added as the literature suggests these are areas where women are under-represented. Sections such as questioning victims of sexual offences, supporting victims of crime were added as the literature indicates that women are over-represented in these departments. I wanted to ascertain if policewomen in the Garda Síochána believed they had the ability to carry out certain jobs like their male counterparts.
2.12.	Jones (1986)	Copied directly from Jones's study.
2.13.	Researcher	This question was asked as the literature indicates that policewomen are often stereotyped into roles perceived to be appropriate for them. They are sometimes treated as a 'token' policewoman. The researcher wanted to ascertain if this has been a factor for women in the Garda Síochána.
2.14., 2.15.	Researcher	Literature indicates that policewomen experience isolation from policemen solely based on their sex. Sometimes, policewomen respond by forming a bond with other policewomen. These two questions were asked to ascertain if policewomen in the Garda Síochána experience isolation and camaraderie in the workplace.
2.16.	Jones (1986)	The majority of these statements were taken from Jones's study. The phraseology was amended so as to make the statements more understandable to the participants. Other categories were included such as 'policewomen tend to work harder than policemen', 'policemen tend to undermine and disrespect women' and 'our command and control dispatch system has led to policewomen being dispatched to jobs to which they are not suited' as these themes appear in the literature.
2.17.	Jones (1986)	Copied directly from Jones's study.

2.18	Jones (1986)	Ratings were added to this question to analyse the extent to which each situation was experienced by participants.
CAREER INTENTIONS	SOURCE	ADDITIONAL NOTES
3.1.	Adams (2001)	The answer to this question will have an impact on whether a person has applied for promotion again in the recent past.
3.2.	Adams (2001)	This question was included in order to assess the participant's perceptions of the promotion system.
3.3., 3.4.	Adams (2001)	These questions was included to measure the participants career intentions.
3.5.	Adams (2001)	Participants who decided not to go for further promotion were asked to indicate the factors that contributed to that decision.
3.6.	Jones (1986)	This question was amended. The current question compares opportunities for policewomen and policemen in order to obtain a more precise record of participants perceptions of promotion opportunities using the variable 'gender'.
3.7.	Adams (2001)	Adams's question was amended by removing his reference to 'training' and asking the participants if they believe they have the necessary ability and skills to achieve a higher ranking management position. There is no explicit training required in the Garda Síochána to achieve promotion.
3.8.	Adams (2001)	As above, Adams's reference to training in this question was removed.
BARRIERS	SOURCE	ADDITIONAL NOTES
4.1.	Adams (2001)	This question was used to assess the degree to which the said barriers impeded a policewoman's career. Adams's barrier 'racial discrimination' was removed as the researcher felt this was not currently appropriate in the Garda Síochána. The 'Men's Club Network' was changed to 'attitudes of male colleagues' as it was felt the latter statement would be more clear.
4.2.	Anderson et al (2003) and Adams (2001)	Anderson's question was amended from 6 months to 5 years to get a current picture of sexual harassment in the Garda Síochána. Statements from Adams's study were also included.

4.3., 4.4., 4.5	Adams (2001)	These questions were asked in order to assess the participant's current experience of discrimination, undermining and intimidating behaviour.
4.6.	Adams (2001)	Adams's measure of sexual discrimination was used here. 5 out of his 8 statements were incorporated into this study. Amendments were made to the terminology to allow clarity for the participant.
4.7., 4.8.	Researcher	These questions were included as the literature indicates that work-family conflict is a relevant theme when discussing gender and career progression.
ELABORATE ON OTHER ISSUES	Researcher	This question was added so as to invite participants to volunteer qualitative data on issues in the questionnaire and also issues which the participants felt were important in relation to the topic 'gender and career progression in the Garda Síochána'.

APPENDIX E

Full Quantitative Data Analysis Details

Full Quantitative Data Analysis Details

Section 1 – Demographic Information

Rank	No.	%
Sergeant	154	89%
Inspector	14	8%
Superintendent	5	3%
Years of Service		
5-10 years	37	21%
11-20 years	92	54%
21-30 years	42	24%
Over 30 years	2	1%
Age Range		
26-35 years	54	31%
36-45 years	85	49%
46-55 years	34	20%
Marital Status		
Single	52	30%
Married	93	55%
Widowed	1	.6%
Divorced	4	2.4%
Co-habiting	21	12%
Children		
No	74	45%
Yes	91	55%
Educational Qualifications held Prior to Joining the Garda Síochána		
Leaving Certificate	85	49%
Third Level Certificate or Diploma	53	31%
Undergraduate Degree	24	14%
Postgraduate Degree	7	4%
Other	4	2%
Academic Qualifications Obtained since Joining the Garda Síochána		
No	93	54%
Yes	78	46%
Current Job Description		
Operational Duties	77	44%
Administrative Duties	51	29%
Specialist Unit	34	20%
Detective	8	5%
Other	3	2%

Section 2 – Workplace Experiences in the Garda Síochána

2.4. Have You Ever Taken A Period Of 3 Months Or More Away From Work While Employed In An Garda Síochána	No.	%
Yes	94	55%
No	78	45%
2.5. Do you believe the interruption(s) had an impact on your career progression?	No.	%
YES, it has hindered my career progression	22	13%
YES, it has helped my career progression	4	2.4%
NO, it has not had an effect on my career progression	51	30%
Not applicable	78	45%
Don't know	17	10%

2.6. Which of the following areas have you worked in during your career in An Garda Síochána?	Yes	%	No	%
Regular Uniform Patrols	171	99.4%	1	.6%
Regular Uniform Supervision	116	67%	56	33%
Community Policing	57	33%	115	67%
Detective/Plain Clothes Unit	73	42%	99	58%
Traffic	34	20%	138	80%
Administration Work	111	65%	61	35%
Command and Control	20	12%	152	88%
Human Resource Management	13	8%	159	92%
Garda Training Sections	54	31%	118	69%
Sexual Assault Investigations	71	41%	101	59%
Child Protection Investigations	46	27%	126	73%
Drugs Unit	31	18%	41	82%
Fraud Unit	13	8%	159	92%
Scenes of Crime Unit	4	2%	168	98%
Juvenile Liaison Work	13	8%	159	92%

2.9. To What Extent Do You Feel Your Gender Has Influenced Your Deployment Experiences In An Garda Síochána?	No.	%
Not at all	35	20%
To a little extent	47	28%
To some extent	68	40%
To a large extent	20	12%
2.10. Do you think that Garda Supervisors treat female members differently when allocating duties compared to their male colleagues?	No.	%
Yes	94	57%
No	72	43%

2.11. Compared To Male Members Of An Garda Síochána, how would you assess your own capability in the following situations?	BETTER	%	SAME	%	WORSE	%
Making arrests	9	5%	154	90%	9	5%
Intervening in family crises/domestic disputes	102	59%	68	40%		
Traffic Duties	10	6%	147	85%	15	9%
Foot patrol	15	9%	153	89%	4	2%
Observation/surveillance work	31	18%	126	73%	15	9%
Work involving firearms	11	7%	102	61%	54	32%
Community Policing	46	27%	120	70%	5	3%
Collecting Evidence	28	16%	139	82%	3	2%
Working with Juvenile Offenders	47	28%	118	69%	6	4%
Report Writing/Clerical Work	112	65%	57	33%	4	2%
Working on Fraud Cases	20	12%	133	79%	16	9%
Supporting victims of crime	92	54%	79	46%		
Questioning adult victims of sexual assaults	105	61.4 %	65	38%	1	.6%
Questioning child victims of sexual assault	110	64%	59	35%	2	1%
Working on drugs cases	4	2%	150	88%	17	10%
Interviewing female suspects	48	28%	118	69%	6	3%
Interviewing male suspects	18	11%	145	84%	9	5%
Dealing with a crowd of 4-6 male drunks	17	10%	107	63%	47	27%
Threatening situations where someone has a knife/gun	11	6%	138	81%	22	13%
Supervision of subordinates	42	24%	127	74%	3	2%

2.12. Which Of The Following Definitions Most Closely Describes The Way In Which You Personally Think Policewomen Should Be Employed In An Garda Síochána?	No.	%
Policewomen should take on all the same duties as police men	155	91%
Policewomen should take on similar duties to policemen EXCEPT those where violence is anticipated	15	8.4%
Policewomen should Not do the same work as policemen, but should specialise in duties such as female offenders and victims, juveniles and children, and missing persons.	1	.6%

2.13. Have You Ever Experienced A Positive Aspect To Being A Female Member Of An Garda Síochána?	No.	%
Yes	96	60%
No	63	40%
2.14. Do you felt there is a sense of camaraderie among policewomen as a result of their being in a minority in a male dominated profession such as An Garda Síochána?	No.	%
Yes	55	33%
No	111	67%
2.15. Have you ever felt isolated from male colleagues solely based in your gender?	No.	%
Yes	49	28%
No	124	72%

2.16. Role Of Policewomen	SA	%	A	%	DK	%	D	%	SD	%
16a	12	7%	47	27%	16	9%	77	45%	20	12%
16b	5	3%	12	7%	9	5%	113	67%	30	18%
16c	2	1%	7	4%	14	8%	86	50%	63	37%
16d	57	33%	86	50%	8	4%	13	8%	9	5%
16e	3	2%	31	18%	11	6%	86	50%	40	23%
16f	43	25%	69	40%	9	5%	45	26%	7	4%
16g	33	19%	103	60%	13	8%	19	11%	3	2%
16h	32	18%	67	39%	17	10%	48	28%	9	5%
16i	17	10%	60	35%	31	17%	57	33%	8	5%
16j	17	10%	55	32%	9	5%	80	46%	12	7%
16k	7	4%	46	27%	26	15%	87	50%	7	4%
16l	60	35%	65	38%	23	13%	18	10%	6	4%
16m	24	14%	51	30%	22	13%	72	42%	3	1%
16n	20	12%	49	28%	38	22%	58	34%	7	4%
16q	4	2%	7	4%	71	41%	72	42%	19	11%
16r	4	2%	13	8%	18	10%	98	57%	39	23%

SA= Strongly Agree; A= Agree; DK= Don't Know; D= Disagree; SD= Strongly Disagree.

2.17. In Your Present Position, What Proportion Of Your Work Would You Estimate Involves The Realistic Possibility Of Physical Violence?	No.	%
Under 10%	108	63
Up to a Quarter	39	23
Up to a half	15	9
More than a half	9	5

2.18. Have You Ever Been In Any Of The Following Situations?	0	%	1/2	%	3/4	%	>4	%
Been threatened verbally	1	.6	8	5	28	16	136	79
Struggled unaided with a violent prisoner	25	14	70	41	28	16	50	29
Threatened by someone with knife/gun	71	41.4	66	38	24	14	12	7
Been physically assaulted	51	30	64	37	35	20	23	13

0 = once; 1/2 – once or twice; 3/4 = 3 or 4 times; >4 = more than 4 times.

Section 3 – Career Intentions

3.2. Have you applied for and missed out on promotion since your last promotion?	YES	%	NO	%
	30	17%	143	83%

3.3. Do You Want To Get Promoted Again?	Y	%	P	%	DK	%	PN	%	DN	%
	55	32	39	23	33	19	23	13	22	13

Y = Yes definitely; P = Probably; DK = Don't Know; PN = Probably not; DN = Definitely not;

3.4. How Willing Would You Be To Move To Another Unit Or District If You Got Promoted?	VU	%	U	%	DK	%	W	%	VW	%
	28	17%	14	8%	18	11%	82	48%	27	16%

VU = Very unwilling; U = Unwilling; DK = Don't know; W = Willing; VW = Very willing;

3.5. What Factors Have Contributed To your Decision Not To Go Forward For Promotion	YES	%	NO	%	N/A	%
Preference to remain in current position	36	21	61	36	73	43
Childcare/family commitments	55	32	41	24	74	44
Salary	3	2	93	55	74	43
Lack of available vacancies	11	7	85	50	74	43
Lack of sufficient service	4	2	92	54	74	44
Lack of skills	1	.6	95	55.4	74	44
Approaching retirement	8	5	88	52	74	43
3.6. Compared To Male Members, Do You Think There Are					NO.	%
More opportunities for promotion for female members					23	14%
Equal opportunities for promotion for all members					62	36%
Fewer opportunities for promotion for female members					68	40%
Don't know					18	10%

Question	N A A	%	N C	%	D K	%	SC	%	CC	%
3.7. Are You Confident In Your Own Ability And Skills To Achieve A Higher Ranking Management Position Than The One You Are Currently In?	0	0	7	4	5	3	54	32	105	61
3.8. How confident are you that you could successfully perform the duties of a higher ranking position in An Garda Síochána	1	1	5	3	6	3	49	29	111	64

NAA = Not at all confident; NC = Not confident; DK = Don't know; SC = Slightly confident; CC = Completely confident.

Section 4 – Barriers to Career Progression

4.1. Barriers	NA	%	NAA	%	LTE	%	SE	%	LE	%
1.a. Inflexible work patterns	39	23%	70	42%	25	15%	22	13%	12	7%
1.b. Lack of training	34	20%	75	44%	32	19%	20	12%	9	5%
1.c. Insufficient education	36	21%	103	60%	19	11%	10	6%	4	2%
1.d. Family commitments	30	17%	57	33%	27	16%	28	16%	31	18%
1.e. Lack of adequate childcare	62	36%	58	34%	17	10%	13	7%	22	13%
1.f. Spouse's/ partners attitude	52	30%	92	53%	14	8%	13	8%	2	1%
1.g. Lack of career guidance	34	20%	87	51%	26	15%	20	12%	4	2%
1.h. Prejudice of colleagues	26	15%	107	63%	23	14%	10	6%	4	2%
1.i. Attitudes of senior ranking staff	18	11%	73	43%	40	23%	30	18%	11	5%
1.j. Attitudes of male colleagues	21	12%	109	64%	26	15%	12	7%	4	2%
1.k. Lack of personal confidence	19	11%	90	53%	46	27%	16	9%	0	0%
1.l. Discrimination	23	13%	112	66%	24	14%	7	4%	5	3%
1.m. Sexual harassment	35	20%	127	74%	5	3%	3	2%	1	1%

NA = Not applicable; NAA = Not at all; LTE = To a little extent; SE = To Some Extent; LE = To a large extent;

4.2. Please indicate how often you have experienced any of the following acts from male supervisors or co-workers in the last 5 years?	0	%	1/2	%	3/4	%	>4	%
2.a Male colleagues draw attention to my being a women in ways I regard as unnecessary	83	48%	54	31%	14	8%	21	12%
2.b. I hear suggestive jokes and stories about women	32	19%	47	27%	15	9%	78	45%
2.c.I hear comments about the figure and appearance of women	19	11%	38	22%	25	15%	89	52%
2.d. I hear men talking excessively about sex	62	36%	46	26%	22	13%	43	25%
2.e.I hear suggestive jokes about my figure or appearance	113	65%	39	23%	10	6%	10	6%
2.f. I have been touched, stroked or pinched	130	76%	30	17%	6	3.5	6	3.5
2.h. I have been subjected to a serious sexual assault	169	98%	3	2%	0	0%	0	0%
2.i. I have seen pornographic photos which are not related to an investigation	130	75%	27	16%	8	5%	7	4%
2.j. I have had crude or offensive sexual remarks made about me.	140	81%	24	14%	1	.6%	7	4%

0 = once; 1/2 – once of twice; 3/4 = 3 or 4 times; >4 = more than 4 times.

Question	YES	%	NO	%	N/A	%
4.3. In Your Current Position Are You Exposed To Discriminatory, Intimidating Or Undermining Behaviour?	38	22%	134	78%	-	-
4.4. Do these behaviours impact on you personally?	34	20%	3	2%	134	78%
4.5. Do these behaviours impact on you professionally?	25	15%	12	7%	134	78%
4.7. Does your job in An Garda Síochána spill over into your family and/or home environment?	100	58%	73	42%	-	-
4.8. Does your family and/or home life spill over into your job in An Garda Síochána?	53	31%	119	69%	-	-

4.6. Regarding discrimination, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.	SD	%	D	%	N	%	A	%	SA	%
6.a. Discrimination is no longer a problem in An Garda Síochána	26	15	83	48	41	24	21	12	1	1
6.b. Women often miss out on a good job in An Garda Síochána due to discrimination	5	3	51	30	51	30	57	33	8	4
6.c. It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner in An Garda Síochána	10	6	61	35	50	29	49	28	2	2
6.d. An Garda Síochána have reached a point where men and women have equal opportunities for achievement.	11	6	70	41	38	22	50	29	3	2
6.e. Senior management have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted.	11	6	45	26	74	43	35	21	6	3

SD = Strongly disagree; **D** = Disagree; **N** = Neither agree nor disagree; **A** = Agree;
SA = Strongly agree.

APPENDIX F

Cover Letter Accompanying Survey

21st June 2009

To _____

Re: Attached Survey

My name is Goretti Sheridan and I am the Sergeant in charge of the District Drug Unit in Tallaght. I am currently undertaking a Masters in Criminology in Dublin Institute of Technology, Mountjoy Square, Dublin 1. As part of this course I am in the process of completing a Thesis, the title of which is **“Does Gender Impact on Career Progression in the Garda Síochána?”** As part of my research I am sending a survey to all female Sergeants, Inspectors and Superintendents in An Garda Síochána (297 in total excluding me). The reason I have chosen to survey this specific female population is that all participants will have experienced at least one promotion, and are in a position to consider pursuing further promotions.

Literature indicates there is a serious shortfall of females occupying supervisory and management positions in police forces internationally, as they have been suppressed by internal and external factors. The focus of this study will be to analyse the current perceptions, attitudes and beliefs held by female members in the Garda Síochána. There is a deficit in research carried out in relation to gender and policing in Ireland, and I hope to fill this void.

I respectfully seek your assistance in this research, and ask that you complete the attached survey. The survey should take you no more than 15 minutes to complete. By completing the questionnaire you will assist me in ensuring my findings are truly representative of the population being surveyed. The findings could be used to highlight

possible areas for improvement, both for the benefit of individual members and the Garda Síochána as a whole. The Garda Research Unit has approved this study.

Your participation is completely voluntary and your responses are strictly confidential. Individual surveys will have no identifiable features on them, thereby concealing the identity of each participant.

I respectfully request that completed questionnaires be returned to me in the addressed envelope enclosed prior to 20th July 2009.

Thank you very much for your assistance, and if you require further information regarding this study please feel free to contact me on 01-6666050.

Yours faithfully,

(Goretti Sheridan)

APPENDIX G

Questionnaire Survey

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

Does Gender Impact on Career Progression in the Garda Síochána?

Please find attached questionnaire which is divided into 5 Sections as follows:

1. Demographic Information
2. Workplace Experiences in An Garda Síochána
3. Career Intentions
4. Barriers to Career Progression
5. Opportunity for Suggestions

Basically each section has close ended questions which require the ticking of a circle. However, I have included some open-ended questions where you can expand on your views if you so wish.

Thank you for consenting to complete this questionnaire.

It will take you approximately 15 minutes.

You can be assured that your responses to this questionnaire will remain completely confidential.

1. Demographic Information

1. Rank in An Garda Síochána

Sergeant

Inspector

Superintendent

2. Service in An Garda Síochána

Under 5 Years

5-10 Years

11-20 Years

21-30 Years

Over 30 Years

3. What age are you?

Under 25 years

26-35 years

36-45 years

46-55 years

Over 55 years

4. Marital Status

Single

Married

Widowed

Divorced

Cohabiting

5. How many children, if any, of each age group do you have?

Under 5 years

6-10 years

11-17 years

18 years and over

Not applicable

6. What Educational Qualifications did you have when you joined An Garda Síochána?

Leaving Certificate

Undergraduate Degree

Third Level Certificate/Diploma

Postgraduate Degree

Other (please specify)

7. Have you obtained any other academic qualifications since joining An Garda Síochána?

Yes

No

If YES, please specify:

2. Workplace Experiences in An Garda Síochána

1. Please indicate which of the following best describes your current job description.

Operational Duties (in uniform)

Specialist Unit

Administration Duties

Detective Unit

Other (please specify)

2. Looking at your current position, how many people do you manage?

3. In your current position what is the approximate gender distribution of your subordinates? (eg. 20% female, 80% male)

4. Have you ever taken a period of 3 months or more away from work while employed in An Garda Síochána (EXCLUDING for recreational purposes)?

Yes

No

If YES, for what reason?

5. Do you believe the interruption(s) had an impact on your career progression?

YES, it has HINDERED my career progression

NO, it has not had an effect on my career progression

DON'T KNOW

YES, it has HELPED my career progression

NOT APPLICABLE

If YES, in what way?

6. Which of the following areas have you worked in during your career in An Garda Síochána?

a. Regular Uniform Patrols

f. Administration Work

k. Child Protection Investigations

b. Regular Uniform Supervision

g. Command and Control

l. Drugs Unit

c. Community Policing

h. Human Resource Management

m. Fraud Unit

d. Detective Unit/Plain Clothes Patrols

i. Garda Training Sections

n. Scenes of Crime Unit

e. Traffic

j. Sexual Assault Investigations

o. Juvenile Liaison Work

Other (please specify)

7. Which one of these areas did you MOST enjoy working in? WHY?

8. Which one of these sections did you LEAST enjoy working in? WHY?

9. To what extent do you feel your gender has influenced your deployment experiences in An Garda Síochána?

Not at all

To a little extent

To some extent

To a large extent

10. Do you think that Garda supervisors treat female members differently when allocating duties compared to their male colleagues?

Yes

No

If YES, in what ways are the duties females are employed on different?

11. Compared to male members of An Garda Síochána, how would you assess your own capability in the following situations?

	Better	Same	Worse
a. Making arrests	jn	jn	jn
b. Intervening in family crises and domestic disputes	jn	jn	jn
c. Traffic Duties	jn	jn	jn
d. Foot patrol	jn	jn	jn
e. Observation/Surveillance work	jn	jn	jn
f. Work involving firearms	jn	jn	jn
g. Community policing	jn	jn	jn
h. Collecting evidence	jn	jn	jn
i. Working with juvenile offenders	jn	jn	jn
j. Report writing/ Clerical work	jn	jn	jn
k. Working on fraud cases	jn	jn	jn
l. Supporting victims of crime	jn	jn	jn
m. Questioning adult victims of sexual offences	jn	jn	jn
n. Questioning child victims of sexual offences	jn	jn	jn
o. Working on drug cases	jn	jn	jn
p. Interviewing female suspects	jn	jn	jn
q. Interviewing male suspects	jn	jn	jn
r. Dealing with a crowd of 4-6 male drunks on the street	jn	jn	jn
s. Threatening situation where someone has a knife/gun	jn	jn	jn
t. Supervision of subordinates	jn	jn	jn

12. Which of the following definitions most closely describes the way in which YOU PERSONALLY THINK policewomen should be employed in An Garda Síochána

- a. Policewomen should take on ALL the same duties as policemen
- b. Policewomen should take on similar duties to policemen EXCEPT those where violence is anticipated
- c. Policewomen should NOT do the same work as policemen, but should specialise in duties such as female offenders and victims, juveniles and children, and missing persons

Please elaborate on this view

13. Have you ever experienced a POSITIVE aspect to being a female member of An Garda Síochána?

Yes

No

If yes, what were the circumstances?

14. Do you feel there is a sense of camaraderie among policewomen as a result of their being in a minority in a male dominated occupation such as An Garda Síochána?

Yes

No

Please elaborate

15. Have you ever felt isolated from male colleagues solely based on your gender?

Yes

No

If YES, for what reason?

16. With regard to the role of policewomen, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a. Policemen find it difficult to accept that women should perform the same duties as they do	jn	jn	jn	jn	jn
b. Policewomen do not have the physical strength that is required for policework	jn	jn	jn	jn	jn
c. Most policewomen leave the police in order to get married and/or have a family	jn	jn	jn	jn	jn
d. I would recommend the police to another female as a career choice	jn	jn	jn	jn	jn
e. Some policework is too dangerous for policewomen	jn	jn	jn	jn	jn
f. Policewomen have to work harder than policemen to prove themselves to their peers	jn	jn	jn	jn	jn
g. Policewomen are just as capable in potentially violent situations as men	jn	jn	jn	jn	jn
h. Policemen find it hard to deal with policewomen who do well in their careers	jn	jn	jn	jn	jn
i. Policemen do not feel they can rely on policewomen if they are confronted with a potentially violent situation	jn	jn	jn	jn	jn
j. Policemen find it hard to fully accept a female supervisor	jn	jn	jn	jn	jn
k. Policemen are unnecessarily protective towards policewomen when they are working together	jn	jn	jn	jn	jn
l. An Garda Síochána should do more to make it possible for women to combine a police career with childcare	jn	jn	jn	jn	jn
m. Policewomen tend to work harder than policemen	jn	jn	jn	jn	jn
n. Policewomen stick to the rules more than policemen	jn	jn	jn	jn	jn
o. Our command and control dispatch system has led to policewomen being dispatched to jobs to which they are not suited.	jn	jn	jn	jn	jn
p. Policemen undermine and disrespect policewomen	jn	jn	jn	jn	jn

17. In your present position, what proportion of your work would you ESTIMATE involves the realistic possibility of physical violence?

Under 10%

Up to a quarter

Up to a half

More than a half

18. Please indicate whether you have ever been in any of the following situations during the course of your duties as a member of An Garda Síochána

	Never	Once/Twice	3 or 4 times	More than 4 times
a. Been threatened verbally	jn	jn	jn	jn
b. Struggled unaided with a violent prisoner	jn	jn	jn	jn
c. Been threatened by someone with a knife, gun or other weapon	jn	jn	jn	jn
d. Been physically assaulted	jn	jn	jn	jn

3. Career Intentions

1. What was the year of your last promotion?

2. Have you applied for and missed out on promotion since that time?

Yes

No

If YES, what reasons (IF ANY) were given for your unsuitability or failure to secure the position?

3. Do you want to get promoted again?

Yes, definitely

Probably

Don't know

Probably not

Definitely not

4. How willing would you be to move to another unit or District if you got promoted?

Very unwilling

Unwilling

Don't know

Willing

Very willing

5. If you have decided not to go for further promotions, what factors have contributed to that decision? Tick the appropriate circles.

a. Preference to remain in current position

e. Lack of sufficient service

b. Childcare/ family commitments

f. Lack of skills

c. Salary

g. Approaching retirement

d. Lack of available vacancies

h. NOT APPLICABLE

Other (please specify)

6. Compared to male members, do you think there are:

a. More opportunities for PROMOTION for female members

c. Fewer opportunities for PROMOTION for female members

b. Equal opportunities for PROMOTION for all members

d. Don't know

7. Are you confident in your own ability and skills to achieve a higher ranking management position than the one you are currently in?

Not at all
confident

Not confident

Don't know

Slightly confident

Completely
confident

8. Given the opportunity, how confident are you that you could successfully perform the duties of a higher ranking position in An Garda Síochána?

Not at all
confident

Not confident

Don't know

Slightly confident

Completely
confident

4. Barriers to Career Progression

1. Some people experience BARRIERS in their career. Think about your own experiences. To what extent has each of the following presented a barrier to your career progression in the past 5 years? Please tick the appropriate response.

	Not applicable	Not at all	To a little extent	To some extent	To a large extent
a. Inflexible work patterns	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Lack of training	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Insufficient education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Family commitments	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Lack of adequate childcare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Spouse's/Partners attitude	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Lack of career guidance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. Prejudice of colleagues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. Attitudes of Senior ranking staff	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j. Attitudes of male colleagues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k. Lack of personal confidence	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l. Discrimination	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m. Sexual Harassment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

What other significant barriers, if any, were there during the course of your career?

2. Please indicate how often you personally have experienced any of the following acts from male supervisors or co-workers in the last 5 YEARS?

	Never	Once or twice	2-5 times	More than 5 times
a. Male colleagues draw attention to my being a women in ways I regard as unnecessary	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. I hear suggestive jokes and stories about women	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. I hear comments about the figure or appearance of women	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. I hear men talking excessively about sex	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. I hear suggestive jokes made about my figure or appearance	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f. I have been touched, stoked or pinched	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
h. I have been subjected to a serious sexual assault	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
i. I have seen pornographic photos in my workplace which are not related to an investigation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
j. I have had crude or offensive sexual remarks made about me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

3. Whilst in your CURRENT POSITION have you been (or are you being) subjected to any behaviours you would describe as discriminatory, intimidating, or undermining?

Yes

No

If YES, please indicate (a) The types of behaviour: (b) Your rank at the time: (c)The rank of the instigators of behaviours (d)The gender of instigators of behaviours:

4. Did/do these behaviours have an impact on you PERSONALLY?

Yes

No

NOT APPLICABLE

If YES, how?

5. Did/do these behaviours have an impact on you PROFESSIONALLY?

Yes

No

NOT APPLICABLE

If YES, how?

6. Regarding discrimination, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
a. Discrimination is no longer a problem in An Garda Síochána	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Women often miss out on a good job in An Garda Síochána due to discrimination	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner in An Garda Síochána	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. An Garda Síochána have reached a point where men and women have equal opportunities for achievement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. Over the past few years, senior management have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

7. Does your job in An Garda Síochána spill over into your family and/or home environment, thereby impacting on same?

Yes

No

If yes, please explain the impact it has

8. Does your family and/or home life spill over into your job in An Garda Síochána thereby impacting on same?

Yes

No

If yes, please explain the impact it has.

5. Thank you for participating in this survey.

1. Please feel free to comment on the contents of this questionnaire, OR on anything else that this questionnaire has not addressed, but which you personally consider to be an important issue regarding gender and career progression in An Garda Síochána.

