An Ethnographic Study of Identity Work in Policing

Hamad Ateeq Rubayea Humaid Aldarmaki

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Newcastle University Business School

January 2023

Abstract

Policing around the world has been subject to major impetus towards transformation with implications for the ways in which police officers define, refine, and substantiate their work identities. This research addresses how police officers ‘do’ identity in organisational contexts by studying individuals’ identity beliefs and formation in the context of a recent decision to recruit and deploy women to front-line policing, previously a male preserve in the UAE. An ethnographic case study approach is employed using Abu Dhabi Police College as the focal case to explore the lived experiences of police officers doing identity work in a change context. Ethnographic accounts based on interview and observational data are drawn from a cohort of male and female cadets in their first year of study and from newly graduated police officers. The findings suggest that identity exists both within the social institutional context and within the individual realities bound in personal aspects of affective, cognitive and behaviours. The most dominant mode of identity work observed is in discursive practice drawing on different social, organisational, and personal narratives. Identities of self are bound in collective beliefs concerning the role of men and women in society that establish boundaries for defining gender-based views of self in policing. These are the source of social and personal tension in both male and female cadets which establishes the focus for identity construction. This study makes a contribution by providing new insights about identity work, a topic about which there is limited understanding. Furthermore, new insights are provided of female cadets’ construction of identities that go beyond the traditional gendered roles identified by male police officers towards self-categorisation in a wider range of professional roles, and the tactics used by female police cadets to address and manage the inherent tensions in conforming to cultural and masculine police precepts of gender roles.

Acknowledgements

This PhD has been one of the most challenging accomplishments of my life and I would like to thank the many people who have supported me in my journey to successfully complete this thesis. I am deeply grateful to my research supervisors Dr. Andreas Giazitzoglu, Prof. Andrea Whittle and Dr. Rebecca Casey who have provided valuable support and advice for this PhD research and always with patience and kindness. Their immense knowledge, insight and guidance have helped and encouraged me throughout the course of researching and writing this thesis. In addition I would also like to give my thanks to His Highness Shaikh Saif Bin Zayed, the Minister of Interior in the United Arab Emirates, without whose support I would not have been able to undertake and complete this thesis. I am also indebted to my research colleagues and university friends for whose company, rich conversations, encouragement and support I am deeply grateful. Last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank my family for their unwavering support, love and care through this journey.

Contents

Abstract ii

Acknowledgements iii

List of Figures viii

List of Tables ix

Chapter 1. Introduction 1

1.1 Background and Context 1

1.2 Research Problem 3

1.3 Research Aim and Questions 7

1.4 Research Significance 7

1.5 Thesis Structure 9

Chapter 2. Literature Review 10

2.1 Introduction 10

2.2 Identity 11

2.2.1 Police Role Identity 13

2.3 Identity Motives 16

2.3.1 Contextual Change 19

2.3.2 Identity Control and Regulation 20

2.3.3 Meta-Narratives 24

2.4 Identity Work 26

2.4.1 Tactics and Processes 29

2.4.2 Cognitive 31

2.4.3 Discursive 41

2.4.4 Physical 47

2.4.5 Behavioural 51

2.5 Conceptual Framework 54

2.6 Conclusion 58

Chapter 3. Research Methodology 60

3.1 Introduction 60

3.2 Rationale for Phenomenological Ethnography 60

3.3 Inductive Analysis 64

3.4 Reflection of Research Position 65

3.5 Ethnographic Case Study Design 67

3.5.1 Abu Dhabi Police Force 68

3.6 Data Analysis 72

3.6.1 Case Study Analysis 72

3.6.2 Interpretive Phenomenology Analysis 74

3.6.3 Concept Development 75

3.7 Research Methods 79

3.7.1 Semi-structured Interviews 79

3.7.2 Participant Observation 80

3.8 Sampling Strategy 81

3.9 Data Collection Protocols 82

3.10 Ethics 85

Chapter 4. Results and Discussion 88

4.1 Introduction 88

- 4.2 Identities 89
  - 4.2.1 Professionals and Specialists 89
  - 4.2.2 Peacemakers and Caretakers 90
  - 4.2.3 Open-Minded and Innovative 91
  - 4.2.4 Women as Gentle and Delicate 92
  - 4.2.5 Male Guardians and Protectors 93
  - 4.2.6 Men as Problem-Solvers 93
  - 4.2.7 Gendered Identity 94
  - 4.2.8 Social and Organisational Influence on Identities 95
- 4.3 Identity Work 98
  - 4.3.1 Physical Patterns of Identity Work 98
  - 4.3.2 Discursive Patterns of Identity Work 102
    - 4.3.2.1 Meta-Narratives 102
    - 4.3.2.2 Verbalising Self Identity 108
    - 4.3.2.3 Resisting 112
  - 4.3.3 Cognitive Patterns of Identity Work 116
  - 4.3.4 Behavioural Patterns of Identity Work 125
- 4.4 A Model of Identity Work in Policing 131
  - 4.4.1 Discourse of Co-operation and Reflexivity 135
- 4.5 Conclusion 136

Chapter 5. Conclusion 138
- 5.1 Introduction 138
- 5.2 Summary of Key Findings 139

5.3 Research Contribution 142

5.4 Theoretical and Practical Implications 145

5.5 Limitations 147

5.6 Future Research 147

References 151

Appendix 1 – Interview Guide 196

Appendix 2 – Interview Schedule 201

Appendix 3 – Observation Guide 202

Appendix 4 – Observation Schedule 203

Appendix 5 – Observation Log 205

Appendix 6 – Observation Checklist 207

List of Figures

Figure 1 Conceptual Framework.. 55

Figure 2 ADP Organisational Structure 70

Figure 3 Data Structure 78

List of Tables

Table 1 Targets of Identity Regulation 22

Table 2 Definitions of Identity Work 27

Table 3 Identity Work Strategies 29

Table 4 Gioia Principles 76

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Background and Context

In any organisational domain a person needs a clear sense of self and understanding of where they fit in the scheme of things. How individuals perceive themselves and relate at a personal and group level can be triggered by numerous factors. The notion of personal identity broadly refers ‘to the meanings that individuals attach reflexively to themselves’ (Brown, 2015, p.22). These subjective interpretations of who they are may largely be drawn from aspects such as socio-demographic characteristics, personal attributes, roles and group memberships (Vignoles et al., 2011; Brewer and Gardner, 1996). In organisations changes in a person’s work situation can have a profound and complex influence on their identity and identity formation process (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). A central concern for this study is the ways in which individuals define, refine, and substantiate their work identities within the organisational setting.

This research addresses how police ‘do’ identity in organisational contexts by studying police individuals’ identity beliefs and formation in the context of a recent decision to recruit and deploy women to front-line policing work, previously a male preserve in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). This under researched topic will provide insights into the range of ways in which the work selves and lives of individuals are given life and meaning and the implications for managers in organisations such as the police force in which robust, durable, and valued collective work identities are characteristically challenged. Policing around the world has for several decades been the target of significant change and subject to many pressures that have created major impetus for transformation. Political, economic, social, and technological forces have influenced a constant pace of change that has had wide reaching impact on police structures, culture, practices and processes (Strom, 2017). Change initiatives can have wide-ranging effects in every aspect of the organisation and therefore represents a major source of identity threat that can impact sense of self and lead to identity construction or reconstruction. Some propose that change is supported to the degree to which it is consistent with individuals’ self-identity (Eilam and Shamir, 2005).

The change context in policing has far reaching implications for all areas of police and represents a major source of influence such that individuals are continually interpreting and re-interpreting both themselves and other people, and this act of interpretation is identical to meaning making (Mead, 1962; Goffman, 1959). Identity and meaning are both intricately related to the context from which they arise. Theory suggests that an individual's self becomes contextualised when linked to other individuals or groups, to beliefs, ideas, or emotions, or to specific objects, places, or times. This linkage can be claimed or attributed, denied or ignored, any of which represent an act of identification and a constituent of identity construction (Van Maanen, 2010). Ongoing repetition of such acts and similar others help pieces of identity to coalesce and potentially stabilise from which an identity results. Work identity draws on both broader social identity and a more proximate, situated identity (Holland et al., 2001; Goffman, 1967) and is used in this study to represent an embodied person who incorporates and transcends both situation and role. This is reflective of an individual's perceptions and awareness of their distinctiveness, skills, agency and dignity, ethics and moral outlook.

Identity in this context is a potent factor for study because it impacts significantly on police officers' beliefs and values, purpose and therefore their motivation, support and ultimately their decisions and behaviour. Yet few studies have explored police officer identity within the change context. Given the critical role and importance of policing in highly volatile and challenging social contexts there is a significant imperative to explore this area from the perspective of identity and understand the impact on police officers. The extent to which any practice is adopted, changed or innovated is subject to tensions between attitudes within police personnel between traditional and contemporary beliefs, government policy, public opinion, and organisational factors such as training or resources. Policing in the UAE has been subject to many forms of change addressing different types of change: strategic, administrative, programmatic or technological. Change has also emerged in terms of altered demographics and greater gender diversity within the UAE police force based on a growing number of female police officers over the past two decades. The threat to identity of police officers relates not only to the introduction of innovation projects on crime scene analysis, cybercrime or artificial intelligence but also the change processes that have enabled greater diversity and more decentralised and collaborative processes (Howson, 2020; Lasrado, 2019). This background provides a challenging and dynamic context that impacts on police officers and their self-belief and sense of identity. These advancements in policing in the UAE create imperative to study and understand how police officers construct their identity in this context.

1.2 Research Problem

Police officers' identity construction is shaped and impacted by the prevailing organisational culture and the context, history and duties connected to the roles. Policing is traditionally associated with high stress working environments (Magnavita and Garbarino, 2013) that may subject police officers to a broad range of risks such as situational uncertainty, criminality, physical risk, abuse, and supervisory, media, social and political scrutiny (Paoline, 2003). On the other hand, policing work environments also permit the use of coercive and even potentially lethal power. Traditional police culture, values and attitudes have been commonly portrayed as displaying a strong commitment to the policing mandate and duties of fighting crime, as well as being authoritative, overly masculine, having respect for courage and physical strength, a focus on autonomy, and a readiness to act coercively. A strong in-group loyalty and solidarity exists while groups viewed as threatening or deviant are treated with hostility and suspicion, in addition to secrecy, sexism, racism, and cynicism (Cordner, 2017; Crank, 2004; Paoline, 2003; Paoline et al., 2000).

Ingram et al., (2018) argue that this view of police culture is unnecessarily monolithic and lacking in the more nuanced description that can better reflect the way in which individual police officers adapt to the stresses inherent in their role. Police officers continue to emphasise traditional values such as professionalism, discipline, physical dominance, protector and helper, crime-fighter, and team member as core aspects of their professional identity (Bayerl et al., 2018). On the other hand, there is evidence of a shift in perspective in which police officers acknowledge a need for more innovation and modernisation in policing linked to dissatisfaction with traditional police culture (Bayerl et al., 2018). The disruptive influence of change raises a critical question regarding the extent to which identities endure or are reconstructed and adapted within a critical social institution.

Police work is fundamentally associated with the endowment of meaning for the self in several ways. Some are shaped by historical and institutional processes that appear to be distant and detached from the specific individual undertaking their daily work activities. Others emerge from that everyday context and routine activities as people engage in their daily work (Van Maanen, 2010). Those based on institutional processes are linked to a categorical ordering of professional police status that is characteristically stable and provides an overarching frame of reference that individuals work within (Hauser and Warren, 1997). These processes may influence the perceived prestige of any given role socially or may relate to the type and status of the officers within the organisational division in which the work is undertaken. This can be the difference in prestige between working within a major crimes unit or within a police community relations division. These considerations are representative of the status ordering attached to their role, the place that work holds within broad social contexts and the perceived moral, social and physical character of a particular police role.

Moreover, the emphasis in traditional policing on a narrowly defined masculine identity (Silvestri, 2017) underlines the need to explore a competing discourse between traditional and modern policing. Police forces to this day are predominantly composed of male police officers and associated with entrenched masculinised values and ideals such as outward show of toughness, emotional control, and prioritisation of work (Rawski and Workman-Stark 2018; David and Brannon, 1976). Nevertheless, while a strong collective understanding of police officer identity exists within the force (Bayerl et al., 2018) the vision and demands of modern policing can give rise to different or alternative values such that police officers may simultaneously hold different values and experience tensions between competing visions and the behaviours required (Schaible, 2018). This emphasises the need for greater understanding of how police officer identity is constructed through both discursive and practical means in terms of what they say and what they do (Courpasson and Monties, 2017). Research shows that changes to work patterns in terms of greater focus on clerical and office-based work challenged police officer identities of a ‘true cop’ strongly rooted in physical concepts such as toughness, fitness, cleanliness, and intimidation (Courpasson and Monties, 2017).

In reshaping existing or stable social structures or systems within police institutions forces of change can alter or undermine the meaning that police officers generate through daily work activities or different facets of the work itself. Becoming a member of a group may mean that individuals are exposed to conforming beliefs, behaviours, expectations and social support (Biddle, 1986). Police officers may have identities that are more embedded and stable than those belonging to employees in other positions and occupational roles (Lawson, 2014), such that changes in their position engendered by innovation and transformation are likely to entail changes to individual and social identities.

The skills and knowledge involved in performing the work processes reflect one key facet while the outcomes of the work itself both in terms of its products and its by-products represent another. In the police context the product could be a successful conclusion to a criminal investigation accompanied by the by-product of a promotion. The meaning of work in these largely internal domains predominantly depends on cultural norms or codes developed in the specific context of the role and emerging and changing in the everyday conduct of work activities brought about by innovation processes. A shift in social identity in relation to policing job roles may indicate that identities were able to be reconstructed or reconciled with the changes (Mastrofski and Willis, 2010), on the other hand alterations in their positions may be perceived by police officers to have negative consequences, influenced by aspects such as perceived loss of status, rank or authority (Miscenko and Day, 2015; French, 2003).

The question of identity and its implications is not a factor that is addressed with the design and implementation of change projects in policing. Yet some evidence a relationship between identity and police performance. Numerous police research shows that patterns of motivation, commitment, and engagement are linked to different aspects of identity (Ahmad, 2019; Boag-Munroe, 2019; Schaible, 2018; Lopez and Ramos, 2017; Van Maanen, 1975). On the one hand police officers are subject to a powerful hierarchy associated with the imposition of robust disciplinary rules on lower levels. A uniform is worn by employees which clearly defines rank, and a shared purpose of fighting crime exists towards which the employees are expected to work. However, this structure also allows for the operational discretion of individual police officers and localised responses to achieve these broad goals (Lawson, 2014). As such the police force, despite its bureaucratic and hierarchical tendencies, is likely to exist in a constant state of change to adapt to the influences both within and brought into the organisation from outside (Lawson, 2014).

Such challenges to policing identities can have a detrimental effect on individual psychological wellbeing and stimulate strong emotional responses such as feelings of rejection or grief for their former position (Burns, 2015). Whether or not individuals maintain the same sense of self as they transition into new or changed roles and positions can link to the extent to which there is a perceived loss of group identity and group cohesion, as this is frequently a major element of policing identities (Tufano, 2018). Loss of identity constructed through group cohesion has been associated with a range of impacts such as diminished mental wellbeing (Wang and Shi, 2014), depression, isolation and reduced job satisfaction (Kinniard, 2015).

Moreover, there is consistent evidence pointing to changing patterns of motivation and commitment to a professional identity among police officers (Schaible, 2018; Lopez and Ramos, 2017; McElroy et al., 1999; Van Maanen, 1975). Police officers are shown to experience a sharp drop-off in motivation and commitment in the early stages of their career (Van Maanen, 1975), variables which are also impacted by police rank (Boag-Munroe, 2019; Lopez and Ramos, 2017; McElroy et al., 1999) and gender (Ahmad, 2019). In the masculine society of Pakistan, findings show policewomen were subject to low motivation levels because of the gender-related challenges they experienced in the workplace, subsequently facilitating self-justification for acts of corruption (Ahmad, 2019).

Changes in gender configuration and makeup of policing units or departments because of policy changes in policing services or processes may also present challenges to male and female policing identities. Police agencies have been historically male and frequently remain so, thus continuing to reflect predominantly masculinised values (Silvestri, 2017). Evidence suggests that male police officers may have more difficulties than women in adjusting to a gender diverse workforce (du Plessis et al., 2020). Working more closely alongside women, as equal colleague or subordinate, may affect moral identity and masculine self-concepts (Brown, 2007). On the other hand, research shows women may experience gender-work identity conflict in their work as a police officer that can result in lower identification with and attachment to the team (Veldman et al., 2017). Understanding is lacking in relation to the effects of the identity construction process in additional social context situations (Carter, 2013).

Literature shows that police cultures and gender roles are fundamental to the identity construction of police officers which in turn can affect numerous aspects of their career, home life, and psychological wellbeing. However ongoing transformations in policing ideals and demographic configurations (Spence et al. 2017) place emphasis on understanding how police identities are constructed within the context of changing gender policies within police organisations. There is significance in exploring how male and other police officers understand their identity as police officers at stages of their career. The construction of professional group identity is considered to encompass not only recognition by professional bodies but also the collective sharing of values, norms and principles that provide a collective meaning for the behaviour of group members (Bayerl et al., 2018). Such collective identity construction can incorporate the strengthening of existing gender roles or be affected by disruption to group gender assumptions and expectations. This may be particularly relevant in professions such as the police force which are historically dominated by a particular gender and in this case have strong masculine norms (Silvestri, 2017). Accordingly, this study explores the professional identities of both male and female police officers.

1.3 Research Aim and Questions

The focus of this study is on identity construction and expression in the workplace, specifically, how do police officers redefine their professional identity in a changing policy context? Four research questions are formulated to address this goal:

R1. What different ways do police officers perceive or experience their identity during training and early deployment?

R2. What identity work do police officers employ to make sense of and respond to the process of women entering front-line police work?

R3. How do police perceive change in policing and how does it trigger or motivate them to create or change identities?

R4. How do police officers make sense of the operational and organisational implications of women entering front-line police work?

1.4 Research Significance

By focusing on individual police identities, several analytic aims may be achieved. Firstly, an emphasis on police officer identity allows for some of the substance and reality of peoples’ first-hand experiences at work to be retained. Social worlds at work primarily come together around the services provided or the objects produced, workplace interactions and the identities that are pursued and assumed by police officers. Therefore, centring on the police professional allows for examination of a bounded collection of tasks that constitute a specific line of work in ways that enable such social worlds and their multiple meanings to be illuminated. A focus on the elements that constitute an occupation such as customary tasks, shared symbols, and peer relations stimulates a concern for the influence of a particular line of work on an individual's social identity and behaviour in the workplace. Thus, the characteristics of positions which foster, or limit work identities are often job specific and enacted or subverted by colleagues within a bounded occupational community.

Furthermore, by investigating these social worlds a broader understanding of issues of workplace diversity and conflict can be obtained, viewed through a different lens to that offered by organisational theories. In the latter perspective deviance among organisational members is identified in respect of the expectations and wishes of managers, and the sources of deviance frequently neglected in favour of administrative solutions that apply system corrections to allow expectations to be met (Barbera, 2014; Lawrence and Robinson, 2007). Wilful deviance from managerial dictates is thus acknowledged but frequently ignored in the organisational literature (Van Maanen, 2010) or treated as emerging from non-work factors such as external cultural norms (Katz, 1965); from punitive or constrictive management practices (Pfeffer, 1995); from the introduction of narrow and efficiency focused technologies (Thomas, 1995; Blauner, 1964) or the availability of situational opportunities for career or earnings advancement (Mars, 1980). While all contemporary organisations may incorporate at least some of these sources of deviance, it is possible that wilful deviance is related to the logics and norms embedded within the longitudinally developed practices of occupational members. This could entail that what is deviant on the organisational level may be correct from an occupational perspective (Van Maanen, 2010).

Moreover, this study will contribute to an area lacking literature that explores and examines as a social phenomenon the ways in which people develop and maintain a sense of their individuality and distinctiveness (Vignoles, 2017; Van Maanen, 2010). The term 'identity' has been used in a vast range of ways across a broad swathe of disciplines including sociology, philosophy, psychology, economy, linguistics, and cultural theory (Van Maanen, 2010). Multiple theories of identity have been proposed nevertheless a key assumption is that individuals perceive themselves in numerous different ways which are all shaped and influenced by the cultural context in which they occur (Van Maanen, 2010). A further concern for identity formation is the intensity of identification an individual may have. People often provide verbal and non-verbal clues that can be interpreted by others to understand the salience of connection individuals may feel to something. This study will contribute to knowledge on how the strength of identification influences personal and work-related identities in the police force.

1.5 Thesis Structure

This thesis presents the findings of an investigation into how police officers redefine their professional identity in a changing policy context. Chapter 1 has introduced the research background and problem context; the research aims and questions and the contribution of this thesis. The literature review in Chapter 2 presents the theoretical basis for this research and details the key concepts and theories of identity that inform the theoretical framework provided in the final section of this chapter. Chapter 3 details the research methodology for this study that positions the research within an interpretivist, phenomenological paradigm and provides a rationale for the research approach, methods and procedures selected to address the research goals. Chapter 4 presents the results of the data collection and analysis that identifies different aspects of police identities and different modes of identity work. Chapter 5 provides an analysis and discussion of the meaning and implications of the study findings in the context of the broader body of knowledge. The thesis is concluded in Chapter 6 that presents a summary of the research findings, discusses the contribution of this research, considers the theoretical and practical implications, and delineates the limitations and the future research opportunities arising from this study.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The debate on identity has generated increasing interest in organisational, managerial, professional, and occupational identities and raised the question of how people in organisational contexts negotiate matters of self in work settings. Identity can be linked to almost anything associated with work in organisations, for example entrepreneurship, motivation and sense-making, emotions, ethnicity, participation, project teams and mergers. Literature points to the potential for examining a range of organisational phenomena through the lens of identity that would provide a fresh perspective and new insights and research opportunities, revitalise existing research areas and help bridge the levels between micro to macro (Alvesson et al., 2008).

Fundamental questions of why, who, what, when, where and how regarding identity scholarship provide insights into the current thinking and key assumptions of its study in organisations. Why identity is considered useful to investigate pivots on key motives: from a functionalist orientation identity can provide solutions to a range of organisational problems and generate positive benefits if properly optimised. Identity is associated with an enriched understanding of human organisational experience through in-depth insights and descriptions that can prompt and facilitate people's reflective processes on their own identity (Alvesson et al., 2008). This inquiry revolves around questions of individual agency and/or forces external to the individual in the construction of identity; and what resources identities are constructed out of such as embodied practices and story-telling performances.

A major area of research is in identity construction and identity formation (Brown, 2020) from the perspective of the individual, who are identified as 'social beings embedded in organisational contexts' (Alvesson et al., 2008, p.6). Identity involves "forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening or revising the constructions that are productive of a precarious sense of coherence and distinctiveness" (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002, p.626). Under this approach identity is conceived as a set of constructions that are temporary, shaped by context, and evolving (Alvesson et al., 2008), contrasting with perspectives of identity that assert a fixed and enduring essence (Gioia et al., 2000; Ashforth, 1998). A key assumption is the existence of multiple, dynamically changing, and competing identities, that nevertheless exhibit a degree of integration and coherence in particular circumstances.

2.2 Identity

Individual personal identity is the most fundamental type of identity reflecting one’s own perceptions of oneself. This "denotes a unique individual with self-descriptions drawn from one's own biography and the singular constellation of experiences" (Owens et al., 2010, p.479). Idiosyncratic personal qualities and attributes help to craft a sense of personal identity (Elsbach, 2009; Beyer and Hannah, 2002). Self-identity is the narration of self both actively and passively created by individuals (Wieland, 2010; Alvesson et al., 2008; Giddens, 1991). Values, language, and symbols are the "cultural raw material" which governs the narrative of self. This material varies with everyone, based on unique sets of communication and experiences with others, and the ideological understanding of the individual to interpret verbal and non-verbal inputs.

The process of identity formation or construction is what gives rise to the identity of the individual, and the extent to which identity is internalised gives rise to the concept of self. A strong sense of identity and self links to coherence and distinctiveness in understanding an individual’s identity motives. One topic of debate is whether individuals have one identity, multiple identities or multiple aspects of a single identity. Different aspects of identities are deemed to become more relevant or important within different situations or social contexts (Turner and Onorato, 1999). Furthermore, the literature points to key areas of theory in terms of different identity domains focused on social identity and role identity.

Individuals are shown to shape their identities from many sources of identification (Moufahim et al., 2015; Coupland and Brown, 2012; Watson, 2008). Social identity theory suggests that an individual’s self-perception is affected by the perception of others, and identity construction is dependent on how an individual is perceived by self and by others (Wallace and Tice, 2012; Sullivan, 1947). Under this perspective social identity is defined as an individual’s self-perception as a member of a group particularly in relation to value and emotional attachment (Alvesson et al., 2008). Individuals perceive and position themselves and others in terms of categories of social groups, such as in-group/out-group.

This concept of collective identity and collective action links to how individuals relate to and identify with a group or categories to which they belong (Van Zomeren et al., 2008). Tajfel and Turner (1986) argue that individuals retain multiple group identities that dynamically change in relevance and importance depending on context. Social identity theory suggests that this relation influences an individual's emotions, cognition and understanding as well as their motivation and behaviour in the workplace based on the meanings they attach to these social categories or groups (Ellemers et al., 2004). For example, gender and masculinity has been shown to influence individual identities in the fire service. Baigent (2001) shows that for firefighters fitting in was closely associated with their masculinity and was manifested by others' perception of the individual as a 'good firefighter'. This label formed a motivation at work to live up to how others perceived them and formed a critical element of their sense of masculinity.

Studies on social identity have frequently examined the concept from the perspective of organisational identification and the process and the degree to which individuals associate their personal concepts of self with collective identities (Alvesson et al., 2008). One area of debate suggests that individuals in organisations and occupations are associated with three main categories of identity: collective, referring to self-meanings in relation to organisations and professions; role identities, for example leader, manager, entrepreneur; and personal identities centred on unique self-descriptions that incorporate gender, ethnicity, sexuality, and so on. Certain identities such as entrepreneurial (Fauchart and Gruber, 2020), hybrid (Currie and Logan, 2020), or networked (Ellis and Hopkinson, 2020) are primarily linked to distinctive groups of individuals.

Another strand of thinking in identity theory is that all individuals play roles within society and the formation of identity is tethered to the distinct roles assumed (Stets and Burke, 2000). While the concept of group identities is supported, identity theory highlights the significance of the roles individuals occupy in defining their self-concept. According to Ashforth (2000, p.6) role identity is "… the goals, values, beliefs, norms, interaction styles, and time horizons that are typically associated with a role. A role identity provides a definition of self-in-role, a persona that one may enact. A role's boundaries facilitate the articulation of a role identity by circumscribing the domain of the role by demarking what activities belong to the role and what belongs to other roles”. Identity theory also encompasses the idea that individuals are composed of multiple identities that have a hierarchy of salience and are available to be played out in accordance with the relevance to any situation (Stryker, 1987). According to Stryker (1987) the person and not the situation establishes the salience of a particular role identity. Alternative views propose that salience is an outcome of personal and situational factors such that an individual’s reaction to a particular situation may be regarded as a reflection of who they are at that specific time and in that situation (McCall and Simmons, 1978). The implication is that throughout the course of an individual’s life multiple identities compete in relevance and importance, impacting their behaviour based on their salience and the range of roles that comprise their self-concept.

2.2.1 Police Role Identity

Professional identity in relation to the work of the individual is a major component of an individual’s self-conception (Caza and Creary, 2016; Tamm, 2010). The professional identity of police is widely acknowledged to be strong and highly embedded with significant motivational force (du Plessis, 2020; Lawson, 2014). Research has emphasised how individual social identity is shaped by the processes through which individuals learn their occupation, begin to value it, and become members of occupational communities. This social identity reflects an individual’s sense of membership within an occupational category and a shared sense of a collective culture with other colleagues that encompasses elements such as mandate and ethos, history and legacy, in and out groups, heroes, rules of thumb and unique issues. While empirical literature has explored work identity on a general level, few studies have focused on the specific organisational settings in which work identities are expressed and displayed (Van Maanen, 2010).

The notion of police identity and its typographical cultural practices has been recognised in past literature (Westley, 1970; Skolnick, 1966; Banton, 1964). Previous studies discuss the presence of specific characteristics that define the occupational subculture of the police fraternity, such as pragmatism, masculinity, and cynicism (Reiner, 2010). Police forces are historically, and to varying degrees remain, largely male-dominated and reflective of masculinised values and ideals such as demonstrating toughness and emotional control (Rawski and Workman-Stark, 2018; Silvestri, 2017). This further links to the significant role that physicality and the body plays in the formation of a police identity (Courpasson and Monties, 2017). Certain scholars have identified a hegemonic masculinity within the police force, in terms of practices that preserve the structural domination of men and replicate inequality (Connell, 2005; Prokos and Padavic, 2002). Research into the attitudes of male police recruits highlights negative views of women in general, exclusion of women from police work and bias towards perceiving the differences rather than the similarities in approach of female recruits (Prokos and Padavic, 2002). These attitudes may reflect wider societal perspectives in which female occupational roles are generally viewed to reinforce a discourse of femininity centred on nurturing, serving and care giving, much of which has acquired a social taint. Scholars have noted the impact that such gender ideology could have to limit or restrict recruits in domains such as the police or fire service (Tracy and Scott, 2006).

While these attitudes towards gender are considered commonplace in policing there is some acknowledgement that police culture and professional identity is not solely linked to individual police officers but rather a more embedded theme operating at all levels of the organisation (Dick and Jankowicz, 2001). This implies a high level of complexity and the need to go beyond assumptions that the experiences of male and female officers are homogenous within their gender to examine rather the differences within the groups (Dick and Jankowicz, 2001).

Moreover, recent debates about the occupational subculture focus on the relevance of the classical conceptualisations in the present context, which has undergone substantial social, political, and organisational changes (Charman, 2018). Loftus (2010) discusses how police identity and associated cultural practices have evolved in the United Kingdom, indicating that these have remained significantly stable and enduring. This is supported by a body of work by Davies and Thomas (2002; 2003; 2008) showing the durability of police identity in the context of profound organisational change that, under the precepts of new public management (NPM), challenged traditional understandings of policing organisation and identities (Davies and Thomas, 2003). The progressive, community form of policing promoted under NPM was shown to struggle to gain legitimacy with many police officers as it diverged from the competitive masculine subjectivity and crime fighting identity they associated with ‘real policing’ (Davies and Thomas, 2008; Davies and Thomas, 2003). Exploration of responses to NPM from a gendered perspective further pointed to differences in meaning between male and female police officers and public employees (Thomas and Davies, 2002; Davies and Thomas, 2002).

In contrast, Sklansky (2007) emphasises the psychological agency of police officers in redefining their perceived sense of identity in specific socio-political and historical contexts. While both research stances are valid, this literature highlights the complexity of police identity and answers the call by Bradford and Quinton (2014) to research and explore the multi-faceted and intergroup nature of police identity, and to move beyond a focus merely on organisational identification. Policing is one domain that creates and maintains distinctive work cultures comprising aspects such as behavioural standards, task rituals, work codes for everyday practices and ongoing narratives that corroborate the value and logic of these aspects (Van Maanen, 2010). Members of such communities are often characterised by a continuing pursuit of professional self-control that enables work identities to arise from the claims and manifestation of personal agency (Thoits, 2003).

A central premise of this thesis however is that individual police identities have significant organisational relevance. On one level the strength and value placed on work identities in common with numerous other colleagues has substantial implications for managerial and organisational control. Resistance can form one response of an occupational community such as the police to managerial attempts to direct or control their work. Activation of this response has been associated with the extent to which managers consciously or not reinforce and respect the everyday identity claims made by subordinate members of occupational communities such as the police (Van Maanen, 2010).

Making identity connections is essentially a rhetorical action that involves attribution, making a claim, or an attempt to persuade, and is manifested in numerous different ways (Van Maanen, 2010). In the policing context it could be exemplified by a police officer who connects with a desirable ethical value in their identification of themselves as an “honest cop”. Whether or not this claim is honoured by other people or the self, it remains a part of identity formation. An individual is thus considered likely to make numerous claims and counterclaims during their daily life that may or may not become stable components of their identity, depending on how deeply held they become (Van Maanen, 2010). Two generic types of connections have been noted of synchronic and diachronic that characterise how the individual makes connections with the world: the former identify self with atemporal singularities such as a condition, a value, a person, a place, a state, or a feeling that connects the self to something else. Diachronic connections in contrast link the self across time and are expressed in narratives or stories of the self. Police officers are frequently linked to this type of connection based on the role of narratives and stories in police daily work culture (Young, 1991; Manning, 1979).

Furthermore, connections and identity claims are made not only through oral self-expression but also through performance (Van Maanen, 2010). Body language, non-verbal expressions, or identifying with one group of police officers over another through socialisation choices, convey messages that promote claims to a particular identity. However, whether verbal or non-verbal, the communication of identification is strongly associated with established cultural codes, both broadly drawn from society or more narrowly from occupational communities, and without which identity messages would be indecipherable (Van Maanen, 2010).

Literature points to the complexity associated with evolving and changing police identities. Studies have consistently emphasised varying levels of police motivation and commitment to their professional identities (McElroy et al., 1999; Van Maanen, 1975). Longitudinal evidence of new police recruits and early career officers shows that such commitment and motivation rapidly diminish in the early years of police work. Later research shows that patterns of engagement and motivation are linked to police rank (Boag-Munroe, 2019) and gender (Ahmad, 2019). Ahmad (2019) contends that policewomen in Pakistan experienced poor motivation in the workplace because of gender-related challenges, which in turn made it easier for them to justify acts of corruption. In terms of the outcomes from a strong police identity, some evidence has uncovered the benefits for early career officers, while showing that this same strong identity is linked to occupational exhaustion in later career officers (Schaible, 2018).

2.3 Identity Motives

A key area for identity research focuses on the motivating sources and influences for identity formation and construction. Identity motives describe the underlying drivers for identity, defined as “pressures toward certain identity states and away from others, which guide the processes of identity construction" (Vignoles et al., 2006, p.309). While such motivations may be conscious or unconscious, their existence and influence is frequently inferable through behaviour that can be predicted (Vignoles, 2011). Multiple core identity motives have been shown to have salience in identity construction such as authenticity, self-esteem, belonging, hope distinctiveness, continuity, coherence, meaning and efficacy. Swann et al., (2003) point to motives of self-verification while Tajfel and Turner (1979) emphasise self-enhancement motives. Research has shown that certain motives may predominate while also indicating how multiple motives may work together or even in conflict. In contexts of 'dirty work' self-esteem has been identified as the dominant driver of identity construction (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999).

Authenticity is also identified as a major identity motivator in conjunction with motives of competence (Pratt et al., 2006) and belonging (Ibarra and Barbulescu, 2010; Baumeister and Leary, 1995) during major changes in job roles. Authenticity relates to behaviour that expresses closely what an individual is like, and is associated with personal identity in terms of being oneself, and faithfulness or being true to oneself (Kristinsson, 2007). Authenticity as a motive for identity may be linked to the widely held belief that authenticity is a more honest way of being and morally preferable to its converse of inauthenticity (Strohminger et al., 2017; Christy et al., 2016; Gino et al., 2015). Research has pointed to consistent associations between authenticity and positive psychosocial aspects such as psychological well-being, increased self-esteem, relationship quality, and positive affect (Schlegel et al., 2016; Wood et al., 2008; Goldman and Kernis, 2002; Harter, 2002). Evidence also points to an interplay between contrasting motives of distinctiveness and belonging in identity formation (Kreiner et al., 2006). While the motivating factors studied in the literature are in part associated with the theories of identity adopted, they also derive from situational and contextual characteristics in which identity formation is assumed to occur, acting as stimulating factors to the processes of identity construction (Pittman et al., 2011; Fadjukoff, 2010).

While there is general acceptance that identity construction is continually driven by such motives much research focus has been placed on investigating situations where identity motives are conflicting in some way (Chan et al., 2012; Vignoles, 2011). This is consistent with Mercer's (1990, p.43) notion that identity becomes an issue only when it is in crisis. Scholars argue that interpretation of identity by self and significant others is largely implicit and shared and only becomes consciously explicit when identity assumptions are challenged, or new people or situations are encountered (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Schutz, 1958). In the police context being identified as negligent or lazy may challenge a police officer's view of themselves as possessing strong professional conduct. Situations and experiences that upset an individual's sense of normalcy, routine or propriety are the most common triggers for active interpretation of the self and others and lend importance to life transition points in establishing identity (Van Maanen, 2010). Factors such as anxiety, questioning, self-doubt or uncertainty can pause or hinder the routine reproduction of self-identity that is characteristic of a stable setting (Alvesson et al., 2008). Significant advancement or change in identity construction is widely accepted to be stimulated by situations in which identity motives are problematised, challenged or otherwise unrealised (Pratt et al., 2006; Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003). It is suggested to be a major theme of involvement in crises and transitions (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003).

Thus, triggers can be situations or events that problematise in some way one or more identity motives (Lepisto et al., 2015; Collinson, 2003). Triggers are broader than threats to identity based on two key aspects: they can centre around present as well as possible future events; and they do not specifically entail harm or injury (Petriglieri, 2011). Rather triggers can generate perceptions of deficit in an identity motive that in turn creates a desire to satisfy it (Dutton et al., 2010; Baumeister and Leary, 1995). In this research policy change towards the participation of women in front-line policing duties is considered a trigger for identity work among early career stage police officers. Literature points to two broad types of triggers for identity construction of contextual change and strong situations. Contextual change encompasses change at an industry, institutional or work practice level (Lok, 2010), as well as transition at individual level (Ibarra and Barbulescu, 2010; Pratt et al., 2006; Ibarra, 1999). In these environments motives of authenticity and continuity are shown to become dominant (Sennett, 2008). Strong situations within individuals' social environments are associated with demands on motives of authenticity (Wei, 2012; Elsbach, 2009), self-esteem (Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008), and efficacy (Pratt et al., 2006). Strong organisational cultures (Pratt, 2007), restrictive workplaces (Wei, 2012; Elsbach, 2009), and contexts with deficient resources (Snow and Anderson, 1987) are exemplars of strong situations. While such triggers can problematise certain motives, there is no one-to-one relationship between them.

2.3.1 Contextual Change

There is some support for the suggestion that identity activities are more pronounced during specific events such as transition and change when tensions and conflicts can emerge around roles and the perception of threats can emphasise the saliency of identity issues (Ibarra, 1999; Stryker, 1980). The organisational change context can promote triggers associated with contextual change and strong situations. In this study change in the context of policing and gender roles is explored based on the assumption that identity activities and identity work in this context will be triggered by such change.

Organisational identification in the change context can be influenced by the characteristic inter-organisational and collaborative nature of change activities in which individuals participate in networks, communities, platforms, alliances and ecosystems. From the perspective of some individuals such collaborative practices may constitute a threat to identity in which they may struggle to understand who they are and their place in this new, less precise and bounded context (Webb, 2017). This study is therefore particularly concerned with the interplay of police organisational identities and how these intertwined identities are further shaped by the imperatives and norms associated with collaboration and openness for change. There is a focus on how individuals form their possibilities for action by means of the relational processes common to everyday discourse (Cunliffe and Eriksen, 2011). This study argues that a dynamic and emergent collective identity within organisations is critical to invigorating and renewing collaborative efforts towards change (Webb, 2017).

Recent debate suggests that it is increasingly common for organisations and members to confront competing demands from dynamic change environments (Jarzabkowski et al., 2013) which potentially exerts greater pressure on the multiple identities generated by members. In such settings identities that were secure in the past may not be adequate for the future, as contemporary career paths frequently entail a need for individuals to reinvent themselves multiple times which in turn provides further opportunities for individuals to exercise greater agency in crafting their work (Petriglieri et al., 2018). This is consistent with the notion of identity elasticity (Kreiner et al., 2015) that provides insight into how members deal with the dynamic nature of modern organisations. This perspective contests dichotomous notions of identity as either/or, fluid or stable, and fragmented or coherent. Rather navigating continuous tensions in identity involves a both/and approach which stretches while at the same time holds together social constructions of identity (Kreiner et al., 2015). Therefore, identity construction within organisations and employment is subject to ongoing and persistent tensions. Professional workers for example are challenged to balance multiple and sometimes opposing identities related to being professional or unprofessional, emotional or unemotional, and/or moral (Clarke et al., 2009).

2.3.2 Identity Control and Regulation

Power relations represent an additional dimension that shape and drive individual identity motives, either linked to achieving power or resisting it. People position themselves as social and organisational beings, and how they attempt to craft a sense of self, and how identity is achieved through the operations of power are considered core issues (Alvesson et al., 2008). Key questions centre on how identities are controlled, how ways of being, seeing, and doing are brought to bear on individuals, and how individuals comply with or resist such efforts by exercising disciplinary power (Alvesson et al., 2008). Thus, identity can be examined from the perspective of repressive power relations in which identity is positioned as a central means for comprehending modern relations of control and resistance (Alvesson et al., 2008). Based on a Weberian perspective one widely acknowledged definition of power identifies the ability of one party to get another party to do something they otherwise would not have done (Dahl, 1957).

Motives for identity can also be found in the influence of the formal organisational context that promotes conditions that shape identities. Identity control has been framed as a critical aspect of the employment relationship within organisations. Employees can be seen as a managed identity worker who is invited or directed to integrate new managerial discourses into self-identity narratives (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). Employees are encouraged to fundamentally embrace the notion of ‘we’, as in the organisation or team (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). Evidence from Lutgen-Sandvik (2008) highlights the significance of power relations on an individual’s self-conceptualisation where workplace bullying is shown to undermine and break positive, coherent narratives of self-identity entailing traumatic and stigmatising impacts across different life domains. This effect was shown to be intensified by the role of jobs and work as a primary source of identity construction. While the context of this study does not involve bullying, it does involve a change that could potentially undermine or disrupt positive, coherent narratives of self-identity such as 'policing needs to be done by men'.

Organisations are associated with practices that exert regulatory pressure on employee identities. The context of this study of a training programme for new police recruits is such a context where 'identity regulation' starts for employees. Identity regulation is defined as "discursive practices concerned with identity definition that condition the processes of identity formation and transformation" (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002, p. 627). In other words, organisations do not engage in overt supervision or pressure to control employee identities. Rather the organisation uses its culture, policies, and practices to regulate the identities of its employees (Jaros, 2012; Brown and Lewis, 2011). The organisational culture and practices are responsible for monitoring employee behaviour, attitude, performance, and growth, factors that determine the identity of the employees (Brown et al., 2010; Fleming and Spicer, 2003; Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003). Organisations actively implement identity regulation methods to achieve organisational goals, maintain and evaluate employee performance, and enhance employee loyalty. Higher management plays a decisive role in subtly compelling the employees to develop work identities that are in alignment with the overall aims of the organisation (Gotsi et al., 2010). Identity regulation works in tandem with bureaucratic control practices (Karreman and Alvesson, 2004). Alvesson and Willmott (2002) point to nine methods and processes with which organisations can regulate work identities: knowledge and skills; creating an individual identity; creating an individual's identity by defining the identity of others; following a vocabulary of organisational motives; hierarchical location; group categories and affiliation; morals and values; identifying and following a set of rules, and defining the functional context that signifies the varied roles of the individual in the organisation.

Training programmes can act as sites of identity regulation for all levels of employee. Andersson (2008) shows that for managers personal development training rhetoric was designed to stimulate active self-reflection and conscious identity work, which represented a source of identity regulation by obliging identity work among participants. This is consistent with Faulconbridge et al., (2012) who similarly show how learning and development in terms of communities of practice can be sources of identity regulation. The geographically heterogeneous identities of transnational lawyers were influenced by communities of practice that enabled learning about the attitudes and values that the firm required their lawyers to exhibit when interacting with clients and co-workers. While these studies identify identity regulation processes promoted through the discourse in learning and development, Paring et al., (2017) indicate that identity regulation within development programmes can also be exercised through affording bodily performances of the desired identity.

Identity regulation can have positive effects on the motives for identity construction. Alvesson and Willmott (2002) suggest that when organisations establish the rules of the game with workers, it helps them to build a sense of self and structures the worker's role in the organisation. The rules typically refer to the norms and processes which the workers are expected to adhere to while performing a particular activity or display behavioural conduct in the workplace environment. These rules and practices are modified and communicated among all existing and new employees. When new employees join the organisation, the induction period introduces them to the set of guidelines they are expected to follow, intended to align their skills, knowledge, and behaviour with the overall objectives of the organisation as shown in Table 1. Organisational standards and norms enable the employees to develop an understanding of their self and their role in the workplace and position themselves for success (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002).

Organisational theorists have approached control in several different ways. In some perspectives control is viewed through taxonomies of coercive, normative and instrumental strategies (Scott, 2013; Gross and Etzioni, 1985). Other views centre on input, throughput and output controls (Cardinali, 2006), or less direct control approaches such as concertive controls (Barker, 1998) or control emerging from professional oversight, self-regulation, or peer pressure (Friedson, 1994). Controls can be reflected in organisational aspects such as: rewards, in which a task is performed for promotion, status, or satisfaction; discipline, so that a task is performed to avoid punishment or humiliation; belief in authority; and belief in the expertise of oneself or others, in which employees perform a task because the employee is recognised as an expert or is compelled to accept the expertise of others. Expert power is not formalised and frequently is beneficial for the organisation (Lawson, 2014).

Table 1 Targets of Identity Regulation

Targets of Identity Regulation	Description
knowledge and skills	Acts as a key resource for identity regulation framing who an employee is, based on what they are capable of doing or expected to be able to do
defining an individual identity	Explicit formal or informal reference to expected characteristics that distinguish one individual from another based on identity definitions such as middle manager
creating an individual's identity by defining the identity of others	Inferring the desired identity through positively or negatively referring to the characteristics of specific others.
following a vocabulary of organisational motives	Providing archetypes, stories and reference points to offer an interpretive framework through which employees are encouraged to comprehend the meaning of their work
hierarchical location	Consistent symbolism that defines the social positioning and relative value to the organisation of different individuals and groups
group categories and affiliation;	Ascribing social categories to the individual
morals and values	Promoting values and moral stories to guide or stimulate identities towards a specific direction
identifying and following a set of rules	Establishing norms, ideas and meanings about the way things are done in a specific context
defining the functional context	Explaining the scene/context within which the organisation operates indirectly implying the necessity for a particular identity

Compiled from Alvesson and Wilmott (2002).

The police force represents a unique occupational group linked to the extent to which the nature of their work implies a high level of self-control. This partly links to the geographical dispersion of police officers as they conduct their day-to-day work activities which means that most of their work and conduct of their duties remains unobserved by managers. This points to organisational control which may only be nominal and focused on tangible and measurable outcomes such as arrest statistics rather than intangible outcomes of occupational activities such as crimes prevented. The UAE makes use of such measures to regulate the performance of the public sector including the police. To measure outcomes qualitative strategic indicators are incorporated such as ‘reliability of security and police services’ and elaborated on by quantitative operational and service performance indicators (UAEGov, 2021). In this context therefore the driving force directing police action is suggested to be the work identities shaped and adopted by police officers.

This points to a view of control as multidimensional, multifaceted, and dynamic in terms of the varying impact of control strategies over time, and ultimately depending for its effectiveness on the consent of those perceived to be controlled. Work by Cuganesan (2017) exploring the identity regulation of police during a change that privileged officer similarity and generalism over distinctness and specialism illustrates the dynamic context in which identity regulation is exercised. As tensions and competing identity claims from different sections of the police emerged through identity work undertaken by police officers in response to the change, managers acted to reregulate identities in a way that attempted to balance the similarity-distinctness paradox and satisfy organisational and identity requirements. The study showed that for those with highly valued work identities issues of managerial control are more complex and intertwined in ways that link controllers and controlled within identifiable rules of play.

2.3.3 Meta-Narratives

Processes of identity construction are also driven by broader underlying cultural and societal factors that represent critical and constant components of commonplace sensemaking and shape and set boundaries on individual identity construction, particularly in strong cultural settings (Ybema et al., 2009; Alvesson et al., 2008). Cultural templates or scripts in the form of meta-narratives of gender, ethnicity or culture may have facilitating and inhibiting or contradictory functions in the formation of identity. These can frequently exert strong pressure on individuals based on their prescriptive power over identity perceptions. Such narratives are frequently incorporated in conjunction with an array of forces that act to undermine the possibility of fulfilling those ideal identities. Evidence shows for example the strong influence of gender meta-narratives over identity construction. The role of gender and women's identity work within an organisation has been explored in detail (Essers and Benschop, 2007; Pini, 2005) separate from men's identity work. LaPointe (2013) focused on how the notion of career change in a masculine world constrained the options of female Finnish business students who were actively seeking a career change. Alvesson (1998) studied the changing notion of masculinity in the advertising world where male executives struggled with a more "feminised" environment, leading them to restore perceptions of masculinity by enforcing division of labour based on traditional gender roles. This suggests a broader perspective on identity formation that accounts for both micro-processes of individual identity construction and broader contextual and macro developments (Alvesson et al., 2008). In this vein some studies have explored the relationship between the formation of identities and broader societal discourses and institutional frameworks (Merilainen et al., 2004).

Theories further point to the role of meta-narrative as a major motivating factor and the core material and mechanism in identity construction that links personal and social identities (Alvesson et al., 2008). Personal identities are viewed to be negotiated through ongoing and embodied interaction at a social level (Thomas and Davies, 2005; Ashcraft and Mumby, 2004). Social identification is defined as the 'perception of oneness with or belongingness to some human aggregate' (Ashforth and Mael, 1989, p.135). Professions such as the police force are considered to possess robust links between self and social identities with police identity regarded in terms of a negotiation between self and social identities (Keenoy et al., 2009).

In one school of thought this process is characterised as a continuous iteration or 'permanent dialectic' between self-definition on the one hand and social definition on the other (Ybema et al., 2009). Identity is both what is projected and what is perceived, and this is an ongoing process of creation constructed somewhere in between the individual and their audiences (Alvesson, 1990). McCall and Simmons (1978) and Swann et al., (2009) explain this identity negotiation process as an individual's attempts to understand his/her identity through a perceived understanding of the opinion considered valuable by the individual. As such, the individual exhibits behaviours such as seeking opportunities for identity confirmation (lobbying), enacting a claimed identity, and providing subliminal messages aiming to establish the legitimacy of the identity claim (DeRue and Ashford, 2010; Swann et al., 2009). Brewer (2012) argues that dynamic tension can often emerge between the personal and social identities of individuals in their desire to be a unique part of the organisational collective. Challenge is presented in becoming an exemplar member of the collective in terms of being an individual of reputed social standing (social identity) and demonstrating their unique capabilities (individual identity) when functioning within the collective. How the individual identity functions alongside the social identity helps others in creating a perception of the individual.

The role of discourse and language in this negotiated identity formation can be understood through contextualised “practices of talking and writing” (Grant et al., 2004, p.3). For some while identity formation is not comprised entirely of talk and text, language is viewed as the only medium available to account for it (Ybema et al., 2009; Thomas and Davies, 2005; Deetz, 2003). Insights may be afforded into how identities are constructed and reconstructed over time in daily talk and texts within the organisation, and how major organisational discourses influence members’ identification (Ybema et al., 2009). In the police context a globalised, highly connected world and social change can diminish trust and heighten risk, and lead to questions of legitimacy in local contexts, pointing to a complex relationship between the public, police officers and the police force. This relationship may further be influenced by power and identity as different groups strive for change and dominance. Examination of discourse can provide a connection between the influences of culture and identity on police action and negotiated in this social reality through power struggles for predominance (Lawson, 2014).

2.4 Identity Work

Identity work represents a major strand of theory in identity formation which characterises ‘the range of activities individuals engage in to create, present, and sustain personal identities that are congruent with and supportive of the self-concept’ (Snow and Anderson, 1987, p.1348). In the organisational context the study of identity work comprises a focused investigation of specific processes and factors involved in the construction of an individual’s identity (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003). Sveningsson and Alvesson (2003, p.1165) define identity work as "people being engaged in forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening or revising the constructions that are productive of a sense of coherence and distinctiveness”. In their definition Ibarra and Barbulescu (2010, p.137) stress how identity work is undertaken: “we introduce the term narrative identity work to refer to social efforts to craft self-narratives that meet a person's identity aims. By self-narrative we mean a narrative or story - terms we use interchangeably - about the self”. Another definition points to identity work as fundamentally a social process: "identity work is undertaken both by an individual projecting a particular image and by others mirroring back and reinforcing (or not) that image as a legitimate identity…We refer to this broader, multiparty process as identity construction" (DeRue and Ashford, 2010, p.630). Table 2 provides an overview of definitions of identity work drawing on the literature.

The term identity work denotes a process of alignment employing strategies and tactics to regulate and negotiate individual identities (Beech, 2008; Watson, 2008; Rounds, 2006; Svenningson and Alvesson, 2003). Therefore, the concept of identity work places primary importance on becoming or 'doing' rather than being (Alvesson et al., 2008). Such 'doing' activities have been consistently referred to as practices, strategies, tactics or activities (Ibarra and Barbulescu, 2010; Elsbach, 2009; Anteby, 2008; Snow and Anderson, 1987). Individuals actively engage in creating and modifying their identity with the purpose of balancing and resolving tensions that emerge between the self and the demands of their work environment (Swann et al., 2009). Identity work has been portrayed as a constant process (Lucas, 2011; Davies and Thomas, 2008) that involves ongoing experimentation and continuous reconstruction (Fachin and Davel, 2015; Brown and Toyoki, 2013).

Identity work has also been identified in terms of the target of personal and social identities to which it is oriented. According to Giddens (1990) identities represent not only causal factors for action but also the target of those actions. In this view while identities serve people, people also serve or support their own identities by undertaking various actions to build, maintain or revise identities.

Literature has shown that the degree of identity instability is an empirical matter in which identity work is, on the one hand, more continuous in acutely fragmented settings, while on the other is more focused and conscious in stable contexts when initiated or intensified by crisis (Beech, 2008; Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008; Watson, 2008).

Table 2 Definitions of Identity Work

Source	Definitions of Identity Work
Snow and Anderson (1987, p.1348)	'The range of activities individuals engage in to create, present, and sustain personal

	identities that are congruent with and supportive of the self-concept’
Sveningsson and Alvesson (2003, p.1165)	‘People being engaged in forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening, or revising the constructions that are productive of a sense of coherence and distinctiveness’
Ibarra and Barbulescu (2010, p.137)	‘The term narrative identity work to refer to social efforts to craft self-narratives that meet a person's identity aims. By self-narrative we mean a narrative or story- terms we use interchangeably - about the self’
DeRue and Ashford (2010, p.630)	‘Identity work is undertaken both by an individual projecting a particular image and by others mirroring back and reinforcing (or not) that image as a legitimate identity…We refer to this broader, multiparty process as identity construction’
Vignoles et al., (2006, p.309)	‘Like all subjective meanings, identity is constructed through a complex interplay of cognitive, affective, and social interaction processes, occurring within cultural and local contexts’
Wei (2012, p.444)	‘individuals' active construction of their identities in social contexts’
Ibarra (1999, p. 779)	‘Identity construction is not just a process of producing possible selves but also one in which people select and discard the possibilities they have considered’

Studies have demonstrated that individuals engage in intense identity work when there is an interruption to the normal, everyday reproduction of self-identity that occurs within a stable context, potentially prompted by feelings of self-doubt and questioning, and/or uncertainty and anxiety (Collinson, 2003; Knights and Willmott, 1989). Critical events that may be surprising, troubling or a threat to the identity can instigate identity construction or reconstruction and revaluation within the organisation (Petriglieri, 2011). Thus, identity work primarily focuses on the individual’s perspective and exploring how individuals evolve their understandings of themselves in a social context (Alvesson et al., 2008). Watson (2008) proposes a broader view of identity work as any situation where an individual must adjust their identity to be accepted, listened to, and engaged with. For example, if a police officer addressing the public understands that they are being constructed by the public as "the enemy" in the overall discourse, allowing the public to continue to believe in this identity presents a risk and a motivation to change these perceptions.

Literature on identity work can be classified into three major streams: functionalist, focusing on cause-effect relations and effectiveness; critical, concerning issues of control, power, and resistance; and interpretivist that relates to the interactional processes by which identities are formed (Alvesson et al., 2008). Other theorists have distinguished the dimensions of identity work differently. Ashforth and Schinoff (2016) propose that identities are constructed through three highly interlinked dimensions of feelings/affect, in which identities are liked and valued; behaviours that manifest the identity; and thoughts/cognitions. Brown (2017) points to five primary and overlapping forms of identity work: symbolic, psychodynamic, socio-cognitive, dramaturgical, and discursive. Within the literature identity work has frequently been characterised in terms of tactics, strategies, and processes across four key domains: cognitive, discursive, physical, and behavioural (Brown, 2017; Caza et al., 2016).

2.4.1 Tactics and Processes

Identity work is the subject of multiple different perspectives in relation to how it is enacted and specifically the strategies employed. The term strategy is used broadly in the literature and in this study to describe any form of identity work whether strategies, tactics, or processes. It thus refers to the tangible decisions and actions taken to regulate identity (Kornberger and Brown, 2007; Kreiner et al., 2006; Iedema and Scheeres, 2003). One perspective proposed by Breakwell (1986) considered identity work in the context of threatened identities and distinguished several coping strategies utilised by individuals to protect their identities. As shown in Table 3 three of the major strategies identified are: intrapsychic, referring to strategies of self-protection on that level; interpersonal strategies, in which relationships with others are modified to cope with threats; and intergroup strategies, operating at different group levels and varying group structures (Breakwell, 1986).

Table 3 Identity Work Strategies

Type	Strategies	Source
Coping Strategies	• Intrapsychic • Interpersonal • Intergroup	Breakwell (1986)

Equilibrium Strategies	• Differentiation • Integration • Dual function	Kreiner et al., (2006)
Processes	• Adding • Retaining • Subtracting	Lepisto et al., (2015)
Cognitive	• Self-questioning • Reflexive sense-making • Changes to the self • Reframing of meaning • Positive self-perceptions • Internal dialogue • ‘Imaginary selves’	Beech et al., (2008); Fletcher and Watson (2007); Tracy and Scott (2006); MacIntosh and Beech (2011); Driver (2018)
Discursive	• Stories • Dialogues, • Narratives • Conversations • Metaphors • Humour and bantering • Self-other identity talk	Caza et al., (2016); Carroll and Levy (2010); Carollo and Guerci (2017); Ybema et al., (2009)
Physical	• Bodies • Materials, artefacts, and objects • Physical appearance, dress, and signage	Courpasson and Monties (2017); Elsbach (2009); Elsbach (2004); Humphreys and Brown (2002); Alvesson (2001); Pratt and Rafaeli (1997);
Behavioural	• Acting out desired identity behaviours • Enacting habits and routine • Etiquette and manners • Emotional labour	Goffman (1959); Verplanken and Sui (2019); Koerner (2014); Corlett and Mavin (2014); Brown and Lewis (2011); Rabe-Hemp (2008); Ashforth et al., (2007); Scott et al., (2009)

Another perspective suggested by Kreiner et al., (2006) categorises identity work strategies in terms of the aim to find equilibrium between the self and work. The purpose of differentiation strategies is to define the unique self, while integration strategies focus on combining the self with work. A third category is recognised of dual-function strategies that can be employed to either integrate or differentiate the self from work.

Lepisto et al., (2015) identify identity work from the perspective of the processes enacted and describe three main forms of adding, retaining, and subtracting processes. Adding processes involve tactics enacted to create, acquire, improve, or otherwise take on an identity. Retaining processes allude to strategies that maintain, reinforce, support, and stabilise an identity. In turn subtracting processes denote processes that aim to lose or otherwise eliminate or delete an identity.

2.4.2 Cognitive

Cognitive identity work strategies relate to the mental efforts exerted to subjectively interpret and evaluate an identity (Killian and Johnson, 2006). Emphasis is placed on the self-reflective nature of identity work built on aspects such as self-questioning, reflexive sense-making, and changes to the self (Beech et al., 2008; Fletcher and Watson, 2007). Some evidence points to processes of identity construction that are largely based on internal dialogue with personal fantasies (MacIntosh and Beech, 2011).

Multiple empirical studies across different sectors and organisational contexts have focused on identity work in terms of cognitive activities and tactics (Berger et al., 2017; Essers et al., 2013; Kreiner et al., 2006; Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). A consistent strategy is the cognitive reframing of meaning attached to occupations or job roles (Tracy and Scott, 2006; Ashford and Kreiner, 1999). This can involve tactics that cognitively separate roles and identity through metaphorical devices or merge them cognitively in a hierarchy of multiple identities (Kreiner et al., 2006).

Cognitive identity work may also consist of sense-making of multiple identities through developing a cognitive understanding of the self's network of identities (Ramarajan, 2014). Tensions that arise from identity paradoxes may be addressed (Carollo and Guerci, 2017) in addition to the seeking of ways to switch between identities (Essers et al., 2013). Driver (2018) points to the creation of 'imaginary selves' among employees when their identity is challenged by negative workplace experiences. Most individuals would like to consider themselves in a positive way, especially in terms of the perceptions of others, based on motivations of self-verification and self-enhancement (Leary, 2007). Personal assessments of performance are shaped by the feedback and social cues of others. Within iterative and dynamic identity negotiation processes individuals may seek opportunities to display their identity status such as consciously cultivating those whose opinions are valued including senior managers and esteemed co-workers (DeRue and Ashford, 2010; Swann et al., 2003). This self-concept has been conceptualised in terms of two perspectives of self-representations: self-definitions representing present selves, and self-comparisons in terms of past selves, ideal selves, possible selves, ought selves or dreaded selves (Obodaru, 2012). The self to which an individual aspires may be guided by the factors which impact and channel the self-construction of possible selves (Ibarra, 1999).

One study examines how cognitive identity work is approached in the fire service in relation to the physical taint associated with their work, showing how fire service personnel reframe and reinterpret the meaning attached to the stigmatised parts of their work (Tracy and Scott, 2006). In the police dirty work is associated with their use of coercive force (Dick, 2005) and dealing with the criminal and seedier aspects of life (De Camargo, 2016). Firefighters convert physical taint by emphasising the heroism in the face of dangers. This allows the ‘dirtiest’ parts of their occupation to be transformed into a badge of honour (Tracy and Scott, 2006). Ashford and Kreiner (1999) identify this as a tactic termed ‘infusing’, related to enhancing the prestige of the role or occupation. The prestige of the police may be less consistent, however, and more subjective dependent on whether others view the police force as defenders or repressors in their exercise of authority (Treiman, 2013).

Strategies in change contexts may also involve resistance to perceived change of identity. Evidence shows that the close association between services provided, personal connection and emotional impact, can influence how identity is formed by having either a positive impact, stimulating pride (Carmeli, 2004) or a negative one, resulting in embarrassment, disassociation, or demotivation (Helm, 2013; Cable and Turban, 2003). Contextual change can influence perceptions of stigma (Goffman, 1990) or social taint which may be experienced as a significant threat to identity (Petriglieri, 2011; Snyder et al., 1986) by police officers. In turn, this could influence services such as the police with robust traditions and values, to resist organisational change.

Identity Processing Style

Evidence shows that within identity work people adopt different styles of identity processing (Ashforth and Schinoff, 2016; Gao et al., 2008). Such findings highlight the role of social-cognitive strategies and processes when individuals engage in or avoid the process of identity construction and revision, based on the assumption that identity is largely a social-cognitive self-concept comprised of self-representational and self-regulatory constructs (Berzonsky, 2004a). Self-concepts function as a frame of reference for processing and interpreting the constant flow of self-relevant information encountered in individuals' daily lives (Berzonsky, 1993).

Various styles of cognitive processing of self-relevant information and dealing with identity concerns in identity work are identified (Adams, 2001). Berzonsky (2004a) synthesises the literature to characterise these styles in terms of three different individual orientations. Those with an information-oriented style are problem solvers and decision-makers who actively seek out, process and use self-relevant information, and possess a willingness to absorb conflicting information and test and revise aspects of their self-concept (Krettenauer, 2005). Information-oriented people are more likely to make rationalised judgements about which options or views are preferable to others in relation to a set of rules, standards, or criteria (Krettenauer, 2005; Berzonsky, 2004a; Caputi and Oades, 2001). Further those with an informational identity style may not have formed established commitments to a particular work identity and may be engaged in exploring different goals and standards (Berzonsky and Luyckx, 2008). Studies have shown that such individuals are linked to an organic world view and constructivist epistemic assumptions in which they view themselves as playing an active role in their own identity construction and define themselves in terms of their own values, goals and self-knowledge (Berzonsky, 2002; Caputi and Oades, 2001).

A normative-oriented style characterises individuals who cope with identity questions and decisions by conforming to the prescriptions and expectations of those considered significant. Information that conflicts with values and beliefs core to their self-definition tends to be resisted (Berzonsky, 2004a). This processing style has been linked to a more mechanistic world view in which reality is perceived as objective and stable, and such individuals consider themselves relatively passive actors whose personality and identity is governed by social forces. Self-definition is frequently in the context of collective self-attributes such as family, nationality and religion (Berzonsky, 2002; Caputi and Oades, 2001). In turn those with a diffuse/avoidant orientation defer or avoid addressing conflicts or threats to identity altogether. To accommodate different circumstances in life avoidant individuals are identified to make small, ad-hoc changes to their self-concept rather than larger, stable changes to their identity structure (Berzonsky, 2004a). Research is less conclusive in relation to the epistemic view of diffuse/avoidant individuals. One study has shown that these identity processing types may be relatively deterministic, viewing their identity as predetermined by fate or factors out of their control (Berzonsky, 1994). Another shows that reality and knowledge is viewed as chaotic and with many possible options that undermines the basis for rational decision-making and certainty in judgements (Berzonsky, 1994). As a result reliance is placed on emotional responses and personal preferences and desires in which self-definition is linked to social self-attributes such as reputation and the impression made on others (Berzonsky, 2002).

Research has explored cognitive aspects of identity work in the context of professional identity construction. One study explores the link between issues of professionalism, competence and image and an individual's conceptualisation of their professional or occupational identity and their self-perception of their own professional competence (Gao et al., 2008). Occupational identity and affiliation to a professional group as part of that identity was presumed to reside within their cognitive structure linked to the saliency of professional or expert knowledge to enable performance in roles, situations and tasks (Gao et al., 2008). The basic assumption was that an individual's self-evaluation of that enabling knowledge was central in professional identity formation based on its importance for functioning and which becomes an essential part of an individual's sense of self. When confronted with a problem or decision the individual is argued to become aware of their identity by bringing to the fore the relevance of their knowledge to that situation. However the findings pointed to a more nuanced picture, with knowledge found to be secular and less connected to the self as it did not involve inner valuation and personal belief systems but rather pragmatic beliefs that the knowledge was valid (Gao et al., 2008). The study points to the complexity of the relationship between identity and knowledge centred around how knowledge is valued by the individual and the tension between being an individual and their affiliation to a professional group.

Identity Reflection and Sensemaking

Studies have further identified how processes of reflection, questioning and sense-making accompany cognitive aspects of identity work. To an extent identity work can involve conscious mental effort, stimulated when self-doubt and openness within the self arise during encounters with others and as a result of perceptions of others, systems and objects (Beech et al., 2008). Conscious identity work is suggested to occur in a variety of forms (Beech et al., 2008), such as the use of visible identity triggers including dress (Creed and Scully, 2000; Pratt and Rafaeli, 1997), verbal accounts of events and self which highlight similarities or differences with others (Coupland, 2001), or the use of verbal symbols to regulate professional identities and status (Thomas and Linstead, 2002; Alvesson, 1994). Beech et al., (2008) argue that social interaction is a key catalysing factor for conscious identity work as an individual is likely to evaluate and reflect on the robustness of an identity claim on the basis of others' reactions and within the context of the wider social setting and its cultural and normative control mechanisms.

Research by Ashforth and Schinoff (2016) points to the role of sensemaking and sense-breaking in cognitive identity work. Sensemaking identifies how individuals interpret environmental cues and make sense of their environment and understand who they are within it (Maitlis and Christianson, 2014). Studies have established a link between sensemaking and identity construction (Maitlis and Christianson, 2014; Ashforth et al., 2008) such that identity is frequently the focus of sense-making (Maitlis, 2009; Pratt, 2000) and is correspondingly bound to identity motives (Weick, 1995). Different identity questions are associated with individuals' engagement in sensemaking, such as what it means to be a specific professional or in a particular job, what it means to be a member of an organisation, how those jobs and broader roles align with how an individual perceives and desires to see themselves, and how an individual comes to be, and be seen as, a legitimate example of this desired self (Ashforth et al., 2014). While sensemaking is often conceptualised as a retrospective process (Weick, 1995), research has shown that it may also be prospective (Maitlis and Christianson, 2014) based on evidence that individuals sometimes proactively seek information and craft tasks and roles to tailor them more closely to a desired self (Kira and Balkin, 2014; Blaka and Filstad, 2007; Wrzesniewski and Dutton, 2001).

A key part of identity sensemaking depends on interpretation of external cues and established meanings in different contexts. Research shows that organisations actively seek to influence and provide desired meanings to individuals through processes of sense-breaking and sense-giving (Ashforth and Schinoff, 2016). Sense-breaking is described as the breaking down of meaning in response to challenges to an individual's sense of self and a perceived void of meaning that involves a fundamental questioning of their identity (Pratt, 2000). In contexts with strong and distinctive organisational cultures, such as the military, sense-breaking is shown to be applied by the organisation as a deliberate strategy to strip away undesirable values, beliefs and expectations within individuals (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979). Such strategies are suggested to create a sense of transition within individuals based on the recognition that their identity is not viable in the local context and stimulating a strong desire to acquire a more viable one (Beech, 2011; Ashforth, 2001). Organisations may also engage in processes of sense-giving to help resolve these tensions within individuals, aiming to influence their construction of meaning towards preferred perceptions of organisational reality that align with the collective mission and practices (Ashforth and Schinoff, 2016; Gioia and Chittipeddi, 1991). Sense-giving communicates information about organisational members and the local context including typical and aspirational role attributes (Ashforth and Schinoff, 2016). According to Park (2014) the need for sense-giving to fill the void in meaning is directly related to the intensity and depth of sense-breaking.

In addition to individual sense-making in relation to identity, studies point to group sense-making processes in identity work based on social interactions (Patriotta and Spedale, 2009; Weick, 1995). Patriotta and Spedale (2009) identified that these processes provided a dynamic connection between individual and social sense-making based on an exploration of the specific processes involved in sense-making in the context of group-based interaction within a consultancy task force. Findings showed that the defining of identity which underpinned group-based interactions involved recurrent face games in which interactors were likely to endeavour to influence the patterns of interaction while at the same time establishing and preserving a coherent self-identity. In this case the notion of ‘face’ draws on Goffman’s (1959) theory identifying the self that an individual claims and presents to others in social encounters, including positive social values. Further, repetition of these face games were identified to create an interaction order that structured interactions and as such were key to the social construction of meaning within the group context. The study showed that in the cases where early impressions had constrained patterns of interaction, development of the outcomes of group sense-making were negatively affected (Patriotta and Spedale, 2009). This is consistent with broader evidence which shows that mutually verifying and recognising others’ identities in a workgroup context has significant positive impact on cooperation and group performance (Thatcher and Greer, 2008; Milton and Westphal, 2005). There is thus implication for ensuring the creation of interaction orders that are beneficial for working consensus and collective sensemaking.

Categorisation of Self

Research evidence points to another cognitive facet of individuals' engagement in identity work based on the notion that identity construction is linked to categorisation and the relationship between external categorisation (categorical framing) and self categorisation (categorical self) (Cuchod et al., 2014). Under this view individuals are assigned by society or organisations to particular categories, comprised of a broader collective that is labelled and has specific rules, with the aim to order social reality (Cuchod et al., 2014; Ashforth et al., 2011). Categorised individuals however are likely to form their own interpretations of the category to which they have been assigned which may diverge from more broadly established meanings and expectations (Cuchod et al., 2014; Turner et al., 1987). This view draws on social identity theory by linking the two notions proposing that individuals continually assess their self-perceptions in comparison with social expectations (Ashforth et al., 2011; Watson, 2008). Findings show that this can be a potential source of tension based on the discrepancies and divergences perceived more or less intensely by individuals between the categorical framing and categorical self, resulting in identity work (Cuchod et al., 2014). Categorical framing is represented as a sense-giving mechanism that categorised individuals use to evaluate and compare with their categorical self and endeavour to make sense of (Cuchod et al., 2014). Perceived inconsistencies between categorical framing and categorical self were found to stimulate various processes of identity work, identification, or disidentification linked to apprehensions of correspondence and self-enhancement, unfairness or alienation (Cuchod et al., 2014).

Social identity theory further emphasises the idea of self-categorisation within a world divided into an in-group and an out-group. Tajfel (1974) describes the tendency for members of the in-group to look for negative facets of the out-group and to amplify differences while stressing similarities within the same groups as a part of their identity work. This is performed with the aim to bolster self-esteem and reinforce self-image, identified as a natural cognitive process (Tajfel, 1974). In this way individuals are believed to self-stereotype and depersonalise themselves, as rather than focusing on their unique, individual characteristics they perceive their self through the prism of their group experience (Turner et al., 1987). This insight into group membership may provide a lens through which police identity in social and collaborative settings can be understood as well as highlighting where self-esteem could be compromised. At the same time similarities could be searched for and considered that support a broader integration that form a natural fit for police identities.

Further individuals are identified to order their social categories into a hierarchical order linked to the extent of their inclusiveness, ranging across levels of abstraction and inclusiveness (Turner et al., 1987). For example, an individual may see themselves as an individual (‘a policeman’), the social self, and a team member (‘Major Crimes Unit’), a member of an organisation (‘Police Force’), or at a greater level of abstraction (‘member of the security services’). This points to a process of superordinate categorisation consisting of self-categorisation at a higher level of metagroup (Roberts and Creary, 2013), often for the purpose of achieving cooperation between groups (Allison and Herlocker, 1994). While potentially benefitting organisations by encouraging a collectivistic organisational culture (Chatman et al., 1998), superordinate categorisation may on the other hand act to suppress key differences and challenge an individual’s sense of distinctiveness (Roberts and Creary, 2013). This ordering can also be present within groups, so that while police officers may be members of a particular patrol unit for example, they may have different lengths of service, different service experiences and specialist skills which may create divisions within the group and informal hierarchies. Therefore, the theory extends the idea that social identity is defined by group membership and incorporates variables of fit and accessibility (Turner et al., 1987).

In relation to fit, comparative fit and normative fit are key considerations for the individual. Comparative fit is associated with the potential variances between social categories, and which may affect the importance and relevance of a self-identity within any given context. In a social setting comprising emergency responders for example perceived differences between the professions may lead a policeman to self-identify with being a police officer. On the other hand, if within the same social setting the division of gender held more saliency than profession the police officer may identify more with being male or female (Turner et al., 1987). This has been identified as a process of meta-contrast (Turner, 1985). Accessibility centres on an individual’s inclination to adopt a particular set of categories as part of their social identification.

This in turn depends on their past experiences, values, goals, motivations, expectations and needs.

Cognitive Tactics

The literature shows that when engaging in identity work individuals may employ a range of different cognitive tactics to make sense of and to convey their desired identity to others (Essers et al., 2013; Petriglieri and Stein, 2012; Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). Cognitive reframing of meaning in relation to 'dirty' aspects of an individual's work identity is one tactic consistently identified (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). Many occupational identities including the police are associated with a certain level of contamination and stigma linked to undertaking what is generally viewed as "dirty work" in the course of their occupations (Westmarland, 2017; Grandy and Mavin, 2012; Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999; Hughes, 1951). In the police, dirty work generally relates to dealing with criminals, criminal acts and their environments and the perceived seedier or degrading side of life (De Camargo, 2016). Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) identify that people involved in dirty work cognitively reframe and recalibrate the meaning associated with their stigmatised work to construct a social identity that better enhances self-esteem. These tactics are intended to transmute the meaning of stigmatised work by denying or devaluing negative aspects and generating or revaluing positive ones. Based on evidence from past studies the authors point to two types of reframing of infusing and neutralising. Infusing is shown to occur when the stigma is instilled with positive value so that it becomes, rather, a badge of honour. Dirty work is often justified therefore in value-laden ways that provide a grander perspective and larger purpose for the work (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). Funeral directors for example defined their work as supporting the deceased's family and friends to cope with grief rather than the processing of dead bodies for profit (Thompson, 1991) while in other studies exotic dancers and prostitutes emphasised the provision of a therapeutic service rather than selling their bodies (Thompson and Harred, 1992; Miller, 1978). Neutralising tactics towards stigmatised aspects of work are enacted in the form of denial in terms of responsibility, injury or victim. Occupational members deny responsibility by arguing that they are just doing their job and other factors are responsible. Studies show this tactic has been used across different professions such that meatpackers have argued that they are merely satisfying societal demands for meat (Lesy, 1987) while debt collectors were found to suggest that debtors are angry at their situation rather than the collector themselves (Sutton, 1991). Neutralising and infusing are considered to be complementary tactics in that a particular stigma can be both negated and transformed (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999).

Recalibrating cognitive tactics are used by workers to magnify more desirable aspects of the job and minimise less desirable (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999) by modifying the internal standards employed to assess the extent and/or quality of a particular dirty work attribute. For example dirty workers are identified to relive and retell those experiences that are positively valued (Kinkade and Katovich, 1997; Santino, 1990). In the health sector recalibration among hospital orderlies was expressed in terms of the belief that their role of transporting patients was critical to hospital operational functioning (Reed, 1989) and among hospital cleaners in terms of their importance for preventing patents from getting more ill (Dutton et al., 1996). Another study showed that recalibration can occur through the cognitive arrangement into a hierarchy of different job tasks and attributes (Palmer, 1978). Hierarchical arrangements appear to be a consistent cognitive tactic in identity work of all kinds. Kreiner et al., (2006) show that a key tactic employed for managing multiple identities among priests was the creation of a cognitive hierarchy imposed on the various identities in terms of their perceived importance. Sluss and Ashforth (2007) explore the cognitive hierarchical arrangements made by individuals in regards to their relational identities which integrate person and role-based identities in interactions with others. They contend that the cognitive hierarchy ranges from generalised to particularised relational identity belief systems, so that a generalised relational identity informs the particularised: for example how a supervisor sees themselves in relation to subordinates, which informs the particularised belief in terms of how they see themselves in relation to each of those subordinates. Sluss and Ashforth (2007) further argue that the hierarchy forms an ongoing feedback loop so that the performance of a supervisor relational identity feeds back to modify and adapt the generalised relational identity.

Refocusing are further tactics adopted by workers to cognitively shift attention to the less stigmatised attributes of their job by actively ignoring the stigmatised elements and stressing features that provide extrinsic and intrinsic value, such as pay or flexible hours (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). This echoes tactics identified in identity research in broader work contexts than just dirty work in which individuals selectively attend to and interpret interaction experiences in order to confirm or favour self-beliefs in relation to identity (Swann et al., 2004). In Essers et al., (2013) migrant female business owners were shown to engage in selective cognitive processing to maintain their autonomy. Participants selectively ignored or filtered out identity information that would negatively influence their autonomy while focusing attention on identity information that was favourable to this goal.

2.4.3 Discursive

Research has also focused on identity work from the perspective of discourse and verbalisation, exploring the way that individuals utilise stories, dialogues, narratives, and conversations as a channel for identity work (Caza et al., 2016; Carroll and Levy, 2010).

Discursive identity work, otherwise named identity talk (Snow and Anderson, 1987), comprises what is verbalised and how it is verbalised. Thus, aspects such as word choice and tone of voice (Allen, 2005) can have significance in identity construction in addition to expressions and specific ‘insider’ terminology which can play a key role in influencing and shaping identities at work (Gagnon, 2008; Kuhn, 2006). For example evidence from Carroll and Levy (2010) demonstrates that the adjectives adopted to describe the identity of managers distinguished it from that of a leader. This suggests that exploring the adjectives and word choice used to describe the identities of female police officers by both male and female officers would thus be relevant to understanding the identity work and construction undertaken by these individuals in the context of change to female police officer roles. Other literature points to the use of metaphors, humour, and bantering, and even lies to strengthen and enhance identities (Carollo and Guerci, 2017; Huber and Brown, 2017; Leavitt and Sluss, 2015). These discursive devices can be influenced by contextual discourses that comprise elements such as management discourses, everyday ‘watercooler’ and shopfloor talk, occupational narratives, and cultural scripts (Smith et al., 2014; Clarke et al., 2009; Ybema et al., 2009). In this way individuals can be considered both the producers and the products of discourse (Lawless et al., 2012).

Identity work viewed from the perspective of critical theory centres on dominant discourses and how these can be contested (Brown and Lewis, 2011; Clarke et al., 2009; Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). Critical theory emphasises that institutions play a role in influencing the way in which individuals engage in identity work (Kärreman and Alvesson, 2004). Organisations generate and maintain dominant narratives to shape how individuals identify themselves with the aim that such identities will limit and promote behaviours in ways that benefit the organisation. This can stimulate conflicts of power and control in identity work. Evidence from Thornborrow and Brown (2009) examined how, for example, the prioritised self-conceptions of paratroopers were controlled by their regiment.

Contestation can be enacted through different discursive practices. Studies have examined the discursive tactics and concepts, expressions and linguistic devices used by individuals and employees in constructing their identities (Frandsen, 2015; DeRue and Ashford, 2010; Kuhn, 2009; Gagnon, 2008). For example, Watson (2009) details the discursive resources drawn on to construct and secure a coherent and stable managerial identity, while DeRue and Ashford (2010) identify the verbal tactics used in claiming and granting of leader and follower identities. In contexts of change and continuous tension employees are associated with distinct strategies that help them to create and manage their identities in organisations. One strategy is to negotiate and resist dominant regulatory practices using various epistemological discourse within the organisation (Clarke et al., 2009; Ibarra, 2010). Various studies have highlighted the process with which employees reconstruct and decode their identities. Employees use cynicism (Kosmala and Herrbach, 2006; Fleming and Spicer, 2003), humour (Kenny and Euchler, 2012; O’Doherty et al., 2007; Bolton and Boyd, 2003), and counter narratives (Brown and Humphreys, 2006) to create and protect work-based identities. These strategies are common across organisations functioning in any industry and employees working at all hierarchical levels. The actions help them to repair, maintain, and strengthen their work identities.

Another form of discursive practice can be found in vocabulary of motives. The literature identifies this as a distinctive tool that helps organisations to standardise and monitor the identities of professional employees. The prevailing organisational culture (Ely and Meyerson, 2010; Kondo, 1990), internal communication, physical artefacts, in-house magazines, and places are shown to manifest the vocabulary of organisational motives (Wasserman and Frenkel, 2011; Brown and Humphreys, 2006; Pratt et al., 2006). Through this vocabulary employees can construct meaning in relation to their role and value in the organisational structure and their contribution to its work culture. Furthermore, the morals and values of the organisation, reflected in the form of written ideologies, mission statements, and work ethics can play a key role in conveying the meaning of employees' work and in defining their work identity (Smith, 2013; Kuhn, 2009; Kornberger and Brown, 2007).

Self-Other Identity Talk

Self-other identity talk represents a major discursive practice to create and maintain an individual's identity. Different types of self-other discourse are identified as a key ingredient in identity work processes (Ybema et al., 2009). This is consistent with Jenkins' (2004) argument that social identity construction is largely based on establishing relationships of similarity and difference. Self-other identity talk helps individuals to define and understand who they are by helping to delimit who they are not, and who others are and are not. Sameness and otherness thus assume a role as critical guidelines in the development and articulation of an individual's identity (Ybema et al., 2009). Brown (2006) suggests that identity talk about self and others provides organisational actors with mental referents that function as "symbolic rallying points" for the projection and representation of individual and group identities. Kuhn (2006) similarly identifies 'concepts, expressions, and other linguistic devices' as shaping individual and collective action by presenting explanations for past and/or future activity that guides actors' interpretation of experience.

Nevertheless there is a darker side to self-other identity talk in the way that it scripts the self in relation to the other forming a dramatised story that can amplify differences. Distinctions made between sameness and otherness can be selective, over-simplified, and emphasise the stereotypical (Ybema et al., 2009). Discursive positioning in relation to nationality, race, ethnicity, gender and class are visible demonstrations of this (Ybema et al., 2009). This was the case in research by Koveshnikov et al., (2016) which showed that managerial identity work included discourse in which stereotypical conceptions of the foreign 'other' were expressed to boost self-image as superior to that of the other. In this case the identities of both self and the other were recreated in addition to the relationships between them. The suggestion is made that stereotypical self-other talk often has power implications as it frequently aims to frame the other as inferior (Koveshnikov et al., 2016). The implication is that identity construction and identity work may not always be a neutral or benign process and can be influenced by emotions, values, moral judgements and political or economic interests (Ybema et al., 2009). These kinds of phenomena frequently underly claims of sameness and otherness in relation to male and female roles, and colleagues and subordinates in organisations (Ybema et al., 2009). Ball and Wilson (2000) suggest that identity discourse is a core component when aiming to establish, legitimise or challenge existing power and status relationships. This is consistent with Watson (2003) who identifies how strategic managers employ self-other talk to sustain the divisions between their self and others, and Thomas and Linstead (2002) who show how the discursive activities of middle managers aimed to affiliate themselves with a position and status.

On the other hand there is evidence to suggest that self-other identity talk can be self-reflexive that rejects the notion of stereotypical otherness and develops a collective identity or overarching sense of ‘we-ness’ (Koveshnikov et al., 2016; Hardy et al., 2005). Self-reflexive identity talk can be influenced by mindfulness in terms of the refusal to use cognitive simplifying processes such as stereotypes to manage social and cognitive complexity (Koveshnikov et al., 2016; Fiol and O’Connor, 2003; Weick et al., 1999). Individuals may also be motivated to engage in self-reflexive identity talk in order to encourage the idea of an inclusive collective identity and to diminish perceived divisions of us versus them (Ybema et al., 2012; Ellis and Ybema, 2010).

Positive Self-Talk

Favourable and positive self-talk is identified to be one of the most dominant forms of self-other identity talk based on constructing an advantageous image of oneself, and suggested to be employed in the service of establishing and reinforcing a personal sense of moral uprightness (Watson, 2009) and to convey to others a sense of being a good person who has strong positive qualities (Alvesson et al., 2008; Goffman, 1959). Associated with processes of building social capital and development of the integrity of the self on display, this mode of identity talk is regarded by some as one of the core motivations in identity work (Watson, 2009; Ybema et al., 2009). In this way individuals attempt to construct an understanding of their identity that is coherent and positively valued (Alvesson et al., 2008). Work by Down and Reveley (2009) supports these perspectives, showing how organisational supervisors exhibited a form of identity talk which drew on selective narratives of positive self and negative others. Some research identified that positive self-talk as a form of identity work can be stimulated by perceived threats to identity (Brown and Coupland, 2015). Evidence showed that rugby professionals appropriated identity threats such as career brevity and performance as opportunities to discursively author and articulate desired occupational and masculine identities and preferred selves (Brown and Coupland, 2015).

On the other hand in different contexts and situations the construction of a coherent identity may also be fuelled by self-talk that is self-depreciating and expresses self-doubt, inconsistency, alienation or antagonism (Van Maanen, 2010). This suggests that identity-work is also associated with more complex self-talk that is dependent on context and specific situations. This is consistent with Sveningsson and Alvesson (2003) who argue that the more challenging and taxing identity work is undertaken when an individual’s sense of self is threatened or weakened by self-doubt and self-openness. These periods of instability in the construction of identities have frequently been conceptualised as instances of fragile, fragmented or vacillating identities (Collinson, 2003; Potter and Wetherell, 1987) nevertheless there has been limited empirical research that explores the contribution to identity coherence of insecure or critical self-talk (Van Maanen, 2010).

Narratives and Storytelling

The construction of identity narratives are viewed by many as a key strategy of identity work and identity construction more broadly (Ashforth and Schinoff, 2016; Mischenko and Day, 2016; Ibarra and Barbelescu, 2010). Narratives are used to craft stories of growth and negotiate work identities (Roberts and Creary, 2013; Ibarra and Barbelescu, 2010) and are described as “the stories people construct and tell about themselves to define who they are for themselves and for others” (McAdams et al., 2006, p. 4). Narrative identity work therefore implies both introspection and interaction with others. Often making a point about the narrator (Linde, 1993) narratives have been characterised as highly selective and generally self-serving (Ashforth and Schinoff, 2016; McAdams, 1999). Narratives are identified to play a role in an individual’s attempts to make sense of themselves through an active and dynamic process of reconstructing and abstracting daily events, creating a sense of order and highlighting desirable plotlines (Ashforth and Schinoff, 2016; Roberts and Creary, 2013). This narration of the self serves as an integrative mechanism for constructing identity, in terms of providing a sense of unity and purpose (Erikson, 1959) and generating a sense of coherence in identity perceptions by linking the self across time (Ashforth and Schinoff, 2016; Roberts and Creary, 2013). A major reason is attributed to the self-reflection which accompanies narration which can help to distil and resolve personal identity as well as influence behaviour, such that the behaviours considered identity-consistent in the narrative facilitate future identity-consistent behaviours thus reinforcing a sense of coherence in identity (Ashforth and Schinoff, 2016).

Several researchers have explored the relevance of narratives as a strategy for identity work during times of work/role transition or workplace stress. Findings showed that narratives were utilised to explain changes in work roles and identities and enabled people to bridge the gap between past and new roles (Ibarra and Barbelescu, 2010; Ashforth, 2001), cope with strain in work identity (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003), and maintain a sense of authenticity despite the changes the individual is undergoing (Ibarra, 2003). Reissner (2010) found that organisational changes stimulated in-depth revisions of organisational narratives to connect up past experience with future expectations.

Narratives are also identified in terms of an external aspect in addition to their internal purposes (Ainsworth and Hardy, 2004). In particular they are used to convey meaning on a person’s identity to others and acquire validation for identity claims from relevant actors (McAdams, 1999). Narratives have been shown to positively influence the extent to which identity claims are accepted by the audience (DeRue and Ashford, 2010; Ashforth, 2001; Van Maanen, 1998). In the event that narratives are articulated to others they frequently adhere more closely to socially desirable standards and norms and implicate motives of self-representation (Ashforth and Spinoff, 2016). Ibarra and Barbelescu (2010) identify the importance of a credible narrative in influencing acceptance of identity claims.

Narratives and telling stories are identified to play an important role in police culture and the identity construction of police officers (Van Hulst, 2013; Van Maanen, 2010). Various studies have found that the practice of storytelling is a critical part of police station daily life and helped police officers to learn policing and craft their identity as police officers (Van Hulst, 2013; Trujillo and Dionisopoulos, 1987). Shearing and Eriksson (1991) found that police stories were not meant to represent an objective reality but were rather cognitive devices which provided the police officers with the ability to gain practical insight into and make sense of the job of policing, to clarify essential features and to develop a sensibility for the work that they do.

Insider Talk

Research has also associated discursive identity strategies with different linguistic tactics employed to convey an 'insider' identity and claim affiliation with the particular work or social setting in which it is used. In work by Gagnon (2008) on discursive practices in two corporate management development programmes tactics included the use of context-specific jargon and terms to speak like an insider, as well as reiterating programme philosophies in the absence of questioning or irony and expressing pride and gratitude for inclusion. Similarly work by Alvesson (1994) shows how professionals crafted their work identities through the use of verbal symbols which over time helped to develop the right 'habitus' or internal disposition to act successfully within their professional environment. As habitus developed it acquired the appearance of instinct or naturalness. Alvesson (1994) found that effective advertising agents had the ability to display verbal symbols which impressed prospective clients with the idea that they possessed certain special instincts that enabled them to communicate more successfully with consumers than non-professionals could.

2.4.4 Physical

The physical realm is another dimension of identity work as individuals draw on a range of tactics to work on their identities. Research shows how different types of employees use their bodies (Courpasson and Monties, 2017) or materials, artefacts, and objects in their environment to construct and convey their identity to others such as physical appearance, dress, and signage (Kachtan and Wasserman, 2015; Elsbach, 2009; Elsbach, 2004; Humphreys and Brown, 2002; Alvesson, 2001; Pratt and Rafaeli, 1997), office décor (Tyler and Cohen, 2010; Pratt et al., 2006), or demeanour (Kirpal, 2004). A study of corporate artefacts for example discusses how recruitment advertisements help an organisation to regulate how employees, new and old perceive it, and how it aligns with the performance expectations of the organisation from its employees (Hancock and Tyler, 2007). Studies have shown how identity meanings can be attached to different artifacts and objects. For instance Elsbach (2009) points to the personalisation of design styles by toy car designers in order to broadcast and affirm their creative identities. In a study of librarian identity Boudreau et al., (2014) identifies the use of physical signage, flyers and name tags to signal librarians' work identity. Research has also explored the meanings and use of appearance and dress in professional identities (Humphreys and Brown, 2002). One study examines how police officers create a link between their bodies and their identities, showing that police officers develop specific bodily practices through which they convey the need for strong, fit, and healthy bodies in their work (Courpasson and Monties, 2017).

The corporeal dimension of work in terms of the role of the body in occupations has been conceptualised in the literature as a dimension of identity construction (Bardon et al., 2012; Creed et al., 2010). Corporeal aspects are critical in identity affirmation in certain occupations such as policing (Brown and Coupland, 2015). For example police height requirements (Talbert, 1974) represent a key physical aspect of police identity linked to the notion that police work requires bodies that are fit and strong (Courpasson and Monties, 2017). Some studies have investigated the relationship between the body and identity in different occupational sectors: investment bankers (Michel, 2012); rugby players (Brown and Coupland, 2015); soldiers (Thornborrow and Brown, 2009); restaurant workers (Erickson, 2004) and miners (Johnston and McIvor, 2004). In one study Giazitzoglu (2022) finds that the bodies of male rugby players symbolise an individual's ability to reflect gendered organisational ideals and norms and as a result serve as a location from which strong threats to identity can emerge if the body fails to attain these ideals, through factors such as injury or lifestyle choices. Findings showed players engaged in embodied identity-work processes to respond to identity-threats, which could be dispelled by means of suitable, context-specific embodied practices that reaffirmed in different ways the masculine ideals they aspired to conform to within the organisation (Giazitzoglu, 2022). The research thus identifies the body as a key source of continuous and dynamic identity construction in organisational contexts particularly when confronted with identity threats.

A link has also been identified in organisational research between employees' corporeal efforts and identity construction and potential resistance (Michel, 2012). Studies however have predominantly adopted a realist physiological perspective

(Heaphy and Dutton, 2008; Heaphy, 2007) that views the body as a biological object and an organisational design issue (Taylor, 1911) or health issue (Cooper et al., 2001). Under this view the role of working bodies within organisational life is to produce and reproduce compliant workers (Valentine, 2002).

In an ethnographic study in the police sector Courpasson and Monties (2017) adopt a different approach by viewing the body as a resource for identity work and a political object employed by workers over time to reinforce an occupational identity used to resist organisational expectations. The study highlights how certain bodily practices such as cleansing rituals or physical challenges at the gym are vital elements in officers' construction of personal identity (Courpasson and Monties, 2017). Their identity work is defined in the context of changing occupational requirements and framed as both discursive practices, in other words what they say about what they do, and practical means in terms of what they do to establish the legitimacy of their knowledge. Findings showed that police officers developed narratives concerning what they accomplish with their bodies to resist new occupational demands (Courpasson and Monties, 2017). Officers were shown to create a close relationship between their bodies and identities, such that a physical self was constructed based on demonstration of sustained bodily efficiency and strong, fit, healthy and clean bodies to convey a tough professionalism. In this context the physical self-served as an instrument of power in the interactions between officers and suspects. Viewed through the lens of political object, identity work with the body was revealed to express a form of everyday resistance to workplace changes that impacted on preferred identities (Courpasson and Monties, 2017).

Studies have also investigated how physical artefacts and materials are used in identity work to convey identities (Elsbach, 2009; Humphreys and Brown, 2002; Pratt and Rafaeli, 1997). One strand includes how dress and appearance is employed in identity work to convey meaning and create impressions. Over several studies Alvesson (2001; 1998; 1994) highlights how this can occur. In one study of an advertising agency curating one's physical appearance by being well-dressed, looking fit and young, and maintaining a sharp image helped to create the identity of a serious marketing professional (Alvesson, 1994; 1998). Alvesson (2001) further emphasises how workers in knowledge intensive firms focused on aspects of physical appearance such as appearing clean, impersonal, standardised, predictable and proper to generate impressions of strong discipline and professionalism. Essers and Benschop (2009) found that Muslim women entrepreneurs make judicious use of their headscarves with the purpose of highlighting their Muslim identity. Ample evidence exists to show that individuals use the material means around them to create and project their identity among others (Shortt, 2012; Anteby, 2008). Clothes are frequently used in society to convey identity messages and provide critical signals on status, authority and the power relations between groups based on aspects such as colour, design and style (Neumann, 2011). Baldry and Thibault (2006) characterise clothes as offering "meaning compression" by fostering a high level of communication both consciously and subconsciously. This is consistent with Humphreys and Brown (2002) who explore dress in identity work and found that particular pieces of clothing and appearance such as headscarves, beards, and jewellery were employed to communicate different meanings, such as symbolic resistance and opposition.

From an identity perspective uniforms are associated with the expression of a corporate identity over a personal one and exemplifies the collective's ideals and features. This enables the individual to communicate the dominant group values and minimises role confusion (Solomon, 1987). Rubenstein (2001) suggests that uniforms are linked to expectations for the performance of the role that is publicly conveyed by the uniform, such as the clothes donned by police officers. Police uniforms are suggested to be a powerful symbol used to project authority and physical presence (Manning, 1997). Research shows that the wearing of uniforms by police officers constrains other statuses of a citizen and tends to standardise behaviour in addition to appearance (Joseph and Alex, 1972; Goldberg et al., 1961). Other research has identified that to a large extent police legitimacy and public willingness to comply in daily interactions is perceived to be associated with the uniform (Bickman, 1974). This is supported by Fussell (2002) who highlights perceptions of illegitimacy and unprofessionalism in nurses lacking a nursing uniform.

Despite expectations of uniformity and homogeneity of uniform wearers research has shown that individuals may undermine them to reassert personal identities through customisation. Work by De Camargo (2016) investigated the use of uniforms in the police force and shows how uniform accessories, equipment and vehicles were utilised to feminise and masculinise otherwise "unisex" police clothing. Officers were shown to personalise and individualise their uniforms through adding discretionary equipment and other modifications that unobtrusively erased elements of a collective identity, and reinforced gender identity as a means to retain a sense of individual identity.

Identity studies have consistently shown that police adopt habits of cleanliness and clean bodies to protect them from being perceived as dirty workers by others and themselves (Courpasson and Monties, 2017; De Camargo, 2016; Crawley, 2004). Uniforms are also construed as a vehicle for contamination and for potential spill-over of polluting effects from work to home life (De Camargo, 2016; Crawley, 2004). Practices observed in several studies indicate that multiple strategies are utilised by police officers to minimise or remove this contamination. A major practice was the immediate removal of the uniform once a shift had ended, designed to eliminate clothes contaminated by the work environment (De Camargo, 2016; Crawley, 2004). Some police never allowed the most 'contaminated' items, such as boots, to leave the workplace where it could be contained (De Camargo, 2016).

2.4.5 Behavioural

Further, the literature shows that individuals can work on their identities through their behaviours. Multiple studies have considered identity work from a behavioural perspective in terms of the actions that individuals undertake to create, maintain, and revise their identities (Carrim and Nkomo, 2016; Ashforth et al., 2007). This mode of identity work, enacted in dramaturgical modes, influence identity-related interactions with others in ways that strengthen or modify self-meaning and further alters the way in the individual is viewed by others (Goffman, 1959). Dramaturgical identity work and identity processes are those that are constituted by actions, in other words performances of the self (Courpasson and Monties, 2017; Coupland, 2015; Anteby, 2008; Goffman, 1990) and take place in the context of social settings and interactions for the purpose of announcing and enacting who an individual is to external audiences (Down and Reveley, 2009; Creed and Scully, 2000). For example Koerner (2014) explores courageous acts in the workplace as a form of identity work, showing how courageous acts such as voicing an opinion, disobedience, circumvention, and resigning in protest may support the crafting of an individual's identity. The 'performance' of the individual is designed to convey to others impressions that are liable to incite a specific response that the individual would like to obtain, and may sometimes be conducted in a calculating and intentional way (Goffman, 1959).

Findings by Covaleski et al., (1998) support this notion showing that employees intentionally modelled what they considered the ideal behaviour of their mentors in order to craft their own identities. Such behavioural enactment is emphasised as a critical dimension of identity as repeated performance by individuals helps to sustain their identity (Thatcher and Zhu, 2006).

Goffman (1959) closely links the performance process to the concept of the 'front' of the individual, identified as the element of an individual's performance which functions regularly and in a stable way to define the situation for performance observers (p.22). In this way the front operates as a vehicle for consistency and normalisation that enables an audience to comprehend the individual through expressive characteristics. This area of behaviour portrays the right 'appearance', 'manner', and 'setting' for the role assumed by the individual, gathering together behaviour within the personal front as a 'collective representation' (Goffman, 1959, p.35). Work by Berger et al., (2017) is consistent with this idea in which Muslim women in the Netherlands were found to craft a collective representation of hard-working professional through working hard and achieving all their targets in order to justify taking off religious holidays. In addition certain Muslim employees performed 'white' organisational practices aimed at de-emphasising their Muslim identity and stressing their professional identity. Goffman (1959) highlights the importance of consistency in dramaturgical communication in order for such performance to be persuasive and believable to others. Performance is generally made more convincing as representation is moulded and modified in response to social interactions to better align with the understandings and expectations of the social setting and situation in which it is offered (Goffman, 1959). Cowen and Hodgson (2015) for example show that project managers enact certain front behaviours to strengthen their identities as project managers such as avoiding work overload and redirecting non-project manager responsibilities to others while performing in a calculated way designed to leave a positive impression with auditors. Other evidence shows that managers enact behaviours that observe or infringe the norms of organisational justice to create and maintain a desired workplace identity (Scott et al., 2009).

Studies have shown that dramaturgical performance in police identity work involves both a front where the police officer performs a character and displays particular elements of behaviour to support this performance to the public, and a back region in terms of a place where the front may be relaxed to colleagues or when at home (De Camargo, 2016; Manning, 1997). Waddington (1999) showed that a police canteen fulfilled the function of a back region, allowing for officers to relax, relate jokes, and relieve job-related stress; however evidence was found of staged performances and role playing even here, providing officers with an opportunity to exhibit certain behaviours and recount versions of events that upheld their worldview (Waddington, 1999). The findings underline the location of the canteen as both a front and back region in which police officers face challenges in separating them. Kreiner et al., (2006) shows that individuals can adopt certain behavioural strategies to rebalance personal and occupational strategies. In this study priests were revealed to segregate these two aspects of identity by adopting broader, more transient roles, taking vacations or undertaking spiritual actions such as meditation and prayer.

Research has identified different categories of behaviour within identity performances that includes habits and routine (Brown and Lewis, 2011; Thatcher and Zhu, 2006) and observation (Ibarra, 1999) as well as felt bodily experiences (Aslan, 2016; Cunliffe and Coupland, 2012). A broad strand of research has focused on the performance of gendered identities enabled through particular modes of comportment, etiquette, manners, working, gestures, walking and sitting (Corlett and Mavin, 2014; Patriotta and Spedale, 2009; Butler, 2004; Trethewey, 1999). In the context of specialist identities including those of police officers, studies point to the enactment of learned and specific behaviour repertoires as a key dramaturgical aspect of such identities (Courpasson and Monties, 2017; Beech et al., 2016; Brown and Coupland, 2015). Some research identifies enacting personal habits as a behavioural act that can become a source of identity. Some habits may be more important than others, such as those which express an important value (Verplanken and Sui, 2019). Habits can become an integrated part of personal identity by means of different psychological processes. A strong motivation anchored in self-identity, for example, could stimulate repeated action which may become a habit (Galla and Duckworth, 2015). The relationship between habits and identity may also be forged through self-perception (Bem, 1972), in terms of recognising what habits are important to us and may therefore be a part of our identity (Wood and Rünger, 2016; Neal et al., 2012).

Identity work linked to emotional displays or ‘emotional labour’ is further considered a major part of identity dramaturgy (Winkler, 2016; Hochschild, 1983). Emotional labour is defined as ‘the concept of managing emotions in work performance’ (Fernandes, 2011, p. 28) and is influenced by organisational norms comprising not just the regulation of emotions at expected times but also the appropriate display of emotions as required by the job (Martin, 1996). Policing is argued to involve a significant level of ‘emotional labour’ as frequently officers are required to suppress their emotions in order to maintain calm and communicate that calm and stability to the public (Martin, 1996). Police officers are expected to behave and project an image of being level headed and rational in their positions of power (Rabe-Hemp, 2008). Studies show that emotional labour in the police force is often implicitly a stratified aspect of identity work based on gender, as women are frequently assigned to positions and duties that require a greater degree of emotional labour, such as dealing with childrens’ issues, victims of sexual assault, female criminals, missing persons, and clerical work (Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Garcia, 2003). Rabe-Hemp (2008) identifies that in comparison with male officers, female officers spent a greater amount of time engaging in emotional labour.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

This literature informs the conceptual framework for this study which integrates different theoretical concepts to understand the dynamics of identity work which can be applied to the research focus of this study. This review is consistent with the conceptual framing of identity in professions first proposed by Lepisto et al., (2015). The framework in Figure 1 shows that identity work is firstly concerned with the triggers and motives and why identity work occurs. Identity motives and triggers can derive from contextual change, personal or social motivations or meta-narratives within the cultural and societal factors. This implies that identity work is an on-going process that is sustained and influenced by contextual factors. Motives may vary and relate to desire for authenticity, belonging, distinctiveness, self-esteem, or efficacy. Identity work in policing can be explored at different levels: cognitive, physical, discursive, or behavioural. Different activities can be undertaken that reflect a process of retaining, adding, or subtracting.

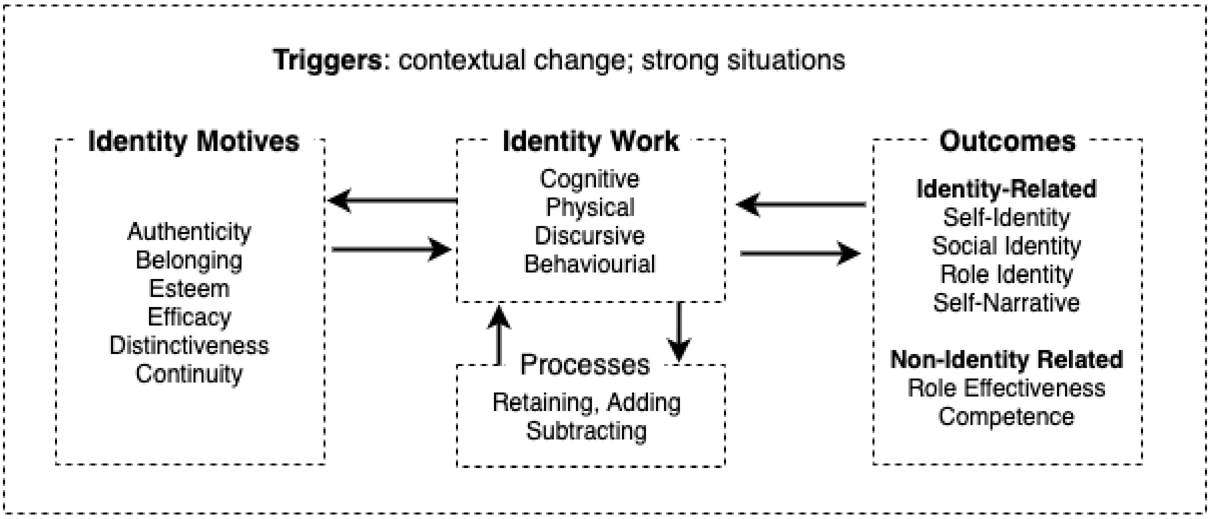

Triggers: contextual change; strong situations
Identity Motives
Authenticity
Belonging
Esteem
Efficacy
Distinctiveness
Continuity
Identity Work
Cognitive
Physical
Discursive
Behaviourial
Processes
Retaining, Adding
Subtracting
Outcomes
Identity-Related
Self-Identity
Social Identity
Role Identity
Self-Narrative
Non-Identity Related
Role Effectiveness
Competence

Figure 1 Conceptual Framework (Adapted from Lepisto et al, 2015)

The outcomes of identity work reflect both the nature of identity and identity-related outcomes. Thus, identities not only serve people, but people serve or support their own identities by engaging in various actions to build, retain, maintain, or otherwise revise them. Identity-related outcomes can be self-identifying, social, role-based, or self-narrating. Further the effect of identity work can be evaluated for police officer in terms of role effectiveness or competence. The research design and methodology can be structured by drawing on these focal concepts to explore why (motives), how (tactics and processes) and what (identity outcomes) of how police officers do identity.

Identity work represents a major strand of literature in identity formation theory and characterises the diverse activities individuals engage in to create, sustain, strengthen, repair or revise personal identities supportive of a coherent and distinct self-concept (Snow and Anderson, 1987; Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003). It is identified as a social, multiparty process (DeRue and Ashford, 2010) that in the organisational context comprises specific processes and factors involved in the construction of an individual’s identity (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003). Identity work is considered to be undertaken essentially by crafting self-narratives that meet a person's identity aims (Ibarra and Barbulescu, 2010).

The concept of identity work denotes a constant process of reconstruction (Fachin and Davel, 2015; Lucas, 2011; Davies and Thomas, 2008; Beech, 2008; Watson, 2008) that places primary importance on becoming or ‘doing’ rather than being (Alvesson et al., 2008). Through active engagement in various practices, strategies, tactics or activities (Ibarra and Barbulescu, 2010; Elsbach, 2009; Anteby, 2008; Snow and Anderson, 1987) individuals create and modify their identity with the purpose of balancing and resolving tensions that emerge between the self and the demands of their work environment (Swann et al., 2009).

The literature identifies multiple constructs that provide a lens through which identity work activities can be explored and evaluated. Firstly, four key domains characterise different forms of identity work strategies undertaken at different levels by individuals: cognitive; discursive; physical; and behavioural. Cognitive identity work strategies relate to the mental efforts exerted to subjectively interpret and evaluate an identity (Killian and Johnson, 2006) such as self-questioning, reflexive sense-making, and changes to the self (Beech et al., 2008; Fletcher and Watson, 2007) and internal dialogue and personal fantasies (MacIntosh and Beech, 2011). Discursive identity work, or identity talk (Snow and Anderson, 1987), comprises what is verbalised and how it is verbalised exploring the way that individuals utilise stories, dialogues, narratives, and conversations as a channel for identity work (Caza et al., 2016; Carroll and Levy, 2010). Aspects such as word choice and tone of voice (Carroll and Levy, 2010; Allen, 2005), expressions and ‘insider’ terminology (Gagnon, 2008; Kuhn, 2006), metaphors, humour, and bantering (Carollo and Guerci, 2017; Huber and Brown, 2017; Leavitt and Sluss, 2015) can have significance in identity construction and play a key role in influencing and shaping identities at work.

At physical level research shows how different types of employees use their bodies (Courpasson and Monties, 2017) or materials, artefacts, and objects in their environment to construct and convey their identity to others (Kachtan and Wasserman, 2015; Elsbach, 2009; Elsbach, 2004; Tyler and Cohen, 2010; Pratt et al., 2006; Kirpal, 2004). A key physical aspect of police identity is linked to the notion that police work requires bodies that are fit and strong (Courpasson and Monties, 2017). Multiple studies have considered identity work from a behavioural perspective in terms of the actions that individuals undertake to create, maintain, and revise their identities (Carrim and Nkomo, 2016; Ashforth et al., 2007). This is linked to the notion of dramaturgical identity work, in other words performances of the self (Courpasson and Monties, 2017; Coupland, 2015; Anteby, 2008; Goffman, 1990) and take place in the context of social settings and interactions for the purpose of announcing and enacting who an individual is to external audiences (Down and Reveley, 2009; Creed and Scully, 2000). The literature identifies different categories of identity performance behaviour including habits and routine (Brown and Lewis, 2011; Thatcher and Zhu, 2006), observation (Ibarra, 1999), felt bodily experiences (Aslan, 2016; Cunliffe and Coupland, 2012), learned and specific behaviour repertoires (Courpasson and Monties, 2017; Beech et al., 2016; Brown and Coupland, 2015), emotional displays or ‘emotional labour’ (Winkler, 2016; Hochschild, 1983) and the performance of gendered identities through modes of comportment, etiquette, manners, working, gestures, walking and sitting (Corlett and Mavin, 2014; Patriotta and Spedale, 2009; Butler, 2004; Trethewey, 1999).

The body of literature on these different modes of identity work points to significant strands of theory to underpin investigation enabling a comprehensive exploration of identity construction and expression in the workplace. A focus on these different domains and their associated concepts for identity work allows for observation and examination on multiple fronts of how police officers make sense and redefine their professional identity in a changing policy context and respond to the process of women entering front-line police work. The literature shows that each of these domains can provide insight into and have significant relevance to understanding how police officers construct and “do” their identity in various change contexts (Rawski and Workman-Stark, 2018; Courpasson and Monties, 2017; Silvestri, 2017; Loftus, 2010; Van Maanen, 2010; Prokos and Padavic, 2002; Davies and Thomas 2002; 2003; 2008). In this study focus will be placed on observing and analysing processes of identity work in police cadets across each of the four domains of cognitive, discursive, physical, and behavioural. This implies collecting data on their subjective interpretations and evaluations of identity, their verbalisations, narratives and dialogues, how they use their bodies or materials, artefacts, and objects in their environment to construct and convey their identity to others, and their performances, interactions, comportment, habits and routine. Applying this theory will support identification and understanding of identity work enacted across inclusive and comprehensive domains that helps to address the questions of what identity work police officers employ to make sense of and respond to their changing context and in what different ways do police officers perceive or experience their identity during training and early deployment.

Secondly, the term strategy is used broadly in the literature and in this study to describe any form of identity work whether strategies, tactics, or processes. Across the four key domains research identifies numerous identity work tactics undertaken by individuals in different contexts such as threatened identities (Breakwell, 1986) and the aim to find equilibrium between the self and work (Kreiner et al., 2006). These tactics are characterised as coping strategies utilised by individuals to protect or adapt their identities (Breakwell 1986; Kreiner et al., 2006), and are a focus in this study utilising primarily the constructs of adding, retaining and subtracting processes (Lepisto et al., 2015). Adding processes involve tactics enacted to create, acquire, improve, or otherwise take on an identity. Retaining processes allude to strategies that maintain, reinforce, support, and stabilise an identity. In turn subtracting processes denote processes that aim to lose or otherwise eliminate or delete an identity (Lepisto et al., 2015). These latter tactics form a focus for this study as observable processes across the four domains in which police cadets regulate and negotiate their professional identities. Research shows for example that in the physical domain police officers added and modified their uniforms to reassert their gender identities (De Camargo, 2016). Understanding how male and female cadets add to, subtract from or retain their identity can help to address the question of how police officers make sense of the operational and organisational implications of women entering front-line police work.

2.6 Conclusion

The goal of this chapter was to review literature in the field of identity with a focus on theory and evidence in the domain of professional identity and identity work. The literature shows that identity is a highly multifaceted and complex notion that has been defined and explored from the perspective of self-identity, social or role perspective. This provides the focal theory for the broad categories of identities which can be constructed. Identity theory also provides insights into motives that trigger and underpin identity work. Contextual change in police agencies can act as a significant force that threatens traditional identities in policing. Identity work therefore represents the activities by which individuals undergo the process of identity construction to define who they are. While studies have explored professional identity and identity work in different occupations, individual-level identity work in policing and police change contexts has received little attention. While the literature on police identity studies provides insight into different strong and highly embedded identities, contextual change can be disruptive to stable and established identities that motivates identity work. These theoretical dimensions informed the adoption of the conceptual framework that guides this research process to explore and understand why and how police in the UAE construct their identities within their work life and within the contemporary change context.

Chapter 3. Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the research design and methodological considerations focused on the goal to investigate how police officers redefine their professional identity in change contexts. The research design adopts an interpretivist philosophy based on an ethnographic approach to explore the lived experiences of individuals in specific contexts in police change. A case study design is adopted based on semi-structured interviewing and observation methods for data collection and interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) and Gioia method for data analysis. The research design is focused on four central research questions:

R1. What different ways do police officers perceive or experience their identity within the course of their duties during training and early deployment?

R2. What identity work do police officers employ to make sense of and respond to the process of women entering front-line police work?

R3. How do police perceive change in policing and how does it trigger or motivate them to create or change identities?

R4. How do police officers make sense of the operational and organisational implications of women entering front-line police work?

This chapter presents a discussion of the rationale for an ethnographic inquiry to address these research questions and outlines the methodological design and processes in relation to sampling strategy, data collection and analysis procedures, limitations, and ethical considerations.

3.2 Rationale for Phenomenological Ethnography

An interpretivist philosophy based on ethnography is viewed as the most relevant approach to realising the goals of this study. The focus of this study is on identity construction and expression in the workplace, specifically how police in the UAE construct their identities within their work life within different change contexts. Interpretivism assumes that reality is created through individual perception and propagated through the interactions of people and social activities resulting in multiple subjective perspectives (Saunders et al., 2009; Blaikie, 2009). This implies a phenomenological dimension to explore individual feelings and experiences towards the phenomena of identity work and there derive an ethnographic analysis of how police do identity work. Thus, a collective cultural understanding under this approach to knowledge is acquired through understanding the meaning and interpretation assigned by human actors towards phenomena and the underlying contextual factors affecting perceptions (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). There is strong assumption that the study of police change is a highly subjective matter that can best be understood through multiple perspectives and interpretations of those actors living this context. Thus, the reality of police change in the UAE has multiple interpretations that can only be understood through social constructions of shared meanings or language that represents the feelings, thoughts, and experiences of the actors in this context. In reflecting on the notion of change, it is evident that change is a highly subjective and multifaceted concept that has different meanings. Negation of changes or new ideas is indicative of social groups and systems. Change might not be perceived as a positive, improving, or beneficial force but as mistake or error (Dibrov, 2014) that can impact on their identity. Openness to multiple perspectives and meanings attached to change allows for nuanced phenomenological analysis. Resistance to change can be characterised in terms of negative psychological and social reactions that has implications for identity work (Dibrov, 2014).

Consequently, this guides the choice of approach towards ethnographic inquiry because the focus is on obtaining a holistic understanding and gaining insight into the specific context drawing on the perspectives of key actors in policing. An ethnographic approach is exploratory and focused on humanistic and natural inquiry within its context. This is consistent with interpretivism that assumes a critical difference between the subject matters of the natural and social worlds (Blaikie, 2009). An interpretivist approach potentially provides the scope to explore these perspectives in a more in-depth and thorough manner providing a richer, thicker description and enabling more insightful understanding of the behaviour and attitudes of actors in the policing sector (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012).

The role of ethnography focuses on studying specific groups and development of deep understanding of the culture, values, and beliefs. By applying this approach is it possible to observe how police officers’ identities are constructed and sustained in relation to how an innovation is perceived and understood. Observational methods in ethnography allows the researcher to witness the process of change activity and view first-hand participants' everyday activity and routines, rules, interactions and to understand the cultural context and how police officers are 'doing' their identity.

Firstly, this study is concerned with understanding how participants perceive and experience a recent specific change in relation to their identity within the course of their duties and how change activity in what ways policing triggers or motivates police officers to engage in identity work. This can relate to both positive or negatives perceptions or resistance to change. Ethnographic studies are especially useful when the researcher is interested in discerning the lived experiences and perceptions of a phenomenon among a specific person or group (Creswell, 1998). Stated simply it is the study of an individual's lived experience of the world and how they make sense of it, with limited regard for external, physical reality (Manen, 1997). Ethnography is consistent with the goal of this research as it is focused on exploring how professionals under each of the different project contexts experience a change in terms of the impact on their identity. Ethnography concentrates on the need to study human consciousness by focusing on the world that the study participants subjectively experience. By so doing, it assumes that deeper insights into human nature can be gained.

Collaboration represents one ethnographic tool for research informants to co-construct an understanding of the culturally imbued meanings (Schembri and Boyle, 2013). Arnould and Wallendorf (1994) identify ethnology as a methodology that seeks to comprehend the ways in which culture is contemporaneously constructed by peoples' behaviours and experiences. The goal is to capture the meaning of lived experiences and to understand what people do in their mundane, everyday cultural and subcultural contexts and how they interpret their multiple and subjective realities (Stebbins, 1997; Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994).

In the field of change, an ethnographic approach has been applied in the area of public change initiatives. Wegener (2012) uses an ethnographic approach to explore the value dimension of public innovation in the context of practitioners' values. Applying this approach enabled examination of the way in which values were articulated and shown in practitioners' behaviour when encountering change imperatives and how their initiation of changes was grounded in their values. Gronchi (2018) draws on both ethnographic and phenomenological approaches to address public policy change action strategies in the context of Danish innovation labs. An ethnological perspective aimed to understand the underlying assumptions that shaped efforts in assessing and realising a specific type of change. A phenomenological approach can adopt to analyse the data focused on deepening knowledge of the innovators' practices, strategies, and missions.

Interviewing is one method in ethnology that can be employed in this research to explore participants' lived experiences. Ethnographic interviews can uncover how participants experience their identity within recent police changes and how their interpretations shape their sense of identity and behaviours. The context of this research is focused on a particular police policy change that has been recently implemented.

Thus, the process of police change is a complex issue that may not be sufficiently understood without a process that offers a flexible and interactive way to access participants' views. This can uncover multiple perceptions of change and how it influences individual perceptions and experiences of identity work. By interviewing participants, it is possible to obtain first-hand accounts of their experiences and to understand how identity construction is triggered or motivated by a change from the specific view of groups in this context. An ethnographic focus guides the effort to obtain a rich and complex descriptive account from participants in terms of their awareness and perception of how police change projects motivate the forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening, or revising of their self-meaning. Interviewing with an ethnographic focus can draw out information surrounding change activity in terms of self-awareness of thoughts, feelings or emotions towards events or moments during the process and how this influences their sense of self; their reactions or behaviour or understanding of routines; and awareness of their different roles during each of the four stages of change activities and routines. Therefore, the ethnographic approach is pivotal for this study in constructing an account of the culture of change in a police organisation in an Arab context and how this affects police identities by generating in-depth rich data on individual awareness of their experience, how they perceive their identity because of their experience, and the conditions that shape police identities and identity work.

The benefit of integrating an ethnographic element to this research not only provides emphasis on observing and to derive cultural meanings, but also provides a basis for triangulation and validation of the narratives of participants. This draws on phenomenological analysis to draw out individual meanings and experiences. Ethnography is guided by a principal focus on understanding the orientation of the people under study and how these are located within local and/or wider contexts (Hammersley, 2010). Thus, it is a research approach central to knowing the world from the perspective of its social relations. It examines people in their cultural setting, and their social and cultural interaction with each other and their environment and captures the implicit and explicit and actions as well as words (Agar, 2001). The aim is to generate a narrative account of that culture drawn against a theoretical backdrop. Characteristically linked with methods such as participant observation, informal interviewing, and the generation of a record of the experience termed 'field notes' by a highly embedded researcher (Agar, 2001), the approach is associated with the ability to uncover the hidden and identify unexpected issues and problems (Hammersley, 2010).

3.3 Inductive Analysis

This research is exploratory and inductive in nature that focuses on the development of theory arising from the data that is gathered. An inductive approach builds theory based on data and is deeply embedded within and provides a broad empirical basis for ethnographical approaches to data collection and analysis (Morse, 1994).

Therefore, inductive procedures are employed to generate and construct theory that explains how change activity under governance modes and types are structured and conducted. Inductive approach is critical to this study because it allows for theory development that reflects the social reality as viewed by the participants within this context. Further in applying this approach, the theory developed can be applied to suggest future courses of action in police change in the specific circumstances studied.

The data collected from ethnographic interviews and observations will be explored to identify key themes and patterns that will lead to new theory or expand existing theoretical perspectives. Ethnographic methods allow for iteration, reflection, and opportunity to revisit and reconsider data from responses to guide new theory that may gradually emerge (Ray, 1994). By allowing themes to emerge from the data, inductiveness leaves open the possibility to discover new and unexpected insights.

While this approach draws on the conceptual framework proposed in this study there is scope for unanticipated or new insights to be incorporated and explored depending on responses and observations gathered in the change context. This is guided by the external observations or new themes of interest emerging from responses by participants. This may result in literature or subsequent research to explore new ideas or to reformulate the research questions and objectives on key emergent themes. In observing and interviewing participants involved in change activities the aim is to obtain an understanding and sense of what is happening and how idea generation for instance is occurring. The data emerges from understanding the context of police change by exploring the feelings, thoughts, and actions of actors.

3.4 Reflection of Research Position

The choice of an ethnographic approach has significant implications for the role of the researcher and ethical consideration in the data collection and analysis. The skill of reflexivity as a researcher is emphasised as a critical requirement. Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000) emphasise the development of reflexivity and self-awareness to establish a credible relationship between the personal philosophical stance and how the research will be implemented. Meanwhile Nicols (2019) suggests that in the process of researching a phenomenon only a partial perspective is available, and that the researcher needs to invoke a reflexive awareness or “intentionality’ directed towards obtaining a broader view of the phenomena. In terms of how this research is conducted there is emphasis therefore on exploring the change context from different perspectives such that the researcher engages and attempts to occupy and visit different alternatives or viewpoints.

Nevertheless, broad assumptions are made in ethnographic research that detaching the researcher from their own biases, preconceptions and beliefs is a key issue (Annells, 2006; Ruona, 2005; Groenewald, 2004; Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1990). In the process of generating data from the change projects the researcher’s relationship with the research context is that of an insider and participant of the research phenomena under study. There is a pre-existing involvement in all the cases in the researcher’s role as project evaluator which has oversight of the change projects conducted. Denzin and Lincoln (2009) further argue that a key element of undertaking research in a reflexive manner is the cultivation of the researcher’s awareness and conscious mitigation of apprehended biases, power and positionality in relation to research participants in data collection and data analysis processes and writing synthesis. For instance, a personal value and ethical view held regarding this research is that participants should have a democratic voice in sharing their view of the reality in a safe and secure manner in what is a highly political and power orientated organisational context.

The level of awareness of involvement in the change context and the relationship with actors in this context are key considerations. The researcher's position in the organisation raises issues in terms of the knowledge, values, beliefs, assumptions already held. However, essential measures are considered that involved being aware, monitoring and accounting for such biases and to suspend assumptions as much as possible (Nicols, 2019; Berger, 2015).

It has been questioned whether it is practically possible for the researcher to ever fully remove themselves from the phenomena and its observation (Vagle and Hofsess, 2016; Dahlberg et al., 2008; Dahlberg and Dahlberg, 2004). Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that reflexive awareness and the development of critical skills for data collection and analysis can aid consciousness and suspension to some extent of the pre-existing beliefs and assumptions of this researcher and to explore the way in which their context and situation may shape the research findings (Gill, 2015).

Essential to ethnographic research is the ability to mentally bracket or suspend presuppositions and knowledge. There was an awareness and application of different techniques for mental bracketing such as maintaining an open mind and attitude when collecting and analysing the data to allow for unexpected meanings to emerge (Giorgi, 2009; Lopez and Willis, 2004). Of key importance was reflective examination of the humility of this researcher to learn about the experiences of colleagues and cadets involved in the change context, and recognition of the need for ongoing curiosity during interviews and observations to unearth what this researcher might not know (Chan et al., 2013).

Reflexivity can also be supported by the utilisation of several acknowledged techniques and procedures. A key measure was the intentional and consistent documentation of preconceptions in the form of a reflexive diary (Gill, 2015; Miles et al., 2014; Oakland et al., 2012). This is a widely utilised tool that enabled this researcher to record and make explicit, reflect on, and analyse the biases, personal reactions, and influences on this study. Another measure was to refer and consult with multiple participants to check for accuracy and obtain feedback on the suitability of their themes (Chan et al., 2013; Wise and Millward, 2005). This allowed for reflection on positionality and emotional and intellectual reactions to participants' experiences throughout the research process. Finally, the perspective of other experienced researchers was obtained specifically to challenge the research findings (Wise and Millward, 2005) and provide a fresh perspective that could uncover influences and biases the researcher may have been unaware of.

3.5 Ethnographic Case Study Design

This research employs an ethnographic case study approach using Abu Dhabi Police College as the focal case to explore how police officers do identity work in change contexts. The College graduates cohorts of students on an annual basis following a four-year training course resulting in a bachelor degree in Police Sciences and Criminal Justice (Beeran, 2020). For this study ethnographic accounts are drawn from a single cohort of cadets comprising both male and female cadets at the police college who were in their first year of training. In addition some ethnographic accounts were based on interviews with police officers who had graduated within 6-12 months from the academy.

A case study is a research strategy centred on comprehending the dynamics that exist within a specific setting (Eisenhardt, 1989). The ethnographic approach places the focus on understanding the subjective, lived experiences and views of participants in a particular context. Case studies are widespread across many research fields and implemented in studies adopting a range of different paradigms and approaches. Case studies are defined as an empirically based enquiry that can examine a research phenomenon within its contextual reality while accounting for any lack of clarity between the boundaries of context and this phenomenon (Yin, 2013). The strategy allows for multiple different sources of data, quantitative and qualitative approaches, and different research methods with the aim to produce an in-depth, empirical account (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). This allows for triangulation of data to obtain a holistic understanding of the research phenomena and verification of the findings (Yin, 1994).

Ethnographic case studies have been defined as case studies that "employ ethnographic methods and focus on building arguments about cultural, group, or community formation or examining other sociocultural phenomena” (Schwandt and Gates, 2018, p. 344). Ethnography itself has been identified as having a ‘case study character’ and as being ‘intimately related’ to case studies (Ó Rian, 2009, p. 291). Ethnographic case studies have been posited as a promising and powerful method to study change-in-the-making and untangle and map out the complexity of change processes (Hoholm and Araujo, 2011). Greenhalgh et al., (2019) employed ethnographic case studies in a health care context, to explore what information infrastructure is and how it shapes, supports, and constrains technological innovation. This approach has also been used in the identity literature to understand how different types of change in the workplace have impacted occupational identities. Ager (2010) utilises ethnographic case study to explore the emotional impact and the preservation of self and group identity in post-merger and acquisition contexts. In an in-depth study by Robinson et al., (2016) ethnographic case study is employed to examine the construction and negotiation of criminal justice identities during transition of the probation service into the private sector.

A single case study approach allows for in-depth ethnographic inquiry of a specific context and obtain multiple interpretations and explanations of the phenomena. This design means that the lived experienced of participants can be studied and understood in detail and allows for multiple sources of data (Eisenhardt, 1989). This is consistent with an IPA approach focusing on drawing out rich idiographic accounts of lived experiences from each of those cases rather than focus on theoretical saturation (Gill, 2015). The case study design focuses on understanding how police officers construct and revise their identities as they experience a ‘change’. The design employs both quantitative and qualitative data using two methods of data collection: observations and interview methods.

3.5.1 Abu Dhabi Police Force

Abu Dhabi Police (ADP) located in the UAE forms the case organisation for this research. ADP was initially established in 1957 with 80 police officers tasked with the responsibility of guarding key royal and public locations. The early police structure and operational responsibilities were modelled on the British system current at that time (Al Manhali et al., 2022), but has since changed and adapted to reflect the unique needs and requirements of the UAE. This remit was enlarged in 1971 when regulations enshrined ADP’s responsibility for establishing security and stability in the Emirate and maintaining the "souls, honour and property" of the people. During this period the Abu Dhabi Police College was established in 1985 to support the professionalisation and training of police officers. Following the merger of ADP within the Federal Ministry of Interior in 1995 it has developed into a large public-sector organisation employing an estimated 47,000 police officers (Al Manhali et al., 2022; ADP, 2020). Over the years it has been subject to consistent modernisation, restructuring and growth with the strategic aim to build an efficient, and technologically world-leading police force (Al Mazrouei, 2022).

The stated role of ADP is to maintain societal safety and security through the provision of high-quality policing services to all people in the UAE (ADP, 2021). The organisation structure points to an all-inclusive set of responsibilities for community security and safety under the management umbrella of the force. Thus ADP undertakes a broad range of functions across various sectors not traditionally included in policing remits such as: border security; civil defence, fire rescue and ambulance services; correctional services and facilities; and driver and vehicle licencing (Al Manhali, 2022). These are combined with the traditional responsibilities of a police force such as crime prevention, criminal investigation, frontline patrols, prosecution and traffic services. As shown in Figure 2 policing services are delivered across six General Directorates each with their relevant departments: Legal Affairs Directorate, Punitive and Reformatory Establishments Directorate, F7 Directorate, Capital Police Directorate, Traffic & Patrols Directorate, Ports & Airports Security Police Directorate. Eight other departments report directly to the ADP Commander in Chief and ADP Director General (ADP, 2022).

ADP is structured into 17 different ranks from the entry-level position of Policeman up to the rank of General, with mid-level ranks ranging from Warrant Officer to Major. To support its remit ADP incorporates a number of different specialisms either within specific departments and specific teams or cross-department. On the frontline officers have a choice of specialist pathways across different sectors and units, of which a few are detailed here: Crime Scene Department which collects forensic evidence from crime scenes; F7 Directorate which provides teams at serious incidents including sniper units, explosives experts, divers; Traffic and Patrols Directorate responsible for monitoring traffic and traffic violations in marked and unmarked patrol cars; Community Police Department engaged in proactive crime prevention and strengthening relations with the public; Social Support Centers Department providing care and psychological support to the victims of violence and crimes against children, women and the elderly; Weapons and Explosives Department related to the licensing, usage, detection and diffusion of weapons and explosives; or ADP Aviation department which manages and provides aerial search and rescue operations and monitors and tracks criminal activities.

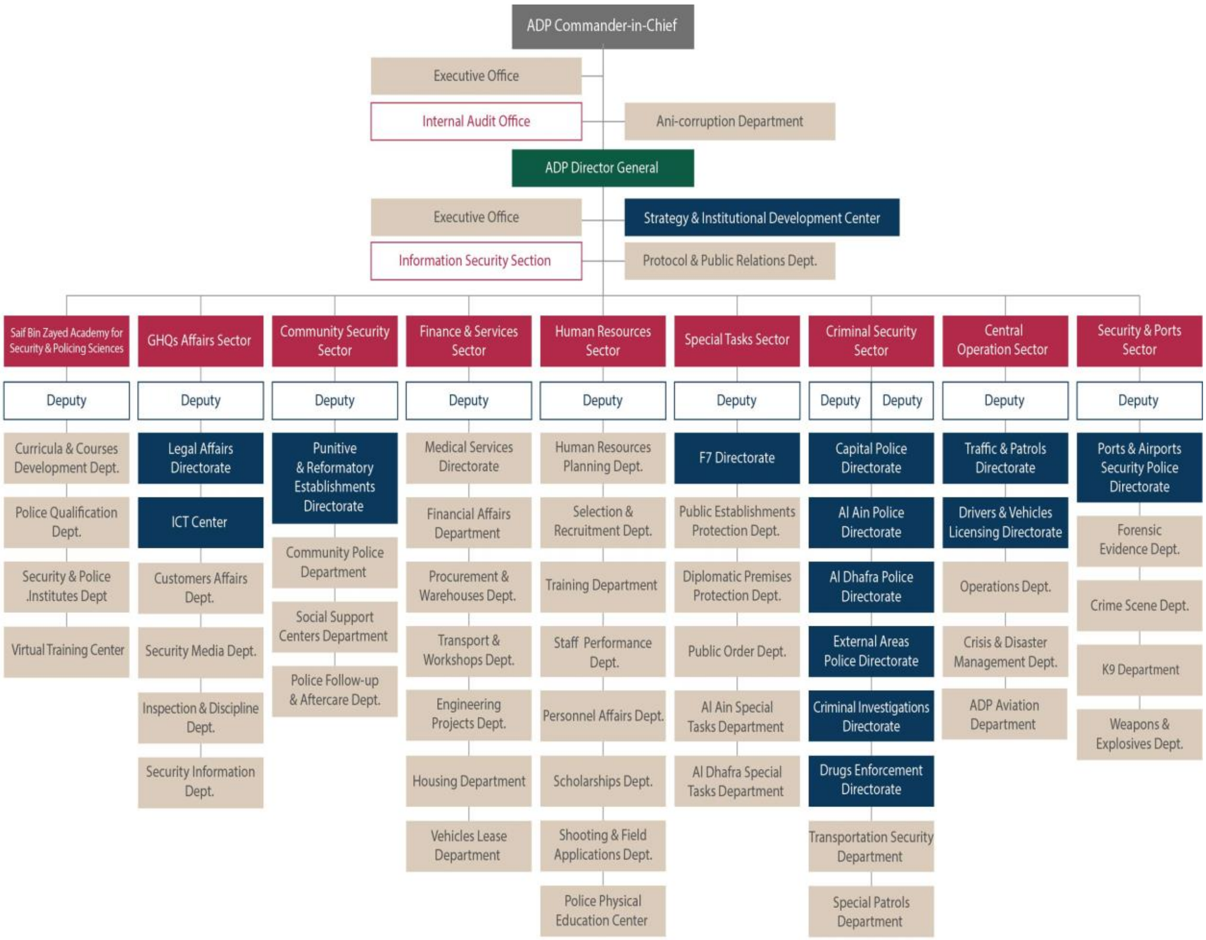

ADP Commander-in-Chief
Executive Office
Internal Audit Office
Ani-corruption Department
ADP Director General
Executive Office
Strategy & Institutional Development Center
Information Security Section
Protocol & Public Relations Dept.
Saif Bin Zayed Academy for Security & Policing Sciences
Deputy
Curricula & Courses Development Dept.
Police Qualification Dept.
Security & Police .Institutes Dept
Virtual Training Center
GHQs Affairs Sector
Deputy
Legal Affairs Directorate
ICT Center
Customers Affairs Dept.
Security Media Dept.
Inspection & Discipline Dept.
Security Information Dept.
Community Security Sector
Deputy
Punitive & Reformatory Establishments Directorate
Community Police Department
Social Support Centers Department
Police Follow-up & Aftercare Dept.
Finance & Services Sector
Deputy
Medical Services Directorate
Financial Affairs Department
Procurement & Warehouses Dept.
Transport & Workshops Dept.
Engineering Projects Dept.
Housing Department
Vehicles Lease Department
Human Resources Sector
Deputy
Human Resources Planning Dept.
Selection & Recruitment Dept.
Training Department
Staff Performance Dept.
Personnel Affairs Dept.
Scholarships Dept.
Shooting & Field Applications Dept.
Police Physical Education Center
Special Tasks Sector
Deputy
F7 Directorate
Public Establishments Protection Dept.
Diplomatic Premises Protection Dept.
Public Order Dept.
Al Ain Special Tasks Department
Al Dhafra Special Tasks Department
Criminal Security Sector
Deputy
Deputy
Capital Police Directorate
Al Ain Police Directorate
Al Dhafra Police Directorate
External Areas Police Directorate
Criminal Investigations Directorate
Drugs Enforcement Directorate
Transportation Security Department
Special Patrols Department
Central Operation Sector
Deputy
Traffic & Patrols Directorate
Drivers & Vehicles Licensing Directorate
Operations Dept.
Crisis & Disaster Management Dept.
ADP Aviation Department
Security & Ports Sector
Deputy
Ports & Airports Security Police Directorate
Forensic Evidence Dept.
Crime Scene Dept.
K9 Department
Weapons & Explosives Dept.

Figure 2 ADP Organisational Structure

Source: Abu Dhabi Police (2022).

Specific specialisms and team expertise are further integrated into the structure of ADP support and technology departments and centres. These provide a range of different services and technologies to support front-line policing activities across varied departments such as: Forensic Services (e.g. toxicology, DNA, fingerprint); Operations Department accountable for planning and managing security crises or disasters, crisis management and emergency situations; ICT Center, that deploys technologies such as artificial intelligence (AI), geographic information systems (GIS), biometric and facial recognition systems, CCTV, and iris technologies to support ADP's role in areas such as preventing crime and hotspot crime prediction, frontline patrols, detecting traffic crimes and enhancing traffic safety, and border security; or the Public Order Department, responsible for planning for public order events or crises such as riots.

The UAE has been one of the earliest Gulf countries to integrate women in the police force and in the largest numbers of any in the region. The first batch of 24 female recruits graduated Abu Dhabi's Police Training College in 1978 (Dajani, 2013). Inclusion of women was initially viewed and promoted by the country's leadership as a means to address gender segregation and national laws that prevented the physical inspection of women by male police officers (Alhashmi, 2018). In the years since the role of women both in Emirati society and the Abu Dhabi police force has consistently expanded in line with the strategic goals of the UAE government to promote women's participation in the workforce and national economic development. By 2013 the size of the female contingent of officers in had grown to 3,000, although female integration in police forces remained restricted primarily to gender segregated roles and front-line police roles were still considered potentially inappropriate based on the danger involved (Alhashmi, 2018).

Currently 15,000 women are employed across the country's police agencies (Ardemagni, 2019) and the demographic composition of the ADP is estimated at 23% female employees, while 14% of its cadres of recruits are women (UAE, 2019). Women are now increasingly represented at all levels and ranks of the ADP (exemplified by the appointment of the first female Brigadier-General in 2021) (UAEU, 2021). Female officers are consistently developed for leadership through the provision of diverse work experience across different departments and sectors (ADP, 2022).

In recent years ADP policy has evolved to enable women to undertake a range of frontline roles traditionally carried out by male police officers and few remaining departments are male-only. This includes criminal investigations and forensic activities, command and control centres, traffic police, dog training, and community policing. This aligns with the four priorities of the National Strategy for the Empowerment of Women 2015-2021 that emphasise the integration of roles between men and women and to develop leadership and responsibility among Emirati women (UAE, 2019). In 2014 and 2015 highly visible roles became open to female police officers when respectively they were able to take on responsibilities for traffic patrols and responding to and investigating traffic crimes involving women, and women were admitted into the security support section supporting patrols responding to dangerous criminal incidents or major accidents and making arrests. In 2016 female police officers joined the Special Tasks division responsible for visiting VIP security and major events, as well as anti-riot action. Several specialist units have more recently admitted women into their ranks. In 2019 the first woman police officer joined the Abu Dhabi Knights, a unit of police cavalry (Shaike, 2022), while in 2020 female police officers were integrated within K9 units in the area of security inspection. Abu Dhabi Police is also currently working towards incorporating female officers and their dogs for search and rescue operations (Zaman, 2022). Roles remain gender-segregated in terms of the focus on attending to and arresting women only.

3.6 Data Analysis

The analytical framework for this study draws on guidelines based on three perspectives of data analysis: stages of case study analysis (Eisenhardt (1989), principles of interpretive phenomenological analysis (Gill, 2015) and concept development using the Gioia Method (Gioia et al., 2013). While each of these perspectives offers a distinctive emphasis to data analysis, combining these approaches provides a methodological triangulation in terms of theory development.

3.6.1 Case Study Analysis

Analysis of the case study data is in accordance with several steps established by Eisenhardt (1989) that are applied widely in qualitative research. Eight steps are specified that offer a systematic process for implementing case study analysis and inductive theory development: getting started; selecting cases; crafting instruments and protocols; entering the field; analysing data; shaping hypotheses; enfolding literature; reaching closure.

The initial phase of this case analysis is dependent on the formation of research questions and variables of interest in the phenomena. For this study research questions have been formulated and modified in line with Gill's (2015) recommendation for IPA to establish open research questions that focus on the lived experience of participants in a particular context.

The selection of cases is based on specifying an appropriate population from which the research sample is to be drawn. This depends on theoretical rather than statistical sampling to ensure that cases can replicate or extend the emergent theory by filling conceptual categories (Eisenhardt, 1989; Pettigrew, 1988). In line with IPA this study adopts an idiographic approach focused on selecting individuals that are involved in the change context and therefore reflecting significant distinct lived experiences of the specific context.

In terms of the construction of key research instruments and protocols this study applies interviewing methods and observation as the primary data collection method that combined provide maximum scope to access participants' experiences and provide an external perspective through observation. Eisenhardt (1989) emphasises the use of multiple data collection methods and combining qualitative and quantitative data to support the grounding of the theory based on the triangulation of evidence.

Both these methods adopted are consistent with this step in providing sufficient flexibility to iterate or explore interesting responses. Eisenhardt's notion of entering the field emphasises flexibility of methods to support theory development to allow for overlap in data collection and data analysis and exploring openings on emergent themes.

Eisenhardt (1989) points to the importance of within-case analysis to provide 'structured and diverse lenses' on the data (p.541). Within case analysis focuses on a detailed case study write-up for the identity work in the change context and results in identification of significant statements, and identification of themes. Within-case analysis can also identify configurations and variations of themes across police officers in the case study. This approach emphasises close reading and immersion in the case participants and interviews. These measures push the researcher beyond first impressions and provide deeper probing that can lead to unanticipated categories and concepts.

The findings of this research are then compared with similar and conflicting literature. Both latter stages are proposed to contribute to establishing the internal validity of the new theory and sharpening definition of constructs and concepts. The final stage of reaching closure depends on achieving theoretical saturation by adding more cases and iterating between theory and data (Eisenhardt, 1989).

3.6.2 Interpretive Phenomenology Analysis

The process of phenomenological analysis for this study applies the guidelines for interpretive phenomenology analysis (IPA). Gill (2015) clarifies several principles that are applied and established for this approach. Firstly, the research questions in this study are reformulated to focus on the experience of participants without predetermining or assuming the role of elements. This measure assumes an intentionality which is that individuals' experiences cannot be separated from what is experienced, and intentional experiences are in an individual's relationships and not within their own inner sphere (Husserl, 2012; Heidegger, 1988). Initial research questions were thus modified to focus on the lived experience.

Secondly, this study places a focus on employing an idiographic approach such that sampling of participants is focused less on theoretical saturation but rather the selection of participants that have significant lived experiences of the change and can uncover particular and distinctive facts and processes in terms of police officer identities. Previous IPA studies have adopted similar approaches, so for example to understand the experience and meaning of career changes from a woman's perspective Murtagh et al., (2011) targeted and recruited eight women that had a shared and meaningful experience of voluntary career changes. This allowed the researchers to focus on producing a rich contextual account from each woman that would provide the opportunity for presenting deep insight into these women's experiences of career change. Gill (2015) emphasises an idiographic approach over theoretical saturation to draw a rich and in-depth understanding and consider participants' cultural and social contexts to understand their experiences.

The congruence of IPA with ethnographic studies has been noted in terms of the focus on detailed descriptions and commentaries of the culture and identity of small or specific communities and in which claims are closely bound to that culture or cautiously made at a broader level (Pietkiewicz and Smith, 2014).

Interviewing is employed as the primary data collection tool in this study and focuses on data collection that reflects the participant's first-person perspective and their subjective experience of a particular phenomenon in a particular context (Gill, 2015; Sandberg, 2005). For instance, the interviews in this study are structured around exploring how individuals experience change activity in terms of the impact on their identities.

In terms of analysis of data, a further recommendation is based on the notion of the hermeneutic cycle which describes a cyclic and iterative process of interpretation. Therefore, the analysis in this research follows an iterative process shifting back and forth between insider positions that reflect the participants' perspective and outsider positions in which the researcher applies their interpretative lens to understand participants' experiences. Data analysis in this research also applies the notion of the double hermeneutic that emphasises a reflexive element. According to Gill (2015) just as an individual's interpretations influence their interaction and experience of their lifeworld, so the researcher's own biases can influence their interpretations of participants' experiences. This emphasises a need for the researcher to attend to their own context and how this may shape the findings with a focus on reflexivity and reflexive examination of the research.

3.6.3 Concept Development

This study employs primarily a grounded theory approach for analysis of interview and observational data. Key components of grounded theory approaches are immediate data analysis, coding, and memo-making (Charmaz, 2005). Beginning with a question or a collection of qualitative data, review of the data leads to coding of repeated concepts, ideas, and elements. As new data is added codes are grouped and refined into concepts and ultimately categories that become the basis for new theory (Charmaz, 2005). Memo-making is a fundamental part of the researcher's engagement with the data in grounded theory that provides the methodological link and distillation to new theory (Lempert, 2007). The data will be sorted, analysed, and coded in memos to uncover emergent social patterns (Lempert, 2007). Under this approach multiple research methods, selection of cases and data from multiple sources will be integrated for analysis.

This study applies grounded theory by applying the Gioia method for data analysis. The Gioia method provides a "systematic approach to new concept development and grounded theory articulation" (Gioia et al, 2013, p.15). One of the goals of this approach is to offer "qualitative rigor" and transparency in inductive research that has been criticised in the past. The Gioia method focuses on the development of concepts as opposed to construct development. The authors emphasise a distinction from interpretive science that focuses on description, understanding, prediction and verification. Rather, Gioia et al., (2013) put the focus on description, explanation, and prescription. While the Gioia method relies on the traditional grounded theory coding, the distinction of this approach lies with the emphasis placed on data structure to generate meaning rather than subjective meanings of members and second order constructs (Cassel et al., 2017).

Gioia et al., (2013) highlight the significance of an initial general and less specific process of exploring and making sense of research phenomena. Concept development is viewed as an essential precursor to construct development and the necessary discovery of concepts of theory development.

This perspective is consistent with this study and stage of research and provides an approach that is less specified and provides flexibility to explore and capture concepts for theory building rather than construct development or verification. The method employs the 'box and arrow' representations of theory (Gioia et al., 2013) and precludes hypotheses or propositions.

A central implication that is consistent with this research is that this study does not impose any prior theoretical assumptions. The literature review of this study has provided broad theoretical scope. The model presented in Chapter 2 does not apply a strict conceptual model but rather frames the units of analysis in terms of triggers, identity motives, identity work and identity outcomes. For example, this places focus on the sense-making of actors in this context without imposing constructs in identity motives but to remain open to their interpretations. The Gioia method was refined to provide a process that encourages "the presentation of the research findings in a way that demonstrates the connections among data, the emerging concepts, and the resulting grounded theory" (Gioia et al., 2013, p.17).

Table 4 Gioia Principles

Phase	Principles	Implementation
Participants	Stay close to participants Obtain critique of interpretations	Collaborative academic supervisor team
Initial interview protocol	Focus on Research Questions Be Thorough	Interview and observation guided by RQs
	Revision of Protocol during research process	Refined interview questions Amended procedures
	Be flexible with initial research questions	Refinement of research questions Interview

	Participants guide the discovery	Open questioning, prompting, allowing freedom to explore Revisit prior informants to ask questions that arise from subsequent interview
	Anticipate related issue to enquire about	Preparation and pre-planning
1st Order Analysis	Limit distillation of categories. Allow explosion at frontend. Axial coding	Nvivo coding training to manages codes Code comprehensively
2nd Order	Generate 2nd-order theoretical level of themes based on 1st order concepts	Skills reflection and self-development to develop to think at multiple levels
2nd order aggregate dimensions	Distill emergent 2nd order themes into 2nd order aggregate themes	
Concept development	Evaluate data structure Iterate and revisit all parts of data structure Consider relevant literature Identify new concepts	
Final analysis	Finalise analysis Evaluate interpretations	Peer and academic discussion

The Gioia methodology emphasises several key principles at different phases of the research process as outlined in Table 4. In terms of participants there is major emphasis on establishing closeness to participants to obtain the informants' view. Secondly, it emphasises the importance of obtaining a critique of interpretations from external parties which can include members of collaborative teams assuming an evaluator role. Initial interview protocols focus on the research questions and being thorough while the process should be guided significantly by the participants. Gioia et al., (2013) stress that the initial research questions can be amenable to change during the process of the research.

The analytical process is the main distinctive facet of the Gioia method. First order analysis should allow 'explosion' of frontend categories for instance 50-100 from the initial 10 interviews. In terms of potential data overload Gioia et al., (2013, p.14) states "you got to get lost before you can get found". During the research a grounded theory coding approach is employed using axial coding to reduce the categories to a manageable number of 25-30.

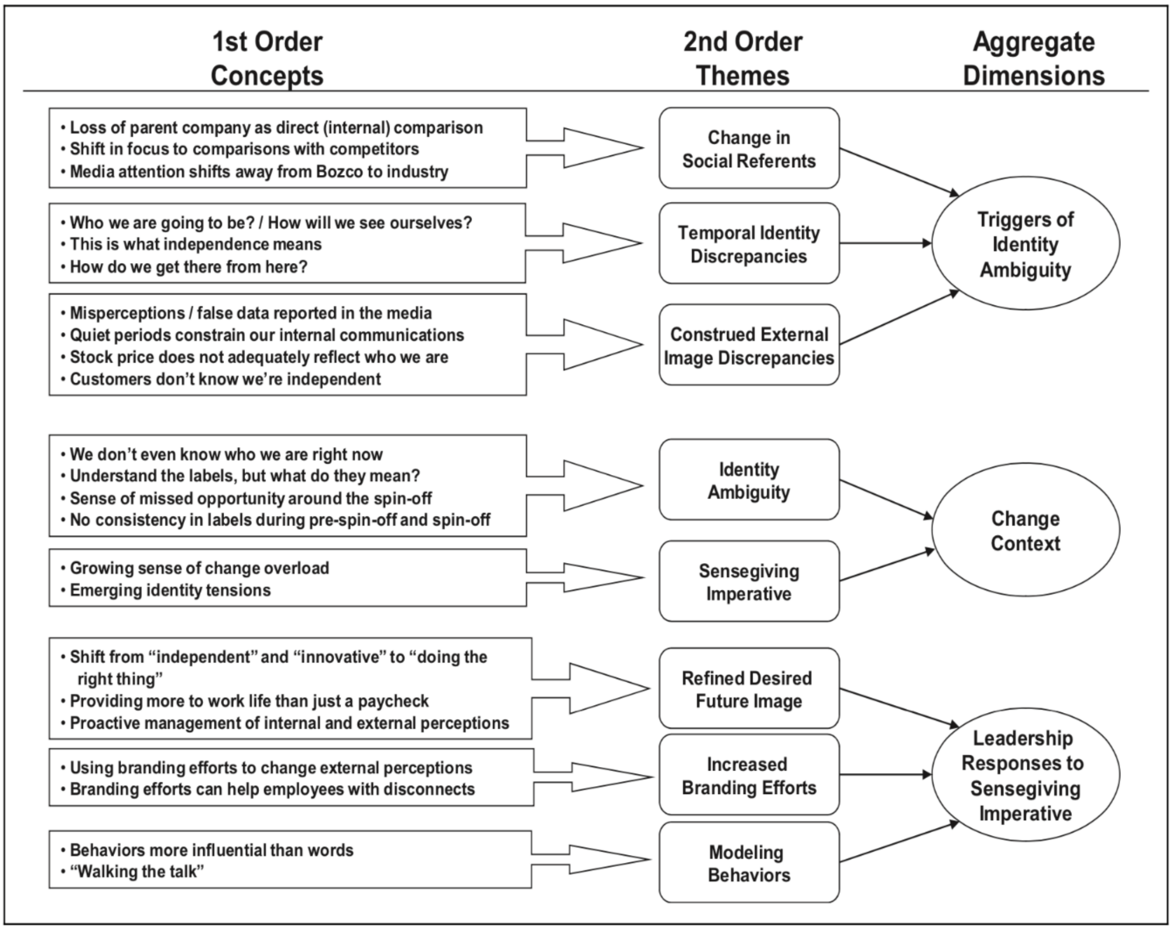

1st Order Concepts
2nd Order Themes
Aggregate Dimensions
• Loss of parent company as direct (internal) comparison
• Shift in focus to comparisons with competitors
• Media attention shifts away from Bozco to industry
Change in Social Referents
• Who we are going to be? / How will we see ourselves?
• This is what independence means
• How do we get there from here?
Temporal Identity Discrepancies
Triggers of Identity Ambiguity
• Misperceptions / false data reported in the media
• Quiet periods constrain our internal communications
• Stock price does not adequately reflect who we are
• Customers don't know we're independent
Construed External Image Discrepancies
• We don't even know who we are right now
• Understand the labels, but what do they mean?
• Sense of missed opportunity around the spin-off
• No consistency in labels during pre-spin-off and spin-off
Identity Ambiguity
Change Context
• Growing sense of change overload
• Emerging identity tensions
Sensegiving Imperative
• Shift from "independent" and "innovative" to "doing the right thing"
• Providing more to work life than just a paycheck
• Proactive management of internal and external perceptions
Refined Desired Future Image
• Using branding efforts to change external perceptions
• Branding efforts can help employees with disconnects
Increased Branding Efforts
Leadership Responses to Sensegiving Imperative
• Behaviors more influential than words
• "Walking the talk"
Modeling Behaviors

Figure 3 Data Structure

Source: Corley and Gioia (2004, p. 175).

These are assigned category labels or descriptors and consideration of the set of categories of which Gioia et al., (2013, p. 20) explain that the researcher must consider "themselves as knowledgeable agents who can (and must) think at multiple levels...at the level of the informants' terms and codes *and* at the more abstract, 2nd order theoretical level of themes, dimensions and the larger narrative" in order to make sense and answer the question "what is going on here?".

In the 2nd order analysis, the concept development begins based on the emerging themes that identify concepts that explain the phenomena. The method stresses focus on nascent elements that do not sufficiently align with any existing theoretical concepts. Once a set of possible themes have been identified then the process of theory development progresses by refining these themes into a further 2nd order stage in which dimensions are aggregated. These three components would then represent the data structure exemplified in Figure 3. Gioia et al., (2013, p.21) emphasise that this process is iterative and after this initial analysis there is a process of "cycling between emergent data, themes and dimensions and the relevant literature, not only to see whether what we are finding has precedents, but also whether we have discovered new concepts".

3.7 Research Methods

Data collection employs interviewing and observations methods that are widely applied in ethnographic research. Interviewing is one method in ethnography that can be employed in this research to explore participants' lived experiences. Observation method is employed to provide ethnographic focus with emphasis on observing and to derive cultural meanings, but also provides a basis for triangulation and validation of the narratives of participants. The combined approach can be viewed as a form of triangulation to gain insights as an external observer and generate ethnographic descriptions, but also an inside perspective from participants.

3.7.1 Semi-structured Interviews

A primary purpose of ethnographic interviews is to explore interpretations of peoples' culture, as they perceive it expressed in their own language. As this study is a process of phenomenological ethnographic inquiry, interviews provide access to individuals' accounts of their lived experience and perceptions at one level and then using these at ethnographic level to generate descriptions of key aspects of the cultural world as it relates to identity work in the change context that they are part of.

Qualitative interviews are a primary method for the collection of qualitative data and widely utilised across different disciplines and fields of research (Kvale, 2008). This study adopts a semi-structured interview method to collect qualitative data to address the research question. The researcher can draw out participants' own language and terms, as well their explanations and definitions of processes and events around them.

Open questions provide for a more unstructured means of probing issues involving free-flowing conversation and the spontaneous exploration of issues emerging in the interview, while an interview guide provides structure ensuring that all relevant topics are covered (Malhotra and Birks, 2000). The rationale is that this offers flexibility to explore a wide range of relevant issues and the underlying factors and influences impacting on the research phenomenon (Bryman and Bell, 2007). This can facilitate greater insights and understanding generally unavailable to methods involving larger sample sizes because of the ability to collect rich, holistic data revealing participants' experiences, knowledge, and perspectives (Saunders et al., 2016).

Interviewing is widely prevalent and considered an exemplar method for ethnographic studies as it facilitates the opportunity to focus on a specific experience while capturing rich detail and getting close to the participant's perspective (Allen, 2017). This is linked primarily to the flexibility of this form of interviewing which allows for dialogue between researcher and participant in which initial questions can be modified in response to participants' responses and emerging ideas and themes (Smith and Osborn, 2003). An ethnographic interview is generally an informal interview that occurs in a naturalistic setting and frequently the result of participant observation (Allen, 2017).

In this study interviewing is approached from an ethnographic perspective based on specific considerations to obtain participants' lived experienced (Allen, 2017). In terms of the researcher's approach ethnographic interviewing requires an acceptance of the natural attitudes of participants; reflexive critical dialogue; and active listening. This had implications for the structure and the format of questions. Thus, interviewing is structured for contextualisation to elicit the natural attitude of participants. Questions focused on descriptive narrative of the context (for example, tell me about how you came to be at the satellite unit"). Secondly, interviewing considers apprehending the phenomenon. Thus, questions focus on appearing modes (for example, "Tell me about your typical day"). The third aspect of interview structure is in clarifying the phenomenon. Bevan (2014) emphasises variation in imagination and thus the structure of questions is varied to explore possibilities (for example, describe how the unit would experience change if a manager was always present).

3.7.2 Participant Observation

Participant observation is a widely used method in ethnographic approaches and in social science and management research. An observation method is selected in this study to collect qualitative data on people's experiences of change processes within the different governance contexts. Participant observation is defined as "the systematic description of events, behaviours, and artefacts in the social setting chosen for study" (Marshall and Rossman, 1989, p.79). The method emphasises a process of learning through exposure or involvement in the daily routine activities of participants in their natural setting using techniques such as active looking, natural conversations, informal interviewing, and writing detailed field notes (Bernard, 2011; Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002). The primary goal is to develop an in-depth, holistic understanding of the research phenomena that is as accurate as possible (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002). A benefit of this approach for this study is that it allows access to unscheduled or unplanned for events and the activities and nuances within the research situation that may not be uncovered using other research methods (Demunck and Sobo, 1998). This can further improve the quality and validity of data collection and interpretation as researchers can obtain an improved understanding of the context and phenomenon (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002).

This method aligns well with the ethnographic approach adopted for this study as it allows for entry and participation in an individual's lifeworld. This can provide rich insights into an individual's experiences and generate forms of experiential data that cannot be obtained through interviews (Merriam, 1998). Participation in the context by the researcher provides first hand opportunity to draw on observations of experiences. For this research observations focused on those individuals that have significant involvement in the change context.

3.8 Sampling Strategy

An ethnographic approach focuses on drawing out rich idiographic accounts of lived experiences from each of the cases rather than aiming for theoretical saturation (Gill, 2015). Thus, ethnographic research generally applies a criterion sampling method in which participants are chosen based on meeting predefined criteria (Moser et al., 2018). For this study the sampling strategy aimed to gather the perspectives of rank and file police officers both male and female on the research phenomenon. The central criterion is the participant's experience of and proximity to the phenomenon under study comprising the policy change to allow women in front-line policing. Therefore, the aim of the sampling strategy is to target participants with this shared experience. Consequently, for this research the sample size is limited to selecting individuals who are in the early stages of their career and who have experienced the change under study. This led to sampling of individuals from a cohort of police cadets at the Abu Dhabi Police College and police officers who had graduated within 6-12 months from the academy.

3.9 Data Collection Protocols

The data collection process was conducted based on a defined sequence of protocols that contained specific stages and procedures for each of the methods used. For this study data was collected using multiple methods of semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Recruitment targeted two different sets of participants of a first year cohort of police cadets in addition to newly graduated officers with at least 6 months to 1-year operational experience in the Community Security Sector department and the Central Operation Sector. First contact is initiated with the key decision makers in the College and Police operational departments relating to the police change context. Email and telephone communications were used to explain and provide information about the purpose and research activities of the project. Once approval was gained from senior administrators in each of these departments, communications focused on specific arrangements for recruiting participants and scheduling and implementing the research activities.

A provisional plan was prepared for scheduling all the data collection for the interviews and observations over the research period. The planned research programme scheduled several interviews and observations each week during the period of data collection. The next phase of the data collection process concentrated on identifying and communicating with research participants in the Police College and police departments for each of the research methods. While observation and interviews and informal conversations were held with participants in the Police College newly graduated police officers were subject to interviews only. To identify participants for each method the human resources department in each organisation were contacted to gain access to information on cohorts and newly graduated police officers. For the research participants were then contacted by email and invited to participate in the research. Communications included complete information explaining the purpose of the research, what participation may entail, and their rights as participants. Opportunity was given to provide written consent and a timetable of research events through which participation could be scheduled.

Procedures for the semi-structured interviews were similarly replicated for all the interviewees. Interviews were scheduled in a convenient and private location in which interviewees could feel comfortable to openly discuss issues and disclose information. Prior to commencement interviewees were reminded of their rights and provided with further opportunity to ask any questions they may have had concerning the research. The semi-structured interviews were undertaken utilising an interview guide that structured the discussion while providing opportunity for follow-up questions to obtain further information and detail. The interviews lasted for an average of 40-50 minutes each.

The semi-structured interviews were recorded using digital audio equipment. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) note that elements such as note-taking, interview transcripts, recordings and documents are key aspects of qualitative research. All recordings were fully and accurately transcribed to support greater clarity and facilitate the identification of relevant themes (Bryman and Bell, 2007).

The second data collection method involved participant observation of the police officers in the police change context in the natural situations in the course of their work. The scope of the observations was limited to observing cadets during closed training sessions with their trainers in the classroom and gym and simulated policing situations. The focus was on directly and indirectly observing people at specific times and shadowing different actors. Before entering the field, consideration was given to planning observations to ensure that the data obtained would be efficiently and effectively collected. Procedures firstly concentrated on choosing the most appropriate venues, actors, and times to observe participants, which were then agreed with senior members of the organisation and incorporated within the research timetable. Before initiating observation, periods of time were first invested in self-introduction and building rapport and trust with participants. This helped to ensure that participants were comfortable being observed and a sufficient range of experiences, conversations, and unstructured interviews were undertaken to collect the necessary data. Note-taking formed a key element of the observations to record observations, thoughts, and ideas to be used as an aide memoire to later analysis. Prior to the completion of all observation sessions informed consent protocols were revisited to ensure that consent was captured for all participants.

The collection of observational data was implemented in a structured manner. The schedule for each training class in the 12-week observation period was consulted and a schedule developed to ensure observation of each type of class. Nearly half of class types, for example Emergency Response Training, were observed at least twice enabling repeated observation in the same class setting. When observing the cadets in different locations care was taken to ensure a position where faces could be observed but was out of the direct line of sight of participants to avoid creating distraction. For all observation events this researcher arrived early so that cadets' arrival into the venue or classroom, how they sat down and grouped themselves, and their behaviours and social interactions could be observed before and after formal training sessions took place.

Two groups were chosen for observation divided by gender into male and female. Due to time limitations the decision was taken to focus on one of these gender groups only per session. Observations were undertaken from a position in which two to three women (or men) were clearly observable and audible in terms of their facial expressions, body language and oral comments. The focus was on observing and noting the responses of each gender to the training materials, the trainer, the training type, and their male and female colleagues in terms of their behaviours and physical expressions, verbal responses and comments and social exchanges. Notes were also made on the interactions, comments and verbal responses of others beyond those selected for observation in a particular session, when these provided insight into participant interactions and/or emerging themes. Therefore while in any one training session the focus of observation was a smaller subset of the class, observations were also made on the class as a whole.

Several criteria underpinned what data was recorded during observations given limitations on how much could be noted in any one session. Firstly, focus was placed on observing externalised, tangible aspects in the training sessions such as: individual's body language; how they carry themselves and level of physical expressivity; spatial groupings and seating arrangements; eye-contact; how responses to questions and comments are verbalised; silences and laughs; tone of voice; level of proactivity in contributions; indications of emotions and feelings; and use of verbal expressions. On another level the content of verbalisations and expression were recorded when indicating relevance to any of the following factors: both traditional and surprising/novel values, attitudes and beliefs; unique perspectives; and conflicting perspectives. Variation in perspective was looked for and noted in order to provide a view of the study phenomena in its entirety from a variety of viewpoints. While there was no systematic effort to record the totality of the content of discussions and dialogue, whole conversations and comments could be noted where these were relevant to the criteria above. Finally data was systematically recorded on contextual aspects such as the location, time and date of the observation, the sequence of conversations and events and relevant details on the setting.

Participant observations were undertaken by this researcher with an awareness of the need to detach from my own biases, preconceptions and beliefs as a police officer and participant in the change context under study. When making observations and taking notes, I attempted to cultivate an awareness and understanding of the power and positionality that existed in relation to research participants, and to ensure that all voices were heard and reflected in the data collection and data analysis process. To consciously mitigate any apprehended biases, this researcher engaged in reflection and review of notes following each observation session. More detail on the measures adopted to moderate any biases and prior assumptions can be found in Section 3.4.

Several factors challenged the process of observational data collection. This researcher was only able to make written notes as audio or video recordings of training sessions were not allowed. Further all notes arising from observation sessions were reviewed by a senior commander in the ADP. While I made my observations independently and as objectively as possibly I also reflected on the influence this factor could play in shaping observations when reviewing my notes post-session. Secondly, the onset of the Covid-19 epidemic in 2020 posed some obstacles to observation of participants and data collection in 2021. While the UAE rapidly rolled out its vaccination programme in 2021 and scheduling and cadet training were not disrupted, mask wearing and social distancing requirements meant that during observation sessions facial expressions were harder to observe and assess and this researcher was not always able to get close enough to groups to observe casual or more minute interactions and speech. This sometimes limited observations to broader patterns of interaction across the whole group and audible dialogue between them.

3.10 Ethics

In any qualitative study ethical principles of research are a significant consideration to ensure that participants are protected from harm and their needs and concerns are explicitly considered (Saunders et al., 2016). This is consistent with the overarching principle of beneficence entailing a commitment to minimising social and psychological risk and maximising the benefits of the research to participants and society (Belmont

Report, 1979). Ethical considerations begin in the recruitment phase and relate to principles of consent and autonomy which aim to respect the dignity of participants and ensure their ability to make a free and fully informed decision to participate in the research. Obtaining consent is closely linked to providing information so that in this study practical measures involved providing participants with comprehensive information on the project in terms of purpose, goals, their rights, and the potential risks and benefits so that participants could fully understand what their participation may entail before their decision to participate was made (Adams, 2013). Ensuring that participants possess, and perceive themselves to possess, sufficient power to determine their role in the research forms a key ethical requirement.

To address the balance of power between researcher and researched participants were made fully aware of their ability to withdraw from the study at any point (Iphofen, 2013). Minimising harm to participants further extends to principles of confidentiality and privacy in the data collection and analysis phases of the research. To uphold confidentiality measures were undertaken that maintained the security of the data collected and limited access to authorised personnel only. Privacy was further assured through the anonymisation of the data at different stages of the research including publication (Aguinis and Henle, 2002).

Additionally, there are ethical considerations when interviewing and observing in an ethnographic manner that focus on ensuring that experiences and perspectives are interpreted and analysed accurately and represented in a way that is as close as possible to participants' views. Josselson (1996) highlights the risk of misinterpretation in the process of data analysis and interpretation, and how this can harm participants in terms of engendering mistrust or a sense of betrayal. There is therefore an ethical imperative when undertaking a phenomenological approach to suspend moral judgements and preconceptions in interviewing and observation and adopt an open, unbiased mind to understand the essence of participants' experiences and portray them accurately (Guerrero-Casteneda, 2017).

Applying a process of "reflexive awareness" as discussed earlier in this chapter helped to address this need. It allowed this researcher to reflect on the power dynamic and biases that are inherent because of the researcher's senior role within the UAE public sector, and as far as possible to suspend biases and maintain an open mind when collecting the data on and interpreting and analysing individuals' lived experiences. This reflexivity extended to trying to develop an awareness of the consequences of the presence of the researcher in terms of what may be uncovered and the influence on participants’ disclosure, either by generating actions or thoughts that normally would not be engaged in, or by constraining people from disclosing as much as they normally would (Iphofen, 2013). The researcher was aware of the sensitivity of the research setting in terms of the cultural sensitivity around gender issues and women’s roles and the possible emotional and psychological effects in approaching and inquiring on these issues. In interactions with research participants in both interviews and observations the researcher was careful to avoid framing questions in a way that might cause potential embarrassment or discomfort to participants while still enabling the collection of data relevant to the research questions (Iphofen, 2013).

Addressing issues of accuracy has also been associated with ensuring quality and rigour in the research design. Therefore, this study adopted a comprehensive set of strategies that maximised quality and rigour in the research process such as credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability (Guba, 1981). In establishing quality in the research design the measures promoted an ethical process of inquiry and good, fair, and accurate understanding of the research phenomena and the perspectives of the participants and organisations.

Chapter 4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of an ethnographic investigation into identity work in police in the UAE. Ethnographic data was generated through direct observation and interview research to explore participants' lived experiences of police cadetship at a police academy. Cadets were directly observed at the police training college during classroom and practical training sessions over a 24-week period. The combined approach can be viewed as a form of triangulation to gain insights as an external observer and generate ethnographic descriptions, but also an inside perspective from participants. The training sessions offered many different opportunities to observe the cadets and the discourse during the sessions across different activities. Identity work was enacted through dialogue and interaction between cadets and instructors in the different training modules around the curriculum and reflective activities initiated by instructors around questions about preferred roles or areas of policing; strengths and weaknesses; and discussion around different types of risks and policing situations.

Observations showed that identity work extended to the group and social relations between the male and female cadets and was enacted on several levels with discursive, behavioural, and cognitive strategies of identity work. As the context of this research focuses on cadets who are newcomers to the field of policing it reflects the infancy of identity work for individuals who have yet to experience police assignments. Much of the observations and interview data is grounded on interactions within an intensive learning process and based on cadets' perceptions of police culture and early impressions and interpretation of their colleagues and instructors.

Therefore, the physical context and arrangements provide the initial indications of identity related work observed and reflected on by cadets in interviews. Thus, this discussion firstly engages with the cultural and normative context that influences identity boundaries both through social values and the organisational context to enforce gender identities. To some degree these provide social boundaries for police work within a gender-based segregation that informs cadets' identity work in different ways. The classroom and physical training settings convey a cultural template for gender identity which establishes a broader context for identity work that was observed. In addition to ethnographic data from observations and interviews at the police training academy, data was also generated from newly graduated officers with at least 6 months to 1-year operational experience.

The ethnographic results and different accounts show that cadets perceive multiple identities through various modes of behavioural, cognitive, and verbal identity work with major emphasis on discourse through storytelling and narratives. These narratives and stories represent a major dimension of the ethnographic observation that provided insights into how cadets constructed meaning. The process of identity work appears to be respectful to cultural values and lacking overt resistance and rather a process of co-operative exploratory discourse in an emergent context. Five key themes emerged for how identity is constructed in this Arabic policing context that are: 1) social and organisational influence on identity construction; 2) envisioning multiple identities through rational logic process; 3) constructing identity through a discourse of connections; 4) validating identity through performance; 5) discourse of co-operation and reflexivity; and 6) a model of identity work in police.

In this study ethnographic accounts are drawn from cadets at a police academy and therefore all cadets are newcomers within a specific context of policing. Firstly, there was limited interaction with broader policing culture, operations or situations or the public for cadets. Identity work was therefore focused on cadets’ behaviours during closed training sessions with their trainers and simulated policing situations. Cadets are therefore in the earliest phase of identity work which is influenced and draws on the sense of self and others that they bring to this situation and the organisational culture and discourse they experience during the training sessions. Some ethnographic accounts were based on interviews with police officers who had graduated within 6-12 months from the academy.

4.2 Identities

4.2.1 Professionals and Specialists

Female cadets used the word professional multiple times when the discussion centred on the role of women in different police activities. There was some tension and caution when females spoke using this term suggesting not that they did not see male officers as professional but rather that they projected themselves as highly professional and could be equally competent and skilled. Two female cadets frequently spoke of cognitive abilities in terms of being able to communicate effectively and process information and analyse data; being adaptable to different situations; being valuable in sensitive situations; learning and being highly knowledgeable; and working extremely hard.

When cadets were asked to indicate their areas of interests and preferred roles, female cadets compared to male cadets offered the most diverse interests and preferred roles pointing to science related fields including forensics; crime scene analysis; cybercrime, digital forensics; criminal psychology, criminal behaviour, and profiling. Male cadets emphasised leadership and high ranks, firearms, serious crime, homicide, or special operations. Female cadets frequently spoke of being highly professional and developing specialist skills and competencies such as communication specialist, command control and operations, science, and advanced technology for cybercrime.

4.2.2 Peacemakers and Caretakers

Some discourse by female cadets appeared to characterise themselves as peacemakers drawing on personal values from the home. One female cadet explained that:

“In the home we are frequently the peacemakers in conflict and in the family, we are the first to offer resolution and make peace. As policewomen our physical presence can help to calm and defuse the situation from the beginning, and I think it immediately projects a sense of consideration and empathy”.

One female cadet spoke of women bringing empathy and caring to some situations. This view was endorsed by another female cadet who suggested that when there is a female presence, the dynamic and the situation is less hostile or aggressive. Another female cadet expanded on this explaining that women can offer an additional avenue alongside male officers and diversity and a wider toolset. There was positive acquiescence by a male cadet who stated that female officers:

“Bring something additional, in the same way if you are two male police officers, and you know your partner is skilled in martial arts or has knowledge of negotiating tactics, it increases your confidence in your capabilities to handle a situation. So, in the same way I think a female officer on patrol or investigating a crime can increase the team’s overall capabilities in a unique way”.

I wondered whether he meant women offer something unique as a partner and he responded to this question by saying:

"With respect I think men and women are different and speaking about non-physical possess characteristics unique to each gender...they are [female police officers] newcomers, and my family is a generation of male officers at high ranks, so I am the first training alongside women. Even so I think yes, they offer something new in police situations, even though I can't say yet, I am sure I will discover this in future".

Another male cadet offered the view that men in Arab culture have a strong role in enforcing discipline and are more authoritarian and reserved whereas female officers can be more approachable, patient, and cautious.

4.2.3 Open-Minded and Innovative

One woman spoke of her open-mindedness and being able as a woman to offer a fresh perspective to policing that could help to modernise and improve it.

"Policing is highly challenging, and I think we can offer a female insight and understanding to many policing situations and contribute new ideas that can help to allow police in the UAE to continue innovating and improving and to enhance the country's social progress".

Another female cadet suggested that:

"Females joining the police know we must prove ourselves in many ways which may be wrong and because of this we must be much more open-minded and even creative in how we overcome physical and mental challenges. Yet I think this could be a good thing overall because it stimulates and creates competitive dynamic".

I wanted to explore a male perspective and I asked openly what anyone thought about this. A male cadet suggested that female officers had the potential to bring something new:

"I don't think this makes women less open-minded or creative, although I can see it might drive women to work harder. I think men can be equally open-minded I don't think its gender, but I think diversity is the key thing. Diversity of people from different backgrounds educational, professional, and social backgrounds as well as gender".

4.2.4 Women as Gentle and Delicate

The discourse around physical readiness of women as police officers was raised during a reflective exercise where cadets were asked to reflect and speak about their individual strengths and weaknesses. After a female cadet spoke about her need to work hard to improve her physical ability some responses by male cadets offered implications for female size and strengths. Males expressed some reservations about suitability of women for certain police work, for instance coping and providing necessary support for physical situations. Another cadet stated that some situations require a lot of physical strength for some duties: *"We need to show, or the public should see we have this strength".* Many males appeared to concur by nodding in agreement. Another male cadet suggested that female physical readiness was conditional on level of training and skills:

"We cannot ignore physical differences between women and men. They don't have the same upper body strength, and some must compensate for this with development of high-level defence, physical strength, and fitness. They train intensively for this but possibly by sacrificing other areas of development. They have less power, and I'm not sure if they are ready and willing to use force in all situations".

Emotional strength was another aspect of women's characteristics that was questioned by several male cadets. Although female cadets never spoke of a lack of emotional readiness, male cadets put forward suggestions after speaking of their mental strength. A male cadet spoke of being mentally tough to deal and cope with the challenges of policing: *"we will be exposed to the ugly side of humans and crime and the stories and support from my brother has prepared me well and I think I can perform well."* He went on to say: *"some situations may be extremely stressful for women, and I cannot imagine my wife or sister being able to cope in those situations".* This view contrasted with the view of a female cadet who was alone in ascribing mental toughness as a strength. She explained:

"One of my key strengths is that I am an emotionally strong person and have strong mindset. Almost everyone in my family was concerned and talked about how hard police work would be for me emotionally. I think this is the traditional view that women are soft mentally and need protecting. But, for me and many women for sure we can be emotionally strong and cope well in many situations".

4.2.5 Male Guardians and Protectors

The topic of women's physical strengths and guardianship emerged as a theme discussed as a risk factor during a defence session when cadets were asked to identify risks in different situations. A male cadet joined a discussion on the physical size and strength of women as a barrier to performance. Male cadets did not express any disagreement with the involvement of women but instead focused on the risks to female officers and the need to offer protection.

One male cadet expressed the need to be protective of female officers stating that: *"I am happy for the presence of women alongside, but we can't ignore they have different upper body strength, and they are at a disadvantage against males or larger males we will encounter".* Another male cadet referenced videos of riot events where rioters targeted weak links and:

"because of the size of female cadets then the same female officers in these situations are most at risk of being targeted and there we must be. So yes, we must be ready to offer backup and support to female officers and be aware of the risks they face".

4.2.6 Men as Problem-Solvers

Male cadets spoke of a desire to solve crimes and of possessing problem-solving skills to understand situations and people and evaluate the evidence. One cadet characterised this in terms of being:

"Tough and resilient to get information fast and efficiently and following leads aggressively and go wherever you need to go. From my father and brother who are senior police I understand that to fight crime you must overcome dangerous situations, work hard, push and pressure people to co-operate."

Another male cadet also emphasised persistence and stamina explaining:

"As police officers we need to be persistent and keep going to solve a crime and we need to be tough because we will face many challenging situations. You can't back down from a problem or be influenced by negative aspects, you must push through, stay tough to solve a crime".

4.2.7 Gendered Identity

Some discourse pointed to a view of gendered roles delineating between men and women officers. Male cadets appeared to be open and willing to discuss female officers when the topic related to a role they associated with female. A male cadet introduced this initially in terms of learning from women stating that: *“male police officers lack understanding or empathy of certain situations and I think the addition of female officers can help address this”.* Empathy was associated consistently by other cadets and was an important reason for involvement of female officers in certain roles. A male cadet explained that:

“Women can play a valuable role in criminal investigation because they can develop a sensitive connection with females, young people and this can help to gain co-operation for obtaining critical information and evidence”.

Other male cadets’ comments supported this view and associated female officers with specific crimes in dealing with sex, youth crimes or crimes involving children. A male cadet states that: *“female officers have the capacity to display empathy and understanding with victims of sex crimes more than male officers, and more than that they are less restricted by traditions and rules for behaviour between men and women.”*

During such discourses there was frequent subtle eye contact and body language with expectation that female cadets should agree with this perspective. It was not evident that the female cadets in the room agreed this view of their role and only one female cadet suggested that women could offer a unique contribution, but this was qualified not exclusively as a role but as a strength or resource:

“I think as women we can have more freedom to communicate more openly and directly especially to other women, and I think as a team we can be more effective than a male only team. I think it is a good thing that we can have a male officer and female officer working together and achieving more particularly where victims prefer female officers”.

In contrast some female cadets expressed their motivation for joining the police as a desire to help people and to make their society safer. One female cadet explained: *“I want to make my city and country a safe place and to help people and being in the police force is related to the security of my nation and it’s an honour”.*

The idea of caring was also expressed by a male cadet who stated:

"Female officers can provide a more caring face of policing especially when we are dealing with traumatised victims or young and female victims of crime who need a more thoughtful and warmer approach. Police are seen as tough and unemotional, and some situations need a feminine touch".

Another male cadet contrasted tough and caring and implied that: *"it is important and positive to be able to show both a tough and caring side of policing"* implying that male officers were the tough side and female officers represented a softer caring side of police.

Some of the discourse by male cadets sees female officers characterised in a supporting role. In one situation after discourse about the risk of women in police and the need to protect and support women on the frontline a male cadet appeared to suggest women were better suited to backend roles and introduction to policing:

"Female officers can provide a valuable role in administrative and many of the supporting or operational areas. There are a wide diverse range of critical duties that they can be allocated to and gain confidence and experience."

4.2.8 Social and Organisational Influence on Identities

Collectively these findings constitute a major theme in this study of the social and organisational influences on identity construction and established context for gender identity. Identity work can be assessed through different aspects that convey male and female identities of police. The results evidence the structural and symbolic aspects of police culture that influences cadets' construction of a variety of individual and social identities within this context.

Social norms provide a strong logic for identity construction and how cadets perceive themselves in the main. Norms of behaviour related to social values influenced how cadets perceive themselves and engage in identity work. Interview data provided the most explicit expressions of identity that is anchored in the cultural social context. Male and female cadets draw on their gender identities as core of who they are at work stating that "I am an Arab man "or "I am an Arab woman". In doing so they signal a common social identity as their core identity that has some bearing on identity construction. Through discourse in the classroom trainings, male cadets projected a distinctly normative view of gender compared to women that was in line with social norms. Male cadets appeared to be committed to the notion of gender roles.

In terms of self, they perceived themselves or male officers collectively as guardians and protectors of women officers that was consistent with their identity in society. Male cadets also emphasised subordinate or supportive roles of women officers that was also consistent with how the role of Arab women in society is enacted. For male cadets' identity construction is influenced by reference to normative values. This is evident also from interview and discourse witnessed in observations that identify women officers in terms of gendered roles. While this normative perspective is significantly evident in male cadets, notably, female cadets also endorse a subordinate identity of women to some degree albeit in a balanced way. For female cadets while importance of religious values and their Arab women's role in society was accepted it reflected one aspect of their identity rather than a dominant aspect of their identity. Moreover, female cadets' identity work suggested a more open interpretation of the role of women in policing.

In the main there is flexibility in the normative values because integration into the police is desirable providing it does not threaten or undermine their Arab cultural or Muslim values. For both male and female cadets' preservation of dignity and honour is an important aspect of this. For instance, some women and men can be opposed to female participation in police patrols because it was viewed as counter to cultural and religious values (Walker, 2019). This is further consistent with public views of women in policing in UAE culture where initial sentiment was against integration of women but more accepting in roles perceived to preserve the dignity of the women involved (Walker, 2019).

Normative values are further enforced within organisational culture that exerts an influence on gender identity work providing signals and ideas about male and female cadets through the physical aspects such as the semiotics of the uniform and physical segregation. The literature shows that the organisational context can significantly influence identity work in policing, and these can vary to the extent to which the policing culture is structured or conveys masculine stereotypes or bias, for instance around the idea that policing is intrinsically aggressive, dominant, or strong (Rawski and Workman-Stark 2018; Bayerl et al., 2018; Courpasson and Monties, 2017). In this study gendered identity is facilitated through physical modes of identity work that are organisationally enacted in the training arrangements and semiotics of the uniform. Physical segregation of male and female cadets is the most evident physical dimension that enforces a sense of male primacy as police cadets or officers. The spatial separation between male cadets and female sitting in different locations makes a statement.

This distancing between male and female cadets is found in the organisational practices such as the segregated physical fitness training and defence training and the different scheduling of female cadets' training during daylight hours. Thus, physical identity work is enacted through the spatial distancing between male and female cadets because of cultural or social expectations and provides structure for gendered identities.

Despite the salient aspects of gender identifications conveyed organisationally there was no evidence in the instructors' discourse of engaging in gender identifications for instance in relation to police roles or situations. Both genders were able to engage with the subject content, field and respond to questions with the instructors equally and notably instructors did not challenge or counter any gender-based discourse or narratives. Furthermore, instructors did not engage in gender-based organisational narratives. Moreover, instructors were accepting of gender-based discourse of identities and identity work in general, allowing cadets to interact with each other and providing prompts and facilitating explanations or reflections by cadets. This suggests some flexibility in identity which may have influenced female cadets to express themselves and explore identity possibilities.

Foremost, it was apparent that for female cadets it was important to be compliant or true to hegemonic or patriarchal values that is part of their culture by emphasising gender roles and characterising their roles in policing in a supportive capacity. They justify this in terms of their Arab and cultural values. Gender-based roles are thus a compromise for both genders and socially because it allows for both the integration of women into policing and ostensibly offers preservation of social values that is consistent with social norms. Some females appear to perceive themselves in a subordinate role and gender segregated role which is consistent with the majority view of male cadets. For females' acceptance of this identity may link to the concept of identity coherence which is concerned with rational cognitive components that build inner continuity in the self across time (Hammond, 2007; Greenwald, 1980). This involves conscious processes of work-related coherence and reflection on personal agency in work contexts to ground the working self across employment time (Erikson, 1968). By accepting a gender-based role in the police female cadets at this early stage of their careers may be seeking to avoid an identity conflict between deep-seated normative aspects of their identity and a work identity that may challenge some of these self-concepts. At the same time the strength of socio-cultural values influences the degree of compliance or acceptance of normative or gender identities such that compliance is a temporal state because females can perceive some flexibility or possibilities for change. This compliance is not absolute and allows for flexibility for envisioning and exploring boundaries in identity work. This emphasises a consistent theme in the identity work of both male and female cadets in balancing conservative and modern values and exploring viable and sustainable modes of identity.

4.3 Identity Work

Several themes emerged in relation to identity work by cadets. Identity construction of multiple identities is enacted through different modes of physical, discursive, cognitive, and behavioural work.

4.3.1 Physical Patterns of Identity Work

At a physical level identity work was evident in the organisational and normative context enforcing physical boundaries, the uniform, and the use of a person's physicality. Identity work appears to be enacted in physical ways in terms of the use of individuals' own bodies or materials and objects in their physical environments. This observation is consistent with data from the interviews which emphasises the role of uniforms in physically enacting the identity of female police officer. According to one female officer:

> *"Women officers have a strong sense of pride being in the force. Their identity is connected strongly to their uniform, this is like their shield and image as servant and protector to society".*

Uniforms were employed as a physical mechanism to publicly denote different professional or functional and gender identities. Five types of uniform could be observed among UAE police depending on whether they were a member of the General Directorate, administrative staff, specialised officers, field patrols or a woman police officer. Women police officers wore two types of uniform depending on the duties they were performing which were composed of more muted colours compared to the male uniforms: a dark grey jacket and skirt worn when undertaking administrative operations and trousers for field operations coupled with blue beret and black shoes. There was also a formal segregation structure and organisation of the training programme including separate physical fitness training sessions, difference in defence tactics and coaches, and arrest exercises. Female cadets were exercised only with women and men against men, where the culture and religion of UAE represent the law of the arrests. Female cadets also are excluded from night-time patrol exercises.

These findings provide insight into the physical mode of identity work enacted through the semiotic of the uniform to convey gender identities. Police uniform and appearance reflects an aspect of identity work here. Uniform design is regarded as a significant aspect in the occupational self-image of police officers and its interpretation by the community. It is within this perception that officers gather important clues about what their role entails (Fussell, 2003). Thus, both male and female cadets' identity construction is dependent to some degree on the organisational identifications conveyed through the design and colour of uniforms. This semiotics therefore may enhance direct identity talk toward organisationally prescribed identities and support an 'us' and 'them' identity (Ybema et al., 2009).

The uniform evidently marks male and female cadets as different and conveys a sense of 'them' and 'us' and suggests different occupational identities. The uniform design and colours create a different grouping. Colours are different between male and female uniforms. Male officers' uniform is beige or dark blue, which has military association, while female officers have lighter blue and grey colours. This suggests that there are possible identity implications for each gender, which would be consistent and provide further support for a small body of identity work literature in the police force. Choice of colour has played a crucial role in being able to define the individual and collective identity of the police; similarly, certain patterns or embellishments (Courpasson and Monties, 2017). Military colour for men both enforces authority, power, and physicality (Thornborrow and Brown, 2009) or aggression (Johnson, 2001). The literature also shows that the standard blue-black colours, favoured by most police departments, are also useful for concealment in dangerous situations and camouflage at night when searching for and apprehending criminals. The lighter shade of blue for females may suggest a less powerful or aggressive role of police officers. This may emphasise ‘blue collar’ executive or administrative identity. At the same time female uniforms are to some degree feminised in the use of long skirts and acceptance of high heels and hijab. On balance, it may serve to construe women in police in a less dangerous frontline identity and more back-office administrative role and thereby establishing some identity boundaries. This aspect contrasts with research by De Camargo (2016) which found that female officers felt that uniforms were defeminised and were orientated as wholly ‘masculine’. Notably, the extent to which female cadets feminised their uniforms varied as evidenced in the use of footwear and makeup. While some wore lipstick and high heels others wore flat practical wear and less makeup. This might suggest some aspect of retaining their feminine identity while for others it suggests a conforming tactic.

Identity work also appears to be physically enacted through the bodies of the policemen and women. Across different situations both inside the classroom and outside on patrol men carried their bodies confidently and in a relaxed way and were unafraid to move their arms expressively when talking and interacting. Women police officers also moved with apparent confidence, and they generally did not make expansive or quick gestures. Facially, when in the company of policemen, they mainly wore serious expressions and did not smile or make eye contact as frequently as with all female company.

When interacting with each other in physical training sessions women appeared to be relaxed and confident. In their body language when interacting they were frequently making eye contact and unafraid to be assertive in their movements. Many male cadets nodded in agreement when a male cadet expressed reservations about the suitability of women for certain police work either in terms of physical difference and strength or mentally coping and providing necessary support for physical situations.

Several insights can be drawn from these results that point to specific strategies in performing identity work among genders. The physical modes of identity work evidenced underline dualist balancing strategies that reflect respect or defence of normative values but signal broader ambitions by female cadets. In general, literature shows that identifications can occur during normal everyday conversations, and this allows people to have a sense of self and other identifications and their significance. A major aspect of this is reflected in jokes, irony, compliments, persuasion, and satire.

However, in Arabic culture, some types of interactions by male and female cadets are significantly limited, because men will usually in the presence of women refrain from such casual informal interaction between themselves and maintain respectful distance from female cadets. Consequently, this places significant emphasis on physical, non-verbal forms of identifications.

At a physical level it could be observed that cadets through their posture and body and facial gestures and non-verbalisation were able to engage in identity work even at an unconscious level. Notably female cadets' physicality was more evident in several ways. In all the classroom training sessions, female cadets' physicality can be seen as a powerful tool of their identity work to project impressions of themselves. The use of eye contact, posture, and the varied tone of voice from soft to hard formed part of the identification process. At one level the stiff upright postures and the deliberate military walk when they moved around was distinct from male colleagues. Facial expressions also consistently projected a sense of attentiveness and focus. Watching them an observer can gain a sense of "we are here to work. we are serious" or "we are ready for anything" which can be taken as identifications of committed and motivated officers. The subtle and sometimes deferential way in female cadet's body language, gestures and speech also makes a statement. Further, there is a difference in mood and atmosphere between the male and female side of the room that emphasises this distinct grouping of the genders. Facial expressions also consistently projected a sense of attentiveness and focus.

This aspect of identity is consistent with studies that show that actors may construe identity through physical and communication aspects of identity work through adoption of postures and facial expressions (Courpasson and Monties, 2017; Caza et al., 2016). For instance, considerable research has centred on how gendered identities are performed through specific modes of etiquette, manners, comportment, gestures, walking, sitting, and working (Corlett and Mavin, 2014; Patriotta and Spedale, 2009; Butler, 2004). Further, the statements made by female cadets through walking, sitting, posturing and facial expressions aimed to convey a sense of discipline and identification as serious, committed, and motivated officers. This suggests a motivation of wanting to be taken seriously and yet establishes gender identities.

Gender identities are also reinforced by the manner of interactions either through verbal or non-verbal communication. Female cadets were highly attentive to instructors and taking notes and maintaining eye contact. There was an effort between male and female cadets to avoid direct confrontation and this was achieved by delaying responses to any provoking or challenging points. Verbalisation is respectful and avoids negative expression, and at the same non-verbal female cadets reinforce collective identity by projecting a sense of discipline and commitment. Consistency in this process emerges as an important factor because constructing an identity through physicality requires repeated enactment of all the different elements to sustain such identifications of self. Through all training sessions female cadets' use of bodies was consistent that may convey salient features of female cadets as dedicated, committed, or compliant. This aligns with Burke (1969) who identified construction depends on repeated behavioural enactments. Thus, through physical modes of identity work female cadets can signal their desires and intentions to be taken seriously and recognised.

4.3.2 Discursive Patterns of Identity Work

Observing the police cadet training sessions, the dominant identity work was enacted through discursive means through meta-narrative and storytelling. This was bound in the conversations, dialogues and different stories and narratives introduced into the interactions between cadets and instructors. Discourse was observed by both male and female cadets enacted around several key themes: envision multiple identities, connective discourse, personal and self-talk and collective speak.

4.3.2.1 Meta-Narratives

Cadets enacted their identity work through different stories and meta-narratives around the family, police situations and personal experiences. Cadets used different meta-narratives around safe assignments, change and modernisation, police excellence, or family and social values in the process of discussing their perceptions of self and others.

One male cadet used the narrative of hostile or dangerous police situations in relation to the significance of physical strength. He explains that:

"Being on patrol you can be exposed to many situations sometimes volatile and changing fast and you need to control that situation often with force and then you need the physical strength and presence to contain it. Using force to control a situation is

essential for a police officer because the likelihood of violence in encounters can be high and often everything can depend on this. A strong physical presence can make diffusing the situation and be the key to it de-escalating".

Another male cadet told the story of an existing police officer who had to deal with aggressive, abusive male prisoners when friends of the offender appeared and attempted to assist to free their friend. He emphasised that male officers could handle disorderly adults easier than a female officer due to their physical size and strength and the combined force of male officers was crucial.

Controlling situations was a narrative that was enforced by instructors linked to physicality and projection of power. One instructor explains that:

"It begins with how you look and carry yourself [!] Your physical presence is a powerful tool because how you speak or act will be seen and how you look, how you carry yourself and your uniform can project power and authority. This is essential if you want to control a situation and even dominate it such that you control the direction of an encounter. Your ability to use force decisively and effectively is key".

Instructors influenced identification here in terms of physical strength and toughness using different stories to stress the risk and dangers as learning points.

Personal strengths and weaknesses were a further meta-narrative which was raised during a session in which an instructor asked each cadet to tell of any fears of joining the police. A female cadet spoke of physical differences and ability to meet the physical challenges:

"However, this was in the beginning as I have been thinking about it and it doesn't bother as much. As a woman of course I am physically different, but physical size and strength are less and less a deciding factor in policing. At an individual level a women can be equal forceful with the right techniques and tactics. I want to learn them and master them".

Other narratives focused on collective competencies which a female cadet emphasised within a broader policing context explaining that:

"Police officers are more connected, equipped, supported, and trained than ever before. We are not one person, we have many tools, technologies, and resources to draw on and physical strength is not the only way to contain a situation".

Meta-narratives also reflected a strong sense of organisational identity where both instructors and cadets talked of the police in the UAE as a modernising force that was continuously innovating to be the best: *"We want to be the best police force in the world and to use the best techniques, and technologies and have the best trained staff".* There was strong expression of pride by both genders in the police force and the country's vision of innovation and excellence. Women in particular expressed gratitude in being part of an important institution and being part of making society safer.

The findings point to how narratives are used and employed in discursive identity work by police cadets. A key theme is the construction of identity through a discourse of connections that makes connections through various identity talk processes observed in the training sessions. Sacks (1985, p.121) maintains that 'each of us constructs and lives a "narrative" and this narrative is us, our identities'; while for Gergen (1999, p. 70) 'we identify ourselves through narration'. This is played out in these ethnographic results as it was observed that cadets employed discourse through narratives in different ways to convey identifications. These findings underscore the role of discourse in identity work through different modes of talking (Grant et al., 2004).

A major aspect observed in each gender was the repeated practice of self-contextualisation through making connections (Van Maanen, 2010, p1). During the observation sessions female cadets through their rhetoric and narratives consistently appeared to make expressions of themselves. They made connections between themselves and ideas or beliefs or situations. This was evident on many occasions as female cadets' rhetoric connected with their personal history, national and cultural and religious beliefs as well as connections to family members. This supports the approach adopted by Van Maanen (2010) to identity work which highlights how any connection to objects, people, beliefs, feelings, particular times or places that is claimed, ignored or denied is a key element of identity construction. According to Van Manen (2001) such rhetoric and narratives are powerful acts of identification which repeated and conveyed by others can have stabilising and forming effect. Female cadets' rhetoric appeared to emphasise their standing as distinctive within the class.

Identification in discourse can also be conveyed through word choice, gesture, and strong awareness of their audience. The verbalisation of female cadets was reflected in subtle and cautious use of words and tone to avoid offence. It could be characterised as deferential or conciliatory rather than provoking. It is possible they wanted to project a sense of fitting in or being considerate to the culture and being compliant, especially at this early stage.

A salient aspect of cadet behaviour in the observation session is the repeated use of rhetoric that invites responses. Females operating within strict cultural values makes it difficult for them to openly question or criticise. They are unable to avail of self-other negative talk strategies for instance to position or emphasise some aspect of themselves in contrast with some other negative aspect. A more subtle approach is noticed, that requires sensitive and delicate word choice, tone and even timing to challenge a traditional view of policing. This emerges as a critical ingredient or precondition for identity talk for the female cadets and the discourse is almost always tethered to social and cultural values that have been stretched and applied to the police context (Veldman et al., 2017; Loseke, 2007).

Identity talk through provocation or open challenge is not evident rather it is characterised by open invitation. Consistently male cadets decline to take up open invitations to clarify or discuss gender sensitive issues, although a strategy of repetition was evident to promote some engagement by male cadets. This means that invitation over provocation has higher potential to promote reflexivity in others to consider identifications of self that is implicit or explicit in female cadets' narratives. Moreover, this approach by female cadets reflects a strategy of open dialogue around the boundaries of gender roles. Critical in these narratives was the benefit and possibilities offered by female officers in identity talk as a persuasion strategy by demonstrating wherever possible what female officers may offer.

The narratives also appeared to be a process of compromise and co-operation between male and female cadets. Male cadets neither openly resisted but at the same time neither embraced nor ruled out the narratives offered. The effect of this persuasive and reflective strategy was noticeable so that when a male cadet spoke positively of female cadets for example for the first time as "empathisers", this identification was repeated in the narratives by other male and female cadets. Here also the male cadet provides some indication of embracing women into police while at the same time offering some identification that may be acceptable to both genders. The cadet speaking made this connection through a form of synchronic connection using a metaphor. Therefore the discourse identified in this study provides further evidence of the approach to discursive identity work identified by Van Maanen (2010) where cadets identify themselves with a condition, personal feeling or state that are not time bound and contain figures of speech or metaphors. The male cadet used the metaphor of women being able “to see through their eyes” talking of female victims or criminals and making connection with a situation where a police officer must respond to rape or domestic violence against women or children. Identification formation is a combination of positive self-other talk that is connected to a situation, and the extent to which this is viewed as positive by the target can forge the identification through embracing or repetition by others.

How such discourse is verbalised is also one aspect of discourse. There was a sense from the tone and word choice that some female cadets were seeking to generate support and collaboration with predominantly female cadets but also male cadets. For instance, one female cadet sought others to respond and either support or counter her points. In stating that “she had the ability to perform physically in her role as police officer”, she was able to test the level of support or resistance of this self-conceptualisation. In one way this can be seen as exploring boundaries in terms of what is embraced, ignored, or resisted by others.

Storytelling was a major aspect of this discourse. Narratives in Arabic cultures are powerful forms of socialisation, and this is reflected in the dominant use of stories for identification. Stories were used to emphasise a diverse range of acts of identification to emphasise uniqueness, similarities, differences or skills or personal attributes that women can bring to police situations. Some stories emphasised how women can and have performed in certain situations by connecting to historical events. Here there is a form of diachronic connection where individuals link across time or story, providing further support to Van Maanen’s (2010) characterisation of this form of identity work in terms of connections or identity claims made across time through narratives and stories. Female cadets linked back to past events as did instructors and male cadets (Van Maanen, 2010). Identity work was enacted by retelling police stories of past events and action and both male and female cadets were able to hypothesise and propose scenarios about the future. This suggests that a primary way of identity work occurs through the storytelling used to frame identity talk and identification. Male cadets used stories to underline limiting aspects of women in certain policing situations, while female cadets’ discourse often focused on exploring the strengths and value of female officers in certain situations and in general. These stories provide context for reflection focused on sequences of actions during an event and the role of males or females at the beginning, middle or ending of an event.

Female cadets’ narratives alluded to relevant policing situations that were typically problematic or pose challenges to policing and their identifications were then conveyed as solutions to such situations. Thus, female cadets can forge identities through such stories of past police events by proposing creative roles or how they see themselves in these situations. There is strong use of coherence to emphasise rational, common-sense, or logical actions. It can be that stories are critical for female cadets because they have not yet established their own experiences and therefore draw on past other experiences for identification. Multiple studies (Beech and Johnson, 2005; Ibarra, 1999) have shown that people engage in storytelling and the drawing of personal histories during ambiguous situations or events. The police training programme with both female and male cadets is a new context with a high level of uncertainty. Female cadets will have a high level of uncertainty about expectations of resistance by male cadets, while male cadets may be uncertain about how to treat and behave towards female cadets.

Discussion here - Identity through Personal and Organisational Meta-Narratives

In addition to a narrative that constructs identity through a discourse of connections findings evidence identity work that uses personal and organisational meta-narratives. The use of metanarratives by female cadets to differentiate themselves is also visible from which they articulate identities as policewomen. In terms of social identities wider cultural and historical influences are held to shape identities and provide identity expressions, norms, pressures, and solutions (Alvesson et al., 2008a). Such influences are referred to as ‘meta-narratives’, that are a constant and powerful element of commonplace sensemaking and which can act to set boundaries on individual discretion to construct identity, particularly in strong cultural settings (Ybema et al., 2009). While constrained by the religious and cultural values female cadets’ use of metanarratives is significant to establish some boundaries and address possible internal doubt and conflict in relation to their identity as police officers. There were many uses of metanarratives around family values, cultural values, or policing narratives. For instance, female cadets may be discomfited by the notion of abandoning their traditional family role and to address this dissonance draw on metanarratives that constitute salient aspects of their identity in relation to the meta-narratives. This supports Ybema et al's., (2009) assertion of meta-narratives as key aspects of sensemaking especially in strong cultural contexts where there are limits to autonomy and individuality in identity making. This is also consistent with research by Essers and Benschop (2009) revealing that Muslim women entrepreneurs employed several creative discursive strategies to accommodate and reconstruct the resilient meta-narratives which define the limits of their sociality. Metanarratives by male cadets are reflective of normative orientations as a tactic to assert and retain traditional masculine identities for police. Such narratives describe police situations to resist and safeguard identities. There is support for research by Clarke et al., (2009) who showed that managers effect a 'solution' to their threatened identities by reconfiguring and reasserting the moral character of their 'selves'. So, within the bounds of the available discursive regimes social actors may carve out situated identities or subject positions for themselves and others.

4.3.2.2 Verbalising Self Identity

Much of the female cadet discourse focused on self-talk rather than group talk in terms of female officers. In much of the verbalisation of female cadets during the sessions when they were invited to speak about their strengths or important attributes they brought to policing there was frequent use of professional adjectives including the word professional:

"I think I can be a highly professional police officer and perform to high standards. I know I can be very committed and focused working competently in any area of policing that I apply myself".

Other cadets spoke in similar terms but appended with beliefs in ability to grow into specialisms or roles including communication specialist, operational specialist, forensic, cybercrime or elite female protection. One cadet emphasised her role as a specialist reflecting on her personal abilities:

“I have a mathematical and analytical mind and I think that makes me suited to a career in policing but also to perform highly in some roles more than others such as cybercrime or information intelligence”.

In another example a female cadet emphasised technical skills stating that:

“Policing relies on many different and new technologies that are always changing and that can help fight crime in very innovative ways. I have a strong interest and ability in technology and programming. I’m looking forward to working in an area where there is large demand for people who have advanced digital competencies. These skills are rare, and we need more people in the police with a high level of technical ability”.

In some of the discourse female cadets spoke of themselves as newcomers with a need to show that they can do the job. One cadet commented:

“Even though there are women in policing now, I think we need to develop our confidence and ability to show that we can handle any areas of policing. I think I have the right attitude and strength in mind that I can endure and perform to high standards and show that women can make a big difference to society”.

Another female cadet framed this point by referencing the public perception of women police officers saying:

“I know that some of the public may think that Emirati women do not belong in policing and that it is too dangerous or challenging emotionally, physically or even inappropriate for our culture, but it is still early, and we are being given a chance to show that we are not only capable but that we can make a positive contribution”.

Identity self-talk was characterised by female cadets talking tough with explicit statements about their ability to adopt and assume ‘essential’ tough attributes of policing. A female cadet spoke of being *“ready to do what it takes, and I know I can cope with any aspect of the job. If it must be tough, aggressive or project authority or strength I can do it.”* This idea of being ready and capable to endure tough situations when needed was consistent in the discourse among female cadets. Another female cadet commented on her ability to assume multiple identities:

“Women are flexible and resilient and if I need to be strong, forward and aggressive in situations, then I can be like that and if I need to show empathy or sensitivity in some situations also it is possible”.

Envisioning multiple identities through a rational logic process emerged as a key theme in how female police cadets verbalised their self-identity. It is evident that cadets both male and female accept and conform to gender identity boundaries but at the same time engage in constructing multiple identities by drawing on a range of discourse and narratives that reflect exploration and co-operation rather than resistance or challenge. Within the context of gender identity female cadets envisage their identity as a supportive group by emphasising different emotional and behavioural traits. Female cadets characterised themselves as empathetic, peace-making, diplomatic, and approachable. Both female and male cadets envisage female officers as adding a new dimension of empathy and care to police situations and added support to male officers in specific situations. Males were perceived as dominant and the enforcers and female officers as empathetic, approachable, and supportive in those specific gender roles.

While female cadets do not reject this identification they nevertheless rely on multiple envisioning of their identity. By voicing their interests in alternative domains, it reduces the potential for conflict or resistance. There is less resistance to this form of identity work and for some female cadets it offers initial legitimacy for women police officers. One cadet stressed that this may be how female police officers are perceived now but identity work is evident to establish progression and opportunities to develop and grow roles in policing in a culturally sensitive way. It was evident that female cadets have ambitions and broader perception of their future identities.

Female cadets envision multiple identities whereas male cadets emphasise characteristics of identity in reference to hegemonic values and masculine stereotypes. Discourse thus alluded to a process of envisioning multiple identity possibilities drawing on rational and logical police work. Cadets’ narratives emphasised different identity possibilities linked to the different roles and policing practices resulting in multiple traditional and contemporary identity constructions.

For female cadets efficacy beliefs verbalised around functions and competencies for different police contexts and requirements. In this way cadets are envisioning possible identities based on professional aspects and dimensions of police work. As newcomers in training due to their inexperience cadets' discourse is based on informational or vicarious experiences of others. Furthermore, female cadets visualise multiple identities that expand beyond normative values and allow for diverse expressions of self within policing. This is supported by more contemporary national values that provide some scope for advancement of women underlying opportunities for multiple identities. National identity narratives have emphasised tolerance and happiness and adherence to international norms (Freer, 2021) while organisational values emphasise participation of women in different roles, modernisation, and the collective effort to achieve radical innovation and excellence in policing. A major organisational narrative that reinforces an organisational identity is that of an elite and modernising force that is approachable and caring.

This narrative appears to provide an important influence on female cadets' identification in envisioning different perceptions of self. Women as catalysts for change and innovation is a new perspective that can be offered as female and based on the view of unique traits that women may possess that creates impetus for change. The rhetoric around this view is subtle emphasising women are not the innovators but that they offer additional new perspectives that can stimulate new ideas and stressing the value-added co-operative element broadening the pool of intellectual capital.

Female cadet identity was associated by women with more scientific and analytical components of policing while that of male cadets' identity with frontline operational aspects of policing. In contrast to male cadets, female cadets construct a much broader portfolio of identities by drawing on organisational and social narratives and values to position and justify their identities that attempts to negotiate gender differences. By creating these portfolio of identities female cadets provide a flexible identity context by signalling a range of possibilities that are justified through storytelling and narratives anchored in social and cultural values. This is evident through both verbal and non-verbal processes where for instance an initial identification of police as technologists and cyberwar evolved through collective dialogue of elaboration of what police cybercrime specialists need to be and what they do.

4.3.2.3 Resisting

Some discourse centred on emphasising physical constraints of female officers which emerged through discussion of tactics for restraining and controlling violent situations. In such discourse there is some indication of resistance by cadet workers as a mode of identity work evidenced in some of the training sessions. Several male cadets expressed their opinion that physical strength was an important element of police work and fundamental for carrying out tasks or roles. A male cadet explained that some situations or duties required a lot of physical strength and *"we need to show, or the public should see we have this strength".* Several male cadets during some of the training sessions voiced their view that women may not possess the physical strengths and attributes to cope and provide necessary support for physical situations. This appeared to draw support from other male cadets who nodded their heads in agreement. Other male cadet comments supported this view and suggested that women's physical readiness for police work was conditional on their level of training and skills. Occasionally such resistance was balanced with the perspective that suggested female cadets as capable of developing a strong presence based on defence training and level of physical fitness.

In contrast, female cadets appeared to avoid discussions around physicality, and the discourse was focused significantly on technical competencies. Some tension was evident among female cadets and hesitancy to speak out on gender discourses and in some cases female cadets would reframe the discussion to focus on competencies for the situation rather than gender traits.

Female cadets made use of technical language around different specialist areas of policing to portray their knowledgeable identity and depth of expertise. Much of this was theoretical and it was apparent female cadets had studied these areas in depth prior to the academy. Much of their explanations were highly technical and detailed and making use of contemporary developments of policing. It was apparent that technical and specialist language was used as a tactic to develop a knowledgeable identity or project a sense of commitment and awareness.

The findings point to the employment of positive self-talk to construct identities and provide insight into how it is used. Some discourse conveying positive statements of self by female cadets assumed a logical and consistent form to project favourable aspects of self. This is consistent with the notion of coherence to emphasise unique or positive quality in relation to others to establish legitimate standing in the eyes of others (Watson, 2009). The literature underlines this type of identity discourse as ‘establishing to oneself and others that one is a good person’ (Ybema et al., 2009, p. 312) and it surfaces the ‘ongoing mental activity that an individual undertakes in constructing an understanding of self that is coherent, distinct and positively valued’ (Alvesson et al., 2008a, p14).

In terms of self-other identity talk, this form was mostly employed by male cadets to counter or offer some resistance to identification statements by police female officers. There was evidence of positive-self ‘negative-other’ based on masculine policing identities. Cadets used narratives to position themselves as a distinct group from female officers in some police situations. The discourse from some female cadets reflected attempts to justify their position in policing. This points to consistency with tactics identified by Gagnon (2008) to justify the programme and its aims and to demonstrate affiliation to the programme. This may reflect responses to an uncertain and fragile context, where males’ original perceptions of police work and their identity is challenged by the presence of female officers.

Findings further show that some of the discourse focused on self-group identity talk in terms of identifications based on perceived membership of different groups. The most notable grouping was discourse around gender as distinct groups. Cadet narratives served to identify and highlight traits and aspects of different group identities. Use of in-group rhetoric with repeated referencing to ‘we’ in relation to group categorisations was based on issues, challenges, concerns or abilities and roles. There are positive intergroup comparisons that gives meaning to the group. This finding is consistent with the importance placed on self-categorisation as a form of identity work in the literature. Self-categorisation has been identified as a core construct in individuals in the process of identity construction (Clegg et al., 2007; Beech and Sims, 2007; Ainsworth and Hardy, 2004). In Ashmore et al.’s (2004) framework, self-categorisation not only describes the cognitive placing of oneself into a social category, but also includes the extent to which individuals perceive themselves as prototypical of and like other members of their group. That is, individuals tend to stereotype themselves in terms of the ingroup stereotype.

Female cadets’ narratives conveyed a sense of pride in being women police officers and around rhetoric that emphasised the importance of women in bringing to policing some distinctive aspects and attributes. This is consistent with the work of Ashmore et al., (2004) who showed that social identification consists of evaluation and importance components. Female cadets’ narratives were depersonalised focusing on group rhetoric of ‘us’, ‘we’ ‘women’ and forging group identity through evaluating their roles and emphasising those unique aspects. In this way female cadets were able to reinforce their self-image through positive justifications. This aligns with Gagnon (2008) who shows that actions such as expressing pride and gratitude in being part of a group or programme are discursive tactics used by people to construct their identities by demonstrating affiliation with a group. This was reinforced by interactions between female cadets, with smiles, eye contact, nodding that conveyed a sense of shared understanding, bonding, and connectedness between female cadets. Women police officers as a distinctive group was reinforced by affective attachment to that group through gestures and verbalisations between female cadets, for instance demonstrating support by acknowledgement or pride in women officers. Two factors are notable that emphasised this group identity. Firstly, the stark contrast in responses to female verbalisation between male cadets to female cadets served to reinforced gender identity; secondly, the spatial segregation and physical grouping of males and females.

A prominent aspect of the discourse of male cadets is the focus on self in relation to job or pointing out similarities and differences between genders. According to Jenkins this process serves to establish boundaries that define and characterise groups of differences (Jenkins, 2014, p. 5; Czarniawska, 1997). In contrast social identification by female cadets was dominant self-categorising discourse. Female cadets appear to forge a sense of collective identity by categorising themselves in different group roles. Some discourse consisted of cognitive situating of self into specific policing categories or role, which emphasised the extent to which they perceive belonging to such a group including specialist police roles or policing groups such as forensics, cybercrime, or homicide. In some cases, this was envisaging more abstract identifications such as innovators or technologists for instance with rhetoric evaluating police officers that were able to contribute new ideas and approaches. Central to identity work of cadets was narratives of being the best police force in the Arab world and in the world generally that was informed by organisational and national narratives. Female cadets for instance emphasised their personal attributes in relation to essential aspects of these groups, even yet as newcomers in training they have not officially been a part of those groups. This supports studies that have emphasised identification construction through a continuous process of social comparison with occupational group identities (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999, p. 417).

Identity work by female cadets consisted of social identifications with existing occupational identities but also around contemporary groupings based on technology, innovation, and values beyond traditional policing. In the latter case, rhetoric emphasised both attachment and situating of self with occupational identifies that are central to policing but also envisioning or discussing their personal values in relation to groups identified as technologist, social media savvy, digitally competent or cyber guardians. This aligns with research which shows that occupations tend to form their own cultures, separate and distinct from an organisation's culture. These cultures can encourage ethnocentrism and a sense of group superiority (Trice, 1993; Van Maanen and Barley, 1984).

Again, such discourse was situated in stories based on past personal experiences and knowledge that the literature has found as a mechanism for constructing representations of social groups and managing bonds (Bochner et al., 2000; Edwards, 1997). This is consistent with one area of that research (Thompson and Fine, 1999; Higgins, 1992; Clark and Brennan, 1991) that posits social identification as facilitating affective and cognitive exchanges that enables people to engage in sense-making and create shared understandings. Further, this discourse concentrated on collective identifications that pointed to group dynamics and police situations that bound them together. Female cadets’ narratives were based on different police specialist functions with references to teamwork and belonging to address specific police challenges in that role and importance of working together. The strength of this identification was more evident in female cadets in terms of both the quality and the repeated narratives that emphasised collective aspects of policing on patrol or in dangerous situations. This provides further empirical evidence to support the cogency of social identification theory which underscores a move of ‘depersonalisation or seeing the self as an embodiment of the in-group prototype’ (Alvesson, 2008a; Stets and Burke, 2000, p. 231). Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974) highlighted the concept of a collective identity in defining who a person is by their group memberships, that provides a real sense of pride and self-esteem through belonging and positive affiliation within the social world. This allows people to draw strength as part of a collective identity, through their positive affiliation with the group (Schildkraut, 2007).

Identifying with specialist functions and groups was evident in discourse in which female cadets demonstrated their knowledge of the challenges. This conveys an affiliation and promotes a shared sense of understanding to others. The literature shows social identity is dependent on a highly subjective judgement of what others perceive a group is about and the recognition of others to confirm that identity. In other words, that a group exists with knowledge of its values and how it works together. This is achieved by adhering to their understanding of traits and characteristics that they understand (Reid and Deaux, 1996), linking the memory people attribute to the different groups to which they belong and how they behave.

4.3.3 Cognitive Patterns of Identity Work

The different modes of identity construction and strategies are consistent in many respects to different cognitive patterns of identity work observed. A key theme is a type of approach to identity work based on exploring and testing out ideas that is consistent with the cognitive aspect of identity work. This was significantly more intensive for female cadets' identifications that were constructed through technical, skilled, technological personas of policing work to offer an array of possibilities.

The results showed that the envisioning of identities and discursive processes of identity were bound in cognitive strategies of identity work such as categorisation of professional self, professional and personal recollections, reflection, learning and problem-solving and reasoning.

In observing the verbal interactions between cadets especially male and female, the latter appeared be highly selective in terms of the comments made by male cadets and giving attention to those comments. For instance, when those comments emphasised gender roles, female cadets would respond and extend the scope of their abilities beyond that scope and moving attention or the focus of the discussion to police processes and the relevant competencies.

It could also be observed among a small number of female cadets' acceptance of physical limits and acceptance for genderised roles. One female aligned with genderised roles stating that:

"I think that as women we can assume these roles more effectively because we can empathise and build closer connection with female and child victims both to provide support and also gather evidence."

In an interview another female cadet supported this view stating that:

"In our culture there are limits to interaction between men and women, so there is automatically some distance between males and females which means that women will be less open to male officers".

The acceptance of male dominance in policing is also reflected within a wider normative view of women in society. However, in an interview a female cadet made a comparison with other countries stating that:

"I think compared to other countries women have a lot of equality and we have significant opportunity to participate in all areas of policing. We can assume any role we want if we can demonstrate competency for that role."

Another female and male cadet also emphasised acceptance and the progress and change that was occurring:

"It is always very hard to accept the fact that sometimes women will lead men officers and it is a culture that is hard to change but still resistance is normal in any community, and it is being changed now. Women will have chance to take the lead and increasingly assume key roles".

This is consistent with a view of progress from a male officer completing one year of service:

"At the moment there is a lot of bias in terms of the numbers of men to women. This is normal because women only recently joined the force. So, all decision-making and power is controlled by male officers. I think some balance can come with female officers being promoted with experience and capability whenever possible. This changes the image of officers from the traditional view and gives a more diverse view of women officers. It will open opportunities for mentoring and communication between lower and higher ranks".

Another male officer emphasised the changing context as more women police officers engaged in police work overtime:

“Female officers are treated in a gentle and respectful way, and they are seen as vulnerable and fragile to be safeguarded. Male officers feel like the protectors, but this is changing slowly, and the culture will change as women show they are capable”.

Identity construction is influenced by the extent to which both male and female cadets view the structure and culture of policing. It was evident that males and females viewed the structure and roles as evolving and changing in which traditional values and norms were not paramount. Cadets appeared to perceive a consistent and clear view of policing culture in that formally women had a clear role and opportunities to progress and there was adequate management and national support for women in policing. This appears to feed into organisational identity in terms of a meaningful vision of policing.

This influenced female cadets’ envisioning of multiple identities and leadership identities. Acceptance of gender role and supportive roles of women to male cadets was perceived as a necessary identification but simultaneously that there was scope for exploring other identities especially leadership and occupational identities contingent on their performance.

The extent to which female cadets projected acceptance varied with some offering different perceptions of identity of self. A female cadet in an interview separated herself as a woman, saying: *“I don’t see myself as a woman doing a male job, I am a police officer and I think of the responsibilities of a police officer”.* A female police officer interviewed post-graduation also separated gender identity from that of police officer, emphasising a team identity linked entirely to membership based on status as a police officer regardless of gender:

“Since I completed the academy and become operational, I have felt more of a team or belonging aspect to my identity. I believe as an officer now I'm a motivated and dedicated member that is willing to be a part of every possible opportunity I can grasp to achieve the greater good for the team”.

One cadet appeared to prioritise her identities as follows:

“First and most importantly, I am a police officer we do something meaningful and important, and I am part of that, and I will do what is needed for my unit or team in any situation. Secondly, I have interests in forensics, data, and analysis and this will shape what kind of officer I will become and be part of a dedicated specialist team and

possess deep expertise in an area. Thirdly, I am a woman, and I think as a female officer I can provide this perspective to investigations and be able to relate to victims and citizens in a different way to male officers".

It was evident that both male and female cadets rationalised their identities as evolving over time in relation to work situations and reflecting on the challenges and the type of officers needed. One cadet stated:

"We will need to become officers that can understand new and difficult situations and be able to adapt to new threats in society and have strong resilience and strong mental states. Policing is always changing, the technologies and techniques are always changing and evolving, and the threats are ever changing, and so we need to be adaptive and think about our abilities for a new level of professionalism".

This sense of gradual and ongoing identity development was echoed by a female graduate of the policing academy who reflected that this work was shaped by job experiences and others' evaluations:

"You can only develop your own identity slowly and with experience and time. You must fit in first and gain acceptance from shared experiences and completing assignments."

Female identity construction was evidently influenced by how female and male cadets viewed the role and leadership opportunities open to them and gender differences in response. In interviews women police officers projected a competency-based vision of role opportunities that was based on skills and capabilities rather than gender identities:

"During crime scenes both male and female officers will agree that the lead status depends on capabilities…usually it depends on the capabilities of the person and never on the gender, so they take equal opportunities based on how good they are".

Another female police officer stated that *"…I think in our institution women are getting their fair share as we have even female officers who reach higher ranks like brigadiers".*

Among some female police officers there was perception that gender influenced role opportunity based on cultural and self-perceptions of identity. It appeared that genderised perceptions of appropriate roles for women among male officers at all levels were perceived to impact the opportunities available to them. One female police officer pointed to specialisms she perceived as considered appropriate by male colleagues:

"I think many officers see it as an inevitable and even necessary development. I think they do see us working special roles especially in female related and youth or domestic crimes".

Another police officer highlighted male perceptions of subordinate roles to male leadership for female officers: *"Even though in theory women have equal status and opportunity as males, they still see women primarily as supportive".*

Self-perceptions of gender identity were also rationalised to influence role opportunities based on perceived differences in how male and female officers responded to potential opportunities. One female police officer viewed male officers as more competitive than female officers in taking advantage of opportunities:

"I can see now that we have equal opportunities…as officially we have equal opportunities to any role, and we are treated the same as male officers. Of course, as far as I know, female officers can perform any duty they are willing to have and proceed with. However, I think male officers put themselves forward more aggressively for certain roles than female officers".

On the other hand, one female police officer believed that women's own perceptions of themselves could act as a barrier to undertaking diverse roles, saying: *"I think some women are more reluctant or better to say avoiding of conflict, and some need more confidence to go for certain roles".*

The findings point to the use of selective cognitive strategies to engage in identity work. Firstly, female cadets emphasised a cognitive hierarchy of different identities: as police officer; specialist; then as female officer. Discourse was focused on the first two levels rather than identity as a female officer. This suggests that female cadets were cognitively focusing on non-gender aspects of identity that is to some degree compartmentalised and emphasises more positive identifications without seeking to confront genderised issues. This allows female cadets to construct identities that focus on gender-neutral attributes. This is possibly associated with the difficulty in accepting or confronting traditional and genderised identity roles or contradicting self-values about the role of women. It appears female cadets counter and address this through selective cognitive processing. Female cadets choose issues that allowed them to demonstrate their potential beyond gender roles.

Within this process cognitive discourse was characterised by three types of strategies observed: reframing, negotiating, and avoiding. Female cadets adapted and reframed their gender identity such that it incorporated highly professionalised elements and expanded their possible sphere of involvement. Identity work by female cadets involved attempting to negotiate alternative perspectives of female cadets reflected in their discourse with male cadets. This was achieved primarily through conveying benefits and symbiotic relationship between male and female officers in different crime situations. Female cadets attempted to resolve gender discourse by repositing cognitively through reasoning and describing the benefits of women in police situations beyond the perceived stereotypical benefits towards more professional, competency-based benefits. Emphasising such benefits reflects a major reframing of male and female identity as partnership that is symbiotic rather than subordinate. Reframing of gender roles focused on professional and value-based attributes and emphasising investigative potential of female officers as an important competency. This shifted attention toward investigative and specialist aspects and selectively focusing on criminal processes. They associated themselves with a wide range of professional attributes and desirable aspects of police work. This adds to some studies on minority groups which show identity work is balanced between accepting restrictive aspects and proactively exploring opportunities and managing constraints (Syed and Özbilgin, 2009; Essers et al., 2013; Essers and Benschop, 2009).

Female cadets appeared to exercise a greater level of evaluation in questioning and exploring different scenarios in policing situations and positing different possibilities in dealing with situations. In most cases, they situated themselves in different police contexts often using “I” pronoun and suggesting I can, or I would, or I should. A major aspect of this was positing different hypotheses regarding the tactics or outcomes. In all the course sessions and all topics this was a consistent feature and female cadets would connect their personal abilities or reflect on them in relation to different practices. A major aspect of this was explaining and justifying their role through knowledge and competencies. Female cadets were constructivist in their approach exploring in-depth situations and exploring alternative beliefs and reasonings in the policing situations. A significant part of this exploration focused on a more relational approach to policing emphasising communication over force or to explore people's beliefs and motives.

In contrast male cadets appeared more accepting of teaching principles of instructors across topics and were less likely to explore and evaluate possibilities than female cadets. Female cadets were more likely to posit different problem contexts and seek explanation and information for dealing with such situations. They also appeared more flexible and open to different ideas and behaviours about people in different police situations. Male cadets were notable for avoiding potentially sensitive issues around the role of women in policing. There was lack of negative or critical comments about female capabilities. Rather they reserved judgement in the most part whenever discussion about physicality or mental toughness was visited either by the instructor or by cadets when evaluating requisites of police situations. Only two male cadets participated in discussion of physicality or gender roles with most male cadets avoiding this topic. One male cadet was observed balancing the debate by offering both sides of the debate while emphasising the value of women in policing. A female cadet observed: *"There is a lot of value in being accepted by male officers because it is still male dominated but at the same time there is opportunity to be recognised for your success as a police officer, male or female".* Often the possibilities offered by female cadets were not endorsed by male cadets in any explicit way.

The results show that a major feature observable in females' identity work was knowledge absorption and sharing that was characterised by search and evaluation of police curriculum during the classes. In part this can be seen as performance strategy but also a cognitive information processing strategy. During classroom discussions female cadets were far more likely to recall technical information and case studies than males and use this to question and explore police situations and develop their understanding. Proactively learning thus was a key strategy for identity work employed by female cadets that also informed professional identifications that were flexible and openly reflexive as female cadets shared their perceptions with each other and collectively developed different identities for female officers. This is consistent with evidence in the literature which shows a distinct tendency for women to create a professional identity based on developing expertise and specialism in specific disciplines in their chosen field (Tourinho and Neno, 2003). An explanation for this could link to the saliency of expert knowledge in enabling professional performance in different tasks and roles (Gao et al., 2008). Rather than speaking of self female cadets enacted a notion of competency in policing through learning and reflection on specialist topics. Such knowledge is secular and does not involve inner valuations or personal belief systems and is therefore less connected to the self (Gao et al., 2008).

Within these strategies, there is a strong socio-cognitive dimension to female identity work because female discourse significantly centres around self-efficacy or in other words "belief in his or her capacity to execute behaviours necessary to produce specific performance attainments" (Bandura, 1977). Female cadets were observed enacting identity construction through four of the SCT meditational processes: attention, retention, reproduction, and motivation. Notably, the extent to which cadets can demonstrate and reproduce practical operational police behaviours is limited in the academy, yet female cadets more than male cadets exhibited higher levels of attention, retention, and motivation. Thus, for female cadets' identity may well be a process of learning and developing identity in response to social factors and others. A notable aspect of this was seeking information from instructors by asking questions and elaborations about how they perform and deal with different policing situations. Thus, cadets can draw out information about different choices in the policing context that possibly informs their identity construction based on rational explanations rather than their own perceptions. This aligns with distinctions made in the literature in relation to the existence of different identity processing styles among individuals linked to the cognitive processes and strategies they prefer to use when dealing with identity construction and issues. Female cadets in this study appear to favour an informational processing style that research shows is associated with the conscious seeking out and evaluation of identity-relevant information, greater openness to ideas and values, cognitive complexity, and adoption of rational approaches and explanations in identity construction (Berzonsky, 2004a; Epstein et al., 1996). Information-oriented people tend to make defensible decisions about which options or views are preferable to others in relation to a set of rules, standards, or criteria (Krettenauer, 2005; Berzonsky, 2004a; Caputi and Oades, 2001). Those with an informational identity style may not have formed established commitments to a particular work identity and may be engaged in exploring different goals and standards (Berzonsky and Luyckx, 2008).

In contrast, while male cadets offered multiple constructions of what it is to be a police officer, they emphasised their interests and preferred roles alongside traditional identifications of policing. In some cases, the discourse conveyed strong and authoritative identities of policing and emphasis on being tough on criminals and solving crimes. Male cadets however exhibited a lower level of inquiry or cognitive processing or openness that might infer a more internalised identity process. Therefore, male cadets' contrast with female in adopting a more normative identity-processing style that the literature shows is associated with internalising the goals, values, and standards of significant others (Berzonsky et al., 2003). Normative styles are associated with efforts to preserve existing belief and value systems (Dollinger, 1995; Berzonsky and Sullivan, 1992). Cadets were engaged in constructing multiple identities that are significantly influenced by the cultural context. For male cadets' identity work is anchored in policing and social values that focuses on preserving traditional and masculine identifications of policing based on tactic of retaining as opposed to adding that is evident with female cadets (Ibarra, 1999). The literature suggests that individuals with normative orientation tend to automatically internalise established norms and values from others or their cultural context (Langer, 1989) and thus have a low tolerance for ambiguity and a high need to maintain structure and cognitive closure (Dollinger, 1995; Berzonsky and Sullivan, 1992; Berzonsky, 1990).

Further, cadets' discourse evidenced cognitive identity work that is reflected in both male and female cadets' discourse that provides evaluation and reflection to make identity salient. Mental efforts evidence is consistent with the literature emphasising self-reflective and self-questioning sensemaking (Killian and Johnson, 2006; Beech et al., 2008). Female cadets who were less vocal and involved particularly in the learning content around physical and dangerous policing roles were perhaps perceived as less interested or cautious or not capable in those areas. There are instances of what Curchod et al., (2014) call 'categorical selves' where actors have subjective interpretations of what they can cope with and endure. There are also instances of where actors might associate challenging conditions in homicide cases, working with corpses and viewing autopsies as pertinent aspects of police work they can face. This cognitive mode was once again prominent in storytelling form with cadets drawing on personal experiences and knowledge to provide accounts of challenges of police work and portray their relevance to themselves. It was evident as cadets are exposed to and discussed different functions of policing, specific attributes communicated the type of officer or traits essential for that work.

4.3.4 Behavioural Patterns of Identity Work

A further theme that emerged was validation of identity constructions through behavioural processes of identity work. Cadets were observed for their behaviours during classroom and physical training sessions on the programme. These observations captured interactions between cadets and instructors and individual actions in terms of verbal and non-verbal communications and physical actions.

There was evidence of a gender divide as women cadets separated themselves from male cadets by sitting at the back of the class. They appeared nervous and they consistently deferred or allowed male cadets to lead discussions. This was clear physically in the seating arrangements with female cadets sitting together in one cluster to the back or one side of the room.

There was a major difference between male cadets and female cadets when contributing to discussions in the classroom. Male cadets’ points or comments were succinct and focused and they conveyed a sense of matter of fact which was reflected in a more confident or authoritative tone. Further, male cadets across all sessions were proactive in their interaction during discussions and taking the lead and putting points forward.

In contrast female cadets were cautious in expressing themselves verbally both in terms of the choice of words and tone used. There was a sense in the way that they expressed themselves that they had lower self-confidence than men. Frequently words and expressions were used to preface their discourse such as: *"I don't know if this is right…"* or *"I'm not sure but…".* In most cases female cadets’ comments are lengthy, as they try harder to justify or make the case for their point.

Women cadets were more selective in their communication and appeared to be more passive and reactive and seldom choosing to start new discussion threads or proactively voicing their opinions but rather waiting to be asked for their views on the existing topic under discussion. There was significantly more notetaking and questioning of specific points and exploration of possibilities in different police situations. When asked or when choosing to contribute women brainstormed and offered ideas, contextual points, gave examples, questioned other female colleagues and instructors, or shared experiences.

There was also a clear gender divide in the reception given to the contributions of male and female cadets. In most cases, where a point was made by a male cadet it received some level of support or acknowledgement by other males. Female cadets were more likely to build on or follow-up on male cadets' points, than male cadets on female points. There is a strong sense that women must prove themselves. When male cadets make a point there is wider acknowledgement and acceptance from both men and women. When female cadets put forward a point or question, there was fewer acknowledgements from both women and men. Women in the group would immediately scan males’ facial expressions or the instructors for cues.

It was evident that both male and female cadets were careful in their verbalisations in terms of both the tone used and the choice of words and stories. Furthermore, in terms of verbal expressions, most female cadets spoke cautiously and appeared often to defer and allow male cadets to take the lead. For the most part, female cadets were more likely to join debate to seek elaboration or raise questions than taking the lead on points. On the one hand it appeared or there was a sense that women valued themselves less than males, that is reflected in how they expressed themselves and their self-esteem and confidence. On the other hand, some women came across as silent but focused, biding their time, concentrating, scoping, and learning before engaging. One female cadet was the only one that consistently voiced her opinion and often took the lead projecting her knowledge and level of confidence.

In interviews with officers in their first year after graduation female officers’ view was that male officers were more likely to deal with situations by physically engaging while she and other female officers relied predominantly on dialogue and reasoning:

“I think there are different responses when dealing with the citizens, and some female officers mirror their partner and act tough, while some believe in being open and approachable on first contact”.

Another female officer stressed that she wanted to project herself as hard working and willing to learn what her mentor/partner [male] taught and to take her lead about how to act from him.

“I want to be a good officer and be accepted and seen as a good officer. If I follow the lead of my partner and learn from him then I will develop and progress and earn respect.”

This was consistent with the view of another female officer stating:

“We can work alongside men and take their lead, because the mentors or partners are mostly experienced and/or senior male officers, and therefore we are in a largely subordinate role. Therefore, I will observe and learn and follow his example and act in a similar way. I think that is expected”.

All officers appeared to understand how policing as an institution perceives what is desirable in officers. The style of policing organisation-wide reflected strong leadership, viewed as forceful and capable of securing obedience to the law. A female officer stated that:

“No matter what kind of identity you perceive of yourself as an officer, there is strong organisational identity of what and how you should behave, and you conform to this almost automatically alongside your mentor”.

This was consistent with the view of another female police officer who acknowledged the significance of working to fit in with what was perceived as a highly established work culture:

“There is strong attachment to rank, and hierarchy and these groups are important. You see the different positions and you know that you are a newcomer as a graduate and as a woman. So, you must work hard and do all that is expected of you and do the work no-one wants to do”.

Male cadets described their experience and how their perceived themselves and others in terms of mental and emotional toughness. A male cadet stated:

“Being a police officer really is about mental and emotional toughness. Many situations are frustrating and challenging, and there can be victims and suspects who can be emotional, deceitful, and evasive and you must be hardened to this and at the

same time be physically ready. If you can cope with this, then you can earn the respect of the experienced and senior officers".

A female officer also explained that:

"All the new officers want to fit in and gain acceptance by the force and the ways to do this are to work hard and put in effort and be obedient and fit with your partner".

The most dominant form of fitting in observed was in validating identity through performance. Female cadets during physical training sessions, even though they are segregated, demonstrated a consistently high level of physicality, endurance, and effort. Such actions can serve to enhance their identifications. For instance, the story and narratives from instructors, "they are doing well…keeping pace. performing well" were responses to performance of female cadets during training sessions that enhance female cadets' identifications. Their identities are situated and influenced by external social interactions, narratives, and situation. This is consistent with other research which underlines physical effort to convincingly project identity of self (Van Maanen, 2010) and research on Muslim women which finds that effort, working hard and achieving goals is associated with justification of a work-related identity (Berger et al., 2017).

While physical activities were separate for female cadets with instructors and other female cadets as their audience, they displayed an intense level of commitment to the activities. In this situation it is possible that female cadets used display of fitness, endurance, and stamina as a physical mode of identity work to make their identity salient in terms of projecting an image of strength, fitness, and overall toughness. This effort is consistent with other studies that evidenced identity construction through long hours, hard work (Kuhn and Nelson, 2002; Coser, 1974) and passionate conduct of key work activities (Coupland, 2015; Kachtan and Wasserman, 2015; Pratt and Foreman, 2000). This can also be seen as a form of resistance to weaker physical and mental image of women in policing. Physical training represents a specific situation as cadets to display and forge a positive view of women in policing through displays of physical and mental toughness during such sessions. This is consistent with research by Courpasson and Monties (2017) which found that physical and mental pressures were an essential aspect of feeling like a 'true cop'. Toughness was a key identifier and associated with an internal sense of prestige. Thus, female cadets were able to generate a sense of toughness to self and others by engaging in physical and mental tasks.

The observations also suggest that identity construction can be influenced by different levels of commitment and involvement. A higher level of commitment and involvement may be associated with identification ‘I am ready to be cop’. This is consistent with the different narratives of female cadets during the classroom sessions. Some of the more vocal cadets were displaying a higher level of involvement to discuss policing situations, offer personal experiences and provide perspectives that projected an image of readiness and enthusiasm.

Male behaviour drew on the assumption of seniority and power over female officers. A newly graduated male officer conveyed expectation to assume a senior role and be a mentor to female officers saying:

“The culture and numbers mean it is likely that I will mentor a female officer and it will be normal for her to learn from me and follow my instructions. I think also promotion will be based on those that can show strong discipline and power”.

This was consistent with how female officers viewed male behaviour based on perceived male expectations of the assumption of leadership. One female officer said: *“So they talk and behave with the idea that they are dominant and leaders that should be followed precisely”.*

Another female police officer emphasised the implication for female officer behaviour:

“Male officers will always take the lead because male cadets outnumber females, and new female cadets will always be paired with an experienced officer. Therefore, male officers will always take the lead, so we are always viewed in a supportive and trainee role and must prove ourselves”.

In interview one female police officer suggested male officers reacted to female leadership with a passive resistance based on building closer male networks and in-group information sharing, saying:

“Male officers fear being embarrassed or humiliated by female officers, especially if they take lead roles or are promoted over them. I think this is a challenge and feeds into some resistance in subtle ways. They build closer relations with superiors which

is less easy for females, or they don't share information as easily, so sometimes we look uncertain".

The ability of male officers to create social and professional networks generally closed to female officers was supported by another female officer:

"Male officers have better access to develop professional relations and communication with male officers. Female officers must be careful and more formal than male officers. This is a disadvantage".

Another female officer suggested that females were not always viewed to play a supportive role dependent on their level of self-confidence and willingness to actively engage in leadership roles:

"A few confident female officers involve themselves intensively in discussions and take lead to make suggestions or volunteer for activities. I think this creates a little tension with male officers but it's not damaging but they are viewed as strong and confident".

A female officer suggested some conflict between her sense of self and her identity construction saying that:

"I know what kind of officer I want to be. I have interest in connecting with people and being open and approachable. But I also know that the culture is looking for strong dominant leaders and so I need to act this way if I want to be promoted and lead and to choose my pathway".

Another female officer highlighted a similar conflict:

"For myself and my female colleagues there is expectation always that we will perform any gender-based roles. The male officers expect us to take up this duty and so yes, I think we are perceived in that way. I am frustrated and can feel resentful, but I must conform to this but at the same time take the opportunity to break away from this view and take all chances to show I want to and am capable to be more".

One female officer pointed to the integration of future leadership with identity work:

"I know some female officers' distance themselves from male officers because of the risks to reputation. However, I don't agree, and I take every opportunity to interact with male officers to learn and understand and develop positive relationship. In future

I will be leading both men and women, so it is important to be seen as a good police officer in both their eyes and not to show any difference."

4.4 A Model of Identity Work in Policing

These patterns of identity work by male and female cadets are not independent physical, cognitive, discursive or behaviour modes, but rather they reinforce an overarching approach to identity that is evident between male and female. These themes underline a dynamic and complex process of identity work emerging from the ethnographic accounts. The findings underscore difference in the type of identity work undertaken by female and male cadets and suggest different domains of identity for male and female cadets.

Firstly, males appear to construct their identities along collective and social lines. They avoid any opposition at personal or group level and instead voice characteristics of social identity based on cultural values. Male cadets reflected a social identity perspective (Alvesoon, 2000; Löwstedt and Räisänen, 2014) where they emphasised their belongingness and worked on collective identifications that enhanced masculine identity of policing and public authority status. The inclusion of female cadets may have influenced this form of identity for male cadets offering some challenge to traditional strong identities of police officers. This is further reflected in cognitive and discursive strategies that emphasised female officers as a distinct group separate from male officers and at best subordinate to them.

In terms of male cadets' perceptions of female cadets and officers, the same normative values influence the view of females in a distinctive way. In line with social values, female officers are seen as a subordinate group to male officers and to be assigned to specific genderised roles that do not undermine the identity of Arab women. Once again male cadets draw on social values and family relations to construct this identity. They also create or reinforce traditional male identities as guardians and protectors of their subordinate colleagues and emphasise the physical and cultural constraints to women in policing situations. There is an evident strategy of gender identity where female officers are perceived with stereotypical feminine characteristics of women as empathisers and an open and caring group. For some few male cadets this perspective is emphasised in a complimentary role where female officers are seen as possessing unique traits that embody a relational soft approach to policing. Thus, male cadet’s incoming to the police force can be seen as accepting and internalising this dominant identity of male officers and at the same time defining boundaries for the role of women that is consistent largely with normative values.

The extant social norms provide an overarching context that influences cadets’ identity of self. Male cadets’ identification draws on normative values and is consistent with masculine stereotypes of policing. They accept and internalise these values that is legitimised by hegemonic masculinity in Arab society and the dominant role of males. Further, male cadets appeared to posit their identity in a social or collective context consistently making references to social norms and the gender roles that are expected socially and in public. Male officers emphasised their identity construction by drawing on learning from experienced officers and modelling their actions viewed as learning to be strong and effective by learning from the best. This was framed in terms of learning what it takes to be a good officer from experienced officers that had been involved in violent and tough assignments following chains of command and following orders and authority. To be fit and gain acceptance and emulate the elite was seen as an important strategy for their identity. The masculine identity is enacted in the actions and discourse of police cadets that conveys how to act and what to do or be like in different situations. Their identity derives from the stories of heroic and exciting police assignments and situations and shared experiences from different elite units and senior officers.

In stark contrast, female cadet’s identity work adopts a more diverse and self-orientation to male collective identification, which is explored and envisioned predominantly through individual professional identification. Female cadets and officers are highly consistent with a self-identity through the emphasis on role identities and self-verification where identity work is concentrated on adapting role identities, aligning self with expectations or other perceptions of roles and self (Knapp et al., 2013; DeRue and Ashford, 2010).

Within this social context it was evident that female cadets have the space to explore through discourse different possibilities of identities. Rather than challenge the subordinated and genderised view of police, female cadets appear to both explore and envision additional identities and prove through performance intellectually or physically that they are capable. There was reframing of subordination placing emphasis on co-operative and complementary identities and this is consistent with female cadets' rhetoric that emphasises equity in terms of access to opportunities and advancement. Female cadets also used a strategy of embracing organisational narratives to explore and justify future possible self-identities. Many held the view that the police force was a modernising force and the national and police mandate of innovation and change and police excellence provided opportunity for women to both fit in with the police culture and explore new roles. Female cadets engaged in cognitive and discursive identity work that used self-categorisation and emphasised personal characteristics in relation to less physically orientated roles. In doing so they avoid or mitigate gender issues and shift the issue from personal aspects to role-based identity aspects. As one cadet explains *"there is a lot of value in being accepted by male officers because it is still male dominated but at the same time there is opportunity to be recognised for your success as a police officer, male or female".*

Thus, they perceived their identity as under a moratorium while progress and proving themselves capable could activate or put into practice their perceptions of self that did not directly challenge traditional masculine values. This is reflected both cognitively and discursively by female cadets by demonstrating a high level of information seeking about different modernising or specialist aspects of the police. Much of this appeared to focus on identity pertinent information that they can evaluate in terms of what kind of officer they can be and what roles they can assume. This is evident in their discussion of personal aspects of their identity in terms of their knowledge, interests, and goals in relation to different policing situations. In this way they were mapping their skills and abilities to different policing situations or processes. Female cadets see themselves significantly as learners and they see male mentors as experts with whom they can develop relations and build an identity that is consistent with an organisationally desirable persona. At a cognitive level information and knowledge is used as a tactic to develop work identity to convey a knowledgeable persona able to contribute and commitment or demonstration of motivation. This is reinforced behaviourally as female cadets invest high levels of effort and commitment to their tasks during classrooms and in physical exercises.

Thus, for female cadets' identity work plays out against traditional police identifications and the wider cultural and organisational structures. This suggests that identity is a fluid and evolving process with some space for assumptions about self and others to shift. Despite the identifications and process of identity work there is significant scope for challenge, compromise, and change. Both male and female cadets' positions about self and others and how they engage in identity work is in an early phase as newcomers to the police force and may change and be challenged.

Further, it was evident that there was a shared understanding by both male and females on how policing as an institution perceives what is desirable in officers. Both genders acknowledge that the style of policing organisation-wide reflects strong authoritative leadership, forceful and capable of securing obedience to the law. Further, the organisational context emphasises this through segregated practices and difference in uniforms. Moreover, the issue of equality is avoided in any rhetoric and identity work by female cadets focuses on occupational and professional identities and becoming members of different police units.

Yet within this context identity construction assumes a distinctive form for female cadets based on a dualistic strategy in both projecting some acceptance of their role but also to employing tactics of adding. It was not surprising that no female cadet expressed opposition or resistance to this position because the results suggest that to some extent female cadets share or at least accept this characterisation. For some female cadet's acceptance of gender segregation roles and their identities in different gender roles can be viewed to avoid police situations that jeopardises their identity as an Arab woman. For instance, while all cadets accepted physical fitness and defence tactics as an integral feature of police competency, for some it was evident they did not seek those situations in the field. Challenging such practices would represent abandonment of their Arab/Muslim values and threaten their self-identity as an Arab woman. In all cases female cadets avoided expressions of interests or desires that challenged the existing policing practices of female subordinate or gender roles. Females were careful in expressing either conflicting or accepting views of their identity openly in any discourse during training sessions. Nevertheless, in private, they expressed the importance of religious values and their Arab women's role in society. The findings indicate that for many female cadets and the probationary female officers that were interviewed being a woman was central to how they perceived themselves. Also, there is strong sense that they see themselves professionally in many ways. However, it is also evident that self-identity is challenged with the need to maintain a mode of identity that is consistent and compliant with how they are viewed in the main.

4.4.1 Discourse of Co-operation and Reflexivity

So far, these findings underscore different orientations and tactics of identity work employed by cadets along gender lines with normative retaining identity of male cadets contrasting with rational adding tactics by female cadets. Male cadets' identity work emphasises retention of traditional identities by drawing on the cultural templates and collective values of who they are. There is less consideration of possibilities of identities or processing of information compared to female cadets with reliance on collective aspects, particularly established social aspects, of who they are. Female cadets however appeared to engage more in information processes and exploring possibilities evident mostly though discourse focused on personal attributes. In the nexus of these two orientations is a process of co-operative and reflective discourse evidenced in the interactions between female and male cadets. Rather than tension some cadets emphasise a narrative of co-existence and co-operation.

At the core of this is a strategy of conflict-avoidance and respectful dialogue that influences some degree of group reflection. Much of the discourse is suggestive and inviting rather than being provocative or contentious. The verbal exchanges can be situated in an interpretative context because they suggest multiple subjective realities that attempt to convey a concrete reality. They achieve this by providing narratives and stories that offer new views that seek confirmation or acceptance by others either other female cadets in offering sustaining supporting views or from male cadets.

Identity work and construction of identity here is a continuous process of compromise between the self and others. If female cadets can confirm their identifications through their actions, either in the classroom through critical thinking during lessons or during physical activities then they are able to confirm some aspects of their identification. On the part of some male cadets, narratives during training sessions suggest open-mindedness to such identifications. While there is doubt and resistance to female officers, there is equally a willingness for female cadets to prove themselves. If female cadets respond through their performance in the classroom, with firearms or in simulations and can confirm or project their identification, then there is a chance that it confirms to self and others. Moreover, female cadets during physical training sessions, even though they are segregated demonstrate a consistently high level of physicality, endurance, and effort. Such actions can serve to enhance their identifications. For instance, the story and narratives from instructors, "they are doing well…keeping pace. performing well." enhance female cadets' identifications. Their identities are situated and influenced by external social interactions, narratives, and situations. Notably in this 'cadet' context the strength of identification is a key consideration. The interaction between cadets during the training sessions and across the numerous training situations, showed that while some segregation occurs there nevertheless remains everyday interaction for cadets to make judgements and identification statements. The strength and quality of these identifications can vary during these sessions depending on the context. For instance, during physical fitness, defence and arms training sessions, identifications by females appeared to be stronger and more enduring.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented the results and a discussion and analysis of the ethnographic findings from an investigation of the identity work of male and female police cadets in the UAE based on observation and interviews. Different opportunities were available to observe the cadets and the discourse during the sessions across different activities. Identity work was found to be enacted through dialogue and interaction between cadets and instructors in the different training modules of the curriculum and reflective activities initiated by instructors around questions about preferred roles or areas of policing; strengths and weaknesses; and discussion around different types of risks and policing situations.

Male and female identities were viewed in terms of gendered roles that delineated between men and women officers. While male discourse pointed to traditional and culturally aligned views of the role of women in policing female police officers were more willing to explore and categorise themselves in a wider range of professional roles that were more technical and specialist. Identity construction was found to be enacted through different modes of physical, discursive, cognitive, and behavioural work.

These findings were discussed in relation to the extant literature and the key theories to support exploration and how the findings illuminate and extend existing theory. The themes identified underline a dynamic and complex process of identity work emerging from the ethnographic accounts and provided insights into cadets' enactment through diverse modes of physical and verbal interactions. Gender identity was shaped by social and organisational influences and the construction and envisioning of multiple identities.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

The focus of this study was on identity construction and expression in the workplace, specifically, how do police officers redefine their professional identity in change contexts? Police officers' identity construction is shaped and impacted by the prevailing organisational culture and the context, history and duties connected to the roles. Traditional police culture, values and attitudes have been commonly portrayed as displaying a strong commitment to the policing mandate and duties of fighting crime, as well as being authoritative, overly masculine, having respect for courage and physical strength, a focus on autonomy, and a readiness to act coercively. A strong in-group loyalty and solidarity exists while groups viewed as threatening or deviant are treated with hostility and suspicion, in addition to secrecy, sexism, racism, and cynicism (Cordner, 2017; Crank, 2004; Paoline, 2003; Paoline et al., 2000). Nevertheless, this view of police culture has been observed as unnecessarily monolithic and lacking in the more nuanced description that can better reflect the way in which individual police officers adapt to the stresses inherent in their role. The disruptive influence of change raises a critical question regarding the extent to which identities endure or are reconstructed and adapted within a critical social institution (Ingram et al., 2018). To address the research goal of this study four research questions were formulated:

R1. What different ways do police officers perceive or experience their identity during training and early deployment?

R2. What identity work do police officers employ to make sense of and respond to the process of women entering front-line police work?

R3. How do police perceive change in policing and how does it trigger or motivate them to create or change identities?

R4. How do police officers make sense of the operational and organisational implications of women entering front-line police work?

To address these questions an ethnographic approach was adopted for this study that explored the lived experiences of individuals in specific contexts in police change.

5.2 Summary of Key Findings

The findings arising from this ethnographic study provide an in-depth account of the identity construction as observed within the context of policing in an Arab country. The findings suggest that identity exists both within the social institutional context and within the individual realities bound in personal aspects of affective, cognitive and behaviours. The most dominant mode of identity work observed is in discursive practice drawing on different social, organisational, and personal narratives.

Identity exists in the social and organisational context including the semiotics of the uniform and the wider collective structural and symbolic aspects of police culture that influences cadets' construction. Social norms provide a strong logic for identity construction and how cadets perceive themselves in the main. Norms of behaviour related to social values influence how cadets perceive themselves and engage in identity work. Realities of self from both female and male cadets reflect broader normative and social values. Identities of self are bound in collective beliefs concerning the role of men and women in society. These establish a template that reinforces and projects a gender-based view of identity that establishes boundaries for defining gender-based views of self in policing and essentially is the basis for both social and personal tension in both male and female cadets. Ultimately there are significant variations between male and female cadets both in the process and how they characterise themselves. For the most conservative and traditional, female police officers are characterised in a less equal and highly subordinate identity and deficient in necessary attributes for policing that are associated with masculine traits. This represents the most evident source of tension which establishes the focus for identity construction. For male cadets it is a response to identity risk and a challenge to traditionally strong stereotypical views of police officers, while for female cadets it is motivated by struggle to fit in and find their place or role. In line with this, male identity construction is consistent with social identity theory and female cadets' aligns with role identity theory that is reflected in the strategies that are employed and the different types of identity work engaged in by each group.

The findings suggest male identity work is consistent with a social identity perspective while female identity work focuses on identity of self-perspective focused on role identity. For males defensive avoiding strategies were observed while female cadets employed a range of strategies which were in the main acceptance and avoidance strategies balanced with negotiated adapting strategies. These strategies were consistently reflected in the distinctive patterns of physical, discursive, behavioral, and cognitive work to enact different characterisations of self.

Physical patterns of identity work are evident in both the semiotics of the uniform that reinforce gender identity in policing and at a personal level of physical, presented by female cadets through postures, movement, and facial expression. For female cadets the body is used to project a sense of discipline and commitment and signal behavioral intention to perform and commitment. For male cadets physical repertoires reflect a defensive strategy to maintain distance with female cadets by controlling the degree of openness and interaction with female cadets.

Discourse was the dominant process of identity work that was observed by both male and female cadets enacted around several key themes: envision multiple identities, connective discourse, personal and self-talk and collective speak. Generally, identity construction involved the discursive articulation of multiple identities with continual iteration between social and self.

Male discourse emphasises strong dominant identities as enforcers and female officers as empathetic, approachable, and supportive in those specific gender roles. Female discourse avoids this issue and instead projects multiple envisioning of their identity using rational professional logic. Cadets both male and female accept and conform to gender identity boundaries but at the same time engage in constructing multiple identities by drawing on a range of discourse and narratives that reflect exploration and co-operation rather than resistance or challenge. Discourse for female cadets constructed multiple self-identities whereas male cadets focused on identity characteristics that reflected dominant social values and masculine stereotypes. Female discourse revealed a process that drew on rational and logical police work to envision multiple identity possibilities. The narrative of cadets pointed to different identity possibilities associated with varied roles and policing practices leading to multiple traditional and contemporary identity constructions. Identity is also constructed through a discourse of connections by means of rhetoric, narratives and stories drawing on connections between themselves and ideas or beliefs or situations. This study evidences the use of organisational and personal meta-narratives in identity strategies. Males draw on normative-based narratives based on gender, ethnicity, or culture narratives while female cadets employ progressive professional, technological or contemporary organisational meta-narratives to shape role identities.

Behavioural patterns of identity further reinforced cadets' identity work. For female cadets intensive physical and cognitive performance was a dominant form of identity work. Performing was a strategy to counter the perceived deficits by males. Physical performance verified to self and others competence and ability in line with collective expectations and enhanced sense of belonging. Cognitive performance in terms of attention and verbal information processing reinforced role identity goals by demonstrating diverse personal attributes associated with professional progressive policing narratives.

These practices are reflected in underlying cognitive identity work identified in male and female cadets through different strategies and cognitive hierarchy to prioritise and manage multiple levels of identity that allowed for compliance and construction of multiple progressive identities beyond gender roles. With this process cognitive discourse was characterised by three types of strategies observed: reframing, negotiating, and avoiding. Female cadets adapted and reframed their gender identity such that it incorporated highly professionalised elements and expanded their possible sphere of involvement. Identity work by female cadets involved attempting to negotiate alternative perspectives of female cadets reflected in their discourse with male cadets. A major theme in females' identity work was knowledge absorption and sharing that was characterised by search and evaluation of police curriculum during the classes. A strong socio-cognitive dimension is present within female identity work reflected in discourse significantly centred around self-efficacy and self-belief in capabilities to achieve performance and goals within the police service.

Male cadets provided multiple constructions of what it is to be a police officer, emerging from discourse on interests and preferred roles alongside traditional identifications of policing. In certain instances, discourse communicated authoritative and strong policing identities and emphasis on being tough on criminals and solving crimes. Males contrasted with female cadets in displaying less cognitive processing or inquiry or openness that could point to an identity process which is more internalised.

Through these different patterns of identity work different identity strategies were observed distinct to each gender. On balance, identity construction emerges as both a socially and self-orientated phenomena where sense of self is a negotiated balancing process. It was evident that the subjects in this study in addition to delineating identities through different strategies, were aware of identity as a temporal, malleable entity and engaged in exploring and shaping identities. The interaction between discourse behaviour and cognitive emerges as a critical element because discourse without reinforcing behaviour or motivating cognition undermines pursuit of identity. In the process of establishing what is similar and what is different, the boundaries can be delineated, against which identities are defended or expanded and added to through a process of reflection and enactments of discourse of daily rhetoric, stories, narratives, and meta-narratives that reinforce or gives rise to alternative identities.

This study has shown that the actors constitute their sense of self through discourse and sense-making. These patterns of identity work by male and female cadets are not independent physical, cognitive, discursive or behaviour modes, but rather they reinforce an overarching approach to identity that is evident between male and female. These themes underline a dynamic and complex process of identity work emerging from the ethnographic accounts.

5.3 Research Contribution

This study provides a contribution within an area lacking literature that explores and examines as a social phenomenon the ways in which people construct their identity and develop and maintain a sense of their individuality and distinctiveness (Vignoles, 2017; Van Maanen, 2010). The findings draw on a different lens to that offered by organisational theories and provide a broader understanding of issues of workplace diversity and conflict. This study contributes to knowledge on how the strength of organisational identification influences personal and work-related identities in the police force.

This research makes several contributions to theory and practice. Firstly, this study has expanded understanding in this field by providing new insights about identity work, a topic about which there is limited understanding (Kreiner et al., 2006). The study shows how within the context of the police force identity construction of multiple identities is enacted through different modes of physical, discursive, cognitive, and behavioural work. The findings point to processes of identity construction which draw on enforcing physical boundaries, the uniform and the use of a person’s physicality, meta-narrative and storytelling, categorisation of professional self, reflection, learning and reasoning, verbal and non-verbal communications and physical actions to create and enact personal, professional and gender identities. Furthermore, understanding is enhanced in relation to identity construction by different genders and how these identities are defined and bounded by male and female cadets. New insights are provided of female cadets’ construction of identities that go beyond the traditional gendered roles identified by male police officers towards self-categorisation in a wider range of professional roles, and the tactics used by female police cadets to address and manage the inherent tensions in conforming to cultural and masculine police precepts of gender roles.

This study has theoretical implications for understanding of identity work and how it is shaped by the evolving relationships within which it is undertaken. The research shows these relationships affect how police officers make sense of themselves as men and women and in turn how these relationships are influenced by policing and gender discourses within which they are reciprocally engaged.

The study provides insight into how identity work is affected by the evolving relationships in which it is embedded. The contribution is showing how these relationships shape how police officers make sense of themselves as men and women through discursive, cognitive, behavioural and physical identity work. The findings point to differences between female and male cadets in the type of identity work undertaken and suggest that different domains of identity are salient. For male cadets identity work emphasises retention of traditional identities by drawing on the cultural templates and collective values of who they are. They thus accept and internalise normative values consistent with masculine stereotypes of policing and the dominant role of males in Arab society, while defining boundaries for the role of women that is consistent largely with normative values. At the same time identity work and construction of identity here is a continuous process of compromise between the self and others and there is a willingness to accept female self-identifications and an openness to female integration based on performance.

For female cadets there is a theoretical contribution in expanding understanding of the how female police officers make sense of themselves as they negotiate a largely hegemonic masculinity professionally and more broadly in society. For women identity work undertakes a distinct form that draws on a dualistic strategy that projects some shared acceptance of their normative role but also explores through discourse different possibilities of identities and diverse expressions of self within policing. Through distinct discursive patterns of identity talk that included envisioning multiple identities through a rational logic process, constructing identity through a discourse of connections, and utilising personal and organisational meta-narratives female cadets made sense of themselves by exploring boundaries in identity work and reframing subordination by placing emphasis on co-operative and complementary identities. It was evident from their discourse that female cadets have broader perception future framing their identities around scientific and analytical components of policing and different functions and competencies. The study thus identifies a consistent theme in the identity work of both male and female cadets in balancing conservative and modern values and exploring viable and sustainable modes of identity.

The study further contributes theoretical insight into how these relationships are in turn affected by the discourses of policing and gender within which they are reciprocally embedded. The study identifies that both male and female cadets accept and conform to gender identity boundaries but at the same time engage in constructing multiple identities by drawing on discourse and narratives that reflect exploration and co-operation rather than resistance or challenge. A process of co-operative and reflective discourse is evidenced in the interactions between female and male cadets, in which there is mutual reflexivity and reciprocation in compromise. Rather than tension some cadets emphasise a narrative of co-existence and co-operation and evidence a strategy of conflict-avoidance and respectful dialogue that influences some degree of group reflection. Female cadets were distinct in utilising organisational and social narratives and values to anchor, construct and justify a much broader portfolio of identities and possibilities that attempts to negotiate gender differences. This study contributes a model of identity work in policing in which identity construction for males and females and discourse of different possibilities is bound up in relationships of cooperation and reflexivity that expands theoretical understanding of the dynamic and complex process of identity work that emerged from the ethnographic accounts.

Furthermore, this study contributes to expanding knowledge and understanding of identity work beyond the narrow contextual confines of North American and European organisations in which to date most studies have been conducted (Caza et al., 2018). The research adds to a very small number of studies on professional identity work in a Middle Eastern and Arabic cultural context about which little is known. It is possible that identity work may be motivated by different reasons, have unique identity work processes, and potentially vary in terms of the consequences of those processes. More research from this region is crucial for a fuller understanding of the various identity issues individuals face in the Middle East and how they address them.

5.4 Theoretical and Practical Implications

The findings from this research have several theoretical and practical implications for the field.

5.4.1 Theoretical Implications

The findings of this study contribute to theory in several ways. Firstly, the research expands understanding of the different orientations and tactics of identity work employed by cadets along gender lines. It is shown how male cadets adopt normative retaining identity tactics in contrast to the rational adding tactics employed by female cadets. There is implication for theory in developing understanding of how identity work tactics may differ between genders and how these two orientations coalesce and interact in the context of group reflection.

There is a further theoretical contribution in revealing how different genders are associated with different domains of identity construction. Males appear to construct their identities along collective and social lines while female cadets' identity work is largely based on self-identification. Females were shown to engage in cognitive and discursive identity work that used self-categorisation and emphasised personal characteristics played out against traditional police identifications and the wider cultural and organisational structures. In doing so they avoided or mitigated gender issues and shifted the issue from personal aspects to collective aspects.

5.4.2 Managerial/Practical Implications

The study identified the identity work undertaken by individuals of both genders in the police force in the UAE. Previous work has underlined that people's identity work has implications for the organisations and institutions within which they are embedded to the extent that personal identity construction also shapes organisational identity (Caza et al., 2018). In this study identity work was shown to have not only cognitive but physical, discursive, and behavioral dimensions that suggest that engaging in identity work will have repercussions that affect relationships with others and with organisations more broadly. The implication for managers is to identify and understand when and how identity work occurs and to discern any beneficial or damaging outcomes. In this way managers can create conditions for fostering and nurturing positive outcomes to identity work that are constructive for both the individual and organisation.

The findings show that perceptions of gender identity and gender roles among male and female cadets shaped how females saw themselves in professional terms and influenced the types of work considered suitable for female police officers. While female cadets held a broader perspective that emphasised technical, non-frontline roles. This has practical implications for organisations and managers in accommodating gender diversity as it increases. Managers need to create an environment in which employees from both genders can thrive in all areas based on policies and practices at multiple levels of the organisation including organisational structure and practices and individual needs and agency. For this to happen, beyond diverse management teams managers and colleagues need to be open for dialogue with female counterparts and education that explores assumptions and stereotypes and enhances awareness of other viewpoints to create more inclusive organisations.

The study showed that one aspect of female cadets' cognitive identity work involved job crafting by highlighting aspects of police work that they perceived fit with their interests and capabilities. There is an implication for police organisations to consider encouraging and supporting female officers in their job crafting efforts. Job crafting has been characterised as a pathway towards organisational change (Demerouti et al., 2021; Petrou et al., 2015) that in the context of organisational strategies could allow for the redesign of roles and tasks that open satisfying career pathways and role opportunities for female police officers within the organisation.

5.5 Limitations

This study is associated with certain limitations related to the design of this research. The findings are based on the lived experience of police cadets drawing on interviews and observations. These observations were limited to the setting of the classroom and training venues and were not made across multiple different contexts or during the involvement of the participants in actual police work. Therefore, observations do not capture participants' behaviors, actions and discourse in an authentic police environment or their interactions with operational officers, superiors, or the public within that setting. Further observations and interviews were undertaken over a limited time of 24 weeks that provides a snapshot within the four-year timespan of the training. Over this time data was collected from a single cohort of cadets.

It should also be noted that the findings draw on the perspectives of police cadets in the earliest phases of their career and therefore reflect nascent perceptions on their police identities. Moreover, observations were made in the first years of the training program at the very beginning of their journey as a police officer. In this early-stage police cadets are not yet a part of or fully immersed in police culture and cadets may be risk averse, tentative, and exploratory in their beliefs and perceptions. They are yet to establish a professional identity based on greater certainty and experiences gained from doing police work in a police officer setting.

This study represents the first time this researcher has undertaken a large research project. The output therefore depends on this researchers' subjective observations and interpretations and what has been noticed or accorded significance is subject entirely to this lens. Further this researcher is a police officer and therefore not entirely independent or objective but may bring to observation and interpretation previous biases, beliefs, and values.

5.6 Future Research

This study points to several avenues for future research. Firstly, this study is based on ethnographic investigation of police officers during participation in a training program. While an authentic context there is opportunity to extend this research to ethnographic study of police officers in action undertaking the daily activities and responsibilities that comprise their role. This would provide a view of identity construction that is enacted in the crucible of professional police work, and which may be subject to revision and change as experience influences and shapes self-perceptions of personal and professional identity. In addition, this research was conducted at the earliest stages of individuals' police careers during their initial formation when professional identity construction and beliefs are likely to be nascent and less established. However, there is consistent evidence pointing to changing patterns of motivation and commitment to their professional identity among police officers (Lopez and Ramos, 2017; McElroy et al. 1999; Schaible 2018; Van Maanen 1975). Future research could adopt a longitudinal approach and investigate identity work and perceptions at different stages of a police officers' career and/or over time. This could provide increased understanding of how police identities are constructed and shaped and the cultural, organisational, and personal factors which influence this process as police officers progress in their careers.

There is also considerable opportunity for further research to explore police identity work in other Arabic and cultural contexts. To date most of the literature on identity work has focused on North American and European contexts promoting a gap in research in other cultural settings. Future research could examine the motivations and processes for identity work to identify unique characteristics and consequences of such processes across cultures and how identity issues are addressed.

This study was situated within a single police institution of Abu Dhabi Police College exploring in significant depth how policing identities are constructed and defined by police cadets in a context of change. Future research could also focus on cross-organisational case studies that include a wider set of policing levels, institutions, and locations to identify patterns that may be generalisable to police officer populations. This could explore the dynamics of identity processes, influencing factors, and identity effects to understand underlying commonalities and differences.

There is also opportunity for further research on the temporal elements of identity or how past and potential future identities influence current self-meanings (Strahan and Wilson, 2006). In this study the vision and influence of future professional identities on current identity was evident in female police cadets' narratives. These suggested that gender roles were not fixed but rather something that could be evolved through a wider range of police roles outside of what was perceived as appropriate. Further fine-grained research is needed to understand how the future work selves envisioned or anticipated by female police officers influences current self-understandings and how they engage in career-related proactive behavior in the present.

Further this research pointed to the existence of multiple identities of professional police officer, gender, and team and evidenced some tension between competing visions and values and the behaviors required. Future research could examine these multiple identities through the lens of intersectionality that focuses on how “the complexity of multiple dimensions” is examined by exploring relationships between and across identities (Atewologun et al., 2016, p. 224). Some research has used intersectionality theory as a lens to show how senior managers claim their racial and gender identities in ways that resulted in both privileged and disadvantaged status (Atewologun et al., 2016). Such an approach in the work and policing context could provide useful insight into how combinations of an individual’s cultural, gender and other identities interact and provide advantages or disadvantages at work.

Discrete identities such as gender and culture could further be investigated in terms of the juncture with more generalised work identities. Current conceptualisations identify work identities as consisting of an employees’ unique set of identities at work (Dutton et al., 2010). However, knowledge is limited on the extent to which specific role, collective or personal identities are incorporated within an overall work-based self-concept and the contextual characteristics which influence this process are yet to be explored.

The findings showed that police officers continued to assert the importance of physical characteristics in terms of toughness and fit, clean bodies as part of police work identities. Further research could explore how physical identities in the police fit with gender identity and roles. Until now research on identity work has neglected the practices and processes through which the body becomes meaningful for people particularly in contexts of institutional and organisational change (Courpasson and Monties, 2017). Bodies are an intrinsic part of identity work (Budgeon, 2003) and increasingly more central to police officer identity because of perceived threats to the physical self from changes in policing institutions. The intersection with gender identity as policing institutions become more gender diverse could provide useful insight into how police officers resist or adapt to institutional changes and policy change and the new demands of policing organisations.

Exploring the interpersonal dynamics of identity construction provides a further possible avenue for research. Identity work is predominantly relational based on the negotiation of personal, role and collective identities with others over time (Creary et al., 2015; DeRue and Ashford, 2010) however there is limited empirical research in this area. Studies could explore the significance of who individuals are interacting with when engaging in identity work and in what ways this might be important. The role particular others play in identity work could be examined in terms of specific variables such as relative status, nature of relationship and type of support given.

References

Abu Dhabi Police (ADP), 2020. *We Are All Police Application*. [online] Available at: <https://apps.apple.com/ae/app/we-are-all-police> [Accessed 21 June 2022].

Abu Dhabi Police (ADP), 2021. *Vision, Mission, and Objectives*. [online] Available at: <https://www.adpolice.gov.ae/en/About-Us/Vision-Mission-Objectives> [Accessed 21 June 2022].

Abu Dhabi Police (ADP), 2022. *"Our country is a trust" reviews the strategy of Abu Dhabi Police in empowering Emirati women*. [online] Available at: <https://pledgetimes.com/our-country-is-a-trust-reviews-the-strategy-of-abu-dhabi-police-in-empowering-emirati-women/ > [Accessed 21 June 2022].

Abu Dhabi Police (ADP), 2022. *Organisation chart*. [online] Available at: <https://srv.adpolice.gov.ae/en/Pages/organization.aspx> [Accessed 21 June 2022].

Adams, E., McCann, L., Armes, J., Richardson, A., Stark, D., Watson, E. and Hubbard, G., 2011. The experiences, needs and concerns of younger women with breast cancer: a meta‐ethnography. *Psycho‐Oncology*, 20(8), pp.851-861.

Adams, G. R., Munro, B., Doherty-Poirer, M., Munro, G., Petersen, A.-M. R., & Edwards, J., 2001. Diffuse/avoidance, normative, and informational identity styles: Using identity theory to predict maladjustment. Identity, 1, 307 – 320.

Adams, L.E., 2013. *Research ethics*. [online] Available at: <https://depts.washington.edu/bioethx/topics/resrch.html> [Accessed 21 June 2021].

Agar, M.H., 2001. Ethnography. In: *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*. London: Elsevier.

Ager, D.L., 2011. The emotional impact and behavioral consequences of post-M&A integration: An ethnographic case study in the software industry. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 40(2), pp.199-230.

Aguinis, H. and Henle, C.A., 2002. Ethics in research. In: Rogelberg, S. G.(ed)., *Handbook of Research Methods in Industrial and Organisational Psychology*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Ahmad, S., 2019. Pakistani policewomen: Questioning the role of gender in circumscribing police corruption. *Policing & Society,* pp.1–15.

Ainsworth, S. and Hardy, C., 2004. Critical discourse analysis and identity: Why bother?. *Critical discourse studies*, *1*(2), pp.225-259.

Al Manhali, A.H., Al Kaabi, F. and Al Hanaee, M., 2022. We Are All Police—Abu Dhabi Police Community Engagement Initiative. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 16(2), pp.236-248.

Al Mazrouei, F., 2022. Abu Dhabi Police… A Modern Vision that Keeps Pace with Development and Future Foreseeing. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 16(2), pp.233-235.

Alhashmi, T., 2018. *Cracking the Glass Ceiling: Gulf Women in the Police*. The Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington [online] Available at: <https://agsiw.org/cracking-glass-ceiling-gulf-women-police/> [Accessed 21 June 2022].

Allen, L., 2005. Managing masculinity: Young men's identity work in focus groups. *Qualitative Research*, 5(1), pp.35-57.

Allison, S.T. and Herlocker, C.E., 1994. Constructing impressions in demographically diverse organisational settings: A group categorization analysis. *American Behavioral Scientist,* 37(5), pp.637-652.

Alvesson, M. and Empson, L., 2008. The construction of organisational identity: Comparative case studies of consulting firms. *Scandinavian journal of management*, *24*(1), pp.1-16.

Alvesson, M. and Skoldberg, K., 2000. *Reflexive methodologies: Interpretation and research*. London: Sage.

Alvesson, M. and Willmott, H., 2002. Identity regulation as organisational control: Producing the appropriate individual. *Journal of management studies*, *39*(5), pp.619-644.

Alvesson, M., 1990. Organisation: From substance to image? *Organisation Studies*, 11(3), pp.373–94.

Alvesson, M., 1994. Talking in organisations: Managing identity and impressions in an advertising agency. *Organisation Studies*, 15(4), pp.535–563.

Alvesson, M., 1998. Gender relations and identity at work: A case study of masculinities and femininities in an advertising agency. *Human Relations*, 51(8), pp.969–1005.

Alvesson, M., 2001. Knowledge work: Ambiguity, image and identity. *Human Relations*, 54(7), pp.863–886.

Alvesson, M., Ashcraft, K. L., Thomas, R., 2008. Identity matters: Reflections on the construction of identity scholarship in organisation studies, *Organisation*, 15(1), pp.5-28.

Alvesson, M.; and Robertson, M., 2016. Money matters: Teflonic identity manoeuvring in the investment banking sector. *Organisational. Studies*, 37, 7–34.

Anderson, C.A., Leahy, M.J., DelValle, R., Sherman, S., and Tansey, T.N., 2014. Methodological application of multiple case study design using modified consensual qualitative research (CQR) analysis to identify best practices and organisational factors in the public rehabilitation program. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*, *41*(2), pp.87-98.

Andersson, T., 2008. *Identity work and identity regulation in managers' personal development training.* Gothenburg Research Institute.

Anteby, M., 2008. Identity incentives as an engaging form of control: Revisiting leniencies in an aeronautic plant. *Organisation Science*, 19(2), pp.202-220.

Archbold, C. A., Hassell, K. D., and Stichman, A. J., 2010. Comparing promotion aspirations among female and male police officers. *Int. J. Police Sci. Manage.* 12, 287–303.

Ardemagni, E., 2019. *The Abu Dhabi Policing Laboratory: Building Security, Forging Community* [online] Available at: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/abu-dhabi-policing-laboratory-building-security-forging-community> [Accessed 21 June 2022].

Arnould, E., and Wallendorf, M., 1994. Market-Oriented Ethnography: Interpretation Building and Marketing Strategy Formulation. *Journal of Marketing Research,* 31(4), 484–504.

Ashcraft, K. L. and Alvesson, M. A. 2007. The Moving Targets of Dis/Identification: Wrestling with the Reality of Social Construction. *Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the European Group for Organisation Studies,* Vienna, Austria.

Ashcraft, K. L. and Mumby, D. K., 2004. *Reworking Gender: A Feminist Communicology of Organisation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ashforth, B. and Mael, F., 1989. Social Identity Theory and the Organisation. *Academy of Management Review*, 14, pp.20–39.

Ashforth, B. E, 1998. Becoming: How Does the Process of Identification Unfold?, in D. Whetten and P. Godfrey (eds) *Identity in Organisations: Developing Theory Through Conversations,* pp. 213–22. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ashforth, B. E., and Kreiner, G. E., 1999. "How can you do it?": Dirty work and the challenge of constructing a positive identity. *The Academy of Management Review,* 24(3), pp. 413-434.

Ashforth, B. E., Kreiner, G. E., Clark, M. A., and Fugate, M., 2007. Normalizing dirty work: Managerial tactics for countering occupational taint. *Academy of Management Journal*, 50(1), pp.149–174.

Ashforth, B., 2000. *Role transitions in organisational life: An identity-based perspective*. Routledge.

Ashforth, B.E. and Schinoff, B.S., 2016. Identity under construction: How individuals come to define themselves in organisations. *Annual Review of Organisational Psychology and Organisational Behavior*, 3, pp.111-137.

Ashforth, B.E., Harrison, S.H. and Corley, K.G., 2008. Identification in organisations: An examination of four fundamental questions. *Journal of management*, 34(3), pp.325-374.

Ashforth, B.E., Harrison, S.H. and Sluss, D.M., 2018. Becoming: The interaction of socialization and identity in organisations over time. In *Current issues in work and organisational psychology* (pp. 316-339). Routledge.

Ashforth, B.E., Rogers, K.M. and Corley, K.G., 2011. Identity in organisations: Exploring cross-level dynamics. *Organisation science*, 22(5), pp.1144-1156.

Ashmore, R.D., Deaux, K. and McLaughlin-Volpe, T., 2004. An organizing framework for collective identity: articulation and significance of multidimensionality. *Psychological bulletin*, *130*(1), p.80.

Aslan, A., 2017. Identity work as an event: dwelling in the street. *Journal of Management Inquiry,* 26(1), pp.62-75.

Baigent, D., 2001. *Gender relations, masculinities, and the fire service. A qualitative study of firefighters contructions of masculinity during firefighting and in their social relations of work.* PhD thesis. Anglia Polytechnic University.

Ball, K. and Wilson, D.C., 2000. Power, control and computer-based performance monitoring: Repertoires, resistance and subjectivities. *Organisation studies*, 21(3), pp.539-565.

Banfield, J., 2016. *Descriptive phenomenological analysis: practical innovations in geographies of artistic practice*. SAGE Publications, Ltd..

Banton, M., 1964. *The Policeman in the Community*. London: Tavistock.

Barbera, K.M., 2014. *The Oxford handbook of organisational climate and culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bardon, T., Clegg, S. and Josserand, E., 2012. Exploring identity construction from a critical management perspective: A research agenda. *M@N@Gement*, 15, pp.351–66.

Barker, J., 1993. Tightening the iron cage: Concertive control in self-managing teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 38(3), pp.408-437.

Bassey, M., 1981. Pedagogic research: On the relative merits of search for generalisation and single study events. *Oxford Review of Education*, 7(1), pp. 73–94.

Bauldry, A. and Thibault, P.J., 2006. *Multimodal transcription and text analysis.* Londres: Equinox.

Baumeister, R.F. and Leary, M.R., 1995. The need to belong: desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological bulletin*, 117(3), p.497.

Bayerl, P. S., Horton, K. E., & Jacobs, G., 2018. How do we describe our professional selves? Investigating collective identity configurations across professions, *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 107, 168-181.

Beech, N. 2008. On the Nature of Dialogic Identity Work. *Organisation*, 15, pp.51–74.

Beech, N. and Johnson, P., 2005. Discourses of disrupted identities in the practice of strategic change: The mayor, the street-fighter and the insider-out. *Journal of Organisational Change Management*.

Beech, N., 2011. Liminality and the practices of identity reconstruction. *Human relations*, 64(2), pp.285-302.

Beech, N., MacIntosh, R. and McInnes, P., 2008. Identity work: Processes and dynamics of identity formations. *International Journal of Public Administration*, *31*(9), pp.957-970.

Beech, P. and Sims, D., 2007. Narrative methods for identity research. In *Exploring identity: Concepts and methods*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Beeran, M., 2020. *All you need to know about Abu Dhabi Police College.* [online] Available at: <https://uae24x7.com/around_uae/abu-dhabi/all-you-need-to-know-about-abu-dhabi-police-college/> [Accessed 21 June 2021].

Belk, R.W. 1988, Possessions and the extended self. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 15(2), pp. 139.

Belmont Report, 1979. *Ethical principles and guidelines for the protection of human subjects of research.* The National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research. [online] Available at: <http://ohrp.osophs.dhhs.gov/humansubjects/guidance/belmont.htm> [Accessed 21 June 2021].

Bem, D. J., 1972. Self-perception theory. *Adv. Exp. Soc. Psychol*. 6, 1–62.

Berger, L.J., Essers, C. and Himi, A., 2017. Muslim employees within ‘white’ organisations: the case of Moroccan workers in the Netherlands. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *28*(8), pp.1119-1139.

Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T., 1991 *The social construction of reality. A treatise in the sociology of knowledge.* London: Penguin.

Berger, R., 2015. Now I see it, now I don’t: Researcher’s position and reflexivity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, 15, pp. 219–234.

Bernard, H.R., 2011. *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches.* London: Rowman & Littlefield.

Berzonsky, M. D., 1993. A constructivist view of identity development: People as post-positivist self-theorists. In J. Kroger (Ed.), *Discussions on ego identity* (pp. 169 – 183). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Berzonsky, M. D., 1994. Individual differences in self-construction: The role of constructivist epistemological assumptions. *Journal of Constructivist Psychology,* 7, 263 – 281.

Berzonsky, M. D., 2002. Identity processing styles, self construction, and personal epistemic assumptions: A social–cognitive perspective. Paper presented at the workshop *“Social Cognition in Adolescence: Its Developmental Significance*”, Groningen.

Berzonsky, M.D. and Luyckx, K., 2008. Identity styles, self-reflective cognition, and identity processes: A study of adaptive and maladaptive dimensions of self-analysis. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, *8*(3), pp.205-219.

Berzonsky, M.D. and Sullivan, C., 1992. Social-cognitive aspects of identity style: Need for cognition, experiential openness, and introspection. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *7*(2), pp.140-155.

Berzonsky, M.D., 1990. *Self-construction over the life-span: A process perspective on identity formation.* London: Sage.

Berzonsky, M.D., 2003. Identity style and well-being: Does commitment matter?. *Identity*, *3*(2), pp.131-142.

Berzonsky, M.D., 2004a. Identity processing style, self-construction, and personal epistemic assumptions: A social-cognitive perspective. *European journal of developmental psychology*, *1*(4), pp.303-315.

Berzonsky, M.D., 2004b. Identity style, parental authority, and identity commitment. *Journal of Youth and adolescence*, *33*(3), pp.213-220.

Bevan, M.T., 2014. A method of phenomenological interviewing. *Qualitative health research*, *24*(1), pp.136-144.

Beyer, J. M., and Hannah, D. R. 2002. Building on the past: Enacting established personal identities in a new work setting. *Organisation Science*, 13(6), pp.636–652.

Bickman, L., 1974. The Social Power of a Uniform 1. *Journal of applied social psychology*, 4(1), pp.47-61.

Biddle, B.J., 1986. Recent developments in role theory. *Annual review of sociology*, *12*(1), pp.67-92.

Blaikie, N., 2009. *Designing social research*. London: Polity.

Blåka, G. and Filstad, C., 2007. How does a newcomer construct identity? A socio-cultural approach to workplace learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education,* 26(1), pp.59-73.

Blauner, R., 1964. *Alienation and freedom: The factory worker and his industry*. Chicago U. Press.

Boag-Munroe, F., 2019. Recent police recruits' existing knowledge of the police and organisational commitment*. J Police Crim Psychol* 34, pp.91–101

Bochner, A.P., 2000. Criteria against ourselves. *Qualitative inquiry*, *6*(2), pp.266-272.

Bolton, S. C., and Boyd, C. 2003. Trolley dolly or skilled emotion manager? Moving on from Hochschild's managed heart. *Work, Employment & Society*, 17(2), pp. 289-308.

Boudreau, M.C., Serrano, C. and Larson, K., 2014. IT-driven identity work: Creating a group identity in a digital environment. *Information and Organisation,* 24(1), pp.1-24.

Bradbury, H. and Reason, P., 2006. Conclusion: Broadening the bandwidth of validity: Issues and choice-points for improving the quality of action research. *Handbook of action research*, pp.343-351.

Bradford, B. and Quinton, P., 2014 .Self-legitimacy, police culture and support for democratic policing in an English constabulary. *British Journal of Criminology* 54(6), pp. 1023–1046.

Breakwell, G.M. 1986. *Coping with threatened identities*. London, UK: Methuen.

Brewer, M. B., and Gardner, W. 1996. Who is this "We"? Levels of collective identity and self representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71(1), pp.83–93.

Britton, D. M., 2017. Beyond the chilly climate: the salience of gender in women's academic careers. *Gender Soc.* 31, 5–27.

Brown, A. D. 2015. Identities and Identity Work in Organisations. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 17(1), pp.20–40.

Brown, A. D. and Coupland, C. 2015. Identity threats, identity work and elite professionals. *Organisation Studies*, 36, pp.1315–36.

Brown, A. D. and Humphreys, M. 2006. Organisational identity and place: A discursive exploration of hegemony and resistance. *Journal of Management Studies*, 43(2), pp.231-257.

Brown, A. D., and Lewis, M. A. 2011. Identities, discipline and routines. *Organisation Studies*, 32(7), pp.871-895.

Brown, A. D., Kornberger, M., Clegg, S. R., and Carter, C. 2010. "Invisible walls" and "silent hierarchies": A case study of power relations in an architecture firm. *Human Relations*, 63(4), pp.525-549.

Brown, A.D. and Toyoki, S., 2013. Identity work and legitimacy. *Organisation Studies,* 34(7), pp.875-896.

Brown, A.D. ed., 2020. *The Oxford Handbook of Identities in Organisations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brown, A.D., 2006. A narrative approach to collective identities. *Journal of Management Studies*, 43(4), pp.731–53.

Brown, A.D., 2017. Identity work and organisational identification. *International Journal of Management Reviews,* 19(3), pp.296-317.

Brown, J., 2007. From cult of masculinity to smart macho: gender perspectives on police occupational culture. *Police occupational culture: new debates and discussion. Oxford: Elsevier*, pp.189-210.

Bryman, A. and Bell, E., 2007. *Business research methods*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bryman, A., 2012. *Social research methods*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burkitt, I. 2004, The time and space of everyday life. *Cultural Studies*, 18(2-3), pp. 211-227.

Burns, J. 2015. *Emotional preparation for retirement – adjusting to civilian life for public safety personnel*. Retrieved from WordPress.com.

Burrell, G., and Morgan, G., 1979. *Sociological paradigms and organisational analysis: Elements of the sociology of corporate life*. London: Heinemann Educational Books.

Butler, J., 2004. An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory. *The performance studies reader*, *154*.

Butler, J., 2004. *Undoing Gender*. New York: Routledge.

Cable, D.M. and Turban, D.B., 2003. The value of organisational reputation in the recruitment context: A brand- equity perspective. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 33(11), pp. 2244-2266.

Caputi, P. and Oades, L., 2001. Epistemic assumptions: Understanding self and the world (a note on the relationship between identity style, world view, and constructivist assumptions using an Australian sample). *Journal of Constructivist Psychology*, *14*(2), pp.127-134.

Carmeli, A., 2004. The link between organisational elements, perceived external prestige and performance. *Corporate Reputation Review*, 6(4), pp. 314-331.

Carollo, L., and Guerci, M., 2017. Activists in a suit: Paradoxes and metaphors in sustainability managers' identity work. *Journal of Business Ethics*, pp.1–20.

Carrim, N. M. H. and Nkomo, S. M. 2016. Wedding intersectionality theory and identity work in organisations: South African Indian women negotiating managerial identity. *Gender, Work and Organisation*, 23(3), pp.261–277.

Carroll, B. and Levy, L., 2010. Leadership development as identity construction. *Management communication quarterly,* 24(2), pp.211-231.

Carter, M. J. 2013. Advancing identity theory: examining the relationship between activated identities and behavior in different social contexts. *Social Psychology Quarterly,* (3), pp.203.

Cassell, C., Cunliffe, A.L. and Grandy, G. eds., 2017. *The SAGE handbook of qualitative business and management research methods*. London: Sage.

Caza, B.B. and Creary, S., 2016. The construction of professional identity. In *Perspectives on contemporary professional work*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Chan, C., Berger, J. and Van Boven, L., 2012. Identifiable but not identical: Combining social identity and uniqueness motives in choice. *Journal of Consumer research*, 39(3), pp.561-573.

Chan, Z.C., Fung, Y.L. and Chien, W.T., 2013. Bracketing in phenomenology: Only undertaken in the data collection and analysis process?. *The qualitative report*, *18*(30), p.1.

Charman S., 2018. *From crime fighting to public protection: The shaping of police officers' sense of role* (Perspectives on Policing: Paper 3). [online] Available at: <https://cleph.com.au/application/files/7315/1633/8276/perspectives_on_policing_officers_sense_of_role-FINAL.pdf> [Accessed 21 June 2021].

Charmaz, K., 2009. Grounded theory. In: *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*. London: SAGE Publications.

Charmaz, K., 2015. Grounded theory: Methodology and theory construction;. In: *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd ed. London: SAGE Publications.

Chatman, J.A., Polzer, J.T., Barsade, S.G. and Neale, M.A., 1998. Being different yet feeling similar: The influence of demographic composition and organisational culture on work processes and outcomes. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, pp.749-780.

Christiansen, J., 2013. The irrealities of public innovation: Exploring the political epistemology of state interventions and the creative dimensions of bureaucratic aesthetics in the search for new public futures. *PhD Dissertation*.

Christy A.G., Seto E., Schlegel R.J., Vess M., Hicks J.A. Straying from the righteous path and from ourselves. *Personal. Soc. Psychol. Bull.* 2016;42:1538–1550

Chryssochoou, X., 2003. Studying identity in social psychology: Some thoughts on the definition of identity and its relation to action. *Journal of language and Politics*, *2*(2), pp.225-241.

Clark, H.H. and Brennan, S.E., 1991. Grounding in communication. In L. B. Resnick, J. M. Levine, & S. D. Teasley (Eds.), Perspectives on socially shared cognition (pp. 127–149). American Psychological Association

Clarke, C.A., Brown, A.D. and Hailey, V.H., 2009. Working identities? Antagonistic discursive resources and managerial identity. *Human relations*, *62*(3), pp.323-352.

Clegg, S.R., Rhodes, C. and Kornberger, M., 2007. Desperately seeking legitimacy: Organisational identity and emerging industries. *Organisation Studies*, *28*(4), pp.495-513.

Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K., 2013. *Research methods in education*. London: Routledge.

Collinson, D.L., 2003. Identities and insecurities: Selves at work. *Organisation*, *10*(3), pp.527-547.

Connell, R.W. and Messerschmidt, J.W., 2005. Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & society*, 19(6), pp.829-859.

Cook, I and Crang, M., 2005. *Doing ethnographies*. London: Sage.

Cooper, C., Dewe, P. J. and O'Driscoll, M. P., 2001. *Organisational stress: A review and critique of theory, research and applications*. London: Sage Publication

Cordner, G., 2017. Police culture: individual and organisational differences in police officer perspectives. *Policing: Int J*, 40(1), pp.11–25.

Corlett, S. and Mavin, S., 2014. Intersectionality, identity and identity work: Shared tenets and future research agendas for gender and identity studies. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*.

Corley, K.G. and Gioia, D.A., 2004. Identity ambiguity and change in the wake of a corporate spin-off. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *49*(2), pp.173-208.

Coser, Lewis. 1974. Greedy Institutions. New York: Free Press

Coupland, C and Brown, A.D., 2012. Identities in action: Processes and outcomes. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 28, pp.1–4.

Coupland, C., 2001. Accounting for change: A discourse analysis of graduate trainees' talk of adjustment. *Journal of Management Studies*, 38(8), pp.1103-1119.

Coupland, C., 2015. *Identity work–organising the self, organising music'* (pp. 72-82). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Courpasson, D. and Monties, V., 2017. "I am my body". Physical selves of police officers in a changing institution. *Journal of Management Studies*, *54*(1), pp.32-57.

Covaleski, M.A., Dirsmith, M.W., Heian, J.B. and Samuel, S., 1998. The calculated and the avowed: Techniques of discipline and struggles over identity in Big Six public accounting firms. *Administrative science quarterly*, pp.293-327.

Cowen, M. and Hodgson, D. 2015. Damaged identities: Examining identity regulation and identity work of Gulf project managers. *International Journal of Project Management,* 33(7), pp.1523–1533.

Crank, J.P., 2004. *Understanding police culture*. London: Routledge.

Crawley, E., 2006. Doing prison work: The public and private lives of prison officers3. *Prison Readings*, pp.209-221.

Creed, D. W. E., DeJordy, R. and Lok, J. 2010. Being the change: Resolving institutional contradiction through identity work. *Academy of Management Journal*, 53, pp.1336–64.

Creed, W.D. and Scully, M.A., 2000. Songs of ourselves: Employees’ deployment of social identity in workplace encounters. Journal of Management Inquiry, 9(4), pp.391-412.

Creswell, J. W. and Plano Clark, V. L., 2006. *Designing and conducting mixed methods research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J.W., 2007. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Crotty, M., 2005. *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. 2nd ed.. London: Sage.

Cuganesan, S., 2017. Identity paradoxes: How senior managers and employees negotiate similarity and distinctiveness tensions over time. *Organisation Studies*, 38(3-4), pp.489–511.

Cunliffe, A. and Coupland, C., 2012. From hero to villain to hero: Making experience sensible through embodied narrative sensemaking. *Human relations*, 65(1), pp.63-88.

Cunliffe, A.L. and Eriksen, M., 2011. Relational leadership. *Human relations*, 64(11), pp.1425-1449.

Curchod, C., Patriotta, G. and Neysen, N., 2014. Categorization and identification: The identity work of ‘business sellers’ on eBay. *Human Relations*, 67(11), pp.1293-1320.

Currie, G. and Logan, K. 2020. Hybrid Professional Identities: Responding to Institutional Challenges. In A. D. Brown (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Identities in Organisations.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 536–53.

Czarniawska, B., 1997. *Narrating the organisation: Dramas of institutional identity*. University of Chicago Press.

Dahl, R.A., 1957. The concept of power. *Behavioral science*, 2(3), pp.201-215.

Dajani, H., 2013. *Women represented at all levels of UAE police*. [online] Available at: <https://www.thenationalnews.com/uae/courts/women-represented-at-all-levels-of-uae-police-1.474074 > [Accessed 21 June 2022].

David, D. S., & Brannon, R. (Eds.). 1976. The forty-nine percent majority: The male sex role. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Davies, A. and Thomas, R., 2002. Gendering and gender in public service organisations: Changing professional identities under new public management. *Public Management Review,* 4(4), pp.461-484.

Davies, A. and Thomas, R., 2003. Talking cop: Discourses of change and policing identities. *Public administration*, 81(4), pp.681-699.

Davies, A. and Thomas, R., 2008. Dixon of Dock Green got shot! Policing identity work and organisational change. *Public administration*, 86(3), pp.627-642.

Day, D.V. and Harrison, M.M., 2007. A multilevel, identity-based approach to leadership development. *Human Resource Management Review*, *17*(4), pp.360-373.

De Camargo, C.R., 2016. *A uniform not uniform: an ethnography of police clothing, performance, gender and subculture in neighbourhood policing* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Salford).

Deetz, S., 2003. Reclaiming the legacy of the linguistic turn. *Organisation*, 2003, 10(3), pp.421–9.

Demerouti, E., Soyer, L.M., Vakola, M. and Xanthopoulou, D., 2021. The effects of a job crafting intervention on the success of an organisational change effort in a blue-collar work environment. *Journal of Occupational and Organisational Psychology*, *94*(2), pp.374-399.

deMunck, V. C. and Sobo, E. J. eds., 1998. *Using methods in the field: a practical introduction and casebook*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Denscombe, M., 2008. Communities of practice a research paradigm for the mixed methods approach. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, *2*(3), pp.270-283.

Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y. S., 2005. Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In: N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln, eds., *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*, 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Derks, B., Van Laar, C., and Ellemers, N., 2016. The queen bee phenomenon: why women leaders distance themselves from junior women. *Leadersh. Q.* 27, 456–469. doi: 10.1016/j.leaqua.2015.12.007

DeRue, D.S. and Ashford, S.J., 2010. Who will lead and who will follow? A social process of leadership identity construction in organisations. *Academy of management review*, 35(4), pp.627-647.

DeRue, D.S., Ashford, S.J. and Cotton, N.C., 2009. Assuming the mantle: Unpacking the process by which individuals internalize a leader identity. *Exploring positive identities and organisations: Building a theoretical and research foundation*, *213232*.

DeWalt, K. M. and DeWalt, B. R., 2002. *Participant observation: a guide for fieldworkers.* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Dibrov, A., 2015. Innovation resistance: the main factors and ways to overcome them. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 166, pp.92-96.

Dick, P. and Jankowicz, D., 2001. A social constructionist account of police culture and its influence on the representation and progression of female officers-a repertory grid analysis in a uk police force. *Policing: Int'l J. Police Strat. & Mgmt*., 24, p.181.

Dollinger, S.M.C., 1995. Identity styles and the five-factor model of personality. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *29*(4), pp.475-479.

Down, S. and Reveley, J., 2009. Between narration and interaction: Situating first-line supervisor identity work. *Human Relations*, *62*(3), pp.379-401.

Driver, M., 2018. Drawing on the discursive resources from psychological contracts to construct imaginary selves: A psychoanalytic perspective on how identity work drives psychological contracts. *Human Relations*, 71(5), pp.617-639.

du Plessis, C., Winterbotham, S., Fein, E.C., Brownlow, C., du Preez, J., McKenna, B., Chen, P., Beel, N. and du Plessis, G., 2020. I'm still in the blue family: gender and professional identity construction in police officers. *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*, pp.1-11.

Dutton, J. E., Roberts, L. M., Bednar, J., 2010. Pathways for positive identity construction at work: Four types of positive identity and the building of social resources. *Academy of Management Review*, 35(2), pp.265-293.

Dutton, J.E., Debebe, G. and Wrzesniewski, A., 1996. The revaluing of devalued work: The importance of relationships for hospital cleaning staff. In *annual meeting of the Academy of Management*, Cincinnati, August.

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R. and Jackson, P., 2012. *Management research*. 5th ed. London: Sage.

Eilam, G. and Shamir, B., 2005. Organisational change and self-concept threats: A theoretical perspective and a case study. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *41*(4), pp.399-421.

Eisbach, K. D., 2009. Identity affirmation through 'signature style': A study of toy car designers. *Human Relations*, 62(7), pp.1041-1072.

Eisenhardt, K.M., 1989. Building theories from case study research. *Academy of management review*, *14*(4), pp.532-550.

Eisner, E. W., 1991. *The enlightened eye: Qualitative inquiry and the enhancement of educational practice.* New York, NY: Macmillan Publishing Company.

Ellemers, N., De Gilder, D. & Haslam, S.A. 2004, Motivating individuals and groups at work: A social identity perspective on leadership and group performance, Academy of Management review, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 459-478.

Ellemers, N., de Gilder, D., and van den Heuvel, H., 1998. Career-oriented versus team-oriented commitment and behavior at work. *J. Appl. Psychol.* 83, 717–730. doi: 10.1037/0021-9010.83.5.717

Ellemers, N., Rink, F., Derks, B., and Ryan, M. K., 2012. Women in high places: when and why promoting women into top positions can harm them individually or as a group (and how to prevent this). *Res. Organ. Behav.* 32, 163–187. doi: 10.1016/j.riob.2012.10.003

Ellis, N. and Hopkinson, G. 2020. Networks and Identity: Positioning the Self and Others Across Organisational and Network Boundaries. In A. D. Brown (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of identities in organisations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 84–100.

Ellis, N. and Ybema, S., 2010. Marketing identities: Shifting circles of identification in inter-organisational relationships. *Organisation studies*, 31(3), pp.279-305.

Elo, S., Kääriäinen, M., Kanste, O., Pölkki, T., Utriainen, K. and Kyngäs, H., 2014. Qualitative content analysis: A focus on trustworthiness. *SAGE open*, *4*(1), p.2158244014522633.

Elsbach, K. D. 2004. Interpreting workplace identities: The role of office décor. *Journal of Organisational Behavior,* 25(1), 99–128.

Elsbach, K. D. 2009. Identity affirmation through "signature style": A study of toy car designers. *Human Relations*, 62(7), 1041–1072.

Ely, R. J. And Meyerson, D. E., 2010. An organisational approach to undoing gender: The unlikely case of offshore oil platforms. *Research in Organisational Behavior*, 30, pp. 3-34.

Ely, R. J., Ibarra, H., and Kolb, D. M. 2011. Taking gender into account: Theory and design for women's leadership development programs. *Academy of Management Learning and Education*, 10(3), pp. 474–493.

Epitropaki, O., Kark, R., Mainemelis, C., and Lord, R. G. 2017. Leadership and followership identity processes: A multilevel review. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 28(1), 104–129.

Epstein, S., Pacini, R., Denes-Raj, V., and Heier, H., 1996. Individual differences in intuitive-experiential and analytical-rational thinking. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71, 390–405.

Erickson, K., 2004. Bodies at work performing service in American restaurants. *Space and Culture,* 7, pp. 76–89.

Erikson E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and Crisis.* New York, NY: Norton.

Erikson, E., 1959. *Theory of identity development. E. Erikson, Identity and the life cycle.* Nueva York: International Universities Press.

Essers, C. and Benschop, Y., 2009. Muslim businesswomen doing boundary work: The negotiation of Islam, gender and ethnicity within entrepreneurial contexts. *Human Relations*, *62*(3), pp.403-423.

Essers, C., and Benschop, Y. 2007. Enterprising identities: Female entrepreneurs of Moroccan or Turkish origin in the Netherlands. *Organisation Studies*, 28(1), pp. 49–69.

Essers, C., Doorewaard, H., and Benschop, Y. 2013. Family ties: Migrant female business owners doing identity work on the public–private divide. *Human Relations,* 66(12), pp. 1645–1665.

Ezzell, M. B. 2009. "Barbie Dolls" on the pitch: Identity work, defensive othering, and inequality in women's rugby. *Social Problems*, 56(1), pp.111-131.

Fachin, F.F. and Davel, E., 2015. Reconciling contradictory paths: identity play and work in a career transition. *Journal of Organisational Change Management*.

Fadjukoff, P., Kokko, K. and Pulkkinen, L., 2010. Changing economic conditions and identity formation in adulthood. *European Psychologist*.

Faniko, K., Ellemers, N., Derks, B., and Lorenzi-Cioldi, F., 2017. Nothing changes, really: why women who break through the glass ceiling end up reinforcing it. *Pers. Soc. Psychol. Bull.* 43, 638–651.

Fauchart, E. and Gruber, M., 2020. Entrepreneurship and Identity;. In A. D. Brown (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of identities in organisations.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 766–79.

Faulconbridge, J., Cook, A. and Muzio, D., 2012. Learning to be a lawyer in transnational law firms: communities of practice, institutions and identity regulation. *Global Networks*, 12(1), pp.48-70.

Fernandes, S., 2011. Women in policing: Gender discrimination in yet another occupation. *Footnotes*, 4.

Fiol, C.M. and O'Connor, E.J., 2003. Waking up! Mindfulness in the face of bandwagons. *Academy of management review*, 28(1), pp.54-70.

Fleming, P., & Spicer, A. 2003. Working at a cynical distance: Implications for power, subjectivity and resistance. *Organisation*, 10(1), pp.157-179.

Fletcher, D.E. and Watson, T.J., 2007. Entrepreneurship, management learning and negotiated narratives:'Making it otherwise for us—otherwise for them'. *Management Learning,* 38(1), pp.9-26.

Ford, J., 2006. Discourses of leadership: Gender, identity and contradiction in a UK public sector organisation. *Leadership*, 2(1), pp.77–99.

Frandsen, S., 2015. Portraits of call centre employees: Understanding control and identity work. *Tamara Journal of Critical Organisation Inquiry*, 13(3), pp.5–19.

Frechette, J., Bitzas, V., Aubry, M., Kilpatrick, K. and Lavoie-Tremblay, M., 2020. Capturing Lived Experience: Methodological Considerations for Interpretive Phenomenological Inquiry. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *19*, p.1609406920907254.

Freer, C., 2021. National identity and the Emirate state [Online] Available at: https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mec/2018/12/11/national-identity-and-the-emirati-state/ [Accessed 2 November 2021]

French, N., 2003. *Identity stressors associated with the reintegration experiences of Australasian undercover police officers*. PhD Thesis. Queensland University of Technology.

Friedson, E. 1994. *Professionalism reborn: Theory, prophecy and policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge, Polity Press

Fussell, H.E., 2003. *Evangelical Christianity, Feminism and Domestic Violence Discourse: An Application of Social Identity Theory* (Doctoral dissertation, Portland State University).

Fussell, P., 2002. *Uniforms: Why we are what we wear*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Gagnon, S., 2008. Compelling identity: Selves and insecurity in global, corporate management development. *Management Learning*, 39(4), pp.375–391

Gaiser, T.J., 2008. Online focus groups. In: *The SAGE handbook of online research methods*, pp. 290-306. London: Sage.

Gao, Y., Riley, M. and Sadler-Smith, E., 2008. The Cognitive Structure of Professional Identity. [online] Available at: https://www.anzam.org/wp-content/uploads/pdf-manager/1283_GAO_YINGFEI-180.PDF [Accessed 21 June 2021].

Garcia, V., 2003. Difference in the police department: Women, policing, and “doing gender. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 19(3), pp.330-344.

George, A. L. and Bennett, A., 2006. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Gergen, K. J., 1999. *Narrative, Moral Identity and Historical Consciousness: a Social Constructionist Account.* [online] Available at:<http://www.swarthmore.edu/SocSci/kgergen_1_/text3.html> [Accessed 21 June 2021].

Giazitzoglu, A., 2022. Masculinity, embodiment and identity-work: How do organisational members use their bodies as identity resources to (re) accomplish hegemonic masculinity?. Organization, p.13505084221074041.

Giddens, A. 1990. *The consequences of modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. 1991. *Modernity and self-Identity: Self and identity in the late modern age.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Gill, M.J., 2015. A phenomenology of feeling: Examining the experience of emotion in organisations. New ways of studying emotions in organisations. *Research on Emotion in Organisations*, 11.

Gino F., Kouchaki M., Galinsky A.D. The moral virtue of authenticity: how inauthenticity produces feelings of immorality and impurity. *Psychol. Sci.* 2015;26:983–996

Gioia, D., Schulz, M. and Corley, K., 2000. Organisational Identity, Image, and Adaptive Instability. *Academy of Management Review,* 25(1), pp.63–81.

Gioia, D.A. and Chittipeddi, K., 1991. Sensemaking and sensegiving in strategic change initiation. *Strategic management journal*, 12(6), pp.433-448.

Gioia, D.A., Corley, K.G. and Hamilton, A.L., 2013. Seeking qualitative rigor in inductive research: Notes on the Gioia methodology. *Organisational research methods*, *16*(1), pp.15-31.

Giorgi, A., 2009. *The descriptive phenomenological method in psychology: A modified husserlian approach*. Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press.

Goffman, E. 1959. *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

Goffman, E. 1967. *Interactional ritual. Essays on face-to-face behavior*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Goffman, E. 1990. *Stigma: notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Penguin, Harmondsworth.

Golafshani, N., 2003. Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The qualitative report*, *8*(4), pp.597-607.

Goldberg, A., Offer, D. and Schatzman, L., 1961. The role of the uniform in a psychiatric hospital. *Comprehensive Psychiatry.*

Goldman B.M., Kernis M.H. 2002. The role of authenticity in healthy psychological functioning and subjective well-being. *Ann. Am. Psychother. Assoc.* 2002;5:18–20.

Gomm, R., Hammersley, M. and Foster, P., 2000. Case study and generalization. *Case study method*, pp.98-115.

Gotsi, M., Andropoulos, C., Lewis, M. W., and Ingram, A. E. 2010. Managing creatives: Paradoxical approaches to identity regulation. *Human Relations*, 63(6), pp.781-805.

Grandy, G. and Mavin, S., 2012. Occupational image, organisational image and identity in dirty work: Intersections of organisational efforts and media accounts. *Organisation*, 19(6), pp.765-786.

Grant, D., Hardy, C., Oswick, C.and Putnam, L. Introduction: Organisational discourse: Exploring the field. In D. Grant, T. Keenoy and C. Oswick (Eds), *Handbook of organisational discourse*. London: SAGE, 2004, pp. 1–36.

Greenhalgh, T., Wherton, J., Shaw, S., Papoutsi, C., Vijayaraghavan, S. and Stones, R., 2019. Infrastructure revisited: an ethnographic case study of how health information infrastructure shapes and constrains technological innovation. *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, 21(12), p.e16093.

Greenwald A. G. (1980). The totalitarian ego: fabricitaion and revision of personal history. *Am. Psychol.* 35 603–618.

Grey, C. 1994. Career as a project of the self and labour process discipline. *Sociology,* 28(2), 479-497.

Gronchi, 2018. *Policy innovation in theory and practice: The Danish case of Public Sector Innovation labs*. PhD Thesis. University of Sant'Anna.

Gross, E. and Etzioni, A., 1985. *Organisations in society*. London: Prentice-Hall.

Guba, E.G., 1981. Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries. *Ectj*, *29*(2), p.75.

Gueldenberg, S., & Helting, H. 2007. Bridging "The Great Divide": Nonaka's Synthesis of "Western" and "Eastern" Knowledge Concepts Reassessed. *Organisation,* 14(1): pp.101–122.

Guerrero-Castañeda, R.F., Menezes, T.M.O. and Ojeda-Vargas, M.G., 2017. Characteristics of the phenomenological interview in nursing research. *Rev Gaúcha Enferm*, *38*(2), p.e67458.

Hamad, S., 2007. Creativity: Method or magic?. In: *Consciousness and cognition*, pp. 127-137. London: Academic Press.

Hammersley, M., 2010. *Ethnography: Principles in practice*: 4th ed. London: Routledge.

Hammond K. R. (2007). *Beyond Rationality: The Search for Wisdom in a Troubled Time.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Hancock, P. and Tyler, M. 2007. Un/doing gender and the aesthetics of organisational performance. *Gender, Work & Organisation*, 14(6), pp.512-533.

Hardy, C., Lawrence, T.B. & Grant, D. Discourse and collaboration: The role of conversations and collective identity. *Academy of Management Review*, 2005, 30(1), 58–77.

Harter S. Authenticity. In: Snyder C.R., Lopez S.J., editors. *Handbook of Positive Psychology.* Oxford University Press; New York, NY US: 2002. pp. 382–394.

Hauser, R.M. and Warren, J.R., 1997. Socioeconomic indexes for occupations: A review, update, and critique. *Sociological methodology*, 27(1), pp.177-298.

Haynes, K. 2012. Body beautiful? Gender, identity and the body in professional services firms. *Gender, Work & Organisation*, 19(5), pp.489-507.

Heaphy, E. D. 2007. Bodily insights: Three lenses on positive organisational relationships. In: Dutton, J. and Ragins, B. (Eds). *Exploring positive relationships at work: building a theoretical and research foundation*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 47–71.

Heaphy, E. D. and Dutton, J. 2008. Positive social interactions and the human body at work: Linking organisations and physiology. *Academy of Management Revie*w, 33, pp. 137–62.

Heidegger, M. 1988. *The basic problems of phenomenology*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Helm, S., 2013. A matter of reputation and pride: Associations between perceived external reputation, pride in membership, job satisfaction and turnover intentions. *British Journal of Management*, 24(4), pp.542-556.

Hennink, M.M., 2007. *International focus group research: A handbook for the health and social sciences*, p. 257. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Henry, A., Casserly, A., Coady, M. and Marshall, H., 2008. A phenomenological case study exploring different perspectives on inclusion within one post-primary school in the north west of Ireland. *Angela's College and NUI Galway*.

Higgins, E.T., 1992. Social cognition as a social science: How social action creates meaning.

Hines, R. 1992. Accounting: Filling the negative space. *Accounting, Organisation and Society,* 17(3/4), pp.314-341.

Hochschild, A.R., 2010. The managed heart: Commercialization of human feeling. *The Production of Reality: Essays and Readings on Social Interaction,* p.320À336.

Hoholm, T. and Araujo, L., 2011. Studying innovation processes in real-time: The promises and challenges of ethnography. *Industrial Marketing Management*, 40(6), pp.933-939.

Howson, P., 2020. *The Business Year: Abu Dhabi 2020*. The Business Year.

Huber, G., and Brown, A. D., 2017. Identity work, humour and disciplinary power. *Organisation Studies..*

Hughes, E.C., 1951. Work and the self. In J. H. Rohrer & M. Sherif (Eds.), *Social psychology at the crossroad* (pp. 313–323). New York, NY: Harper.

Humphreys, M., and Brown, A. D. 2002. Dress and identity: A Turkish case study. *Journal of Management Studies*, 39(7), pp. 927-952.

Husserl, E. 2012. Ideas: *General introduction to pure phenomenology*. London: Routledge

Ibarra, H., 1999. Provisional selves: Experimenting with image and identity in professional adaptation. *Administrative science quarterly,* 44(4), pp.764-791.

Ibarra, H., 2003. *Working Identity: Unconventional Strategies for Reinventing Your Career* (Harvard Business School Press, Cambridge, MA).

Ibarra, H., and Barbulescu, R., 2010, Identity as narrative: Prevalence, effectiveness, and consequences of narrative identity work in macro work role transitions. *Academy of Management Review,* 35(1), pp.135-154.

Iedema, R. and Scheeres, H., 2003. From doing work to talking work: Renegotiating knowing, doing, and identity. *Applied linguistics*, 24(3), pp.316-337.

Ingram, J.R., Terrill, W. and Paoline, E.A., 2018. Police culture and officer behavior: application of a multilevel framework. *Criminology* 56(4), pp.780–811.

Iphofen., R., 2013. *Research ethics in ethnography/anthropology.* European commission.

Jacob, S., Fugerson, S. and Paige, S., 2012. Writing interview protocols and conducting interviews: Tips for students new to the field of qualitative research. In:' *Qualitative Report*, 2012.

Jankowicz, A.D., 2005. *Business research projects*. London: Cengage Learning.

Jaros, S. 2012. Identity and the workplace: An assessment of contextualist and discursive approaches. *Tamara Journal for Critical Organisation Inquiry*, 10(4).

Jarzabkowski, P., Lê, J.K. and Van de Ven, A.H., 2013. Responding to competing strategic demands: How organizing, belonging, and performing paradoxes coevolve. *Strategic Organisation*, 11(3), pp.245-280.

Jenkins, R. 2004. *Social identity*, 2nd edn. London: Routledge.

Jenkins, R., 2014. *Social identity*. Routledge.

Johnson, J.L., 2001. *Racial and gender differences in the five factors of personality within military samples*. Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute Patrick AFB United States.

Johnston, R. and McIvor, A. 2004. Dangerous work, hard men and broken bodies: Masculinity in the Clydeside heavy industries, c. 1930–1970s. *Labour History Review*, 69, pp.135251.

Joseph, N. and Alex, N., 1972. The uniform: A sociological perspective. *American journal of sociology,* 77(4), pp.719-730.

Josselson, R., 1996. *Ethics and process in the narrative study of lives*. London: Sage.

Kachtan, D. and Wasserman, V., 2015. (Un) dressing masculinity: The body as a site of ethno-gendered resistance. *Organisation*, *22*(3), pp.390-417.

Karreman, D. and Alvesson, M. 2004. Cages in tandem: Management control, social identity and identification in a knowledge-intensive firm. *Organisation*, 11(1), pp.149–75

Kawulich, B.B., 2005. Participant observation as a data collection method. In: *Forum qualitative sozialforschung/forum: Qualitative social research*, 6(2).

Keenoy, T., Ybema, S., Beverungen, A., Ellis, N. and Sabelis, I., 2009. Constructing identity in organisations. *Human relations*, 62(3).

Kelemen, M.L. and Rumens, N., 2008. *An introduction to critical management research*. London: Sage.

Kellogg, K. C. 2011. *Challenging operations: Medical reform and resistance in surgery.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Kemmis, S. and McTaggart, R., 2000. *Participatory action research: Handbook of qualitative research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage publications, pp.567-605.

Kenny, K., and Euchler, G. 2012. “Some good clean fun”: Humour, control and subversion in an advertising agency. *Gender, Work & Organisation*, 19(3), pp.306-323.

Kevin Strom., 2017. *Research on the impact of technology on policing strategy in the 21st Century*. Final Report. US National Criminal Justice Reference Service <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/251140.pdf> [Accessed 21 June 2021].

Killian, C. and Johnson, C., 2006. “I'm Not an Immigrant!”: Resistance, Redefinition, and the Role of Resources in Identity Work. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *69*(1), pp.60-80.

King, N., 2004. Using interviews in qualitative research. In: Cassell, C., and Symon, G. eds. *Essential guide to qualitative methods in organisational research*. London: Sage.

Kinkade, P.T. and Katovich, M.A., 1997. The driver: Adaptations and identities in the urban worlds of pizza delivery employees. *Journal of contemporary ethnography*, 25(4), pp.421-448.

Kinnaird, B. A. 2015. Life after law enforcement: finding the hidden splendor for our warriors in blue "after the smoke clears.” Retrieved from Psychology Today/HealthProfs. com.

Kira, M. and Balkin, D.B., 2014. Interactions between work and identities: Thriving, withering, or redefining the self?. *Human Resource Management Review*, 24(2), pp.131-143.

Kirpal, S. 2004. Researching work identities in a European context. *Career Development International,* 9(3), pp.199-221.

Klentzin, J.C., 2010. Collective success: A phenomenological case study of Ohio public libraries. *Public Library Quarterly*, *29*(4), pp.293-319.

Knights, D. and Willmott, H., 1989. Power and subjectivity at work: From degradation to subjugation in social relations. *Sociology*, *23*(4), pp.535-558.

Koerner, M.M., 2014. Courage as identity work: Accounts of workplace courage. *Academy of Management Journal*, 57(1), pp.63-93.

Kondo, D. K. 1990. *Crafting selves: Power, gender and discourses of identity in a Japanese workplace*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Kornberger, M. and Brown, A. D., 2007. Ethics' as a discursive resource for identity work. *Human Relations*, 60(3), pp.497-518.

Kosmala, K. and Herrbach, O., 2006. The ambivalence of professional identity: On cynicism and jouissance in audit firms. *Human relations*, 59(10), pp.1393-1428.

Koveshnikov, A., Vaara, E. and Ehrnrooth, M., 2016. Stereotype-based managerial identity work in multinational corporations. Organisation Studies, 37(9), pp.1353-1379.Yin, R., 1994. *Case study research: Design and methods.* Thousand Oaks,CA: Sage.

Kreiner, G.E., Ashforth, B.E. and Sluss, D.M., 2006. Identity dynamics in occupational dirty work: Integrating social identity and system justification perspectives. *Organisation science*, 17(5), pp.619-636.

Kreiner, G.E., Hollensbe, E., Sheep, M.L., Smith, B.R. and Kataria, N., 2015. Elasticity and the dialectic tensions of organisational identity: How can we hold together while we are pulling apart?. *Academy of Management Journal*, 58(4), pp.981-1011.

Kreiner, G.E., Hollensbe, E.C. and Sheep, M.L., 2006. Where is the “me” among the “we”? Identity work and the search for optimal balance. Academy of Management Journal, 49(5), pp.1031-1057.

Krettenauer, T., 2005. The role of epistemic cognition in adolescent identity formation: Further evidence. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, *34*(3), pp.185-198.

Kristinsson, S., 2007. Authenticity, identity, and fidelity to self. *Hommage à Wlodek. Philosophical Papers Dedicated to Wlodek Rabinowicz*, pp.1-32.

Kroll, T., Barbour, R. and Harris, J., 2007. Using focus groups in disability research. *Qualitative Health Research*, *17*(5), pp.690-698.

Kuhn, T. 2006. A "demented work ethic" and a "lifestyle firm": Discourse,identity, and workplace time commitments. *Organisation Studies,* 27(9), pp.1339–1358.

Kuhn, T. 2009. Positioning lawyers: Discursive resources, professional ethics and identification. *Organisation*, 16(5), pp.681-704.

Kuhn, T. and Nelson, N., 2002. Reengineering identity: A case study of multiplicity and duality in organisational identification. *Management communication quarterly*, *16*(1), pp.5-38.

Kvale, S., 2008. *Doing interviews*. London: Sage.

LaPointe, K. 2013. Heroic career changers? Gendered identity work in career transitions. *Gender, Work and Organisation*, 20(2), pp. 133–146.

Lasrado, F., 2019. *Fostering creativity and innovation: Creating a sustainable innovation environment in the United Arab Emirates*. Springer International Publishing.

Lawless, A., Sambrook, S., and Stewart, J. 2012. Critical human resource development: Enabling alternative subject positions within a master of arts in human resource development educational programme. *Human Resource Development Internationa*l, 15(3), pp.321–336.

Lawrence, T.B. and Robinson, S.L., 2007. Ain't misbehavin: Workplace deviance as organisational resistance. *Journal of management*, *33*(3), pp.378-394.

Lawson, C., 2014. Situating policing in a late modern society: the ontology of police identity. *The police journal*, *87*(4), pp.270-276.

Leary, M.R., 2007. Motivational and emotional aspects of the self. *Annu. Rev. Psychol.*, 58, pp.317-344.

Leavitt, K. and Sluss, D. M. 2015. Lying for who we are: An identity-based model of workplace dishonesty*. Academy of Management Review*, 40(4), pp.587–610.

Lempert, L.B., 2007. Asking questions of the data: Memo writing in the grounded. *The Sage handbook of grounded theory*, pp.245-264.

Lepisto, D.A., Crosina, E. and Pratt, M.G., 2015. *Identity work within and beyond the professions: Toward a theoretical integration and extension*. Management Faculty Publications.

Lesy, M., 1987. *The Forbidden Zone.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Lewin, K., 1946. Action research and minority problems. In: G.W. Lewin, ed. *Resolving social conflicts*. New York: Harper & Row.

Liamputtong, P., 2011. Focus group methodology: Introduction and history. *Focus group methodology: Principle and practice*, *224*.

Lincoln, Y.S. and Guba, E.G., 1985. *Naturalistic inquiry*, Beverly Hills: Sage.

Linde, C., 1993. *Life stories: The creation of coherence*. Oxford University Press.

Lingard, L., Albert, M. and Levinson, W., 2008. Grounded theory, mixed methods, and action research. *Bmj*, *337*, p.a567.

Loftus, B., 2010. Police occupational culture: Classic themes, altered times. *Policing and Society,* 20(1), pp.1–20.

Lok, J., 2010. Institutional logics as identity projects. *Academy of Management Journal,* 53(6), pp.1305-1335.

Long, T. and Johnson, M., 2000. Rigour, reliability and validity in qualitative research. *Clinical effectiveness in nursing*, *4*(1), pp.30-37.

Lopez, F.G. and Ramos, K., 2017. An exploration of gender and career stage differences on a multidimensional measure of work meaningfulness. *J Career Assess*, 25(3), pp. 423–433.

Lopez, K.A. and Willis, D.G., 2004. Descriptive versus interpretive phenomenology: Their contributions to nursing knowledge. *Qualitative health research*, *14*(5), pp.726-735.

Loseke, D.R., 2007. The study of identity as cultural, institutional, organisational, and personal narratives: Theoretical and empirical integrations. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *48*(4), pp.661-688.

Lucas, K., 2011. Blue-collar discourses of workplace dignity: Using outgroup comparisons to construct positive identities. *Management Communication Quarterly,* 25(2), pp.353-374.

Lutgen-Sandvik, P., 2008, Intensive remedial identity work: Responses to workplace bullying trauma and stigmatization. *Organisation*, 15(1), pp.97-119.

MacIntosh, R. and Beech, N., 2011. Strategy, strategists and fantasy: a dialogic constructionist perspective. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal*.

MacIntyre, A. 1981. *After virtue*. London: Duckworth.

Madriz, E., 2003. Focus groups in feminist research. In: N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln eds., *Handbook of qualitative research*: *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Magnavita, N. and Garbarino, S., 2013. Is absence related to work stress? A repeated cross-s ectional study on a special police force. *American journal of industrial medicine*, *56*(7), pp.765-775.

Maitlis, S. and Christianson, M., 2014. Sensemaking in organisations: Taking stock and moving forward. *Academy of Management Annals*, 8(1), pp.57-125.

Maitlis, S., 2009. Who am I now? Sensemaking and identity in posttraumatic growth. In Exploring positive identities and organisations (pp. 71-100). Psychology Press.

Malhotra, N.K. and Birks, D.F., 2000. *Marketing research: An applied approach.* London: Pearson Education Limited.

Manen, M.V., 1997. *Researching lived experience: human science for an action sensitive pedagogy.* London: Taylor and Francis Group.

Manning, P. K., 1979. The social. control of police work. In: L S. Holdaway (ed) *British police*. London: Edward Arnold

Manning, P.K., 1997. *Police work: The social organisation of policing* (p. 178). Cambridge, MA: MIT press.

Mars, G., 1973. Chance, punters, and the fiddle: Institutionalized pilferage in a hotel dining room. In: *The sociology of the workplace*. Edited by: Warner, M. 200–210. New York: Halsted Press.

Marshall, C. and Rossman, G.B., 1989. *Designing qualitative research*. London: Sage publications.

Martin, S.E., 1999. Police force or police service? Gender and emotional labor. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science,* 561(1), pp.111-126.

Mastrofski, S.D. and Willis, J.J., 2010. Police organisation continuity and change: Into the twenty-first century. *Crime and Justice*, *39*(1), pp.55-144.

McAdams, D.P., Josselson, R.E. and Lieblich, A.E., 2006. *Identity and story: Creating self in narrative*. American Psychological Association.

McCall, G. J. and Simmons, J. L. 1978. *Identities and interactions: An examination of human associations in everyday life*. New York: The Free Press

McElroy, J. C., Morrow, P. C. and Wardlow, T. R., 1999. A career stage analysis of police officer work commitment. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 27(6), pp.507-516.

McNabb, D.E., 2004. *Research methods for political science: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. New York: M.E. Sharpe.

Mead, G. H., 1934. *Mind, self and society*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Mercer, K., 1990. *Welcome to the jungle*. In: Rutherford J., (Ed.), *Identity: Community, culture, difference,* pp. 43-71. Lawrence and Wishart: London.

Meriläinen, S., Tienari, J., Thomas, R. and Davies, A., 2004. Management consultant talk: A cross-cultural comparison of normalizing discourse and resistance. *Organisation,* 11(4), pp.539-564.

Merriam, S.B., 1998. *Qualitative research and case study applications in education. revised and expanded from case study research in education.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Michel, A., 2012. Transcending socialization: A nine year ethnography of the body's role in organisational control and knowledge worker transformation. *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 56, pp.325–68.

Miles, M. B., Hubermann, A. M., and Saldaña, J., 2014. *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Miles, M.B. and Huberman, A.M., 1994. *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. London: Sage.

Miller, G. 1978. *Odd Jobs: The World of Deviant Work.*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Milton, L.P. and Westphal, J.D., 2005. Identity confirmation networks and cooperation in work groups. *Academy of management journal*, 48(2), pp.191-212.

Miscenko, D. and Day, D.V., 2016. Identity and identification at work. *Organisational Psychology Review,* 6(3), pp.215-247.

Moore, P. and Piwek, L., 2017. Regulating wellbeing in the brave new quantified workplace. *Employee Relations*.

Morgan, D.L., 2002. Focus group interviewing. In: F. Gubrium and J.A. Holstein, eds.,*Handbook of interview research: Context and method*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Morse, J.M., 1994. “Emerging from the data”: the cognitive processes of analysis in qualitative inquiry. In: JM Morse, editor. *Critical issues in qualitative research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Moser, A. and Korstjens, I., 2018. Series: Practical guidance to qualitative research. Part 3: Sampling, data collection and analysis. *European Journal of General Practice*, *24*(1), pp.9-18.

Moufahim, M., Reedy, P. and Humphreys, M., 2015. The Vlaams Belang: The rhetoric of organisational identity. *Organisation Studies,* 36, pp. 91–111.

Mueller, F., Carter, C. and Ross-Smith, A. 2011. Making sense of a career in a Big Four accounting firm. *Current Sociology*, 59(4), pp.551-567.

Neal, D., Wood, W., Labrecque, J. S., and Lally, P. (2012). How do habits guide behavior? Perceived and actual triggers in daily life. J. Exp. Soc. Psychol. 48, 492–498.

Neubauer, B.E., Witkop, C.T. and Varpio, L., 2019. How phenomenology can help us learn from the experiences of others. *Perspectives on Medical Education*, *8*(2), pp.90-97.

Neuman, W.L. and Kreuger, L., 2003. *Social work research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. New York: Allyn and Bacon.

Neumann, J.L., 2011. *Fashioning the Self: Performance, Identity and Difference.*

Nicholls, C.D., 2019. Innovating the craft of phenomenological research methods through mindfulness. *Methodological Innovations*, *12*(2), p.2059799119840977.

O'Doherty, D., Westwood, R. and Rhodes, C., 2007. Heidegger's unfunny and the academic text. In: R. Westwood and C. Rhodes (Eds.), *Humour, work and organisation,* (pp. 180-203). London & New York: Routledge.

Oakland, J., MacDonald, R. A. and Flowers, P. 2012. Re-defining "Me": Exploring career transition and the experience of loss in the context of redundancy for professional opera choristers. *Musicae Scientiae*, 16(2), pp.135–147.

Obodaru, O. 2012. The self not taken: How alternative selves develop and how they influence our professional lives. *Academy of Management Review*, 37(1), pp.34–57.

Ormston, R., Spencer, L., Barnard, M. and Snape, D., 2014. The foundations of qualitative research. *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*, *2*, pp.52-55.

Owens, T. J., Robinson, D. T. and Smith-Lovin, L. 2010. Three faces of identity. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 36, pp.477–499.

Palinkas, L.A., Horwitz, S.M., Green, C.A., Wisdom, J.P., Duan, N. and Hoagwood, K., 2015. Purposeful sampling for qualitative data collection and analysis in mixed method implementation research. *Administration and policy in mental health and mental health services research*, *42*(5), pp.533-544.

Palmer, C.E., 1978. Dog catchers: A descriptive study. *Qualitative Sociology*, 1(1), pp.79-107.

Paoline III, E.A., 2003. Taking stock: Toward a richer understanding of police culture. *Journal of criminal justice*, *31*(3), pp.199-214.

Paoline, E.A., Myers, S.M. and Worden, R.E., 2000. Police culture, individualism,and community policing: evidence from two police departments. *Justice,* 17(3), pp.575–605

Paring, G., Pezé, S. and Huault, I., 2017. 'Welcome to the whiteboard, the new member of the team': Identity regulation as a sociomaterial process. *Organisation*, 24(6), pp.844-865.

Parkin, P., 2009. *Managing change in healthcare: Using action research*. London: Sage.

Patriotta, G. and Spedale, S., 2009. Making sense through face: Identity and social interaction in a consultancy task force. *Organisation Studies*, *30*(11), pp.1227-1248.

Patton, M., 2002. *Qualitative research and educational methods*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Peters, K., Ryan, M. K., and Haslam, S. A. (2013). “Women’s occupational motivation: the impact of being a woman in a man’s world,” in *Handbook of Research on Promoting Women’s Careers*, eds S. Vinnicombe, R. J. Burke, S. Blake-Beard, and L. L. Moore (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing), 162–177.

Petriglieri, G. and Stein, M., 2012. The unwanted self: Projective identification in leaders’ identity work. *Organisation Studies*, 33(9), pp.1217-1235.

Petriglieri, G., Ashford, S. J., and Wrzesniewski, A. 2019. Agony and ecstasy in the gig economy: Cultivating holding environments for precarious and personalized work identities. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 64(1), pp.124–70.

Petriglieri, G., Petriglieri, J.L. and Wood, J.D., 2018. Fast tracks and inner journeys: Crafting portable selves for contemporary careers. *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 63(3), pp.479-525.

Petriglieri, J. L., 2011, Under threat: Responses to and the consequences of threats to individuals' identities. *Academy of Management Review,* 36(4), pp.641-662.

Petrou, P., Demerouti, E. and Schaufeli, W.B., 2015. Job crafting in changing organisations: Antecedents and implications for exhaustion and performance. *Journal of occupational health psychology*, *20*(4), p.470.

Pettigrew, A., 1988. Longitudinal field research on change: Theory and practice. *Paper presented at the National Science Foundation Conference on Longitudinal Research Methods in Organisations,* Austin.

Pfeffer, J., 1995. Producing sustainable competitive advantage through the effective management of people. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 9(1), pp.55-69.

Pietkiewicz, I. and Smith, J.A., 2014. A practical guide to using interpretative phenomenological analysis in qualitative research psychology. *Psychological journal,* 20(1), pp.7-14.

Pini, B. 2005. The third sex: Women leaders in Australian agriculture. Gender, *Work & Organisation*, 12(1), pp.73–88.

Pittman, J.F., Keiley, M.K., Kerpelman, J.L. and Vaughn, B.E., 2011. Attachment, identity, and intimacy: Parallels between Bowlby's and Erikson's paradigms. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 3(1), pp.32-46.

Pitts, J.M., 1994. *Personal understandings and mental models of information: a qualitative study of factors associated with the information-seeking and use of adolescents*. PhD Thesis: Florida State University.

Potter, J. and Wetherell, M., 1987. D*iscourse and social psychology: Beyond attitudes and behaviour*. Sage.

Pratt, M. G. and Rafaeli, A., 1997. Organisational dress as a symbol of multilayered social identities. *Academy of Management Journal*, 40(4), pp.862–898.

Pratt, M. G., 2000, The good, the bad, and the ambivalent: Managing identification among amway distributors. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 45(3), pp.456-493.

Pratt, M. G., Rockmann, K. W., Kaufmann, J. B., 2006. Constructing professional identity: The role of work and identity learning cycles in the customization of identity among medical residents, *Academy of Management Journal*, 49(2), pp.235-262.

Pratt, M.G. and Corley, K., 2007. Managing multiple organisational identities: On identity ambiguity, identity conflict, and members' reactions. *Identity and the modern organisation*, pp.99-118.

Pratt, M.G. and Foreman, P.O., 2000. The beauty of and barriers to organisational theories of identity. *Academy of Management Review*, *25*(1), pp.141-143.

Priola, V. 2004. Gender and femnine identities women as managers in a UK academic institution. *Women in Management Review*, 19(8), pp.421-430.

Prokos, A. and Padavic, I., 2002. 'There oughtta be a law against bitches': masculinity lessons in police academy training. *Gender, work & organisation*, 9(4), pp.439-459.

Rabe-Hemp, C., 2008. Survival in an "all boys club": Policewomen and their fight for acceptance. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management.*

Ramarajan, L. 2014. Past, present and future research on multiple identities: Toward an intrapersonal network approach. *Academy of Management Annals*, 8(1), pp.589–659

Ratner, C., 2002. Subjectivity and objectivity in qualitative methodology. In: *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 3 (3).

Rawski, S.L. and Workman-Stark, A.L., 2018. Masculinity contest cultures in policing organisations and recommendations for training interventions. *Journal of Social Issues,* 74(3), pp.607-627.

Ray MA. The richness of phenomenology: philosophic, theoretic, and methodologic concerns. In: J M Morse, editor. *Critical issues in qualitative research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994:117–33.

Reed, D.A., 1989. *An orderly world: The social construction of reality within an occupation* (Doctoral dissertation, Indiana University).

Reid, A. and Deaux, K., 1996. Relationship between social and personal identities: Segregation or integration. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *71*(6), p.1084.

Reiner, R., 2010. *The politics of the police*. 4th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reissner, S.C., 2010. Change, meaning and identity at the workplace. *Journal of Organisational Change Management.*

Remenyi, D., 1998. *Doing research in business and management: An introduction to process and method*. London: Sage.

Roberts, L.M. and Creary, S.J., 2013. Navigating the self in diverse work contexts. In Q. M. Roberson (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of diversity and work* (pp. 73–97). Oxford University Press.

Robinson, G., Burke, L. and Millings, M., 2016. Criminal justice identities in transition: The case of devolved probation services in England and Wales. *British Journal of Criminology,* 56(1), pp.161-178.

Rounds, J., 2006. Doing identity work in museums. *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 49(2), pp.133-150.

Rubinstein, R.P., 2018. *Dress codes: Meanings and messages in American culture*. Routledge.

Sacks, O., 1985. The Man Who Mistook His Wife for a Hat and Other Clinical Tales.

Sandberg, J. 2005. How do we justify knowledge produced within interpretive approaches? *Organisational Research Methods*, 8(1), pp. 41–68.

Sandelowski, M., 1986. The problem of rigor in qualitative research. *Advances in nursing science*.

Sanders, P., 1982. Phenomenology: A new way of viewing organisational research. *The Academy of Management Review*, 7(3), pp.353-360.

Sanjari, M., Bahramnezhad, F., Fomani, F.K., Shoghi, M. and Cheraghi, M.A., 2014. Ethical challenges of researchers in qualitative studies: The necessity to develop a specific guideline. *Journal of medical ethics and history of medicine*, *7*.

Santino, J., 1990. The outlaw emotions: Narrative expressions on the rules and roles of occupational identity. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 33(3), pp.318-329.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A., 2016. *Research methods for business students*. 6th ed. Harlow: Pearson Education.

Sbaraini, A., Carter, S.M., Evans, R.W. and Blinkhorn, A., 2011. How to do a grounded theory study: a worked example of a study of dental practices. *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, 11(1), p.128.

Schad, J., Lewis, M.W., Raisch, S. and Smith, W.K., 2016. Paradox research in management science: Looking back to move forward. *Academy of Management Annals,* 10(1), pp.5-64.

Schaible, L.M., 2018. The impact of the police professional identity on burnout. *Policing: Int J* 41(1), pp.129–143.

Schildkraut, D.J., 2007. Defining American identity in the twenty-first century: How much “there” is there?. *The Journal of Politics*, 69(3), pp.597-615.

Schlegel R.J., Hicks J.A., Christy A.G. The eudaimonics of the true self. In: Vittersø J., editor. Handbook of Eudaimonic Well-Being. Springer; 2016. pp. 205–213.

Schutz, WC 1958. *FIRO-B: a three-dimensional theory of interpersonal behavior*. New York: Rinehart

Schwandt, T. A., and Gates, E. F., 2018. Case study methodology. In N. K. Dezin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (5th ed.; pp. 341-358). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Scott, B. A., Colquitt, J. A. and Paddock, E. L., 2009. An actor-focused model of justice rule adherence and violation: The role of managerial motives and discretion. *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 94(3), pp.756–769.

Scott, W.R., 2013. *Institutions and organisations: Ideas, interests, and identities*. London: Sage publications.

Sennett, R., 2008. *The craftsman*. Yale University Press: New Haven.

Shaikh, A., 2022. *Amal Mohammad Al-Shihhi: First Emirati female in Abu Dhabi Cavalry.* [online] Available at: <https://gulfnews.com/kurator/dare/amal-mohammad-al-shihhi-first-emirati-female-in-abu-dhabi-cavalry-1.1643110558995> [Accessed 21 June 2022].

Shortt, H., 2012. entityspaces of a hair salon: Work identities and the value of visual. *Sociological Research Online*, 17(2), pp.22.

Silverman, D., 2001. *Interpreting qualitative data: methods for analysing talk, text and interaction*, 2nd ed. London: Sage.

Silvestri, M., 2017. Police culture and gender: revisiting the 'cult of masculinity'. *Policing: J Policy Pract*, 11(3), pp.289–300.

Sims, D., 2008. Managerial identity formation in a public sector professional: An autobiographical account. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 31(9), pp.988–1002.

Sklansky, D., 2007. Seeing blue: Police reform, occupational culture and cognitive burn-in. In: O'Neill M, Marks M and Singh A-M (eds) *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions*. Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 19–47.

Skolnick, J.H., 1966. *Justice without trial: Law enforcement in democratic society*. New York:Macmillan.

Sluss, D. M. and Ashforth, B. E., 2007. Relational identity and identification: Defining ourselves through work relationships. *Academy of Management Review*, 32(1), pp. 9–32.

Smith, B., Meyskens, M., and Wilson, F., 2014. Should we stay or should we go? "Organisational" relational identity and identification in social venture strategic alliances. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 5(3), pp.295–317.

Smith, J. M., 2013. Philanthropic identity at work employer influences the charitable giving attitudes and behaviors of employees. *Journal of Business Communication*, 50(2), pp. 128-151.

Snape, D. and Spencer, L., 2003. Introduction to Research Method. In: *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers.* London: Sage Publications.

Snow, D. A., and Anderson L., 1987. Identity work among the homeless: The verbal construction and avowal of personal identities. *American Journal of Sociology*, 92(6), pp. 1336-1371.

Snyder, C.R., Lassegard, M. and Ford, C.E., 1986. Distancing after group success and failure: Basking in reflected glory and cutting off reflected failure. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 51(2), p.382.

Solomon, M., 1987. Standard Issue. *Psychology Today* (December), pp.30-31.

Somvadee, C. and Morash, M., 2008. Dynamics of sexual harassment for policewomen working alongside men. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management.*

Sørensen, E. and Torfing, J., 2010. Collaborative innovation in the public sector: An analytical framework. *Ritsumeikan Hogaku*, 330(2), pp.209-236.

Spence, J., Putt, C., Chan, L., Barrett, J., Bennett, S., & Newman, M. (2017). Enhancing gender diversity in police recruitment, Police Science. Australia & New Zealand Journal of Evidence-Based Policing, 2(1), 38-44.

Stenbacka, C., 2001. Qualitative research requires quality concepts of its own. *Management Decision*, 39(7), pp. 551-555.

Stets, J.E. and Burke, P.J., 2000. Identity theory and social identity theory. *Social psychology quarterly*, pp.224-237.

Strohminger N., Knobe J., Newman G. The true self: a psychological concept distinct from the self. *Perspect. Psychol. Sci.* 2017;12:551–560.

Stryker, S. 1980. *Symbolic interactionism: A social structural version.* New York: Benjamin-Cummings Publishing Company.

Stryker, S. 1987. *The interplay of affect and identity: Exploring the relationships of social structure, social interaction, self, and emotion.* Chicago: American Sociological Association.

Sullivan, H. S., 1947. *Conceptions of modern psychiatry*. Washington, DC: W.H. White Psychiatric Foundation.

Sveningsson, S., and Alvesson, M., 2003. Managing managerial identities: Organisational fragmentation, discourse and identity struggle. *Human Relations*, 56(10), pp.1163-1193.

Swann Jr, W.B. 2005. The self and identity negotiation. *Interaction Studies*, 6(1), pp. 69-83.

Swann Jr, W.B., Rentfrow, P.J. and Guinn, J.S., 2003. Self-verification: The search for coherence. *Handbook of self and identity*, pp.367-383.

Syed, J. and Pio, E., 2010. Veiled diversity? Workplace experiences of Muslim women in Australia. *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, *27*(1), pp.115-137.

Tajfel, H. and Turner, J.C., 1979. An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. *The social psychology of intergroup relations,* 33(47), pp. 74.

Tajfel, H., 1974. Social identity and intergroup behaviour. *Social science information*, *13*(2), pp.65-93.

Tajfel, H.T. and Turner, J., 1986. The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. *Psychology of intergroup relations*, pp.7-24.

Talbert, T. L. (1974). A study of the police officer height requirement. *Public Personnel Management*, *3*(2), 103-110.

Tamm, T., 2010. *Professional identity and self-concept of Estonian social workers.* Tampere University Press.

Taylor, A., 2018. *Where public servants dare: Developing archetypes for public sector intrapreneurship.* PhD Thesis: Torrens University.

Taylor, F. W. 1911. *The principles of scientific management*. New York: Harper.

Teherani, A., Martimianakis, T., Stenfors-Hayes, T., Wadhwa, A. and Varpio, L., 2015. Choosing a qualitative research approach. *J Grad Med Educ*., 7, pp.669–70.

Thatcher, S.M. and Greer, L.L., 2008. Does it really matter if you recognize who I am? The implications of identity comprehension for individuals in work teams. *Journal of Management,* 34(1), pp.5-24.

Thatcher, S.M. and Zhu, X., 2006. Changing identities in a changing workplace: Identification, identity enactment, self-verification, and telecommuting. *Academy of Management Review*, 31(4), pp.1076-1088.

Thoits, P.A., 2003. Personal agency in the accumulation of multiple role-identities. In: *Advances in identity theory and research* (pp. 179-194). Springer, Boston, MA.

Thomas, R. and Davies, A., 2002. Restructuring the "old bill": policing identities and commitment. *Women in Management Review*.

Thomas, R. and Davies, A., 2005. Theorizing the micro-politics of resistance: New public management and managerial identities in the UK public services. *Organisation studies*, *26*(5), pp.683-706.

Thomas, R. and Linstead, A., 2002. Losing the plot? Middle managers and identity. *Organisation*, 9(1), pp.71-93.

Thompson, L. and Fine, G.A., 1999. Socially shared cognition, affect, and behavior: A review and integration. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *3*(4), pp.278-302.

Thompson, W.E. and Harred, J.L., 1992. Topless dancers: Managing stigma in a deviant occupation. *Deviant Behavior*, 13(3), pp.291-311.

Thompson, W.E., 1991. Handling the stigma of handling the dead: Morticians and funeral directors. *Deviant behavior*, 12(4), pp.403-429.

Thornborrow, T. and Brown, A. 2009. '"Being regimented": Aspiration, discipline and identity work in the British parachute regiment'. *Organisation Studies,* 30, pp.355–76.

Tomlinson, J., Muzio, D., Sommerlad, H., Webley, L. and Duff, L. 2013. Structure, agency and career strategies of white women and black and minority ethnic individuals in the legal profession. *Human Relations*, 66(2), pp.245-269.

Tourinho, E.Z. and Neno, S., 2003. Effectiveness as truth criterion in behavior analysis. *Behavior and Philosophy*, pp.63-80.

Tracy, S.J. and Scott, C., 2006. Sexuality, masculinity, and taint management among firefighters and correctional officers: Getting down and dirty with "America's heroes" and the “scum of law enforcement”. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 20(1), pp.6-38.

Treiman, D.J. 2013. *Occupational prestige in comparative perspective*. London: Elsevier.

Trethewey, A., 1999. Disciplined bodies: Women's embodied identities at work. *Organisation studies*, 20(3), pp.423-450.

Trice, H.M. and Beyer, J.M., 1993. *The cultures of work organisations*. Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Trujillo, N. and Dionisopoulos, G., 1987. Cop talk, police stories, and the social construction of organisational drama. *Communication Studies*, 38(3-4), pp.196-209.

Tufano, S., 2018. *Role identity and the transition from police department to civilian life.* PhD Thesis: Walden University.

Turner, J. C. 1985. Social categorisation and the self-concept: A social cognitive theory of group behaviour. In: *Advances in group processes*, Edited by: Lawler, E. J. 77–122. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D. and Wetherell, M. S., 1987. *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorisation theory*. New York, NY: Basil Blackwell.

Turner, J.C. and Onorato, R.S., 1999. Social identity, personality, and the self-concept: A self-categorization perspective. In: *The psychology of the social self*, pp. 11-46.

Tyler, M. and Cohen, L., 2010. Spaces that matter: Gender performativity and organisational space. *Organisation Studies*, 31(2), pp.175-198.

UAE Gov, 2018. *Government Performance Management framework. https*://mbrsgcdn.azureedge.net/cmsstorage/mbrsg/files/d4/d43d7762-32ca-4fc2-ab3e-4f473b940b96.pdf

UAE, 2019. *The United Arab Emirates’ National Report on the Implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* [online] Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/CSW/64/National-reviews/UAE_en.pdf> [Accessed 21 June 2022].

UAEU, 2021. *Maryam Al Qahtani. The first Emirati woman with the rank of "brigadier-General" at the state level*. [online] Available at: <https://blogs.uaeu.ac.ae/en/posts/maryam-alqahtani-the-first-emirati-woman-with-the-rank-of-brigadier-general-at-the-state-level.aspx#:~:text=Maryam%20Al%20Qahtani.,General%22%20at%20the%20state%20level > [Accessed 21 June 2022].

Valentine, G. 2002. In-corporations: Food, bodies and organisations. *Body & Society,* 8, pp.1–20.

Van Hulst, M., 2013. Storytelling at the police station: the canteen culture revisited. *British journal of criminology*, 53(4), pp.624-642.

Van Maanen, J. and Barley, R.S., 1984. Occupational Communities: Culture and Control in Organisations,(w:] Research in Organisational Behaviour.

Van Maanen, J., 1975. Police socialisation: a longitudinal examination of job attitudes in an urban police department. *Adm Sci Q*, 20(2), pp. 207–228

Van Maanen, J., 1998. *Qualitative studies of organisations* (Vol. 1). Sage.

Van Maanen, J., 2010. Identity work and control in occupational communities. In: *Organisational Control*. Ed. Sim B. Sitkin et al. London: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Van Maanen, J.E. and Schein, E.H., 1977. Toward a theory of organisational socialization. *Res. Organ. Behav*, 1, p.209–264.

Van Manen, M. (ed.) (2001). *Writing in the Dark: Phenomenological Studies in Interpretive Inquiry.* London: Routledge.

Van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T. and Spears, R., 2008. Toward an integrative social identity model of collective action: A quantitative research synthesis of three socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychological bulletin*, 134(4), pp. 504.

Veelen, R.V., Derks, B., Endedijk, M.D. and Hall, W.M., 2019. Double Trouble: How Being Outnumbered and Negatively Stereotyped Threatens Career Outcomes of Women in STEM Social Identity Threat Among Women in. *Front. Psychol.*, *10*, pp.1-18.

Veldman, J., Meeussen, L., Van Laar, C. and Phalet, K., 2017. Women (do not) belong here: gender-work identity conflict among female police officers. *Frontiers in psychology*, *8*, p.130.

Verplanken, B. and Sui, J., 2019. Habit and identity: Behavioral, cognitive, affective, and motivational facets of an integrated self. Frontiers in psychology, 10, p.1504.

Vignoles, V. L., Regalia, C., Manzi, C., Golledge, J., Scabini, E., 2006. Beyond self-esteem: Influence of multiple motives on identity construction. *Journal of personality and social psychology,* 90(2), pp.308-333.

Vignoles, V., 2017. Identity: Personal and social. In: *Oxford Handbook of Personality and Social Psychology*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Vignoles, V.L., 2011. Identity motives. In: *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 403-432). New York, NY: Springer.

Vignoles, V.L., Schwartz, S.J. and Luyckx, K., 2011. Introduction: Toward an integrative view of identity. In *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 1-27). New York, NY: Springer.

Von Hippel, C., Issa, M., Ma, R., and Stokes, A. (2011). Stereotype threat: antecedents and consequences for working women. *Eur. J. Soc. Psychol.* 41, 151–161. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.749

Waddington, P.A., 1999. Police (canteen) sub-culture. An appreciation. *The British journal of criminology*, 39(2), pp.287-309.

Walker, M., 2019. *When Getting Along is Not Enough: Reconstructing Race in Our Lives and Relationships*. Teachers College Press.

Wallace, H.M. and Tice, D.M., 2012. Reflected appraisal through a 21st-century looking glass. In M. R. Leary and J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *Handbook of self and identity* (p. 124–140). The Guilford Press.

Walsh, I., Holton, J.A., Bailyn, L., Fernandez, W., Levina, N. and Glaser, B., 2015. What grounded theory is… a critically reflective conversation among scholars. *Organisational Research Methods*, *18*(4), pp.581-599.

Wang, M. and Shi, J., 2014. Psychological research on retirement. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 65, pp.209-233.

Wasserman, V. and Frenkel, M., 2011. Organisational aesthetics: Caught between identity regulation and culture jamming. *Organisation Science*, 22(2), pp. 503-521.

Watson, T. J., 2008. Managing Identity: Identity work, personal predicaments and structural circumstances. *Organisation,* 15, pp.121–43.

Watson, T.J., 2003. Strategists and strategy-making: Strategic exchange and the shaping of individual lives and organisational futures. *Journal of Management Studies,* 40(5), pp.1305-1323.

Watson, T.J., 2009. Entrepreneurial action, identity work and the use of multiple discursive resources: The case of a rapidly changing family business. *International Small Business Journal,* 27(3), pp.251-274.

Watson, T.J., 2009. Narrative, life story and manager identity: A case study in autobiographical identity work. *Human relations*, *62*(3), pp.425-452.

Webb, S.A. ed., 2017. *Professional identity and social work*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Wegener, C., 2012. Public sector innovation: value creation or value loss?. *Lifelong Learning in Europe*, (4).

Wei, J., 2012. Dealing with reality: Market demands, artistic integrity, and identity work television production. *Poetics*, 40(5), pp.444-466.

Weick, K.E. and Quinn, R.E., 1999. Organisational change and development. *Annual review of psychology*, 50(1), pp.361-386.

Weick, K.E., 1995. *Sensemaking in Organisations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Westley, W.A., 1970. *Violence and the Police: A sociological study of law, custom, and morality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Westmarland, L., 2017. Putting their bodies on the line: Police culture and gendered physicality. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 11(3), pp.301-317.

Whitehead, D., Taket, A. and Smith, P., 2003. Action research in health promotion. *Health Education Journal*, *62*(1), pp.5-22.

Wieland, S. M., 2010. Ideal selves as resources for the situated practice of identity. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 24(4), pp.503-528.

Wilkinson, S., 2004. Focus groups. *Doing social psychology research*, pp.344-376.

Wilson, J., 2010. *Essentials of business research: A guide to doing your research project*. London: Sage.

Winkler, I., 2018. Identity work and emotions: A review. *International journal of management reviews,* 20(1), pp.120-133.

Wise, A. J. and Millward, L. J., 2005. The experiences of voluntary career change in 30-somethings and implications for guidance. *Career Development International,* 10(5), pp.400-417.

Wood A.M., Linley P., Maltby J., Baliousis M., Joseph S. The authentic personality: a theoretical and empirical conceptualization and the development of the Authenticity Scale. *J. Couns. Psychol.* 2008;55:385–399.

Wood, W., and Rünger, D. (2016). Psychology of habit. Annu. Rev. Psychol. 67, 11.1–11.26.

Wrzesniewski, A. and Dutton, J.E., 2001. Crafting a job: Revisioning employees as active crafters of their work. *Academy of management review*, 26(2), pp.179-201.

Ybema, S., Keenoy, T., Oswick, C., Beverungen, A., Ellis, N. and Sabelis, I., 2009. Articulating identities. *Human relations*, *62*(3), pp.299-322.

Ybema, S., Vroemisse, M. and Van Marrewijk, A., 2012. Constructing identity by deconstructing differences: Building partnerships across cultural and hierarchical divides. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 28(1), pp.48-59.

Yin, R.K., 2013. Validity and generalization in future case study evaluations. *Evaluation*, 19(3), pp.321-332.

Young, M. 1991. An inside job: Policing and police culture in britain. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Zaman, S., 2022. *Female Emirati officers now integral part of Abu Dhabi Police K9 unit*. [online] Available at: <https://gulfnews.com/uae/female-emirati-officers-now-integral-part-of-abu-dhabi-police-k9-unit-1.86280536 > [Accessed 21 June 2022].

Appendix 1 – Interview Guide

An investigation of the identity work in Policing: A Case Study of UAE Police College

Hamad Aldarmkai, tel: +971509998374 , email:h.a.r.h.aldarmaki2@newcastle.ac.uk

---

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

Face-face in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with each participant. Each interview was scheduled to last between 1.5 and 3 hours, and interviews were digitally recorded.

Introduction

- Introduce self, build rapport, comments/brief conversation.
- Present and explain the information sheet, ask whether the participant has any questions and answer accordingly.
- Clarify interviewees' rights and remind the interviewee of their right to confidentiality and anonymity as outlined in the information sheet.
- Outline the implications of written informed consent and ask the participant to complete the consent form.
- Ensure that the participant is ready for the interview to commence.

Clarify definition of identity and innovation and context for the purpose of this interview.

Identity: how you or others interpret who you are based on a wide range of factors including personal attributes, socio-demographic characteristics, roles, group membership, language you use.

Innovation: is the creation and implementation of newer or significantly improved products (goods or services) or processes, new methods, new organisational methods in business practice, new workplace organisations or external relationships

Context: To this interview, we are interested in your views and experiences in relation female cohort in the Policing College and women in police.

Your Identity

1. How do you perceive or identify yourself at work?

   Follow-up:
   What aspects about yourself do you think defines you?
   How do you perceive your role?
   What values/beliefs do you hold important?
   Do you identify with any person or group more than others?
   How do you talk about yourself to others?

2. How do you think others see you?

   Follow-up:
   Has anyone at work commented about who you are?
   What impressions did you get from this?
   What are some categories or labels have others used to identify you?

Others Identity

3. Can you talk about how other officers in your workplace are perceived?

   Follow-up:
   Do other people or groups have different beliefs or values?
   What are some categories or labels used to identify others?
   How do you perceive or identify others at your workplace?

Identity Motives

4. Can you talk about why you identify or define yourself in this way?

   Follow-up:
   What do you think influences how you define yourself?
   What is the reason for how you identify?
   Probe: Self-belief, esteem, belonging, be different, continuity
   Can you talk about why others define themselves in the way they do?

5. Can you talk about any concerns about your identity or how you want to define yourself?

   Follow-up:

What are the biggest challenges you face about being a police officer in terms of?

how you see yourself?

Innovation

6. Please tell what you know about the [innovation name].

Follow-up:

What is your view about it?

Do you agree with it?

7. Can you tell me about any concerns or challenges you experienced about this innovation in terms your identity?

Follow-up:

Did you feel any aspect of your identity was under threat?

How did it make you feel?

In what ways do you think it affects how what you think or belief about yourself?

Did you feel the innovation enhances or was beneficial to your identity?

Can you talk about how it affects your work? Role, status, how you do your work?

How do you think it affected your values or beliefs?

How did you behave? How did others behave?

Did it change how you identify or your relationship with any person or group?

8. Can you talk about any conversations people had about each other? Talks, comments, stories? Where there any humour or labelling? Were there any changes to behaviour or physical appearance?

9. What about others? Can you talk about how you think this innovation affected the identity of others?

Follow-up:

Can you talk about how you think others perceived or experienced the effect of?

this innovation on their identity?

Has the way people perceived themselves or other changed in any way?

Probe: Values, status, role, relationships belonging

Identity Work

10. In what ways do you think you have adapted how you perceive yourself?

Follow-up:

Can you talk about any situation where you needed to modify or change your identity?

What did you do or say to work on your identity?

Either order to be accepted, listened to, engaged with or generally to be able to perform your duties as you see them?

How did you feel about that?

11. Can you talk about any situation where you think others needed to modify or change their identity?

Follow-up

Did you see a change in any categories or labels others have used to identify themselves, you or others?

Language; comments; behaviour; values

12. **How would you describe the outcome of any identity change because of this innovation?**

Follow-up

How do you feel now about your self-identity? How do you think others feel?

Your social identity? Is there any difference now in how you relate to others?

Your role or status?

Has the narrative changed? Language or comments about themselves or others?

13. **Is there anything that you feel we haven’t discussed today which you would like to bring up?**

Possible follow up questions include:

You mentioned ______ tell me what that was like for you. You mentioned ______ describe that in more detail for me.

Can you recall any significant experiences in terms of your identity?

You mentioned that _______ was an issue. Could you please talk more about that?

You mentioned _____, tell me more about that. What happened then? Can you describe what that felt like?

Imagination Variation

In terms of your or other identity, is there any aspect of the innovation [project name] it is important to change? Why?

Appendix 2 – Interview Schedule

A total of 16 interviewees: 4 x Female Cadets, 4 x Male Cadets, 4 x Police Instructors, 4 x Police Graduates

ID	Interviewee	Description	Date/Time
1	Police Cadet	Male	Week 5
2	Police Cadet	Female	Week 5
3	Instructor	Physical Training Specialist	Week 5
4	Police Cadet	Male	Week 7
5	Police Cadet	Female	Week 7
6	Instructor	Weapons and Firearms Specialist	Week 7
7	Police Cadet	Male	Week 8
8	Police Cadet	Female	Week 8
9	Instructor	Criminal Investigation Specialist	Week 8
10	Police Cadet	Male	Week 10
11	Police Cadet	Female	Week 10
12	Instructor	Defence Specialist	Week 10
13	Police Graduate	Male	Week 12
14	Police Graduate	Female	Week 12
15	Police Graduate	Male	Week 12
16	Police Graduate	Female	Week 12

Appendix 3 – Observation Guide

This observation focuses on identity work within an on-going work situation within the context of specific innovation and will adhere to the following protocols:

- This Observation will be of *naturally occurring interactions and conversations among [place/people/situation] during work*
- Schedule group meetings or activities
- Inform the participants of the purpose of the observation and share information with them about topics that their questions about the research and the researcher's presence there are put to rest.
- Explain that you simply observe and record your comments and do not ask any questions.
- Explain to participants that the notes will be confidential and will not include their names or any other information that could identify them in any reports written.
- Before the start do observation participants have any questions?
- Specify dates and times for participation and ensure that you are constantly introducing yourself as the researcher.

Appendix 4 – Observation Schedule

Data Collection Period: March 20th, 2021 - June 20th, 2021, **No observations:** 24

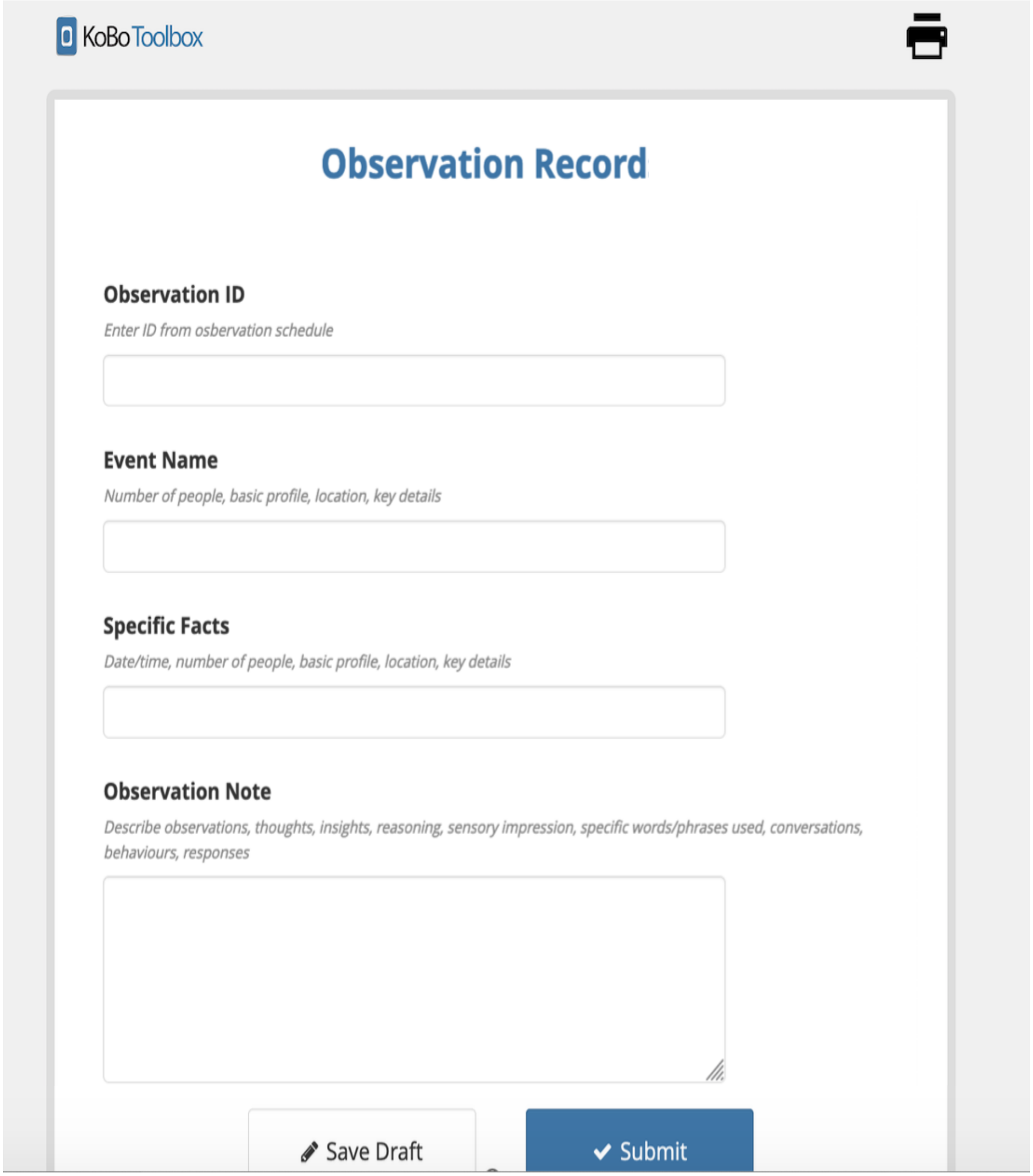
Duration per Observation: 3hrs

ID	Observation Context	Observes	Subject Area	Date/Time
1	Classroom training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Criminal Investigation	Week 1
2	Practical training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Firearms	Week 1
3	Classroom training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Drug Law Enforcement	Week 2
4	Practical training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Defence Tactics	Week 2
5	Classroom training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Physical and Emotional Readiness	Week 3
6	Practical training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Physical Fitness Training	Week 3
7	Classroom training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Patrol Procedures	Week 4
8	Practical training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Patrol Exercises	Week 4
9	Classroom training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Human relations	Week 5
10	Practical training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Human Relations Exercises	Week 5
11	Classroom training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Laws and Criminal Procedures	Week 6
12	Practical training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Arrests exercises	Week 6

ID	Interviewee	Observes	Subject Area	Date/Time
13	Classroom training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Homeland Security	Week 7
14	Practical training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Scenarios and Practical Exercises	Week 7
15	Classroom training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Patrol Procedures and Operations	Week 8
16	Practical training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor		Week 8
17	Classroom training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Crash Investigation	Week 9
18	Practical training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Emergency Response Training	Week 9
19	Classroom training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Juveniles Law and Procedures	Week 10
20	Practical training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Patrol Procedures and Operations	Week 10
21	Classroom training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Human Relations	Week 11
22	Practical training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Scenarios	Week 11
23	Classroom training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Crash Investigation	Week 12
24	Practical training	Female/Male Cadets and Instructor	Emergency Response Training	Week 12

Appendix 5 – Observation Log

For each observation submit a record.



Observation Record

Observation ID

Enter ID from osbervation schedule

Event Name

Number of people, basic profile, location, key details

Specific Facts

Date/time, number of people, basic profile, location, key details

Observation Note

Describe observations, thoughts, insights, reasoning, sensory impression, specific words/phrases used, conversations, behaviours, responses

Appendix 6 – Observation Checklist

Key Points

- Write field note immediately after observation and making notes during observation
- Use video or audio is this has been consented to and if it useful.
- Use descriptive words to document what you observe. For example, instead of noting that a classroom appears "comfortable," state that the classroom includes soft lighting and cushioned chairs that can be moved around by the students. Being descriptive means supplying yourself with enough factual evidence that you don't end up making assumptions about what you meant when you write the final report.
- Note ideas, impressions, thoughts, and/or any criticisms you have about what you observed.
- Include insights about what you have observed and speculate as to why you believe specific phenomenon occurred.
- Record any thoughts that you may have regarding any future observations.
- Chiseri-Strater and Sunstein (1997) have developed a list of useful things that should be included in all field notes:
  1. Date, time, and place of observation
  2. Specific facts, numbers, details of what happens at the site
  3. Sensory impressions: sights, sounds, textures, smells, taste
  4. Personal responses to the fact of recording fieldnotes
  5. Specific words, phrases, summaries of conversations, and insider language
  6. Questions about people or behaviors at the site for future investigation
- Page numbers to help keep observations in order