Responding to reforms: resilience through rule-bending and workarounds in the police force

Vanessa Monties & Stéphanie Gagnon

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Check for updates

Responding to reforms: resilience through rule-bending and workarounds in the police force

Vanessa Monties[a] and Stéphanie Gagnon[b]

[a]ESSCA School of Management, UER Organization, Management & Human Resources, Lyon, France; [b]École nationale d'administration publique, Direction de l'enseignement et de la recherche, Montréal, Canada

ABSTRACT
When they shape expectations about professional behaviours, reforms can threaten professional identities. Using an ethnographic study of police investigators, we reveal how threats to professional identity trigger two collective processes of resilience: working the legal boundaries and securing elitism and cohesion. These processes reveal two types of relationship to compliance: apparent compliance and peer-induced compliance, which manifest through rule-bending and workarounds. At the team level, these forms of compliance fostered resilience by helping police officers to maintain their preferred identity. This study also finds that these manifestations of resilience have mixed consequences for both officers and their institution.

In memory of Manu (2019) and Franck (2020)

Introduction

People in contemporary work environments face an increasing number of unexpected and socially challenging events, including growing numbers of emergencies, making the experience of work more extreme (Hällgren, Rouleau, and De Rond 2018). In this context, the concept of workplace resilience is more resonant than ever. This paper investigates the resilience processes of street-level bureaucrats (SLBs), answering Laitinen & Stenvall's call (2016, 11) for more research on the 'resilience of organizations and the capacities of the SLBs'. Following Lipsky (2010), we have included police officers in the category of SLBs, in that they are 'workers (who) interact with and have wide discretion over the dispensation of benefits or the allocation of public sanctions'. Building on the work of Sutcliffe and Vogus (2003), Hartmann et al. (2020) have defined resilience as 'positive adaptation in the face of adversity'. Despite reviews of the concept by scholars such as Hartmann et al. (2020), debate is still ongoing as to the nature of the different processes at work in resilience-building, the different types of resilience, which factors influence it, and how it is put into operation. While Hartmann and colleagues have called for more investigation of

CONTACT Vanessa Monties ✉ vanessa.MONTIES@essca.fr

workplace resilience at the team level (2020, 947), most of the literature so far has focused on individuals, using quantitative measurements (Pangallo et al. 2015). This paper will focus on SLBs' resilience, and specifically on occupational resilience (Kossek and Perrigino 2016), using a yearlong ethnographic observation of police investigators in France. To this end we have used a qualitative approach that 'allows for the investigation of complex, processual dynamics and human interaction' (Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton 2013). In this study, we show that the adversity faced by police officers threatens their occupational identity. Moreover, we were able to observe how the social nature of team resilience led police officers (PO), categorized here as street level bureaucrats (SLBs), to proactively circumvent threats to occupational identity. From these observations, which we explore below, we concluded that police officers use workarounds and rule-bending as processes of resilience. These results are in sharp contrast to those of Davidovitz and Cohen (2022, 294), which explain that " ... when SLBs feel that their organization does not support them, they are more responsive to the demands of those clients in whom they have little trust (...) bending and breaking the rules in order to meet these clients' demands'. We provide another rationale for why SLBs act the way they do; rather than seeking to deliver a better organizational service, they are working to maintain their preferred occupational identity.

Successive reforms to the French police force have brought about tremendous institutional change over the past few decades (de Maillard and Savage 2012; den Heyer 2016), causing conflict and tension within the police force[1] as well as creating a gap between the way police officers working in the field perceive their work and the way it is understood by their hierarchy, which these officers perceive as disconnected from realities on the ground. The police investigators we observed felt that the changes of the past decades were threats to their occupational identity (Courpasson and Monties 2017; Petriglieri 2011) in the sense that they challenged their understanding of their work and jeopardized their occupational identity. Police officers have been observed to demonstrate different types of collective resilience processes (Kossek and Perrigino 2016) in the face of threats to these understandings of themselves, in particular developing group strategies that help them to 'bounce back' and cope with adversity. Below, we will show that officers adopted two types of behaviours when faced with what they perceived as challenges to their identity created by changing rules and reforms. We will explain how these behaviours can be understood as resiliency-building processes at the collective level, and how these have led to the establishment of a kind of underground work ethos that helps these SLBs to feel they are protecting the occupational identity they consider best adapted to the realities of their work environment.

This article makes several contributions to SLB resilience and compliance literatures: first, it answers the call for more research on the collective nature of the resilience process (Kossek and Perrigino 2016) in the public service environment (Virtanen, Laitinen, and Stenvall 2016). Second, it sheds new light on the use of rule-bending and workarounds by police officers as mechanisms that occur prior to front-line service delivery to clients, contrary to the classical view (Tummers et al. 2015). We show how these mechanisms are better understood primarily as tools that help SLBs to maintain their preferred occupational identities, whose impact on their relationship with the 'client' is secondary. Third, we offer an internal perspective on triggers and responses, complementing existing literature on police officers' resilience. Currently, most studies

on police officers' resilience focus on the aftermath of stressful or traumatic events they may experience externally, in the field (Anderson et al. 2015). This article, by contrast, explores processes of resilience triggered by internal factors, such as public service reforms.

In the first section, we present the literature on occupational resilience and the concepts of rule-bending and workarounds in public management. In the second, we introduce our methodology and provide some context, briefly describing the reforms that generated the identity threats to which the officers in our study were responding. We then present and discuss our results. The final section is dedicated to this study's limitations and its potential applications.

Occupational resilience of SLBs

In their overview of the different definitions of the concept of resilience, Kossek and Perrigino underline the importance of context: 'the multiple meanings of resilience are not mutually exclusive and the context in which resilience occurs that triggers the demand for individuals to respond to adversity matters and should be incorporated in theorizing' (2016, 735). In the literature on positive organizational behaviour, resilience is usually defined either as a set of traits (Wanberg and Banas 2000) or as self-efficacy, a willingness to take risks, and low dependency (London 1983). It is also described as a resource that can be drawn on (Chen and Lim 2012; Vuori, Toppinen-Tanner, and Mutanen 2012); or an ability (Luthans 2002; Youssef and Luthans 2007). Kossek and Perrigino conclude by offering this definition of occupational resilience: 'it reflects the multiple ways in which individuals access resiliency resources (traits, capacity, process of appraisal and adaptation, access to resources) in order to respond to stress triggers, which can be positive or negative, to adapt performance across work and nonwork domains over one's career'(2016, 764).

This article considers resilience from an interactionist perspective, as a dynamic process that people engage in when faced with threats, risks, or unwanted changes, in order to identify strategies to cope with, adapt to, and balance their relationship to their work environment. Fraser, Galinsky, and Richman (1999, 137) explain, 'to be resilient, one must be exposed to risk and then respond successfully. Resilience is a successful adaptational response to high risk. By definition, a person who is not exposed to risk cannot be said to be resilient'. In their work environment, police officers face external adversity, in the form of risk and violence, as well as internal threats, such as institutional changes that jeopardize their preferred occupational identity; furthermore, police work is known for its strong culture and sub-cultures (Jermier et al. 1991; Reiner 2017; Van Maanen 1978). Thus, it can be concluded that perceived threats to police officers' occupational identity represents a major trigger of resilience. We examined officers' responses to these triggers to see whether patterns of behaviour might emerge that would shed light on how resilience manifests. The main responses we observed were deviations from existing rules through workarounds and rule bending.

Workarounds and rule bending

Workarounds are considered a key behaviour in managerial discretion (Campbell 2012). According to Bozeman, Youtie, and Jung (2021, 529), 'workaround behavior entails taking specific actions not sanctioned by the rule, typically making adjustments

to the rule, with the intent of serving any of a number of objectives, ranging from personal convenience to helping a client to taking actions perceived to benefit the organization'. These authors consider workarounds and rule bending as behaviours of non-compliance. Workarounds in public administration have received little attention (Borry 2017; Bozeman, Youtie, and Jung 2021), though, despite the fact that the discretion enjoyed by street-level bureaucrats makes workarounds an easy response to new rules implemented in the wake of new reforms (Masood and Nisar 2021). Rule-bending occurs when an employee chooses to depart from the requirements of a rule or only partially follow a rule (DeHart-Davis 2007; Sekera and Zolin 2007), sometimes in 'response to obstacles within a bureaucracy that must be overcome' (Borry 2017, 81). Though similar, the two terms are distinct, and may indeed be located on either end of a spectrum: in the words of Bozeman, Youtie, and Jung (2021, 529), 'While work-around behavior is clearly related to rule bending, workarounds are generally more calculated and are less likely to be one-off behaviors'.

In her study of German police officers, Brockmann explored the role an organization can play in influencing rule-bending behaviour. She found that rule bending – particularly when seen as 'characteristic of unbureaucratic behaviour – may be bene-ficial for organizations because it can better organizational processes and procedures' (Brockmann 2017, 13). Similarly, Davidovitz and Cohen (2022, 289) found that teachers and social workers bend rules in order to ensure their 'clients' behave well in future encounters. In contrast with Brockmann's observations as well as with Davidovitz & Cohen's, our study found that rule bending and workaround behaviours among police investigators were not directly intended to improve organizational processes; instead, their goal was to maintain a positive occupational identity that officers felt was threatened by reforms.

As mentioned earlier, occupational identity and culture are fundamental features of police work (Jermier et al. 1991; Van Maanen 1978), which may explain why their resilience processes were triggered by what they perceived as threats to their preferred occupational identity. The police officers we observed developed a broad 'skill set of diverse resilience competencies' (Kossek and Perrigino 2016, 748) in order to preserve a professional identity they felt was crucial to effectively carry out the public service to which they were committed.

Methodology

Research context and data collection

Context

Police investigators perceive their occupational identity as having been threatened by successive reforms (see Table 1) put in place in the context of the New Public Management (NPM) policy approach underlying a broad reform of French public services in the early 1990s. These reforms led the French police force to introduce several changes to their management practices, including target-oriented performance indicators (de Maillard and Savage 2012). More managerialist changes followed, including 'management by objectives' (see de Maillard and Savage 2012, 273–277, for more details). This was followed by an overall change in management policies, accompanied by political pressure, outside the police force. First, in 2001, came a 'paradigmatic change of the finance framework governing the French administration'

Table 1. Reforms and officers' responses.

Reforms	Officer responses	Explanations
2011 reform of judicial procedures, including police custody rules	Obtaining information in spaces outside official interactions	Finding new ways to get information from suspects
	Developing court-related skills	More complex procedure requires more court-related skills to compensate for deviations in the field
	Developing specific operational trainings	Special training to compensate for loss of time in the field and pressure to follow legal protocols
NPM: -Since 2001: paradigmatic change to the financial architecture of the French administration -Since 2002:	Captain Morgan's charter	Addressed growing discrepancies in different officers' understanding of their work and sought to improve group cohesion
	Securing the recruitment process	Ensures they can choose their colleagues in the face of mounting tensions with their institution
Managerialization of the police force through 'goal-oriented management'	Double-level training	Helps officers to remain efficient in practical situations and maintain control over their professional skills

that redefined the financial architecture of the French government. Known as the *loi organique relative aux lois de finances* (LOLF), and put into effect in 2006, it linked performance and budget, applying the ideas and practices of NPM. The second major reform occurred in 2002, initiated by then-minister of the interior Nicolas Sarkozy: its two-pronged strategy added resources to the police budget while exerting closer control over police work through oversight and performance evaluation. Known as the 'culture of results' and then as the 'culture of performance', it focused on two indicators, the clearance rate (the number of cases cleared in a year compared to the number filed), and the official crime rate (de Maillard and Savage 2012). This new ethos of performance and targets led to 'a significant if not fundamental shift in organizational culture' (de Maillard and Savage 2022, 278), and 'presented considerable challenges to public service professionals' ability to deliver effective services' (Mangan et al. 2018, 1353). Most of the police officers we observed were critical of this reform, observing that it provoked what they called 'la bâtonnite', an informal expression used to describe the practice focusing exclusively on quantified parameters in their work, the result being a disproportionate focus on minor or petty – and therefore easily cleared – crimes. They deplored the increasing focus on quantitative evaluation of their activities, which they felt came at the cost of more qualitative assessments. Certainly, police officers did not perceive any improvement in the clearance rate after these reforms were passed. Statistically, frequent changes to evaluation criteria over the past decades make it extremely difficult to measure police performance with any precision. As Didier (2015, 118) explains: 'There are now so many indicators, so many objectives, so much software that measurement harms measurement: too much information ends up killing information'.

Other reforms to the justice system followed, with further impact on the practices of police investigators. Notable among these was a change to the rules about police custody that took effect in 2011, requiring the presence of the lawyer from the first minute of the custody period and in particular during any interrogations. Police investigators expressed many concerns about these changes. Chiefly, they felt that bolstering the legal rights and protections of suspects diminished the advantage in

power officers had in their relations with suspects. They expressed a similar level of concern over the growing proportion of their work hours spent on procedural and administrative tasks, which kept them away from the field. They reported to us that the amount of paperwork required of them had increased by 30%, noting a particular increase the number of reports required during a judicial procedure. Beneath the surface of these objections was a sense of deep unease among officers as to the meaning of their work: their sense of what it means to do a good job was now built on aspects of their work that were increasingly out of step with what they were actually being asked to do. This sense of lost meaning was often expressed explicitly: '*I don't know why I come to work anymore*' *(HUNT Squad officer #2)*; '*I no longer understand what is expected of me*' *(Hunt Squad officer and instructor #1)*.

These procedural reforms to the justice system have also affected the way suspects are apprehended. Since the presence of a lawyer is mandatory as soon as a suspect is taken into custody, police investigators have fewer opportunities to physically isolate suspects and exert psychological pressure on them. Describing how it felt to abandon certain practices they considered to be integral to their occupational identity, officers noted feeling that they were required to meet the demands of a job that no longer fit with their own expectations: '*This reform changed how I interrogate suspects . . . now I feel almost useless. Depositions are not the same anymore, it's all sanitized*' *(Homicide unit investigator #3)*.

Coming in the wake of Sarkozy's performance-oriented budget reform, this reform to the justice system also had an indirect impact on officers' relationships with their hierarchy and their colleagues, contributing to a sense of alienation in two ways. First, the reform led to rules requiring officers to spend an increasing amount of time on clerical tasks, decreasing time in the field engaged in their preferred activities, such as searching, chasing, or capturing (Van Maanen 1988). At the same time, they expressed a loss of trust in their hierarchy, referring to their superiors as 'pen-pushers' who no longer understood the realities of the field.

Data collection

This article analyzes data from a single case study (Eisenhardt 1989; Yin 2004) of two regional squads in a large French city (population 500,000). Both worked out of the city's central police headquarters and both belonged to a department specialized in criminal investigations. The city had a mid-level crime rate and a police force of over 1500 national police officers. The first author conducted a yearlong ethnographic study during which they followed investigators in two squads in the course of their daily activities, both at headquarters and in the field.[2] The original intent was to observe an investigative squad (an under-studied activity (Brodeur 2010)). Access to the field for this kind of study was contingent on finding a police superintendent willing to accept their presence in their department, meaning that access was intermittent at first (one week per month during the first two months). Over time it was extended and they were given permission to observe as much as they wished. On average, observations took place three days per week, providing more than 1,200 hours of direct observations. They also attended interrogations and accompanied officers in field operations, although the use of recording devices during these observations was forbidden. Most of the verbatim material transcribed in this paper consists of recalled and reconstructed conversations between the first author and the investigators (Summers Effler 2010; Van Maanen 1988, 56). At the earliest opportunity, they would write down any sentences they found to be useful in

illustrating the emerging themes in a small notebook away from the gaze of their informants. Although most of the investigators readily engaged in informal discussions and sometimes even confided in them, it was neither easy nor natural for them to open up to anyone 'external' to the police organization. Out of respect for this, note-taking was done as discreetly as possible, sometimes only once they had reached home at the end of the day. Collecting data using this ethnographic method made it possible to observe and record unofficial and subtle practices that would have gone unnoticed – or would have been hidden – otherwise. We readily acknowledge the interpretative bias of 'going native' (Van Maanen 1988, 49) that is of course a risk of the relational process involved in this collection method.

The empirical material of the study is based on four types of data: 1) official documents (reports, internal memos, etc.); 2) field notes (over a hundred pages); 3) informal structured interviews with all investigators as well as the captains of both squads (thirty-nine in all); 4) in-depth daily conversations during and after work time.

Description of squads. The first of the two squads studied was a homicide unit; the second was a more operational unit we will call the HUNT Squad for the purpose of anonymity. The homicide unit comprised twenty officers and was headed by one commander and two captains. Their average age was 40 to 45, with the youngest officer in his mid-thirties and the eldest in his early fifties. The HUNT Squad counted nineteen members, with one commander and one captain at its head. Their average age was 35 to 40, with the youngest in his early thirties and the eldest in his mid-forties.

Of the thirty-nine police officers, only five were women; of these five, three were captains. Overall, women constitute 27% of the police force; in our study, they constituted just 12.8% of the squads studied, and held commanding positions. One explanation for this is the physical strength required to work in these squads (early morning arrests and raids involving heavy equipment, crowd control, etc.) as well as the time demands, both of which may discourage women from applying for these positions. Second, the recruitment of women depends on the willingness of superintendents (who are mainly men) to bring women into their teams. The superintendent of the department we observed was favourable to recruiting women, but because of the nature of the activities of these squads, he appointed them to commanding positions, which are less physically demanding and dangerous.

The HUNT Squad was divided in two sub-groups, one dedicated exclusively to field missions and one that performed both field and judiciary work. Both units were exclusively investigative: the homicide unit was responsible for investigating murder, robbery, etc. The HUNT Squad addressed criminal problems such as urban violence and so-called 'go-fast' drug convoys and had in recent times been deployed mainly to assist other squads in field missions such as making home arrests or tailing potentially dangerous suspects. To work in these specialized squads, a police officer must have prior experience in the police force, demonstrate knowledge of judiciary procedure, and be physically fit. These two squads were relatively cohesive and homogeneous in terms of occupational identity, and they complained about the same identity threats we identified earlier.

Data analysis

The data analysis was carried out in four steps. As the ethnographic study progressed, the question of identity came to the fore: police officers spoke nostalgically of their work and noted the ways that the reforms described above had changed their work practices; the words they used implied these reforms were perceived as a threat to their professional identity. In the first step of our analysis, using Petriglieri's (2011) definition of threat as 'an experience assessed as indicating potential harm to the value, meaning or affirmation of an identity', we identified three threats to police officers' identity. In the second step, based on the ways we observed police officers responding to these threats in the behaviours and conversations naturally embedded in their activities (Silverman 2015), we conducted a first-order analysis (Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton 2013, 18) that gave precedence to SLBs' explanations of their responses to these threats. This first-order analysis revealed the ambiguous nature of the relationship between police officers and the legal environment in which they work, which led us to the literature on workarounds and rule-bending in public service organizations. The third step consisted of applying theoretical terms from this literature to officers' responses, following the second-order analysis defined by Gioia and colleagues. We aggregated our results into two categories: rule-bending and workarounds. This led us, in a fourth step, to categorize these theoretical constructs as processes of resilience (also known as aggregate dimensions), since we considered this framework to be the best adapted to make sense of our observations. We identified two main processes: working the legal boundaries and securing elitism and cohesion. Describing and observing the interactions between these constructs helped us to explain how the two resilience processes we identified helped police officers to maintain their preferred identity by playing with rules.

In the following section, we present our findings in more details.

Findings

Identity threats

We identified three identity threats that triggered resilience strategies: a perceived decrease of power, an increase in procedural work, and a change in the way the investigators understood their work compared to the way others in their hierarchy understood it, which led to a sense of loss of cohesion.

The ramifications of the reforms described in the section above can be interpreted as threatening police officers' occupational identity in all three ways, and we identified two resilience processes used to respond to them (see Table 2).

Working the legal boundaries

In response to the perception that reforms curb their power and prerogatives, the police officers we studied developed practices that helped them to circumvent the obstacles that resulted from these official changes. To do so, they found ways to make it appear as if they were enforcing compliance or choosing to comply themselves in ways that escaped the notice of their hierarchy. They did this in situations where they felt they needed to maintain practices they considered effective for achieving institutional goals. Resilience here consists in working at the boundaries of legal 'grey

Table 2. Resilience processes as response to threats.

Identity threats	First order	Second order	Relation to compliance	Resilience processes
Perceived decrease of power	Double-level training	Bending the rule	Appearing to comply	Working the legal boundaries
Perceived decrease of power	Obtaining information in spaces outside official interactions	Bending the rule	Appearing to comply	Working the legal boundaries
Increase of procedural work	Developing judicial skills	Bending the rule	Appearing to comply	Working the legal boundaries
Increase of procedural work	Development of specific operational trainings	Workaround	Peer-Induced compliance	Securing elitism and cohesion
Weakening of cohesion/esprit de corps	Captain Morgan's charter	Workaround / rule-adding /	Peer-Induced compliance	Securing elitism and cohesion
Weakening of cohesion/esprit de corps	Controlling the recruitment process	Workaround / rule-adding /	Peer-Induced compliance	Securing elitism and cohesion

zones' – taking advantage of the rules – and finding ways to bend the law while maintaining an appearance of legality. It bears repeating that these practices are deployed for the sake of occupational identity loyalty, not in service of individual goals. In a hegemonic institution such as the police force, one might think that members would follow orders with little agency, yet interstices do exist, and processes of resilience may be constructed from within them as a mean to sustain the preferred identity of police officers.

The first practice we identified has to do with the loss of power officers associated with these reforms. We have called it *double-level training*, and it is used by officers attempting to regain some control over their practices. Instructors in these training courses teach two categories of skill: first, those officially expected of a police officer; and, second, the unofficial techniques they consider to be safer or more efficient. Because instructors are adjusting rules to render them more functional in a given situation, this can be categorized as rule-bending. For example, during a HUNT Squad training session on restraint and intervention techniques,[3] the instructors explained:

> First we're going to show you the official, regulation techniques we're supposed to use when we're facing a non-compliant person or in case of assault. We all learned these gestures in police school. Most of us know by now that these gestures are not effective in real-life situations. So we're going to show you other techniques that are close to the official ones, but are more effective and appropriate in a real confrontation in the field, so you can protect yourself. (HUNT Squad officer and instructor #1)

The instructors in this training session were fairly explicit in their rule-bending strategy (Borry 2017): away from the gaze of their hierarchical superiors, they could teach and learn unofficial practices as a way to maintain their feeling of control and self-worth, while communicating ways to maintain the appearance of compliance. In so doing, they were shaping practices and values that supported their identity as efficient professionals. This is a demonstration of resilience: although strongly constrained by evolving institutional frames, they were adapting the way they

worked, adjusting the official rules (Tummers et al. 2015) in ways that allowed them to continue working to the best of their abilities, according to the criteria of their group.

We identified another apparent form of compliance, this one a response to legal obstacles generated by the 2011 law requiring the presence of a lawyer from the beginning of the custody period and during suspect interrogations. Police investigators began to use moments outside official interactions with suspects to obtain information on cases, such as car trips, walks to their cells or to police records offices, etc. The official interrogation had become a kind of theatre in officers' eyes, and they had transferred their 'real' interactions offstage, in the wings. The skill required to extract pertinent information from suspects in these moments is highly regarded among officers: *'If we followed the law to the letter, we wouldn't resolve many cases … we're obliged to play with the limits' (Homicide unit investigator #8)*. Here, again, officers are rule-bending: information obtained outside official questioning cannot be used in court proceedings, but it can help officers to orient their investigations and to put suspects at ease. This, in turn, nourishes officers' identity as efficient professionals. They follow the rule of questioning in the presence of lawyer to obtain the formal information needed to present a case in court, but they deviate from the formal rule in unmonitored spaces to direct their investigations.

Our final example of apparent compliance relates to a behavioural response to the increased administrative workload (reform of 2001). Because investigators spend more time on paperwork and navigating complex procedures, the chances of making a mistake have risen, forcing them to learn new skills. Some of them have chosen to develop their legal knowledge to excel as judicial police officers (OPJ). In France, to be an investigator authorized to produce legal documents and records, conduct inter-rogations, etc., an officer must pass an additional qualifying exam. Police investigators who do so end up honing their skills and knowledge of the subtleties of police procedurals and the legal system in ways that allow them to use the right language to report and transcribe the work of their colleagues in the field – who, as we have seen, sometimes bend the rules. One of the investigators of the homicide squad explained: *'My job is to make the best procedural report possible with what the guys do in the field. Sometimes they have no other choice than to bend the rules, so I do my best to make it look straight because I know my field'. (HUNT squad investigator #11)* In these examples, police investigators had expanded their knowledge in order to work most effectively at the friction point between non-compliance and the appearance of compliance … bending the rules, in other words.

It is clear from these examples that these reforms have triggered resilience processes that have resulted in police officers complying with rules only in appearance. The common thread among these processes is the priority placed on high achievement and expertise in the service of their perceived occupational goal, which is chasing and capturing criminals.

Securing elitism and cohesion

Changes in working conditions have also affected relationships between police officers and their hierarchy, as well as among different members of the police force. We observed a generalized withdrawal into squads, and a fading feeling of cohesion and pride in belonging to the police force as a whole. The final mechanism of resilience we

identified was securing the feeling of belonging to an elite and strengthening cohesion in their specific squads. It manifested in police officers' efforts to *secure their work practices* in parallel with institutional rules. These instances of peer-induced compliance took the form of workarounds, which as the following three examples will show, all seek to maintain a sense of professionalism that officers perceive as integral to their occupational identity.

The first example is a second response to the administrative burden described in the preceding sections. Some officers have chosen to pursue *specialized training*, including simulations, that improves their operational and physical skills in the field, allowing them to become more specialized in field missions. This type of training is not required by the police hierarchy, but because two members of the HUNT Squad were official instructors and qualified to design such courses, they were a regular feature of their work. On their own, our informants found training locations and designed specialized exercises, allowing them to keep up their operational and tactical knowledge and to experience real-life situations, which they felt they were losing touch with due to their administrative workload. Since they perceived adrenaline and strong emotions of the kind experienced in dangerous situations as the glue that held the group together as well as a strong feature of their identity, they reproduced these situations in training sessions:

> We don't have enough official trainings anymore …, … it's becoming dangerous, because when you're in a difficult situation and you have to make a quick decision, you need to be trained to be efficient to save your own life or the lives of your colleagues. (HUNT Squad officer and instructor #7)

As an operational and tactical team, the HUNT squad regularly faces risky situations. In the course of the past decade, several of their members have been wounded or shot at, and one of them died tragically after our observations in the field came to an end. These training sessions are workarounds in the sense that they are 'direct action in pursuit of objectives that the individual perceives as not well served by the rule' (Bozeman, Youtie, and Jung 2021, 529).

The second example is an unofficial document written by investigators of the homicide squad. *Captain Morgan's Charter* represents a kind of internal monitoring system to guarantee safety and high work standards within the group (the name has been changed to protect their privacy, but the original title is also a reference to a brand of rum):

> Some of us were fed up with the way the social and professional practices of some of our colleagues in the squad were slackening, so we decided to write a charter that laid out internal rules that had once been taken for granted. (Homicide squad, police investigator #10)

The charter reminds its signatories of rules for professional practice and social conduct and sets punishments for violations of these rules. All members of the squad, including the chief, have signed the document; newcomers are also required to sign upon joining the unit.

Many of the rules set out in this unofficial document are similar to those imposed by the official hierarchy – but mistakes made in the field, far from the eyes of the hierarchy, may go unnoticed. In order to guarantee safety and high work standards within the group, members of the squad developed a kind of internal monitoring system, laid out in the form of this charter.

The document contains four chapters, covering infractions, penalties, aggravating circumstances, and membership (p1). The expression 'pay it forward'[4] is used to describe a situation where one of the squad members has made a mistake and must 'repay' the group. Interestingly, many of the 'infractions' sanctioned in the Charter are also subject to official punishment. Chapter 1 divides infractions into three categories: mistakes, losses and lapses of memory, and miscellaneous. Mistakes include procedural errors that invalidate an action, not respecting the French language (vocabulary, grammar, and conjugation), or mistaking the date in official documents addressed to the hierarchy. The second category of infraction includes forgetting keys to the weapons safe, forgetting lunch duty, forgetting personal or professional material during a search arrest, etc. The last category, devoted to miscellaneous infractions, includes reporting a fabricated infraction, logging undue extra hours, not respecting group cohesion, inappropriate use of sirens on service vehicles, etc.

Each member who signs the charter must organize their own arrival or farewell party. The penalties set out in the charter range from bringing in pastries to treating the whole unit to a full sit-down meal, depending on the 'seriousness' of the infraction.

The charter helps to maintain a professional atmosphere using officers' preferred collective criteria; members must comply with it in order to be part of the group. The compliance it fosters is peer-induced, as opposed to being demanded by the hierarchy, and it serves to counterbalance a loss of cohesion and professional standards these investigators perceive as the result of continuous waves of reform in their organization. By adding regulations and sanctions to those already in place, this practice pushes beyond rote compliance with the official rules of a hierarchy, and indeed is an unusual instance of workaround in that it *intensifies* and adds existing rules.

A third instance of peer-induced compliance is HUNT Squad recruitment, through which squad members ensure that their own work practices will be maintained in parallel to organizational ones. As officers feel more restrained by new rules and laws, they have taken ownership of these rules in ways that allow them to securely engage in their preferred practices. Here, again, officers are displaying a resilience process, triggered by the feeling that they were losing ground as an elite group to external forces, and needed to recover some control over their preferred identity. Securing control over the squad recruitment process allowed them to maintain control over who was admitted to their perceived elite, as we observed in the course of a recruitment session and three-day aptitude test.

The HUNT Squad is the only unit we observed in the directorate that recruits its own members and they organize recruitment sessions whenever they need new members. Committed to sustaining their image as an elite force, they seek applicants who demonstrate superior training, strength, speed, etc., and who share the squad's values. Over a period of three days, applicants are tested on a range of abilities: physical, technical, and psychological. Individual interviews are also organized to assess candidates' consistency and clarity when faced with complex or morally challenging situations that themselves may require workarounds or rule-bending. Predictability is considered a crucial attribute: in a unit that places a premium on trust and courage, procedural weakness is not an eliminating factor, while lack of control and consistency is.

High-scoring candidates who demonstrate that they fit in with the squad are placed on a waiting list and called as positions open up, a system that also reinforces the elite identity of the unit.

The appropriation of this recruitment process is an example of a workaround in the sense that it functions by 'treating directives as starting points for negotiation' (Campbell 2012, 725). Similar to intensifying external rules with internal codes of conduct, controlling who comes into the space in which these rules are adhered to makes it possible to further frame and bolster internal rules, and thus to encourage a specific type of professionalism underlying the identity-related practices of the members of these two units.

Two facets of police officer resilience stood out from our observation. First, resilience manifests collectively as officers cooperate to circumvent obstacles or develop collective strategies to protect their professional identity. Second, the actions and behaviours that characterize resilience in the police force tend to be performance-based, rather than well-being-based. This has mixed consequences for officers as well as for the institution. While rule-bending and workarounds would seem to indicate some degree of antagonism to rules and laws, when they are understood as resilience processes in these police units, it becomes apparent that they also function as forms of compliance: police investigators deploy them in response to perceived threats to their professional identity in order to keep doing what they perceive to be the best possible job. In this sense, officers have demonstrated a high level of resilience over the past two decades, identifying numerous ways to respond to the threats they perceive as coming from reforms. However, since their coping mechanisms are mostly ways to maintain their preferred identity, rather than addressing the question of whether the identity itself ought to change, it remains to be seen how positive the effects of these forms of resilience actually are.

We discuss our findings in the next section.

Discussion

Collective responses to threats

Threat avoidance

In our observations, officers engaged in forms of compliance (apparent compliance and peer-induced compliance) when faced with perceived threats to their identity. They were not, in other words, seeking to adapt or change their identity in the face of threats, but rather to preserve it. As Petriglieri points out ('2011, 647), this is not the only possible response: officers might also have sought to implement strategies that modified their identity in ways that kept it from harm. Because they did not engage with the source of the threats or with their definition of their identity, their adaptive practices did not actually limit, alter, or reduce the damage being done to it. Petriglieri identifies three types of responses to threats to identity: derogation, concealment, and positive distinction. Our observations show that there is a fourth response: avoidance. As we have seen, police officers in these units used rule-bending and workarounds to protect the threat to their identity they perceived in these new rules.

As we explained in the beginning of this article, rule-bending and workarounds may be understood as two ends of a spectrum along which increasing degrees of individual and collective discretion are deployed. In our rule-bending examples, officers were playing with the 'grey zone' between legality and illegality, between what is clearly licit and visible and what is more vaguely licit and invisible to outsiders. In these cases, the hierarchy is usually aware of the practices but does not intervene to discipline officers

unless a problem makes it visible (to the public). In workaround examples, legality was not at stake; rather, officers felt the need to assure good practices and behaviours according to their preferred occupational identity. To do so, they created new, fully legal spaces in which they could engage in self-enforcement. The focus and aim of the two practices are thus slightly different.

Our observations contradict Brockmann's claim (2017, 432) that rule-bending is collectively feared: to the contrary, we found that it is valued and perpetuated by peers. Members of the two units we observed viewed it positively because it helped them to bolster their identity. This also contrasts with findings in the literature on repair (Masood and Nisar 2021, 10), which suggest that frontline repair work is focused on continued service delivery and is primarily citizen-centred: here, the primary aim of our informants was not these things, but rather what Van Maanen (1988, 110) called 'the holy trinity for cops': search, pursuit, and capture. This also contrasts with the findings of Davidovitz and Cohen (2022, 290), who discovered that their respondents 'acted counter to official bureaucratic regulations to respond to specific clients' demands'.

Strategies for maintaining preferred identity

In no cases did police officers respond to perceived threats by changing their identity. They were simply trying to maintain the professional identity they already had: resilience strategies associated with working the legal boundaries were explicitly geared towards efficient professionalism and were highly results-oriented. Securing elitism and cohesion was deployed as a form of differentiation in pursuit of the same goal, setting police officers apart as the core figures of their professional world. By striving for group cohesion and stressing the elite nature of their work teams, they were honing a more pro-active approach to maintaining this version of their identity.

The 'capacity to bounce back' and the appearance of compliance

Stoverink et al. (2020, 395) proposed to define work team resilience as 'a team's capacity to bounce back from adversity-induced process loss'. In our case, there was no end to the adversity in sight: the threat to professional identity could only be circumvented, not abolished. When it encounters adversity, a team may follow three paths (p. 399): they may adapt to the threat, they may persist in the face of it, or they may do both consecutively. The police officers we observed chose to adapt their behaviours in ways that allowed them to maintain the appearance of compliance with the reforms while pursuing their work as they saw fit. By bending the rules, 'they worked with the rule instead of against it' (Tummers et al. 2015, 1109). We argue that such behaviour is an instance of compliance in appearance, rather than of non-compliance, as Bozeman, Youtie, and Jung (2021) suggest. We would nuance this behaviour further, by noting that the investigators we studied added or intensified rules instead of simply bending them. In line with these authors' observations, we did note that instances of workarounds in our observations tended to be calculated. Because the resilience triggers we studied came from within (reforms that threaten occupational identity), they had to be dealt with internally. Officers did not have recourse to help from the outside; they had to use their discretional power and agency in the resilient identity spaces they created. Our work shows that police officers not only show resilience in the face of external traumatic events; they display a subtler form of resilience when confronting internal forces that impact their identity.

As mentioned earlier, officers changed the way they apprehended and interrogated suspects very little, preferring to bend the law (adapt) rather than to completely overhaul their practices. In their training sessions, they also reproduced practices used in the field, finding spaces to engage in and transmit their own practices and ways of protecting the boundaries of their group. The officers we observed felt that most of the changes brought about by the reforms had been imposed on them from the outside, and often expressed a sense of powerlessness when faced with the tremendous impact a new rule had on their work. This perception increased their feeling of loss of meaning and weakened their commitment to work rules they no longer understood. They thus invested a great deal of energy trying to maintain what had become a work ethos of their own, one that they considered to be the best adapted to carrying out their work in the most efficient way possible, which was, for them, the very core of their identity as police officers.

Forms of compliance as a resilience mechanism

Deploying resilience implies a return to a balance point of performance close to the level that existed before the adverse event took place. As we have shown, the resilience processes police officers used focused on maintaining their work ethos and their occupational identity.

As police officers played with the rules, bending them or working around them, their intent was to return to a balance point they perceived as existing pre-reform. This is a rationale entirely different from the one proposed by Davidovitz and Cohen (2022) to explain why SLBs bend rules (delivering better service to their clients). Police officers' resilience processes aided them as they negotiated new ways to continue achieving the same occupational goals they had had before reforms disrupted their practice and in this way posed a threat to their identity.

Once again, it is crucial to note that these seemingly antagonistic attitudes towards the rules are actually forms of compliance or consent – either through the appearance of compliance to outside observers or through what we have labelled peer-induced compliance. This contrasts with – or perhaps adds intriguing nuance to – the systematic review of coping behaviour by Tummers et al. (2015), which observed that police officers are more likely to follow rules strictly than to bend them (p.1112). Similarly, Oberfield (2019, 1763) has also stated that 'a review of the police and public administration literatures revealed a common interest in rule following (DeHart-Davis 2007; Lipsky 1980; Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003)'. Our study revealed something different: officers were both comfortable bending the rules and, *at the same time*, committed to adding rules to formally prescribed ones in cases where they felt these rules were insufficiently enforced. The significance of compliance remains central, either way, whether in the appearance of it (to outside observers) or in the enforcing of it within the groups to which they belong.

The particular form of workaround we observed is similar to Masood & Nisar's (2021, 5) parallel processing (a form of process repair) defined as 'using off-book, alternate rules for situations not covered by standard rules'. In our case, however, officers were enforcing rules in situations invisible to those higher up in the chain of command to maintain their self-image as good police officers.

We also note that while the processes of resilience we observed have positive effects on police officers in the sense that they felt more useful, more fulfilled in terms of their identity, and more efficient as professionals, their collective resilience had unanticipated consequences. In particular, as their workarounds did not actually seek to meet the goals of reform, officers created a type of workaround that contradicts Campell's definition, which describes workarounds as 'a local response that is counter to the procedure or rule but responsive to the underlying policy intent' (Campbell 2012, 721).

Police investigators working in the field feel isolated from the goals and interests of their hierarchical superiors working in offices, in ways they perceive as threatening to their professional self-esteem. This leads them to maintain an endogenous work ethos that corresponds to their own understanding of good police work.

Complementing previous literature on compliance and SLBs' service delivery, and in contrast to prevailing descriptions of police officers' relationships to the rules, this article has shown how the collective dimension of resilience is enacted through rule-bending and workarounds, allowing police investigators to protect their collective occupational identity. This identity, although it may tend to isolate them from the institution as a whole, allows them to maintain their traditional work ethos in a way that escapes the notice of their hierarchy, and in spite of a changing work environment.

Research limitations and further developments

The limitations of this analysis are important to note: first, our findings are based on an ethnographic study, meaning our data are necessarily somewhat idiosyncratic, and we make no claims as to the generalizability of our findings or conclusions. More research must be conducted in other police departments if our observations are to be confirmed, and in order to explore whether other resilience mechanisms tied to identity threats can be identified.

Second, we observed police investigators working in the field and their reactions to reform. Research would be welcome into reactions to these reforms by the police and judicial hierarchy, and into how they applied and adapted to them.

Third, it was beyond the scope of this article to account for the tainted nature of police work (Ashforth and Kreiner 1999; Bittner 1970; Dick 2005) and its potential interactions with the resilience processes that take place within it. Investigations into other specific factors related to the nature of police work that might influence processes of resilience would be an important contribution to understanding resilience in the context of police work.

Conclusion

We have seen that collective resilience occurs in response to threats to identity. Police officers deploy it strategically through workarounds and rule-bending in order to preserve their preferred identity of highly efficient professionals. Even though these group strategies make it possible for officers to perform and maintain their preferred modes of operation, they also tend to isolate police officers from their colleagues and from their hierarchy. Moreover, a high propensity for occupational resilience can be detrimental to an organization (Mahdiani and Ungar 2021) and its ability to meaningfully or effectively adopt reforms or evolve in other ways.

Practical implications

Our research allows us to outline three practical implications for managers of public organizations who must implement reforms. Two of them have to do with the well-being of employees, while the third is more directly related to the success of implementation. It should first be noted that reforms often have unintended consequences for employees, particularly in relation to their values and their identities. As Mangan and colleagues explain, 'public sector employees might be required to engage in complex identity manoeuvres in changed work environments' (2018, 1358). Therefore, we believe that if workers are to successfully adapt to changes that affect core aspects of their work, responses to change must be co-constructed. Specifically, in the field of policing, we contend that there is a crucial need to stabilize the work environment of police officers from inside. Police work is a tainted occupation (Bittner 1970; Ashforth and Kreiner 1999), and police officers must confront adversity in the course of their everyday occupations. It is therefore vital for them to work within a secure internal context, with a clear vision of what they are expected to do to prevent internal vulnerabilities (Mahdiani and Ungar 2021). Second, we note the importance of conversation if personnel are to accept and integrate changes managers wish to implement. Managers should strive to keep in touch with the work of street-level bureaucrats, and must be aware of the ways that workarounds and rule-bending practices can help shed light on the resistance that may occur and the identity work it generates. Finally, our findings should serve as a reminder that reforms in the public services always run the risk of being adopted only on the surface, particularly in occupational communities with a strong culture; without fostering new approaches and practices, they cannot hope to be sustainable. As this study has shown, using performance-based criteria to evaluate work may cause managers to miss feelings of uneasiness, disaffection, and loss of meaning. As Doering et al. (2021, 379) point out, there is work to be done to explore how 'public managers take an active role in mediating between external and internal stakeholders' – and how they might do better in the future.

Notes

1. Official public document: Rapport du Sénat – malaise des forces de la SI – rapport Grosdidier –27 juin 2018. For a summary: http://www.senat.fr/fileadmin/Fichiers/Images/redaction_multimedia/2018/2018-Documents_pdf/20180703_Note_de_synthese_4_pages_CE_FSI.pdf
2. Access to the field was granted by the research centre of the Graduate School of the National Police (ENSP).
3. In French these are called GTPI: *Gestes techniques de protection et d'intervention* (Protection and intervention techniques). They are the technical, legal and regulatory fundamentals of self-defence, both with bare hands and using objects such as t-batons, handcuffs, etc.
4. *Payer son flan* in French.

Disclosure statement

Notes on contributors

Vanessa Monties is Associate Professor of Management and Organizational Behavior at ESSCA Business School, France. During her thesis, she carried a one-year ethnography in the police force. Her research focuses on identity work, sensemaking, emotions, extreme work environments, and dirty work.

Stéphanie Gagnon is a Full Professor of Public Management at ENAP in Montreal, Canada. Her research focuses on the phenomenon of translation of the community policing approach in practices. She is also interested in the regulation of emotions in extreme contexts. She has published work in Leadership, Evidence and Policy and Public Organization Review.

References

Andersen, J P., K Papazoglou, M Nyman, M Koskelainen, and H Gustafsberg. 2015. "Fostering Resilience Among Police." *Journal of Law Enforcement* 5 (1). Available from: http://jghcs.info/index.php/l/article/view/424should

Ashforth, B. E., and G. E. Kreiner. 1999. ""How Can You Do It?": Dirty Work and the Challenge of Constructing a Positive Identity." *Academy of Management Review* 24 (3): 413–434.

Bittner, E. 1970. *The Functions of the Police in Modern Society: A Review of Background Factors, Current Practices, and Possible Role Models*. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

Borry, E. L. 2017. "Ethical Climate and Rule Bending : How Organizational Norms Contribute to Unintended Rule Consequences: Ethical Climate and Rule Bending." *Public Administration* 95 (1): 78–96. doi:10.1111/padm.12304.

Bozeman, B., J. Youtie, and J. Jung. 2021. "Death by a Thousand 10-Minute Tasks : Workarounds and Noncompliance in University Research Administration." *Administration & Society* 53 (4): 527–568. doi:10.1177/0095399720947994.

Brockmann, J. 2017. "Unbureaucratic Behavior among Street-Level Bureaucrats : The Case of the German State Police." *Review of Public Personnel Administration* 37 (4): 430–451. doi:10.1177/0734371X15593990.

Brodeur, J. P. 2010. *The Policing Web*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Campbell, D. 2012. "Public Managers in Integrated Services Collaboratives : What Works Is Workarounds." *Public Administration Review* 72 (5): 721–730. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2012.02545.x.

Chen, D, and V Lim. 2012. "Strength in Adversity: The Influence of Psychological Capital on Job Search." *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 33 (6): 811–839. doi:10.1002/job.1814.

Courpasson, D., and V. Monties. 2017. ""I Am My Body". Physical Selves of Police Officers in a Changing Institution." *Journal of Management Studies* 54 (1): 32–57. doi:10.1111/joms.12221.

Davidovitz, M., and N. Cohen. 2022. "Playing Defence: The Impact of Trust on the Coping Mechanisms of Street-level Bureaucrats." *Public Management Review* 24 (2): 279–300. doi:10.1080/14719037.2020.1817532.

de Maillard, J., and S. P. Savage. 2012. "Comparing Performance: The Development of Police Performance Management in France and Britain." *Policing and Society* 22 (4): 363–383. doi:10.1080/10439463.2012.718777.

de Maillard, J, and S Savage. 2022. "Performance Mechanisms Meet Professional Autonomy: Performance Management and Professional Discretion Within Police Investigation Departments." *Policing and Society* 32 (2): 145–158. doi:10.1080/10439463.2021.1888949.

DeHart-davis, L. 2007. "The Unbureaucratic Personality." *Public Administration Review* 67 (5): 892–903. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2007.00776.x.

den Heyer, G. 2016. "The Establishment of Police Scotland: An Analysis of the Reform." *European Journal of Police Studies* 3 (4): 417–436.

Dick, P. 2005. "Dirty Work Designations: How Police Officers Account for Their Use of Coercive Force." *Human Relations* 58 (11): 1363–1390. doi:10.1177/0018726705060242.

Didier, E. 2015. "Mesurer la délinquance en France depuis 1970. Entre expertise et publicité." *Ethnologie française* 45 (1): 109–121. doi:10.3917/ethn.151.0109.

Doering, H., J. Downe, H. Elraz, and S. Martin. 2021. "Organizational Identity Threats and Aspirations in Reputation Management." *Public Management Review* 23 (3): 376–396. doi:10.1080/14719037.2019.1679234.

Eisenhardt, K. M. 1989. "Building Theories from Case Study Research." *Academy of Management Review* 14 (4): 532–550. doi:10.2307/258557.

Fraser, M. W., M. J. Galinsky, and J. M. Richman. 1999. "Risk, Protection, and Resilience: Toward a Conceptual Framework for Social Work Practice." *Social Work Research* 23 (3): 131–143. doi:10.1093/swr/23.3.131.

Gioia, D. A., K. G. Corley, and A. L. Hamilton. 2013. "Seeking Qualitative Rigor in Inductive Research: Notes on the Gioia Methodology." *Organizational Research Methods* 16 (1): 15–31. doi:10.1177/1094428112452151.

Hällgren, M., L. Rouleau, and M. De Rond. 2018. "A Matter of Life or Death: How Extreme Context Research Matters for Management and Organization Studies." *Academy of Management Annals* 12 (1): 111–153. doi:10.5465/annals.2016.0017.

Hartmann, S., M. Weiss, A. Newman, and M. Hoegl. 2020. "Resilience in the Workplace: A Multilevel Review and Synthesis." *Applied Psychology* 69 (3): 913–959. doi:10.1111/apps.12191.

Jermier, J. M., J. W. Slocum Jr, L. W. Fry, and J. Gaines. 1991. "Organizational Subcultures in a Soft Bureaucracy: Resistance behind the Myth and Facade of an Official Culture." *Organization Science* 2 (2): 170–194. doi:10.1287/orsc.2.2.170.

Kossek, E. E., and M. B. Perrigino. 2016. "Resilience: A Review Using A Grounded Integrated Occupational Approach." *Academy of Management Annals* 10 (1): 729–797. doi:10.5465/19416520.2016.1159878.

Lipsky, M. 1980. *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Lipsky, M. 2010. *Street-level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. 30th Anniversary Expanded ed. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

London, M. 1983. "Toward a Theory of Career Motivation." *Academy of Management Review* 8 (4): 620–630. doi:10.5465/amr.1983.4284664.

Luthans, F. 2002. "The Need for and Meaning of Positive Organizational Behavior." *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 23 (6): 695–706. doi:10.1002/job.165.

Mahdiani, H., and M. Ungar. 2021. "The Dark Side of Resilience." *Adversity and Resilience Science* 2 (3): 147–155. doi:10.1007/s42844-021-00031-z.

Mangan, A., R. Thomas, A. Davies, and R. Gasper. 2018. "The Challenges of Police-community Collaboration : Identity Manoeuvres and Power Struggles in a Neighbourhood Based Meeting." *Public Management Review* 20 (9): 1353–1373. doi:10.1080/14719037.2017.1383718.

Masood, A., and M. A. Nisar. 2021. "Repairing the State : Policy Repair in the Frontline Bureaucracy." *Public Administration Review* puar.13414. doi:10.1111/puar.13414.

Maynard-Moody, S, and M Musheno. 2003. *Cops, Teachers, Counselors: Stories from the Front Lines of Public Service*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Oberfield, Z. W. 2019. "Change and Stability in Public Workforce Development : A 10-year Study of New Officers in an Urban Police Department." *Public Management Review* 21 (12): 1753–1774. doi:10.1080/14719037.2019.1571276.

Pangallo, A., L. Zibarras, R. Lewis, and P. Flaxman. 2015. "Resilience through the Lens of Interactionism: A Systematic Review." *Psychological Assessment* 27 (1): 1–20. doi:10.1037/pas0000024.

Petriglieri, J. L. 2011. "Under Threat: Responses to and the Consequences of Threats to Individuals' Identities." *Academy of Management Review* 36 (4): 641–662.

Reiner, R. 2017. "Is Police Culture Cultural?" *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice* 11 (3): 236–241.

Sekerka, L, and R Zolin. 2007. "Rule-Bending: Can Prudential Judgment Affect Rule Compliance and Values in the Workplace?." *Public Integrity* 9 (3): 225–243. doi:10.2753/PIN1099-9922090302.

Silverman, D. 2015. *Interpreting Qualitative Data*. 5th ed. London: Sage.

Stoverink, A. C., B. L. Kirkman, S. Mistry, and B. Rosen. 2020. "Bouncing Back Together: Toward a Theoretical Model of Work Team Resilience." *Academy of Management Review* 45 (2): 395–422. doi:10.5465/amr.2017.0005.

Summers Effler, E. 2010. *Laughing Saints and Righteous Heroes: Emotional Rhythms in Social Movement Groups*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sutcliffe, K. M., and T. Vogus. 2003. "Organizing for Resilience." In *Positive Organizational Scholarship*, edited by K. S. Cameron, J. E. Dutton, and R. E. Quinn, 94–110. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.

Tummers, L. L., V. Bekkers, E. Vink, and M. Musheno. 2015. "Coping during Public Service Delivery: A Conceptualization and Systematic Review of the Literature." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 25 (4): 1099–1126. doi:10.1093/jopart/muu056.

Van Maanen, J. 1978. "The Asshole." In *Policing: A View from the Street*, edited by P. K. Manning and J. Van Maanen, 221–238. Santa Monica, CA: Goodyear Publishing Company.

Van Maanen, J. 1988. *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Virtanen, P., I. Laitinen, and J. Stenvall. 2016. "Street-Level Bureaucrats as Strategy Shapers in Social and Health Service Delivery: Empirical Evidence from Six Countries." *International Social Work* 61 (5): 724–737. doi:10.1177/0020872816660602.

Vuori, J., S. Toppinen-Tanner, and P. Mutanen. 2012. "Effects of Resource-building Group Intervention on Career Management and Mental Health in Work Organizations: Randomized Controlled Field Trial." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 97 (2): 273–287. doi:10.1037/a0025584.

Wanberg, C. R., and J. T. Banas. 2000. "Predictors and Outcomes of Openness to Changes in a Reorganizing Workplace." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 85 (1): 132–142. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.85.1.132.

Yin, R. K. 2004. *The Case Study Anthology*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Youssef, C, and F Luthans. 2007. "Positive Organizational Behavior in the Workplace: The Impact of Hope, Optimism, and Resilience." *Journal of Management* 33 (5): 774–800. doi:10.1177/0149206307305562.