Hijab and the job: A Thematic Analysis of The Lived Experiences of Muslim Women in the New Zealand Police

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Abstract

This thesis explores the experiences of Muslim women employed by the New Zealand Police, shedding light on their perceptions of the workplace and collegial interactions. The study explores the challenges faced by Muslim women working in New Zealand, particularly in a male-dominated workplace, due to their gender, race, religion, and societal pressure surrounding the hijab. It also examines the intersectional elements of their identities and the layering of minority experiences perceived by the women. The research highlights the need to challenge stereotypes and provide a more nuanced representation of Muslim women in the media and society. The data in this qualitative study was collected through semi-structured one on one interviews and analysed using thematic analysis. The findings reveal that the participants' behavior reflected their Muslim identity and alignment of Islamic values with New Zealand Police values. Participants took agency in their behaviour and interactions with their colleagues and public, breaking down negative misconceptions through educating others, in an 'ambassador' role. Although they welcomed the New Zealand police's introduction of the hijab as a symbol of inclusivity, the action led to a paradoxical sense of exclusion as it made the women stand out as 'other'. The study highlights the strength and resilience of Muslim women in the New Zealand Police as they negotiate the intersection of work and commitment to their beliefs. These findings indicated the need for more comprehensive cultural sensitivity training to help police staff understand the diverse backgrounds and beliefs of the communities they serve.

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Attestation of Authorship

I, Hana Malak, hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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Date: 12 April 2023

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Muslim women who wear hijab as a physical signifier of their religious identity may face unique challenges in their workplaces. This study seeks to explore the experiences of Muslim women in the New Zealand Police, with a specific focus on how they incorporate their Muslim identity into their work environment.

The incorporation of the hijab into the New Zealand police uniform in 2019 provides a timely and relevant context for this research. While the hijab is often associated with Muslim women, not every Muslim woman wears one. Therefore, this research also includes the experiences of Muslim women who do not wear a hijab, providing a broader understanding of how religious identity is practised, experienced, and articulated by Muslim women employees of the New Zealand police.

To date, no specific study has examined the lived experiences of Muslim women working in the New Zealand police. By examining the experiences of these women, this study provides insight into the way Muslim women navigate their professional and religious identities, where they align and where they are at odds. It is useful to examine the experiences and perceptions of the women to better understand their lived experience of work in an organisation that serves the public.

This research aims to contribute to the broader literature on diversity and inclusion in the workplace. As more women enter the workforce in the 21st century, understanding the experiences of Muslim women is crucial for creating inclusive and supportive work environments. The findings of this research could be used to inform strategies for improving workplace culture.

As a Muslim woman who wears a hijab and works in a public service space, I am personally impacted by the intersection of modest attire and the workplace

environment. The research also explores the impact of being female, Muslim, and an active member of New Zealand society, including challenges such as biased media, biased perceptions, male-dominated workplaces and identifying attire. This study seeks to provide a unique insight into how Muslim women in the New Zealand police navigate their religious and professional identities.

1.1 Background

This section explores the significance of the incorporation of the hijab into the New Zealand police and the broader context of cultural and ethnic diversity within the organisation. New Zealand has a history of promoting women's rights, and the inclusion of the hijab in the official police uniform for women is demonstrative of the country's commitment to inclusivity and diversity. The hijab holds religious and cultural significance for Muslim women, who wear it as a personal act of faith and as a symbol of resistance and empowerment against oppressive systems (Pain, 2022). The experiences and perceptions of Muslim women serving in the New Zealand police have been overlooked in previous literature (Allen, 2015). In this section I explore the religious factor in the workplace and how the employee incorporates it. For example, the hijab, a Muslim woman's head covering, has been defined as a sign of identity and a physical marker of distinction for Muslim women in Western nations (Jasperse et al., 2011). Droogsma (2007) explains that part of the Islamic virtues is the hijab representing modesty, which also has diverse functions, such as communicating Muslim identity, resisting sexual objectification and protecting the privacy of close relationships. This section also highlights the necessity of diversity in the New Zealand police, particularly in the context of the country's growing ethnic multicultural community, and the efforts made to address this issue through recruitment and cultural

understanding initiatives. Finally, it explores the alignment of Islamic values and the New Zealand police's core values.

New Zealand has a long history of positioning itself as a pioneer in women's rights, being the first self-governing country to implement universal suffrage (Butler et al., 2003). In 1893, women in New Zealand gained the right to vote, thanks to the coordinated efforts of both female and male suffragists. An example of the relative equality of women in Aotearoa, New Zealand, in 2002, the Governor-General, the Prime Minister, the Attorney-General, the Chief Justice, and the Secretary for Justice were all women. In addition, between 1999 and October 2001, the country's main opposition party was also led by a woman (Butler et al., 2003). Since 2015, the Governor-General, the Prime Minister, the co-leader of the government's coalition partner and the Chief Justice have all been women at some time. The principle of equality for all is enshrined in national law, and the country's actions continue to set a consistent positive example for women's rights (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2021).

However, it was not until 1941 that the first 10 female police trainees in New Zealand were recruited, and it took until 1952 for them to be allowed to wear police uniforms. Gender-based disparities persisted, with an unequal distribution of duties between male and female officers, until the Police Commissioner mandated in 1966 that sex could no longer be a factor in police duty allocation (Butler et al., 2003). As of 2016, women constituted 18.9% of the New Zealand police workforce nationwide.

Goddard and Jaeger (2005) noted the need for the New Zealand police policy to address New Zealand's growing ethnic multicultural community by increasing the ratio of ethnic minority staff and facilitating improved communication and cultural understanding. According to Nielsen and Krasnik (2010), an ethnic group is a social group to which a person belongs and is recognised by themselves or others due to

various cultural and other factors, such as language, diet, religion, ancestry and physical characteristics typically associated with race. Ethnic identity is the sense of belonging and connection that individuals feel towards a particular ethnic group or culture. It refers to an individual's subjective understanding of their own ethnic background, including their beliefs, values, traditions, and customs (Eifert et al., 2013). Ethnic identity may be influenced by a variety of experiences, such as socialisation within the family and community, exposure to cultural traditions and values, and interactions with individuals from different ethnic backgrounds (Fish et al., 2021).

The ethnic composition of the New Zealand police's overall staff is predominantly European (81%), followed by Māori (13.6%), Pacific (7.3%), Asian (6%), and Middle Eastern, Latin American, and African (MELAA) (1.6%). However, recent efforts to improve diversity in recruitment at the Royal New Zealand Police College are expected to result in more balanced figures, with an increase in the percentage of graduates from Māori, Pacific, Asian, and MELAA backgrounds (Y. Nguyen, personal communication, Oct 18, 2022).

New Zealand has taken a significant step in promoting religious and cultural diversity by becoming the first country to include the hijab as an official part of police uniform for women ("New Zealand Police Introduce Hijab to Uniform," 2020). Prior to this development, women who wore the hijab for religious or cultural reasons were required to provide their own scarf (Lillevik, 2019). With the inclusion of the hijab, female Muslim police officers can now wear the headscarf comfortably with pride as part of their official uniform. This initiative reflects New Zealand's commitment to inclusivity and promoting diversity within its organisation ("New Zealand Police Introduce Hijab to Uniform," 2020).

Hijab is a religious and cultural practice that holds significant meaning for Muslim women around the world. Hijab is a term that refers to the modest dress code for Muslim women (Litchmore & Safdar, 2016). For many Muslim women, wearing the hijab is a profoundly personal and meaningful act of faith and commitment to their religion. The commitment of women who wear the hijab is rooted in their belief in the principles of modesty and religious obligation (Paz & Kook, 2020). Additionally, Paz and Kook (2020) explain the significance of the hijab extends beyond its religious and cultural meanings. Many Muslim women see it as a symbol of resistance and empowerment against oppressive systems that seek to control their bodies and choices. Thus, by wearing the hijab, Muslim women reclaim their agency and assert their right to define themselves on their terms.

It is worth noting that the hijab, which is often associated with Islam, is not unique to the religion, as other faiths also practice forms of modest dress. For instance, Christian and Jewish women wear head coverings as a symbol of modesty and respect. Thus, it is important to recognise that head coverings are not solely limited to the Muslim faith and may have diverse meanings across different cultures and religions (Tarlo, 2016).

Islam is more than just a collection of religious beliefs and practices. It is a comprehensive way of life, with Sharia guidelines that encompass almost every aspect of daily life. Beyond outlining proper conduct regarding things like food and clothing, Islamic teachings promote broader principles of behaviour, such as the importance of modesty, humility, and refraining from extravagance (Islam & Chandrasekaran, 2020).

Similarly, Islam includes a comprehensive moral system, which is an important aspect of its worldview. A summarised code of conduct of morals includes: to remain conscious of God when in public and in private, to speak justly and kind when angry or

pleased, to show moderation when rich or poor, to reunite friendships and kinship if broken, silence to be occupied by thought, and to command what is right (Masitah, 2020).

Islam assigns Muslims the duty to collectively enjoin the good and forbid what is evil, or any wrongdoing as outlined in Surah Al-Imran, Verse 104 of the Qur'an, "And from among you there should be a party who invite to good and enjoin what is right and forbid the wrong, and these it is that shall be successful" (Askari, 2019). According to Askari (2019), the adoption of Islamic values is not limited to Islamic or Muslim countries alone. New Zealand, for instance, ranks among the top ten countries that have adopted Islamic principles as the foundation of their societies. Moreover, New Zealand's remarkable socio-economic progress and development exemplify how the incorporation of Islamic values can contribute to a nation's ongoing growth, transcending religious boundaries.

Moreover, the inclusion of the hijab as part of the official police uniform reflects New Zealand Police values. The New Zealand Police's framework of values and principles is grounded in a set of fundamental values (Macaulay & Rowe, 2019). Firstly, professionalism, which is geared towards making a positive difference in the community, and providing a sense of safety and security to all. Secondly, respect is central to their values, and it involves treating everyone with dignity, respect, and honouring their rights and freedoms. Thirdly, integrity is of paramount importance to the New Zealand Police, and it entails being honest, upholding ethical standards, building trust and confidence between colleagues, and fostering positive relationships with communities. Despite the positive nature of these values, past research has shown that the Māori community has persistently faced discrimination and profiling by New Zealand Police resulting in higher rates of Māori conviction and sentencing within the justice system in comparison to non-Māori counterparts (Houkamau et al., 2017).

However, recent efforts by the New Zealand Government have worked to address these issues which include programmes to recruit Māori police officers in order to reduce these inequalities within justice system (Scoppio, 2018). Thus, The New Zealand Police espouse commitment to Māori and the Treaty, based on the principles of partnership, protection, and participation. Empathy is another core value, and it involves seeking to understand and consider other people's experiences and perspectives. Lastly, valuing diversity is a vital aspect of the New Zealand Police's principles, as they recognise and appreciate different ways of thinking and living, which ultimately leads to better results for everyone (Macaulay & Rowe, 2019).

Women who wear the hijab are part of the Muslim faith experience, an intersection of religious, political, and cultural discussions set against the backdrop of contemporary public and political debate (Soltani et al., 2021). In other words, women who choose to wear the hijab are often caught in the middle of complex discussions that involve various factors such as religion, politics, and culture. These discussions are taking place in the public and political spheres, where they are ongoing. For example, recently, the French Government banned females from wearing a hijab, which has sparked a lot of controversy and debate (Ab Halim et al., 2022). Supporters of the ban argue that it is a necessary measure to promote secularism and gender equality, while opponents argue that it is an infringement on individual freedom and religious expression (Ab Halim et al., 2022). On the other hand, in Iran, there has been a public movement to protest against the mandatory hijab policy (Pain, 2022). The movement, known as 'White Wednesdays', encourages women to take off their headscarves in public spaces as a form of protest against the compulsory hijab. This movement represents a growing desire for freedom and individual choice among Iranian women, who are challenging the traditional norms and expectations imposed upon them by society and the government (Pain, 2022).

It is important to note that these two situations represent different contexts and cultural perspectives. While France's ban on the hijab is rooted in its history of secularism and the separation of religion and state, Iran's mandatory hijab policy is based on its interpretation of Islamic law and societal norms. Both situations reflect ongoing debates about the balance between individual rights and cultural values, as well as the role of government in regulating personal behaviour. As Soltani et al. (2021) explain, the hijab has become the subject of a contentious debate in the public and political sphere, despite it being a personal choice, as noted by Droogsma (2007). Therefore, the hijab has emerged as a powerful instrument for both disrupting and organising social movements, as well as asserting one's personal identity and religious convictions in a private or public setting.

This study explores the experience of Muslim women and their interactions at work in New Zealand Police, to better understand the experiences and perceptions of Muslim women who do or do not wear the hijab, and to contribute to the literature on the subtle forms of biases, stereotypes and preconceived notions about Muslims in New Zealand. The study aims to provide further information about the impact of visible markers, such as attire and uniform in society.

The next chapter examines the existing body of research on New Zealand's multicultural society, exploring the topics of media impact, police perception, the hijab and marginalisation.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The research question aims to explore the lived experiences of Muslim women in New Zealand Police. This literature chapter begins by exploring New Zealand's multicultural society and how diversity is framed in mainstream media. The next section discusses the role of symbolic meaning of uniform in shaping police perceptions. The last section examines the marginalisation of Muslims, focusing on the hijab as an identifying symbol.

2.1 New Zealand Multicultural Society and Media

The Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840, was a pivotal moment in the history of New Zealand, as it established the relationship between the indigenous Māori people and the British colonists (Sibley & Ward, 2013). The treaty laid the foundation for New Zealand to develop as a bicultural society, where both Māori and European cultures would coexist and interact (Ash et al., 2019). The principles of the Treaty of Waitangi have influenced and shaped subsequent immigration policies and practices that emphasised the rights of Māori and commitment to biculturalism to promote coexistence between different ethnic and cultural groups (Smits, 2019).

Initially, despite the Treaty setting a precedent for a bicultural society, the dominant ethnic composition was mainly of European origin (Ho, 2015). However, significant changes occurred in the country's ethnic composition in the late 20th century. An increase of immigration to New Zealand was sought to increase the population to address labour shortages and strengthen economic development. Factors such as changes in migration polices, increased global mobility, and growing recognition of value of diversity led to the diversification of the population (Ho, 2015).

In 1986, New Zealand implemented new immigration policies which allowed skilled migrants from other countries beyond Britain, Ireland and Northern Europe to apply for residency (Sibley & Ward, 2013). In 1991, further policy change occurred, along with the introduction of points system which enabled migrants to enter New Zealand based on their work experience, educational skills, age and other factors which led to greater diversity in the ethnicity of new migrants (Ho, 2015).

Due to these shifts in immigration policy, New Zealand has experienced an increase in immigration which quickly transformed the country into a multicultural society (Thorpe et al., 2020). The 2018 Census of New Zealand showed that, despite growth among Māori, Asian, Pacific, MELAA ethnic groups, the European ethnic group continues to outnumber all others by a vast percentage. The Census data are as follows: European (70.2%), Māori (16.5%), Asian (15.1%), Pacific (8.1%) and MELAA (1.5%). There are 39 ethnic 'subgroups' that make up the MELAA group. With 27,990 members in 2018, the Middle Eastern subgroup of the MELAA was still the largest; in contrast, the African subgroup had 16,890 members. Compared to the Middle Eastern or African subgroups, the Latin American subgroup has expanded more quickly (Stats NZ, 2020).

Moreover, in New Zealand, the first Muslim community recorded was noted in 1874, with not much information about the total until later in the 1950s when the New Zealand Census reported 200 living Muslims in New Zealand (Shepard, 2006). Now, as more than two billion people worldwide identify as Muslims, 57,276 Muslims reside in New Zealand (Stats NZ, 2018). People of many ethnicities, races, nations, and cultures make up New Zealand's Muslim population. However, despite significant growth, the Muslim community remains a small minority, accounting for less than 1% of the total population in New Zealand (Soltani, 2021).

New Zealand has implemented policies to encourage diversity and inclusion by welcoming skilled migrants from various countries. However, these efforts are not always reflected in the attitudes of society as a whole. There is a persistent problem of negative stereotypes and systemic racism towards certain groups, particularly towards those who practice Islam, despite the country's recognition of the value of cultural diversity (Lee & Cain, 2019). The inaccurate perceptions or misunderstandings about these immigrants' motives, actions, or emotions continue to lead to negative attitudes and behaviours towards them (Ash et al., 2019). For instance, if someone misinterprets an immigrant's behaviour as rude or disrespectful when it is just a cultural difference, it can lead to negative feelings towards the immigrant. This misunderstanding may arise due to unfavourable connotations perceived in the immigrant's cultural and religious symbols (Korb et al., 2021). Such misunderstandings can make it difficult for these immigrants to integrate into society, leading to their alienation and exclusion. The sight of Muslim women wearing the hijab remains uncommon to many people in Western countries, which may cause some members of society to feel dread or disdain (Korb et al., 2021). The Muslim community is the source of the vast majority of discriminatory religious concerns raised by New Zealand's Human Rights Commission, with many of them relating to Muslim women's modest attire and hijab (Jasperse et al., 2011). Therefore, some Muslim women may feel threatened or vulnerable even in a culturally diverse and largely liberal nation like New Zealand (Jasperse et al., 2011).

Furthermore, Korb et al. (2021) explain that even individuals who support a multicultural society in general could harbour deep prejudices towards the hijab. It has been demonstrated that this bias towards Islam could prevent or hinder the ability of Muslims to integrate into Western communities. Media outlets can also contribute to the negative attitudes towards certain groups in society. According to a study in 2012, more than half (53.2%) of international news in New Zealand was centred on the conflicts in

the Middle East. This coverage relied heavily on external sources and often perpetuated the stereotype that Muslims are aggressive terrorists by presenting pre-packaged media stories (Kabir & Bourk, 2012). The circulated news stories were positioned to popularise the West. For example, the invasion of Iraq by America positioned the US troops as saviours. Similarly, regarding the Israel-Palestinian conflict, NZ media presented Palestinians as 'radicals' while Israelis were defending the land they are illegally occupying (Kabir & Bourk, 2012). Additionally, New Zealand-based studies have also shown that the words 'Islam Terrorism' and 'Islam Jihad' are often used to label news headlines. This is because the stories published using the word 'Jihad' is translated to signify violent deeds rather than the positive Islamic connotation whereby 'Jihad' actually means the battle for self-improvement and virtue (Rahman & Emadi, 2018). Additionally, the media's portrayal of Islam tends to present a biased and limited view, often present an 'enemy image' of Islam that constructs 'us' as the West versus 'them', the Muslims. The media creates a conflict in such a way that there appears to be a conflict between Islam and Western values, in order to serve the political agenda (Kabir & Bourk, 2012). This kind of media representation can fuel harmful and discriminatory attitudes towards Muslim communities and contribute to a sense of otherness and marginalisation.

According to Rahman (2020), the Western media often promotes a negative image of Islam and Muslim cultures by emphasising themes of terrorism and cultural conflict. This portrayal reinforces harmful stereotypes and presents an inaccurate view of these communities. This selective depiction of competing narratives indirectly disenfranchises Muslims by establishing an image of hostility in the eyes of the Western reader (Hodge, 2005). Thus, media coverage often displays a double standard when it comes to portraying violence. Acts of violence committed by Muslims are frequently depicted as being representative of the entire faith and community, while violence

committed by other populations is more accurately recognised as being deviations from the norm (Hodge, 2005). This inconsistency in portrayal perpetuates harmful stereotypes and unfair biases.

Hodge (2005) further explains that even if a group has set goals and values that they strive to uphold, there will always be some people who will try to use those goals and values to serve their own interests. This can result in actions that go against the original purpose or values of the group. Similarly, Rahman and Emadi (2018) emphasise that excessive negative media about Islam have shaped popular opinion and label violent actions by an individual as Islamically motivated. Whether driven by algorithms or shared networks, these stories influence the popular understanding of Muslim identity (Rahman, 2020).

Therefore, the relentless Western media bias against Islam has created hatred and fear, culminating in repeated unjustified assaults on innocent Muslims. The media representation of Muslims and Islam increased in negativity annually between 2014 and 2017 (Rahman & Emadi, 2018). According to Thorpe et al. (2020), a study of attitudes towards Muslims in New Zealand found that Muslims are often viewed more negatively and considered to be more dangerous than other religious groups. The study also revealed that certain demographic groups, such as older individuals, those of European descent, men, and those with right-wing political tendencies, are more likely to hold these negative attitudes.

On March 15, 2019, New Zealand experienced the worst mass shootings in its history, when a terrorist of European descent and white supremacist ideology opened fire in two Masjids in Christchurch, killing 51 people and injuring many others (Besley & Peters, 2019). The news of the shooting left New Zealanders shaken and shocked, and there were numerous outpourings of sadness, astonishment, and fury. However,

alongside the grief and anger felt by many New Zealanders, there was a sense of compassion and a determination to show solidarity with the victims and their families (Rahman, 2020). Many New Zealanders expressed the sentiment that ‘this is not us’, indicating that the actions of the shooter were not reflective of the values of the country as a whole. Furthermore, there was a strong rejection of any form of hate speech or rhetoric that supported violence and danger (Rahman, 2020). In the aftermath of the shooting, there was a renewed focus on promoting unity and inclusion in New Zealand society. There were numerous efforts made to support the Muslim community, including vigils, public gatherings, and fundraising initiatives. The government also took steps to tighten gun laws and increase funding for initiatives aimed at countering violent extremism (Besley & Peters, 2019).

A notable aspect of the response to the tragedy in New Zealand was the empathy, compassion, and respect demonstrated by the government and its leaders towards the Muslim community (Reicher et al., 2020). This display of support was a sharp contrast to the negative portrayal of Muslims in the media and may have been surprising to Muslims worldwide who are not often shown such goodwill (Rahman, 2020). The promotion of inclusion in society, as reinforced by the statement ‘this is not us’ in New Zealand, fosters a community where individuals of diverse ethnic backgrounds and cultures can coexist and thrive, free to express themselves and their beliefs without fear of persecution, ultimately resulting in better, safer communities in which police play a vital role (Willis, 2021).

In summary, the Treaty of Waitangi laid the foundation for New Zealand as a bicultural society. However, significant changes occurred in the country’s ethnic composition in the late 20th century, with new immigration policies allowing skilled migrants from other countries beyond Europe to apply for residency, resulting in a shift towards a multicultural society. Despite this growth, the Muslim community remains a

small minority, accounting for less than 1% of the total population. The media often perpetuates negative stereotypes and systemic racism towards certain groups, particularly those who practice Islam, with the Muslim community being the source of the vast majority of discriminatory religious concerns. Moreover, media outlets contribute to the negative attitudes towards certain groups in society, presenting a biased and limited view of Islam, which can fuel harmful and discriminatory attitudes towards Muslim communities. However, the Christchurch shooting in 2019 brought about a sense of compassion and unity in New Zealand, with the government taking steps to support the Muslim community and promote inclusion in society. This response was surprising to Muslims worldwide who are not often shown such goodwill (Rahman, 2020).

The next section explores the role of police in society in terms of their presentation of uniform, perception and relationship with minority members, as well as the connection between police and Islam representation in symbols.

2.2 Police Perception and Trust

This section explores how police are perceived in New Zealand society and other parts of the world. The literature in this section examines the significance and utility of the police uniform, relationships between the police and minority communities, and the symbolic position held by police as figures of authority

Uniforms communicate and provide clues about the wearer's authority, profession, and position. Uniforms have historically functioned as signs of power while indicating the person's status and group affiliation (Bell, 1982). The perceived power connected with the police uniform has long been an essential component of the police officer's function. The uniform acts as a symbol as well as a defence mechanism. It serves as a filter and a barrier, communicating nonverbally who the police are and their

purpose or role (Bell, 1982). Research has shown that uniforms can impact behaviour and perception in a number of ways (Bell, 1982). For example, wearing a uniform can increase a sense of authority and power, which may lead to increased confidence and assertiveness in certain situations. Conversely, uniforms can also create a sense of pressure or responsibility to live up to a certain image or standard of behaviour.

According to De Kock et al. (2001), uniforms may also affect how individuals are perceived by others. Researchers explain that people tend to perceive individuals in uniform as more competent, trustworthy and credible than those who are not wearing uniforms. However, this effect may be influenced by factors such as the type of uniform, context and individual biases. Elsbach (2003) state that the clothing and accessories that employees wear provide them with a way to assert and express their professional roles and identities. This means that the clothing employees wear can convey their job title, level of authority, and other important aspects of their work. Elsbach emphasises that whilst uniforms are an obvious example of clothing that conveys professional symbolism, it is important to note that this does not mean that such clothing is elitist, superficial, or meant to show off. Instead, it is a necessary part of expressing one's professional identity and can help create a sense of cohesion and unity among employees who share the same dress code.

Similar to Bell's (1982) findings, research conducted by De Camargo (2019) shows that uniforms have traditionally been used as symbols of power and indicators of an individual's status and group affiliation. In the case of police organisations, uniforms serve as both symbols and defensive mechanisms. Uniforms provide a sense of security and order in society, and to help establish a clear boundary between those who are authorised to enforce the law and those who are not. Additionally, Timmons and East (2011) explain that uniforms serve as clear and recognisable markers of occupational

boundaries. This means that uniforms help to establish clear work boundaries that members must adhere to, thereby reducing the likelihood of boundary violations.

According to Simpson (2017), police officers are provided with uniforms that symbolise their status in the police department and the associated roles, obligations, and aspects of the occupation. Therefore, it can be reasonably assumed that the presence or absence of such a uniform may affect the sensitivity of an officer's policing identity, which in turn can influence perceptions of them. In other words, a police officer's uniform is an important aspect of their professional identity and is often associated with the duties and responsibilities of their job. The absence of a uniform, or the presence of a uniform that deviates from the norm, can potentially affect how the public perceives the officer and their authority (Murphy et al., 2008). Therefore, the presence or absence of a uniform can have an impact on how the public perceives a police officer and their policing identity.

In 2019, the New Zealand police introduced the hijab as an optional part of their official uniform in order to encourage more Muslim women to join the New Zealand police and as symbol of diversity. However, a visible symbol of faith can present challenges because it signifies a visible marker of a specific identity that others may not like. This is because it may be perceived as a deviation from the norm or a disruption of the established uniformity (Murphy et al., 2008). This highlights the complex relationship between uniforms and identity and how the introduction of any new element such as the hijab can disrupt the established norms and expectations. Nevertheless, Miles-Johnson and Pickering (2017) explain that the diversification of the workplace and its staff, as well as implementing police training programmes that enhance officers' awareness of minority group members, can lower disruption. Therefore, introducing the hijab may be less likely to be perceived as a deviation from the norm in the way that Murphy et al. (2008) describes, as it establishes uniformity

when officers have undergone suitable training and are accustomed to working with a diverse group of people.

Moreover, Benton (2020) argues that people tend to have more favourable views of government officials when they can relate to them demographically through a perceived marker, irrespective of the outcome. For instance, Benton notes that African Americans had a more positive attitude towards the police when their department had a high representation of Black officers. Similarly, Whites had a more favourable attitude towards the police when their department had a high proportion of White officers. The relationship between different ethnic and social groups, particularly racial groups, is strongly tied to public trust and confidence in the police. Additionally, the representation of women in the police organisation is another demographic marker that can impact public trust and confidence in the police, as noted by Benton (2020). Similarly, the presence of female police officers and staff provides an alternative point of contact for victims of crime who have experienced insensitivity from male officers (Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013). However, women face several barriers to full integration into police culture, including men's prejudices, societal attitudes about gender roles, and conflicts between work and family responsibilities (Krimmel & Gormley, 2003). The lack of representation of women and minorities in the New Zealand police can contribute to a lack of trust and confidence from the public, particularly from those who do not perceive any demographic markers in the police that are shared with their own.

Panditharatne et al. (2018) stress the crucial importance of trust in police, which is based on the perception that police representatives genuinely care about the welfare of citizens and treat everyone fairly. Moreover, research on procedural justice reveals that people's perceptions of being treated fairly are often more important than their beliefs about the effectiveness of law enforcement in reducing crime. The researchers also point out that communication between the police and the public, particularly with

minority communities, is challenging due to the long-standing history of discrimination against minorities within the criminal justice system.

Drawing parallels to Benton (2020), Panditharatne et al. (2018) highlight that African Americans are more likely than Whites to encounter discriminatory treatment such as insulting language, random searches, and aggressive behaviour from police officers. Similarly, Buttle (2017) notes that in New Zealand, the Māori community has reported deep mistrust of the police due to historic racialisation and prejudice. Despite the addition of Māori police officers, discriminatory treatment towards Māori people persists, and the hiring of Māori officers is seen as a tokenistic approach to address the issue rather than an effective solution (Buttle, 2017). Marques (2010) explains this in an organisational context, where diversity programmes are often used as a way to 'window dress' or give the appearance of inclusivity without actually addressing underlying power imbalances. This means that organisations may implement superficial diversity initiatives, such as hiring a few individuals from under-represented groups or hosting cultural events, without making meaningful changes to the structures and policies that perpetuate inequality (Marques, 2010). As a result, the organisation may appear more inclusive on the surface, but the reality is that power dynamics and exclusionary practices still exist.

Furthermore, Murphy et al. (2008) explains that engagement between the police and people from different communities can broaden police officers' understanding of the expectations placed on them when interacting with all members of a community. This engagement can also contribute to the degree of trust that police officers have in particular members of society. Miles-Johnson and Pickering (2017) underline the importance of considering the impact of police officers' trust in diverse people on their interactions with minority groups. If police officers' trust in diverse people is low, it may affect how they engage with minority groups, potentially leading to negative

treatment. If minority groups perceive this treatment as unjust or discriminatory, ignoring the impact of trust levels may lead to a breakdown in trust between the police and minority communities. This, in turn, may result in minority groups viewing the police as a dishonest or untrustworthy organisation, potentially exacerbating tensions and hindering the police's ability to effectively serve and protect all members of society.

Unfortunately, the distrust of police was mentioned in the summary of submissions to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Attack on Christchurch masjidain ("Royal Commission") which was submitted to Governor-General on 26 November 2020. The report mentioned multiple public sector agencies, including New Zealand police, and had complaints against police handling, communication and access. As one quote in the report said,

> They give us that feeling, and we don't get that trust from the police. There are only so many times you want to go to someone if they give you that feeling of mistrust. There comes a point where you don't even trust them and you feel like there are things happening, what is the point of going to the police? That's when it becomes very dangerous because you know there are things happening but because of that feeling and that mistrust between the police you have the big gap between the authority and you and you're distancing yourself to the people that could actually protect you and prevent it. So how do we build that trust between them and bridge that gap of not feeling like second-rate citizens? (Royal Commission, 2020, p. 43)

Furthermore, the report also noted a misalignment in protection and contrast in action towards members of particular faith:

> We question why the threats, that were publicly posted, were not picked up by our security agencies. The only reasonable answer, in our submission, is that their judgments and concentration were preoccupied with an incorrect focus on Islamic extremism only, and they failed to recognise white supremacy groups as a threat. (Royal Commission, 2020, p. 47).

The report stated that the New Zealand police and the intelligence and security agencies still prioritise Muslims and people of colour as potential terrorist threats out of prejudice and bigotry, rather than addressing threats from white supremacists. The overemphasis on surveillance of Muslim communities indicates institutional and systemic racism and Islamophobia in the New Zealand police and intelligence and security agencies. New Zealand security agencies investigated, infiltrated and had the Muslim community under surveillance in New Zealand (Hawi et al., 2019). This highlights a deep-seated issue of mistrust between certain communities and the police. The quote above expresses the idea that when people have negative experiences with the police, such as being treated unfairly or discriminated against, they begin to feel a sense of mistrust towards them similar to that seen in Miles-Johnson and Pickering's (2017) research. Thus, it can be difficult for people to seek help from the police when they need it.

Additionally, Miles-Johnson and Pickering (2017) reveal how the lack of trust between certain communities and the police can lead to dangerous situations. When people do not feel that they can rely on the police for help or protection, they may be more hesitant about reporting crimes or providing information that could help solve them. This can create a gap between the police and the community they serve, which can make it harder for the police to do their job effectively. The quote above also raises an important question about how to build trust between the police and certain communities. This is a complex issue that requires addressing underlying factors such as systemic racism and bias within law enforcement, as well as improving community policing strategies and communication. Without addressing these issues, it can be difficult to bridge the gap between police and communities that feel like they are not being treated fairly or respectfully.

Researchers Anwar and Sumpter (2020) point out that it is unfortunate that individuals who have visible identifying markers, such as uniforms or religious attire, have become targets of hostility. Anwar and Sumpter (2020) specifically mention that women who wear a hijab are often subject to hypervisibility, which means that their visible markers (in this case, the hijab) make them more noticeable and exposed to scrutiny and discrimination.

Police hold a unique symbolic position within society, as it embodies the government's power to maintain order and promote public safety, morality, and protection. As a widely recognised public institution, even those unfamiliar with the workings of law enforcement know how to interact with the police and can access their services (Van Ewijk, 2011). Additionally, police officers regularly interact with large segments of the population across various settings, unlike other professionals who operate in specific domains. Given these factors, promoting diversity within law enforcement could have a significantly positive impact on society and can be used to combat prejudice (Becconsall-Ryan, 2022). Thus, the inclusion of hijab-wearing women in the New Zealand police can help to 'normalise' the view of the hijab within the wider society, by challenging negative stereotypes and promoting a more inclusive image of the police.

In summary, uniforms serve as a filter and a barrier, conveying nonverbally the role and purpose of police officers; they have historically functioned as symbols of power and status. Research indicates that uniforms can increase a sense of authority, trustworthiness, and credibility, but can also create pressure to conform to a certain standard of behaviour. The introduction of the hijab as an optional part of the official uniform in New Zealand highlights the complex relationship between uniforms and identity, and the need to establish uniformity while accommodating diversity.

Furthermore, the relationship between different ethnic and social groups, particularly racial groups, is strongly tied to public trust and confidence in the police.

The next section examines the intersectional dimensions of gender, identity and the hijab and how the hijab relates to issues such as Islamophobia, discrimination, and cultural assimilation.

2.3 Hijab and Marginalisation

This section discusses various aspects of identity, including race, ethnicity, religion, and gender, and the impact of these aspects on individuals' experiences in society. It explores the challenges faced by Muslim women who wear the hijab and the stereotypes and prejudices they experience. Despite these challenges, Muslim women often serve as ambassadors for their faith, using their daily interactions to combat stereotypes and misconceptions. The hijab serves as a visible symbol of Muslim identity and pride.

Karaman and Christian (2021) argue that over the decades, the dominant culture has politicised the hijab for various purposes, leading to a lack of understanding about the reasons why women choose to wear hijab or not. This has resulted in the diminishing of people's ability to recognise the true meaning and significance of the hijab. The example of France and Iran described in section 2.1 illustrates how different cultures and societies have politicised the hijab in various ways, leading to conflicting ideologies and social norms (Pain, 2022). In France, the hijab has been perceived as a threat to secularism, modernity, and ideal citizenship, rather than as a religious symbol and meaning to Muslim women's faith. In contrast, Iran mandates that women wear a hijab by law. These opposing views on the hijab highlight how societal norms, religious beliefs, and media shape the social identity of female Muslims. It suggests that a

Muslim woman's decision to wear or not wear the hijab is influenced by larger social forces beyond her individual choice, and that her identity is shaped by both her personal beliefs and the expectations of her community and society. Karim and Eid (2014) attributed the cultural ignorance and view of alienness to the lack of connection between Western and Muslim societies that once helped build their civilisations through the borrowing of scientific and technological advancements from each other. Indeed, the ideological and religious fundamentalists on both sides display mirror images of the 'other', which is frequently used to justify violence (Karim & Eid, 2014).

According to a study on Muslims in Scotland (Babacan, 2022), experiences of Islamophobia among Muslims typically begin in childhood and often take the form of explicit verbal abuse. As they grow older, these experiences may shift to more subtle forms, such as being subjected to unwarranted looks and stares in everyday interactions. Babacan (2022) argues that implicit Islamophobia is mainly shaped by media coverage and international events that involve Muslims. Another study on Muslim students in the UK revealed that students frequently encounter microaggressions based on their physical appearance (Bettache et al., 2018). Shaker et al. (2021) elaborated on how labelling or singling out someone based on their appearance can be a manifestation of 'othering' and can occur through various human senses, including visual and auditory channels. Visual othering encompasses individuals such as women who wear the hijab and men with a dark hair and skin tone or beard. On the other hand, auditory othering involves the role of sound, particularly when people encounter spoken languages different from their own in a country with a unified language (Shaker et al., 2021). This unfamiliarity, including the sound of foreign names, often triggers a perception of foreignness and elicits a response.

According to a study conducted in Sweden, Muslim names pose a significant barrier for individuals who have the physical characteristics to 'pass' as white through,

for example skin tone, hair colour and height, in their pursuit of being accepted as Swedes (Khosravi, 2011). The desire to change names to fit in with the dominant group is driven by a social structure that places Swedish people above immigrants in a hierarchy (Khosravi, 2011). Names carry strong ethnic, cultural and religious meanings, which can reveal an individual's affiliation or belonging to a certain ethnicity, culture or religion. Thus, Tikhonov et al. (2019) explain, these social issues lead immigrants to change their last names in desire to assimilate or as a strategy to rebuild and strengthen their ethnic identity. Ethnic identity can be defined as a person's personal perception of belonging to a particular ethnic group (Tikhonov et al., 2019).

Similarly, Karatas et al. (2023) highlights the significance of ethnic and national identities in an individual's sense of belonging to their culture and the society they currently reside in. These identity dimensions encompass attitudes and behaviours that arise from a deep-rooted feeling of affection, commitment, and pride associated with being a part of these groups or communities. Additionally, Karatas et al. (2023) explain that individuals are inclined to define themselves based on their roles, obligations, and positions in both their cultural heritage communities and the society they reside in, i.e., in their national identity. Hence, the aspiration to modify specific visual or aural aspects of one's identity to appear respectable and gain recognition often involves the desire to be seen as white or to have 'near-whiteness' (Khosravi, 2011).

In many societies, white people enjoy a privileged status, and being perceived as such can provide numerous advantages, including better access to employment, education, and social mobility (Tikhonov et al., 2019). As a result, some individuals may attempt to downplay or change certain aspects of their identity to conform to the dominant group's norms and standards. This pursuit of 'whiteness' or 'near-whiteness' is a reflection of how identity is deeply intertwined with power and privilege in many societies. This is often due to the portrayal of white identity as the norm, and thus, any

deviation from this standard can be seen as an ‘othering’ experience. Similarly, Modood (2010) notes that individuals do not choose to be born into a society where being Muslim or having a Muslim appearance leads to prejudice and discrimination in areas such as employment. However, how individuals react to these situations can vary significantly. Some may engage in resistance activities, while others may try to change their appearance to conform to societal expectations.

The process of identity formation is ongoing and influenced by various social and personal factors, including culture, religion, and personal experiences. Being stripped of one’s origins, name, culture, and religion can significantly impact an individual’s identity, as these elements provide a sense of belonging and meaning. Nagra (2011) emphasises that Muslim identities, like all other identities, can be formed, maintained, and changed in a range of social settings. For instance, the hijab is an outward expression of Muslim identity and a symbol of modesty and religious devotion. Women who choose to wear the hijab become representatives of their faith, and their dress is often associated with the larger Muslim community. Therefore, the hijab becomes a way for Muslim women to communicate their identity and beliefs to others, influencing their interactions and relationships within society. According to Karaman and Christian (2021), individuals from minority backgrounds are often expected to educate others about their religious beliefs, as well as dispel stereotypes and misconceptions. This expectation is problematic because it places the burden of education solely on the minority group, while the majority group is excused from taking responsibility for their own education and understanding. In essence, this perpetuates a cycle of ignorance and bias that is damaging to both minority and majority communities.

The portrayal of Muslim women on social media is often stereotypical and portrays them as regressive, pitiful, and isolated individuals who are frequently abused

and exploited by their male relatives or spouses (Van Es, 2017). This portrayal can strip Muslim women of their individuality and perpetuate harmful stereotypes, reinforcing the notion that they are all the same. This problem is not exclusive to Muslim women, but it also affects women in general, who may also be subjected to gender-based stereotypes that limit their individuality and agency. This lack of clarity in how women are represented in media and politics can contribute to systemic inequalities and discrimination against them (Kertcher & Turin, 2022). This stereotype adds to the pressure on Muslim women to defend and change this perception constantly. They must constantly challenge and reject the negative traits and attributes assigned to them to represent themselves accurately (Kertcher & Turin, 2022; Van Es, 2017).

As a result, Muslim women often take it upon themselves to serve as representatives of their faith and culture, aiming to present Islam in a positive light to the broader public. This effort often manifests in various aspects of their daily lives, including their behaviour and communication with others (Van Es, 2017). For example, Muslim women may engage in discussions with their non-Muslim colleagues or acquaintances to correct any misunderstandings or false information about Islam. They may also share personal anecdotes about their families, including their husband's cooking skills or funny stories, which can help break down stereotypes and misconceptions about Muslims.

Moreover, the hijab is a symbol of Muslim identity and can convey a sense of pride and connection to their faith. Kertcher and Turin (2022) note that Muslim women's actions, outward behaviour, and words are inevitably connected to the religion they practice and their identity as members of a minority group. It is important to acknowledge that Muslim women play a crucial role in shaping public perceptions of Islam through their efforts to represent their faith positively. However, this

responsibility can also be a burden for them, as they may feel pressure to consistently present themselves in a certain way, particularly in professional settings.

While the hijab can be a powerful symbol for Muslim women in representing their faith, it can also lead to negative perceptions and stereotypes in specific contexts. Tarlo (2010) explains that the hijab can be seen as a symbol of oppression and otherness that contributes to Muslim women's marginalisation and stigmatisation. It is, therefore, essential to recognise the complex and nuanced nature of the hijab, its spiritual significance for Muslim women, and the potential impact of external attributions on Muslim identity.

Chapman (2016) sheds light on the challenges faced by veiled Muslim women subjected to a gendered and racial gaze by a society that does not accept them. The presence of a veiled woman is often met with debates about multiculturalism, segregation, and citizenship, thereby questioning their belonging in society. While the hijab has a profound spiritual significance to the women who practice it, it is often reduced to a threatening symbol and seen as something that represents otherness. This stigmatisation can have a psychological impact on Muslim women, affecting their cultural negotiations and management of identity. Moreover, as pointed out by Chapman (2016), Muslim women who wear a hijab face a double stigma of being a woman and veiled, further marginalising them in society. Therefore, it is important to recognise the negative impact of stereotyping and stigmatisation on Muslim women who choose to wear the hijab.

Tariq and Syed (2018) explain that Muslim women of minority groups are subjected to significant challenges in intersectional factors such as gender, race and religion. A compounding element of oppression and different categories of prejudice can develop that unfavourably affect women with multiple disadvantaged social

identities. The complex nature of the intersectional dimensions of gender, race and religion of ethnic minority women are likely to cause barriers and challenges in the workplace as it represents systematic disparities between employees in power and control over resources, opportunities, outcomes and workplace decisions (Tariq & Syed, 2018).

On the other hand, not all Muslim women wear a hijab. A Muslim woman with hair shown deviates from a mainstream stereotype which could be a practical approach to combat these stereotypes; however, this would only apply if the audience were aware that the woman is Muslim. It is a process of self-reduction in which women are compelled to politicise nearly every aspect of their daily lives and define their identity solely by one aspect of it, namely 'being Muslim' (Tarlo, 2010). In this way, they bear a significant burden by being responsible for upholding their religion's reputation entirely on their own.

In summary, this section has considered the impact of identity on individuals' experiences in society, with a particular focus on Muslim women who wear the hijab. The hijab serves as a visible symbol of Muslim identity and pride, but it has been politicised by different cultures and societies in various ways. Muslim women often face stereotypes and prejudices due to their religious and cultural identity. Implicit Islamophobia is shaped by media coverage and international events that involve Muslims, and individuals often encounter microaggressions based on their physical appearance. The pursuit of 'whiteness' or 'near-whiteness' is a reflection of how identity is deeply intertwined with power and privilege in many societies. Ethnic and national identities also play a significant role in an individual's sense of belonging to their culture and the society they currently reside in.

The next chapter discusses the methodological approach used to conduct research on the lived experiences of Muslim women in the New Zealand Police.

Chapter 3: Methods and Methodology

This chapter explains the research approach and processes used to explore and understand the lived experiences of Muslim women in the New Zealand Police.

The research study used an interpretive approach to highlight subjective viewpoints and individual differences. Qualitative methods were used for data collection, as the research required an understanding of the participants' experiences and interactions in the workplace.

The study used a purposive sampling approach to recruit a small sample. Six female Muslim police officers and staff members were recruited as research participants. The research invited participants who identified as Muslim, without questioning their practice of the Muslim faith or degree to which they are committed. The study acknowledges that religious identity is complex and multi-dimensional, and it was important to avoid imposing Western-centric interpretations of the participants' experiences by asking something as intrusive as 'how Muslim are you?'

Participants were selected based on their identification as police staff, Muslims, and females, without age, race, or ethnicity limitations. The selection criteria were designed to facilitate the research to understand the experiences of Muslim women who represent a religious minority in the New Zealand workplace.

One-on-one interview was the method of data collection. This information took the form of participants' opinions, thoughts, and description of experiences. The interviews used a semi-structured approach, which provided flexibility and guidance, with the interviewer following a set of predetermined guiding questions and allowing for additional follow-up questions as needed. To analyse the interview data, a thematic analysis approach was used to identify recurring patterns and themes in the participants'

experiences, considering their religious practices and social interactions. The participants' experiences were explored in the context of the efforts made by the New Zealand police to be more inclusive of diversity, including the incorporation of the hijab into the uniform.

Lastly, the data was analysed using the six-step process for thematic analysis developed by Braun and Clarke (2006). Inductive reasoning was used to analyse the data, drawing from Muslim women's personal and current experiences of working for the New Zealand police.

The chapter explores research paradigms and the decisions made in taking a qualitative, interpretive approach to the study. It then describes in detail the process of participant selection, and then the mode of data gathering and analysis – semi-structured interview and thematic analysis.

3.1 Paradigms

Research uses 'paradigms' to explain a way of thinking and describe the perspectives that interpret the meaning of the researched data (Deetz, 1996). A research paradigm inherently reflects the researcher's abstract beliefs and values that form how a researcher perceives, interprets, and behaves in the world (Deetz, 1996). In other words, it represents the researcher's intellectual perspective or approach to the research project. It is the researcher's way of thinking about and understanding the research problem, and it influences the decisions they make about how to conduct the research, what data to collect, and how to analyse the data (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). Deetz (1996) describes research paradigms as human constructions that signify the researcher's point of view as it is applied in the construction of significance from the data collected. Paradigms are vital as they portray the researcher's beliefs, indicating the discipline used (Kivunja &

Kuyini, 2017). This study uses the Burrell and Morgan model to guide design methods, approaches, and procedures (Hassard, 1991). The model assists in identifying the mode(s) of data collection, research participants, instruments used, data analysis tools, and addressing encountered limitations (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017).

The Burrell and Morgan model is a social theory framework involving four key paradigms. The four paradigms are functionalist, interpretive, radical humanist and radical structuralist; they represent different assumptions of social science and the nature of society (Hassard, 1991). Each paradigm generates a specific theory, concept, analysis and set of tools. Burrell and Morgan argue that all social scientists approach their fields with assumptions about the nature of the social world and how it should be studied, whether implicitly or explicitly (Goles, 2000).

The functionalist approach describes societies built on a social set of values and order that benefit everyone on a broader objective level. In the interpretive process, individuals in society interpret and understand these values to aid them on a micro-subjective level (Goles, 2000). In the radical structuralist approach, members of society view the world materialistically, with their objective being to create radical change and emphasise structural conflict, contradiction and domination. The radical humanist approach challenges the status quo and aims to subjectively understand differences, conflict and power, emphasising human consciousness (Goles, 2000).

Primarily, the interpretative approach investigates a phenomenon to uncover themes and patterns across subjective viewpoints while accounting for individual differences (Hunt, 2009). Thus, the interpretive approach recognises the theoretical and practical expertise a researcher offers to a project. The researcher's prior knowledge of the phenomena under investigation is a foundation for designing the project and aids in establishing its projected bounds (Hassard, 1991).

This study adopts the interpretive approach to interpret the information gathered from participants through thematic analysis to discover commonalities across their experiences. Additionally, the interpretive approach was particularly suitable for understanding the experiences of ethnic Muslim women because it emphasises subjective viewpoints and individual differences. This approach recognises that people from different cultural backgrounds have unique experiences, realities and perspectives, and aims to uncover these perspectives through in-depth exploration of their subjective experiences.

In the case of ethnic Muslim women in the New Zealand police, their experiences are shaped and influenced by cultural, social, and religious factors that are not easily captured through traditional quantitative research methods and paradigm approaches. While the participants have their sex, faith and workplace in common, the women are diverse themselves, being of different ethnicities, ages and geographical upbringing. By adopting an interpretive approach, this research can explore the complexities of their experiences, taking into account the individual differences and diverse perspectives. I note here that as a Muslim woman and member of an ethnic minority myself, I am equipped to explore the experiences of the participants in this research with greater sensitivity than a researcher who is male or part of the dominant culture may be able to achieve.

This next section discusses the two main research methods fundamental to research, qualitative and quantitative. It explains the approach to data collection and interpretation in each method and how they assist the researcher in understanding and explaining the data. The section highlights the limitations of each method and explains why a qualitative interpretive approach was selected for this study.

3.2 Methods

The two main research methods fundamental to research are qualitative and quantitative. Each method has an approach to data collection and interpretation that assists the researcher in understanding and explaining the interpreted data (Carr, 1994).

According to Carr (1994), the qualitative method explores the meaning of an individual's perspective, experiences, culture and view of a particular case. Qualitative data is gathered through surveys, observations, focus groups, interviews and questionnaires. Usually, a qualitative methods research question starts with the words 'how' and 'what'. Then, data is analysed and interpreted using a range of possible analysis tools or processes.

On the other hand, the quantitative method examines the relationship between independent and dependent variables through measurement to prove or disprove a hypothesis (Wright et al., 2004). Quantitative data is gathered to quantify 'how much', 'how often' and 'what percentage'. Quantitative data is focused on numbers that show the statistically significant or insignificant information collected that would support or refute a hypothesis (Wright et al., 2004).

This study takes a qualitative approach to data collection as the research requires an understanding of the participants' experiences and social realities at the workplace. The qualitative approach enables the researcher to gain a closer insight into the participants' experiences and relationships, the causes and effects of those experiences and relationships, and the dynamic processes that impact them.

The limitation of the qualitative approach is that it can be a lengthy process; data collection, interpretation, and analysis are time-consuming, and findings are usually not generalisable across a population (Wright et al., 2004). In addition, criticism of the approach usually refers to authenticity or reliability due to its small sample (Wright et

al., 2004). Applying reliability and validity criteria to qualitative data is challenging because of its contextual existence and single-context roots. In other words, the researcher's involvement in data generation makes it more difficult for the data to be replicated by someone else. Therefore, a method of analysis which allows for more than one 'pass' through the data and an iterative process of defining themes are important to ensure the interpretation is fair and justifiable.

Although a quantitative approach can offer reliability and validity by enabling the replication of studies and collecting data from a large sample size, it often lacks the authenticity of natural settings. Quantitative data is removed from personal experiences of the participants, and is thus insufficient in comprehending their individual perspectives and motivations. Consequently, it fails to fully capture the depth and richness of the lived experiences expressed by the participants.

Therefore, the method selected to best understand participants' experiences of being a Muslim woman in the New Zealand police is a qualitative interpretive approach. The data gathering method is semi-structured interviews recorded using audio recorders. The interview questions are designed to be indicative, ensuring that the researcher asks questions that are relevant to the study, while allowing the researcher to ask supplementary questions if a topic seems particularly valuable. The method also allows participants to respond to questions in their own words.

The next section explores the use of interviews as a data collection method in qualitative research. It highlights the different types of interviews, including one-on-one interviews, focus group interviews, and telephone interviews. The advantages and limitations of each type of interview are also explored. The chapter emphasises the significance of choosing the appropriate type of interview for the research question and goals of the study. Furthermore, it discusses the different interview techniques,

including unstructured, semi-structured, and structured interviews, and their advantages and disadvantages.

3.3 Interview

Goldie and Pritchard (1981) argue that interviews are most valuable method for data collection in a social context. There are several types of interviews, including one-on-one interviews, focus groups, and telephone interviews (Guest et al., 2017). Interviews can be defined as a dialogue between the researcher and the participant that allows for gathering evidence on the topic under investigation (Jamshed, 2014).

One-on-one interviews allow the interviewer to privately instruct the respondent, probe for further information, reiterate or clarify a question if it is misinterpreted or confused, and monitor digressions or gestures more conveniently and explicitly (Guest et al., 2017). Although one-on-one interviews can be expensive and time-consuming due to factors such as travel distance, they offer privacy and greater in-depth opportunities to gather detailed information.

In contrast, focus group interviews are quick and cost-effective in collecting information, and allow the researcher to examine how participants think and feel collectively about the topic (Guest et al., 2017). However, this approach can limit the written data collected, and some participants may feel reluctant to share their private thoughts in a broader shared setting. Goldie and Pritchard (1981) also discuss telephone interviews, which are more accessible, quick, efficient, and less costly than attending groups or one-on-one interviews. However, researchers point out that phone interviews are limited due to the absence of visual and physical contact.

Moreover, research has shown that in-depth interviews can generate new knowledge and provide respondents with new insights into their social circumstances,

thereby enhancing self-understanding (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). Therefore, the choice of interview type should be based on the research question and the goals of the study.

Jamshed (2014) highlights the significance of interviews as the most common data collection format in qualitative research. The interviewer is responsible for coordinating the dialogue and posing questions, while the interviewee answers the questions. Interviews offer several advantages, including the flexibility of time (Jamshed, 2014). This flexibility allows the researcher to schedule interviews at a time that is most convenient for the participant, and also allows for the interviewer to explore issues in greater depth as needed. Additionally, the use of indicative questions gives the interviewer discretion over the sequence of the questions, which may determine the respondent's spontaneity in answering.

In this study, the one-on-one interview format was considered to be the most effective and suitable for gathering information. The goal was to build and explore the information provided by the individual's opinions, thoughts and experiences in a particular situation and work field.

Qu and Dumay (2011) identify in their study the three primary interview techniques commonly used in research, which include unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews, and structured interviews. Unstructured interviews are open-ended and flexible, with the interviewer asking a few questions and allowing the conversation to flow naturally. This approach can build trust and rapport with the participant, especially when discussing sensitive topics (Qu & Dumay, 2011). However, the interviewer may miss crucial information since the conversation may deviate from the focused subject.

Semi-structured interviews offer more structure and guidance, with the interviewer following a set of pre-determined questions while allowing for additional follow-up questions as needed (Qu & Dumay, 2011). This method maintains order and helps the interviewer probe for more information while allowing for conversation flexibility.

In contrast, structured interviews follow a strict question protocol and limit the chances for the interviewer to ask follow-up questions or explore different topics (Qu & Dumay, 2011). This approach is used to gather specific and direct data, but it may also limit the depth and richness of the information obtained.

In this study, a combination of one-on-one interviews and a semi-structured interview approach was utilised, along with a set of indicative questions. The interviews were recorded using an audio recording device.

The personal nature of one-on-one interviews also allows the researcher to ask follow-up questions and clarify responses, leading to a more accurate and complete picture of the participant's experience. In addition, conducting one-on-one interviews creates a confidential and private environment, which can promote greater openness and honesty among participants compared to group settings or written surveys. The use of a semi-structured approach in the one-on-one interview allows flexibility and improvisation while also ensuring that the research question is adequately addressed.

This next section provides an explanation of thematic analysis, which is a qualitative method commonly used for analysing data across various fields. The section outlines the six-step process introduced by Braun and Clarke (2006), which provides a systematic and transparent approach to analysing data. The section also discusses the inductive approach used in thematic analysis and its potential limitations.

3.4 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is a qualitative method widely used for analysing data across various fields owing to its flexibility and versatility, which can be applied in a range of qualitative analysis study (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It involves detecting, analysing, and disclosing trends (themes) in data, which provides a rich, informative but complex account of the data at a high level of depth (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is especially useful for analysing open-ended answers from a set of questions or transcribed interviews (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018).

However, the absence of specific and transparent criteria for thematic interpretation has led to the criticism of qualitative studies as ‘anything goes’ (Antaki et al., 2003). Therefore, it is crucial to ensure data interpretation is concise and follows a clear route to avoid unrelated and scattered pieces of information. This can be achieved through the six-step process introduced by Braun and Clarke (2006), which provides a systematic and transparent approach to the analysis.

The themes identified in thematic analysis reflect patterned responses or contexts within the data that capture something meaningful about the phenomenon being studied (Braun & Clarke, 2006). These themes embody the nature of the phenomenon being studied and align with the study objective or research question (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018). This offers a chance to discuss how people might utilise synonyms or describe events sorted by codes that could fit into a diverse range of themes (Scharp & Sanders, 2018).

Additionally, thematic analysis is also accessible to inexperienced or beginner qualitative researchers and frequently results in understandable and straightforward insights that make sense of complex data in a meaningful way (Wiltshire & Ronkainen, 2021).

The six steps of the process is as follows:

- Firstly, the familiarisation step requires the researcher to read over multiple times and understand the transcribed data.
- Secondly, the coding step allows the researcher to develop short labels that can assist in highlighting sentences where each code represents the concept or feeling conveyed in that document section.
- Thirdly, in theme generation, the researcher explores the codes made, searches for common trends and identifies patterns.
- Fourthly, in the revision of themes according to the codes used, the researcher needs to make sure the themes are valuable and reliable data representations.
- Fifthly, defining and naming themes entails articulating the precise meaning of each theme and determining how it contributes to understanding the results.
- Lastly, the sixth step is the production of a written report in which each theme and finding are discussed and explained.

Themes are interpretive narratives that emerge from the researcher's theoretical assumptions and analytical abilities, and from the data collected. These narratives offer creative insights and understanding of the data collected. The six-step process aids in systematically gathering and organising the data to identify patterns and develop a comprehensive understanding of the research topic.

Additionally, theme generation requires data-driven coding using inductive or deductive thinking. Simply put, the process of inductive reasoning involves moving from the specific to the general to reach conclusions, in contrast to the deductive approach that draws from general information to make specific conclusions (Wiltshire

& Ronkainen, 2021). Primarily, theoretical insights are generated from data through an inductive approach, whereas theoretical hypotheses are tested through data collection in a deductive approach (Wiltshire & Ronkainen, 2021). Humble and Mozelius (2022) note that qualitative research is predominantly linked with inductive reasoning, while quantitative research is primarily associated with deductive reasoning. Therefore, inductive approach was used to best answer the research question in this study. It draws from Muslim women's personal and current experiences working for New Zealand police.

Nevertheless, A. L. Chapman et al. (2015) offer essential criticisms of the inductive process in thematic analysis. They state that it is impossible to have accurate analysis as it is always limited by the unconscious application of prior knowledge to the thematic analysis process, either from the researcher's own experience or from reading the literature. As a result, pre-existing theories, thoughts and insight can over-influence interview outlines, which are likely to result in topics that become 'produced' themes rather than themes that are allowed to emerge naturally, or existing theories etc. can influence the choices of themes formulated from codes.

However, this viewpoint dismisses the initial purpose and application of thematic analysis in research. Thematic analysis is a method that initially draws from the researcher's knowledge in a field of interest. It serves as a tool for correctly collecting information to gain more insight regardless of the internal processes used (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018).

Importantly, thematic analysis presents a unique opportunity for capturing the lived experience of participants. Additionally, the present research utilises an inductive approach that takes into account the personal experiences of Muslim women working

for New Zealand police. By learning from the participants' individual perspectives and reasoning, the study aims to provide contextualised and relevant conclusions.

This next section discusses the use of in-depth interviews as a research method and the factors that influence the sample size for this type of research including non-probability sampling methods, such as purposive sampling, which are commonly used in qualitative analysis. It also highlights the ethical principles while also considering how the quality and validity of the data collected are ensured.

3.5 Sample

The primary goal of in-depth interviews is to generate data that provides an authentic insight into the person's experiences with regard to a particular topic (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). This study applied one-on-one interview sessions; therefore, a small sample size is required.

Crouch and McKenzie (2006) argue that a small sample allows the researcher to do focused analytical, inductive, and exploratory research on the chosen field. The term 'small sample size' in the study denotes a small number of fewer than 20 participants. In addition, validity and reliability are improved by small samples (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006).

Morse (2000) notes that the number of participants used in a sample to achieve saturation depends on several factors, including data quality, study length, subject nature, information, the number of interviews, data, qualitative approach and the study design used. In other words, saturation in data collection, which means that the study has obtained enough information from the research participants to develop a comprehensive understanding of the research topic. This study is a short and focused master's thesis project that revolves around six participants and involves data collection through individual one-on-one interviews.

Morse (2000) highlights that a smaller number of participants may suffice if the information gathered in the interviews is readily available. Additionally, this study acquires a non-probable sample, which involved a non-random selection based on specific criteria compared to a probability sample and random selection. In exploratory and qualitative analysis, non-probability sampling methods are often used (Sarstedt et al., 2017). There are several ways to obtain a non-probability sample of participants to participate in research such as convenience sampling, voluntary response sampling, purposive sampling, and snowball sampling (Sarstedt et al., 2017).

To best answer the research question in this study, a purposive sample was used as the intention was to explain a particular occurrence rather than make statistical inferences. For a small sample of six participants, purposive sampling must have specific inclusion requirements and a rationale. The main aim of the purposive sampling here was to focus on the ethnic-cultural-religious distinction among police officers, which best enabled understanding of the ethnic Muslim identity embodied by the person at the New Zealand police.

Additionally, the study applied the three Ps principle of ethics toward the participants, namely partnership, participation and protection (Hudson & Russell, 2008). This concept combines the following principles; protection for persons, informed and mutual consent, anonymity and secrecy, avoidance of undue deceit, and avoidance of conflict of interest. By upholding these ethical principles, the researcher aimed to conduct research that was respectful, transparent, and responsible towards the participants, while also ensuring the quality and validity of the data collected.

This next section discusses the process of selecting participants for this research project that aim to study the experiences and perceptions of female Muslim police officers in New Zealand.

3.6 Participant Selection

The selection of participants in this research project was a critical aspect of the study, and a purposive sampling approach was employed to identify female Muslim police officers who may or may not wear hijabs. The approval process for accessing the New Zealand police was stringent and required the submission of a research proposal and ethical approval from the Ethics Committee at AUT where the study was being conducted (see Appendix A for ethics approval).

Due to the specificity of the criteria and research question, the pool of eligible participants was extremely limited, with only one or two meeting the initial criteria. Consequently, the inclusion criteria were expanded to include female Muslims who worked at the New Zealand police. An ethnic advisor was appointed to assist in identifying potential participants.

The participants were initially asked to join the study by the researcher via email and were provided with a brief about the study, including information sheet, consent form, indicative questions and interview length (See Appendix B, C, D & E for full documents). Participants opted in by voluntarily and privately signing the consent form and sending it to the researcher. Before the interview took place, the researcher and participant communicated to determine a mutually convenient time and location for the interview. During the interview, the participants were informed about the recording device being used and their right to review and comment on the transcribed interview, if they chose to do so. This provided transparency and ensured that participants are aware of the interview process and their rights, which can help establish trust between the researcher and participant. Additionally, informing participants about the recording

device and transcription process can help minimise any concerns about privacy or confidentiality.

The study ultimately recruited six participants, all of whom identified as practicing Muslims, proficient in English, and based in New Zealand. Of the six participants, four wore hijabs and two did not, which provided a comprehensive understanding of the impact of being female, Muslim, and working in the public service in New Zealand police.[1] Initially, the aim was to recruit three to four hijabi women but the inclusion of non-hijabi participants, and the availability and inclusion of six participants, was deemed a welcome increase given the small number of Muslims in the New Zealand police and the research objectives.

Additionally, the inclusion of both hijabi and non-hijabi Muslim women in the study provides a more diverse range of perspectives and experiences, increasing the potential for the identification of patterns and commonalities in the experiences and perceptions of Muslim women at New Zealand police. The purposive sampling approach was used to minimise the risk of exposing individuals and to ensure participant privacy and anonymity. This approach involves selecting participants based on specific characteristics, such as their experience or knowledge, rather than selecting them randomly. By using this method, participants who met the criteria of the study were carefully selected, while the identity and privacy of the individuals involved was also protected. This helped to mitigate any potential risks associated with the research and ensured that the participants' information and experiences remained confidential.

This next section describes the process of conducting the interviews with study participants.

[1] The information provided in this thesis does not specify the roles of the staff in order to maintain anonymity.

3.7 Data Collection and Analysis

Every participant was emailed a confirmation request for their voluntary participation, along with an interview schedule for their preferred date and time. Participants had the choice to select a quiet and private location at their own discretion or opt to meet in a meeting room located on the AUT City, Manukau, or North Shore campus.

Prior to the commencement of the interview, the researcher reiterated to the participants that they retained the right to pause, stop, or opt-out of responding to any question. Additionally, the recording equipment was presented to the participants and its usage was clarified, along with the assurance that the transcript would be shared with them for their consent. The recording process began once the participants had confirmed their readiness and comfort.

The participants were assured of complete confidentiality throughout the process. None of the participants who approached the study were denied or opted out. The interviews lasted around one-and-a-half hours. At the conclusion of each interview, the participants were given the opportunity to offer any final comments that they deemed relevant to the study, irrespective of whether the points had been discussed previously.

Following the completion of the interviews, the audio recording was transcribed for analysis in the following weeks. Transcripts were checked for accuracy by listening to the interview tape while reading the transcript. By coding participants in the order in which the interviews were conducted, anonymity was maintained in the transcripts of these interviews. For example, the first participant's transcribed interview document was titled 'participant 1'.

Based on the subject of each response, the data was classified, and themes were assigned. Themes were used to compare and contrast the various responses, both between interviews and within the transcripts of each respondent, allowing comparisons and contrasts to be made between the individuals' shared experiences. The headings used in the interview guide were meant to help code and handle the data, not necessarily as theme headers in the study's findings section.

During data analysis, certain words and quotes stood out, providing an indication of the participants' perspectives regarding their experiences. Although some alignment existed between the interview questions' topics and the themes that emerged, this was not the sole criterion for identifying the themes. Rather, an inductive approach to thematic analysis was employed, allowing the themes to emerge from the data itself, rather than being predefined based on the interview questions or any other prior knowledge or assumptions (Wiltshire & Ronkainen, 2021). This approach involved systematically reviewing the data, identifying patterns and connections within it, and grouping the data into themes based on these patterns.

Therefore, themes were identified through a process of continuous comparison, refining and revising until a set of distinct and meaningful themes emerged. By adopting an inductive approach, the analysis remained closely aligned with the participants' own perspectives and experiences, avoiding any preconceptions or biases that may have been introduced through a more deductive approach. As such, the themes identified through this approach provided a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the participants' views and experiences.

The next section discusses the issue of conflict of interest, its importance in maintaining transparency and public trust, and the strategies for mitigating it. The section also covers the difficulties encountered in recruiting participants from ethnic

minority populations and the impact of researcher identity on vulnerable minority studies.

3.8 Researcher's Familiarity with the Research Context

Alvarez et al. (2006) found that one of the major difficulties in conducting research involving ethnic minority populations is recruiting participants, due to distrust, history of discrimination and marginalisation, as well as a lack of understanding of or respect for cultural differences. A strategy was devised which included the utilisation of research staff who were culturally matched to the target population, networking within community groups, and direct recruitment (Alvarez et al., 2006). As a result of implementing these techniques, a significant increase in the level of interest from participants who had previously been difficult to recruit was observed.

Additionally, Gardikiotis (2011) found a difference in the way minority and majority researchers approach research, emphasising that when researchers are part of a majority group, they tend to emphasise the relationship between themselves and other members of the majority. Conversely, when researchers are part of a minority group, they are more likely to focus on the content and the issues being addressed in the minorities' message. Similarly, Muhammad et al. (2014) discussed the impact of researcher identity on vulnerable minority studies. In their study, they discovered that matching the identities of the researcher and interviewee minimised social distance, mistrust, and barriers to accessing hidden information. This was achieved through a triangulation method of data collection that varied the identity and position of the researcher, which helped to enhance the validity of the knowledge obtained.

Thus, as a researcher, my identification as Muslim, female, and hijabi did not present a conflict of interest. Rather, my identity is a Muslim woman who wears the hijab:

a) enabled a deep understanding of the participants' experiences and also being more effective in building trust and rapport with the participants, which could help to overcome barriers to participation and engagement in the research process.
b) provided a comfortable space for participants to share their thoughts without preconceived notions, stereotypes, or judgement, which could improve the quality and depth of the data collected.
c) allowed a quick understanding of a participant's meaning and context, without the need for extensive explanations of their religious terms and beliefs. This approach provided participants with a sense of assurance and established a foundation of understanding between the researcher and participant.

In summary, this chapter has described and explained the research approaches and methods used to design the research, identify participants, gather data and analyse the lived experiences of Muslim women in the New Zealand police. The research used an interpretive approach to highlight subjective viewpoints and individual differences, and qualitative methods were used for data collection. A purposive approach was used to recruit a small sample size of six female Muslim police officers and staff members, and one-on-one interviews were conducted to gather information.

Thematic analysis was used to identify recurring patterns and themes in the participants' experiences. The data was gathered using the six-step process for thematic analysis developed by Braun and Clarke (2006), and inductive reasoning was used to

analyse the data. A full description of the data analysis stage of the research is provided in the next chapter, before the research findings are described thematically and in depth.

Chapter 4: Results and Findings

4.1 Introduction

In this study, the aim was to explore the lived experiences of Muslim women in the New Zealand police through the process of thematic analysis using the method proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006). The study also sought to investigate the impact of intersectional identities, such as being female, Muslim, and working in the public service, which has been indicated in the literature review. To gain insights into the experiences of Muslim women in the New Zealand police, participants were asked about their Muslim identity, experiences with the introduction of the hijab uniform, and interactions with the colleagues and public. By examining these themes and experiences, this study sheds light on the unique challenges and perspectives of Muslim women working in the New Zealand police.

The thematic analysis was implemented by forming descriptive codes and identifying and presenting themes (Humble & Mozelius, 2022). The themes were derived using an inductive approach that draws on the data presented by the participants. The method used by the research for familiarisation with the data involved dissecting the transcribed interviews and determining what factors were similar and distinct (Humble & Mozelius, 2022).

Data familiarisation is a critical step in thematic analysis which involves getting to know the data in depth (Ningi, 2022). This process includes repeatedly reading the data, taking notes, and highlighting important information to identify initial codes. Familiarisation with the data helps in understanding the participants' perspectives, their experiences, and the context in which the data was collected. It also aids in identifying the patterns, trends, and unique features of the data which form the basis of themes

(Ningi, 2022). Therefore, data familiarisation is a crucial first step in conducting a thorough thematic analysis.

Creating codes is a crucial step in thematic analysis as it involves breaking down the data into meaningful units (Ningi, 2022). The codes were developed for this study through several rounds of reading and re-reading the transcripts to identify essential ideas and concepts (see Appendix F for sample of coding). The process was manual and required a thorough understanding of the research question to ensure that the codes aligned with the study's objectives.

Once the codes were developed, the research then moved to the creation of themes. This involved examining similarities and recurring patterns, grouping the codes into themes and concepts to generate a comprehensive overview of the data. The aim was to cluster related codes together to form meaningful themes, for example, the codes 1, 4 and 5 demonstrated participants' active agency in representing their faith and engaging in educational roles. These codes shared a common thread of promoting understanding, defending beliefs, and acting as role models. Therefore, they are grouped together under a theme. The themes were then named and defined, which helped to establish a clear understanding of the content that had emerged from the analysis. Table 1, below, provides an overview of the thematic analysis codes, descriptions, and the example quotes that were used to generate the themes.

Table 1

Thematic Analysis Code Table

Code	Description	Example
1. Pride and fulfilment in their roles	Despite challenges, participants express pride and fulfilment as Muslim women in New Zealand police.	"Feels empowering, comfortable, and proud. It is a good time to be a Muslim female in New Zealand"

2. Positive impact of empathy and inclusivity	Positive shift in perception towards Muslim women in the police; however, attribute it to Christchurch attacks.	"I think it's a lot better now after sadly after Christchurch happened. There's a lot more understanding, there's a lot more support and a lot more people are aware of Muslim females"
3. Shared values between Islam and police values	Both value justice, fairness, and protection of communities.	"if you look at the New Zealand Police core values, if you look at them and then you think of Islam, they align perfectly well together"
4. Role of Muslim women as ambassadors and educators	Muslim women actively engage in teaching, explaining, and defending their religious beliefs in their day-to-day lives, both at work and in public.	"I just want to be a little bit like a role model for other small hijabis out there"
5. Internal burden of representation	Some participants internalised the representation of Muslim women as ambassadors and educators, as it was reflected in their concerns about the image they project and how it shapes others' perceptions.	"I feel I'm trying to represent the Muslim woman in the best way that I can wherever I go"
6. Discrimination and othering	Discrimination and othering of hijab wearers due to limited representation and intersection of multiple identities.	"it's very male dominated; all the highest-ranking officers are all male; hardly come across another female and feels really out of place all the time"

Presenting the themes accurately and effectively is crucial for comprehending the study's outcomes. The research revealed three primary themes.

The first theme, 'faith and representation', explores the meaning of hijab and self-identity among Muslim women in the New Zealand police. Participants emphasised that the hijab represented their faith and personal identity, and wearing it made them feel empowered and strong. Despite negative stereotypes surrounding the hijab, the

women asserted that wearing it was a personal choice, and not a symbol of oppression or control. The theme also addresses the role of media in shaping societal perceptions and the need to challenge false perceptions surrounding the hijab.

The second theme examines the active engagement of the participants in shaping their work identity as Muslim women. This theme ‘agency and behaviour’, explores the’ alignment between participants’ personal beliefs and police values, which is reflected in participants’ willingness to educate others and represent their faith. However, this increased responsibility of serving as a representative resulted in an additional burden on the individuals. The participants considered their Muslim faith as a positive influence on their work, shaping their priorities and decision-making. Moreover, they took responsibility for their lives, and challenged negative stereotypes and misconceptions about their faith.

The third theme, ‘paradoxes of inclusion and exclusion’, explores the different viewpoints regarding inclusion in the police and how it can lead to exclusion. It examines the experiences and interactions of participants as part of the New Zealand police staff, including their thoughts on the new addition of the hijab to the uniform and how it affected their sense of acceptance and inclusion in the workplace. While participants appreciated the hijab’s addition and saw it as a positive sign of diversity and inclusivity, they also expressed concerns about feeling excluded.

Gerrard (2020) indicated the significant practical challenges for researchers, as they must carefully manage and safeguard the anonymity of their participants throughout the research process. This is particularly important given the risk that a participant may unintentionally reveal their identity through their responses or through the research outputs themselves. Thus, researchers must be especially careful when

dealing with the identity of their participants, as even seemingly innocuous details could potentially lead to a participant's de-anonymisation (Gerrard, 2020).

To ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants while also paying tribute to the natural beauty of Aotearoa, this study takes inspiration from the country's native trees and assigns pseudonyms to its six participants: Kauri, Rimu, Tawa, Rātā, Tōtara, and Mataī. Indeed, just like a tree that finds its strength and identity in its roots, participants shared stories of how their identity as Muslim women was a source of their strength and resilience. Their experiences at the New Zealand police, whether positive or negative, have helped them to grow and develop their own unique identity, much like a tree that grows branches and leaves. Despite facing adversity, they have learned to draw strength from their roots and persevere, much like a tree that withstands the storms and winds of nature.

4.2 Faith and Representation

This theme explores the meaning of hijab and self-identity among Muslim women in the New Zealand police. For these women the hijab is viewed as a reflection of faith and an important part of personal identity. Wearing the hijab commanded respect and set boundaries for interactions with others, and it made the wearers feel strong and empowered. Negative stereotypes and perceptions surrounding the hijab were acknowledged, but it was argued that wearing the hijab was a personal choice and had nothing to do with false perceptions of oppression and control. The influence of media representation on shaping societal perceptions was also highlighted.

In this study, four participants wore the hijab and two did not. Those who wore the hijab explained that they do so as a reflection of their faith. Rimu shared her perspective on wearing the hijab, explaining that it is a religious obligation for her as a

Muslim and an important part of her identity. She expressed how wearing the hijab makes her feel strong and empowered:

> I wear the hijab because I want to, it's my identity. I want to tell the world that I am Muslim and what it means to me. Some people may be rude when they see me wearing it, but that's just how it is. However, when they see me wearing the hijab, they immediately treat me with respect and understand that there are boundaries that cannot be crossed. Wearing the hijab speaks volumes without me having to say anything.

Rimu acknowledged that some people may be rude when they see her wearing the hijab, but she accepts it as part of the reality. However, she indicated that wearing the hijab commands respect and sets boundaries for interactions with others. She believes that wearing the hijab is expressive without her having to say anything, conveying her Muslim identity and beliefs to others.

Similarly, Tōtara expressed her deep appreciation and commitment to her hijab:

> I wear the hijab every day to not just work but everywhere. I like it, I understand the reason behind it and I like modesty in general ... so I just want to be a role model for other hijabis out there.

This indicates that wearing the hijab is an important part of her daily life. Tōtara aspires to be a role model for other hijabis by wearing the hijab with pride and dignity. This suggests that she sees herself as part of a larger community of hijabis and wants to set an example for others.

Mataī echoed similar sentiments about the importance of being part of a larger community. She emphasised the significance of belonging to a group and the positive impact it can have on one's sense of identity and respect within society:

> I was brought up in New Zealand, you have your slangs and sometimes I feel like I have to hold back. I just feel like you're respected more, you feel like you need to show that respect to show what Islam and Muslims are.

Mataī spoke about the need to demonstrate the true nature of Islam and Muslims through respectful behaviour. This underlines the importance of positive representation in shaping societal perceptions and combating negative stereotypes.

Mataī also mentioned social media has become a prominent platform for people to express their views, and this can influence how others perceive them: "it's the media basically what's been portrayed on TV and how they see or perceive Muslims". She suggested that the media's portrayal of Muslims can shape how others perceive them. This demonstrates the influence of media representation on shaping societal perceptions. Additionally, Rimu also addressed the negative stereotypes and perceptions surrounding the hijab. She acknowledged that there is a lot of negativity directed towards Muslims and the hijab in particular, with many people believing that women are not free to make their own choices:

> When it comes to Muslims is so much that's been negative. A lot of people have this negative idea about hijab and about how women don't have the right to do this and this and that and your husband or your father is holding, controlling, which I hate. And if we start taking it off the hijab because of all of this whispering and all of these comments, first thing is that they're achieving their goal of that. But if we keep our hijab, even if it's 2022 modern times and all that woman's rights, this has nothing to do with it, that this is a totally different story.

Rimu explained that wearing the hijab is a personal choice, and that it has nothing to do with the false perceptions of oppression and control that some people associate with it. She argued that keeping the hijab on, even in modern times where women's rights are highly valued, is a way to show that wearing it is a way of asserting

one's personal identity and beliefs. The hijab can be a way of feeling empowered and in control of one's own life, even in the face of negative perceptions and stereotypes. Therefore, by continuing to wear the hijab despite negative comments and whispering, Muslim women can resist the negative perceptions that others may hold about them. She argued that by taking off the hijab in response to these perceptions, women are only allowing those who hold negative views to succeed in achieving their goals. Rimu suggested that by standing firm in their beliefs and continuing to wear the hijab, Muslim women can challenge negative perceptions and show that they are free to make their own choices.

For instance, Kauri recounted an interaction with a colleague who asked if she was obliged to wear the hijab. Kauri responded swiftly: "There's nothing else to focus on, focus on my face and communicate with my intellect". The interaction accentuates the challenges and stereotypes that Muslim women who wear the hijab face in the workplace, and how they may feel the need to assert their identity and challenge stereotypes in their responses. Kauri further explained that the hijab is a huge and sacred part of who she is:

> Because I'm a practicing Muslim, because it's part of who I am. It's the fabric of my identity. I don't believe careers come before your identity and if you're going to choose your career over yourself, then perhaps you're just not as confident in who you are.

She noted the significance of the hijab in her practice of Islam and emphasised the importance of religious values in shaping personal identity. Kauri believes that one's career should not come before one's identity and suggests that choosing a career over one's self may indicate a lack of confidence in who one is. Tawa, who does not wear a hijab, shared her thoughts on the perception and effects of women who wear the hijab:

> I feel like you're always under scrutiny as well because let's say you do wear the hijab unlike Muslim men, if they are just walking in the street, you don't know they're Muslim, but woman, they're wearing a hijab. So, everybody, I feel like they just direct their gaze, what is she doing? she did something? where she going right now?

Tawa pointed out that women who wear hijabs are often subject to more scrutiny than Muslim men, who may not be immediately identifiable as Muslim. This implies that women who wear hijabs may face additional challenges due to their visibility. Tawa's observation about the different treatment of Muslim men and women who wear hijabs suggests that there may be gender-based biases or expectations when it comes to hijab. It also touches on the intersection of gender and religion, underlining the unique experiences of Muslim women who wear hijabs.

Additionally, Tawa mentioned the absence of hijab and having a westernised name prevent people from assuming that she is Muslim. When her Muslim identity is revealed, it often surprises people: "It's that disbelief, it's that I didn't know you were Muslim because I think it again, mainly because I don't wear the hijab or my name is western sounding to everybody at work". Tawa's experience suggests that people make assumptions about one's religion based on external factors such as name and appearance. This implies that individuals may face challenges in breaking away from stereotypes and being accepted for who they are. Tawa's comments highlight the perception of Muslim identity and the challenges of maintaining a distinct identity within a Western context. This suggests that individuals may experience conflicting identities and struggle to balance cultural expectations with personal identity.

Similarly, Rātā, who does not wear a hijab, shared her thoughts on other women who wear the hijab: "Once they see what you're wearing hijab and you they've put you in the Muslim box and they just stop there". Rātā also mentioned that her western-

sounding name adds to the misconception and prevents her from being perceived as Muslim until her identity is revealed, “So if they just look at names and then look at my face and then learn I’m Muslim and where I’m from like, oh, you know, that’s, that’s a lot of oohs. They’re surprised, actually”.

The similarity between Tawa and Rātā’s experiences lies in the intersectionality of their identities in both being Muslim and having westernised names and appearance. Both women describe how their lack of adherence to traditional Muslim dress or having a westernised name can lead to others assuming that they are not Muslim. However, when their Muslim identity is revealed, they are met with surprise and disbelief, suggesting that people make assumptions based on preconceived notions and stereotypes about Muslims. These experiences emphasise the challenges faced by individuals who exist at the intersection of different identities and how they may struggle to be accepted and understood by others.

In contrast, the women who wear hijab face different challenges in navigating their Muslim identity within a Western context. Tōtara explained how the unfavourable stereotypes associated with Muslim women who wear a hijab can create a perception that their career advancement will be hindered.

> I wanted to see more girls wear it and stand up for it because I see a lot of girls in my community who used to wear the hijab because, say, job opportunities ... so, they had to resolve to not wearing it so they could get advance in their careers.

Tōtara argued that some girls in their community stopped wearing the hijab to advance in their careers, suggesting that there may be societal or economic pressures influencing the wearing of hijab. This reveals the impact of socio-economic factors on individual choices and the need for more inclusive and equitable workplaces. Additionally, she implies that the decision to wear or not wear the hijab is a personal

one and that external pressures, such as job opportunities, should not dictate an individual's expression of their cultural or religious identity.

Tōtara further emphasised that Muslim girls should not be judged solely based on their decision to wear a hijab, as it does not define their entire personality: "Everyone's personalities are not defined by their hijab. You're not defined by your hijab. My personality is me, but my hijab is just what I wear".

Mataī suggested that increasing the representation of diverse individuals who wear the hijab can be an effective way to combat these narrow and biased views, as "one person can't make a difference. We need more people in the New Zealand police with the hijab". Mataī implies that individual action is not sufficient and that a collective effort is needed to increase representation and challenge narrow views.

In summary, the findings revealed that participants who wore the hijab had a strong sense of commitment to it, as it represented their Muslim identity and beliefs. The study also showed that participants who did not wear the hijab still faced challenges and stereotypes related to their Muslim identity, even if they did not visibly display it through their clothing. The findings shed light on the experiences of Muslim women who do not wear the hijab, and how their westernised appearance and name can lead to assumptions and stereotypes about their religion. Despite these challenges, women who wore the hijab expressed pride in their Muslim identity, while both groups acknowledged the negative stereotyping they encounter.

The theme discussed in the next section explores how the participants' Muslim values are reflected in their work and how they take ownership and control over them.

4.3 Agency and Behaviour

This theme explores the alignment between religious beliefs and police values which is reflected in the participants' willingness to take agency in educating others and representing their faith. Participants view their Muslim faith as a positive influence on their approach towards their work duties, informing their decision-making and shaping their priorities. Additionally, participants expressed personal agency in taking responsibility for their lives and challenging negative stereotypes and misconceptions about the Muslim faith. However, this representation also constitutes and additional workload.

According to the participants, their religious beliefs had a positive influence on their work at the New Zealand police. They emphasised the alignment between their personal values and the values of the New Zealand police as a key factor in their performance. Rimu explained that police values and Islamic values align:

> If you look at the New Zealand Police core values and then you think of Islam, they align perfectly well together. So, a lot of the values that police hold are Muslim values in terms of integrity, respect and honesty and everything like that that aligns perfectly with Islam.

This suggests that there is a perception that the core values of the New Zealand police and the values of Islam are compatible with each other. Kauri specifically noted that her Muslim faith influences her approach to her duties at the New Zealand police and her professional conduct:

> It influences the whole thought process your whole lens of how you look at things, your decision making, your priorities, of course it translates into the work that you do but I think it translates quite positively because you bring in a new spin to what the police have been doing. So, things that other people would have thought its business as usually or just the way things were done. You could come in and see things slightly differently.

Rātā expressed similar views on how she approaches her work duties by treating people with kindness first, which is a principle enriched in Islam.[2] She makes a conscious effort not to jump to conclusions about people and do not automatically label them as 'bad':

> Just to be reasonable and to be kind. That's pretty much how I do my day-to-day work. I don't jump to conclusions or these are bad people. … I feel like second chances is always in the book. Some people might think, oh, I'm just being too soft or sometimes you need to be firm to but, it all depends on the circumstances and what kind of people they are.

Rātā continued to emphasise the importance of non-judgmentalism, recognising that people's behaviour may be influenced by factors beyond what they observe on a given day.

> I've been brought up as Muslim all my life … it's kind of the foundation of values that I have influenced me and how I should approach the jobs that I attended every day. I always think of a way of maybe they've had a something else that happens in their life that I should not just judge by what happened today, as in everyone have things in their life. Let's give them a second chance, because I feel like that's what being a Muslim have taught me.

Rātā suggested that everyone has things happening in their life that may impact their behaviour and it is crucial to avoid making snap judgments based on isolated incidents. Correspondingly, Tōtara interacts with people with a similar notion: "Our religion is all about peace and everything. Right? And I believe that and I believe in second chances". The participants' actions suggest a strong alignment with their Islamic principles which encourages them to assume the best of others and avoid negative

[2] In Islam, kindness is considered a fundamental value and its practice in all aspects of life is encouraged, including in one's treatment of other people.

assumptions. Tawa sees her Muslim values as qualities that help her to perform duties more effectively and with greater satisfaction:

> I feel like I immediately can relate. … I can sort of empathise. I can see where you're coming from ... the cultural barriers and things ... the cultural stuff that comes with it. And I immediately, I feel I can understand better and my response is more sort of like culturally sensitive as well and that makes me more motivated, to be honest. So, I think it just motivates me to actually get into a role where I can do more for people.

Tawa has the ability to immediately relate to others and empathise with them, particularly when there are cultural barriers or differences involved. Tawa indicates that she can understand where others are coming from and is sensitive to the cultural context of their experiences. Her values also act as motivators to assist more people within the organisation. The participants portrayed a sense of responsibility and ownership in their behaviour, the integration of personal beliefs and values into their daily life, and how they integrate their Muslim faith into their daily life, including their work. Kauri further explained that she takes responsibility in expressing herself at the workplace:

> The way I see it, this is my focus it's not anyone's responsibility to bend over backwards for you. It's you taking ownership of your belief system and your faith system and living your life without the expectation that everything offers to bend over for you. So, for me, being Muslim, it just what I weave it into my working day.

Kauri suggested that it is not the responsibility of others to accommodate her beliefs or values. Rather, she emphasises the importance of taking ownership of one's belief system and living one's life in accordance with it. This implies a sense of personal responsibility and agency, with the participants emphasising the need to take control of one's own life and not expecting others to do so. Participants see the positive aspects of their culture, including the hard work and good character of Muslim people.

This suggests a sense of cultural pride and a desire to challenge negative stereotypes or misconceptions about Muslim culture. Similarly, Rimu takes agency in trying to set an example and represent Muslim women in the best way possible:

> People need to be more educated and they need to read and they need to look into it because we have so much to offer and we have just so much and we're actually really good people and hardworking and I have been trying to make that and set that example.

Education plays an important role in reducing negative assumptions or stereotypes that people may hold about a particular group. Rātā explained that education is not only about disseminating information or knowledge but also about promoting understanding and empathy towards different cultures and viewpoints:

> I feel just by sharing information so that they understand because if they don't know, then they wouldn't understand. So, I think sharing and telling stories and we could be telling them this is what Muslim is and this is what I do and vice versa, they tell their stories. So, this kind of both ways. I feel that kind of information is better.

The idea expressed is that taking agency involves more than just sharing stories or personal experiences – it is about creating a space that welcomes open dialogue. Additionally, Rimu explained that it involves being approachable and creating a welcoming environment for others. This means making a conscious effort to be open and available to others and making them feel comfortable to share their own stories or experiences:

> I think I make them comfortable from day one. I just set that tone from the beginning. I'm not just sitting in a corner. I interact with them. I get involved, I put myself in the middle. I talk, I answer, I'm the loud one that puts her hand up for everything. So, they feel very comfortable around me.

Rimu continued to explain that being open and approachable can foster an interactive atmosphere which can encourage others to be more open-minded and receptive to different perspectives:

> From my experience at the moment with my colleagues, they always would come and sit next to me and ask me a lot of questions. So, they would always be mindful before they go and say something or assume something. They'll have this idea in their heads and they'll come and ask me and then they'll be like, oh, okay, that makes sense now. Or I thought this is and this and that and then they have a better view or a better understanding of why we wear hijab or why do we fast in Ramadan, or why do we pray and all of these things?

Rimu creates the environment and takes the opportunity to educate her colleagues and dispel any misconceptions they may have. By doing so, she is taking agency over her Muslim identity and beliefs by challenging stereotypes and biases that may exist. Similarly, Kauri shared her experience of being approached by colleagues who had many questions about her culture and beliefs. She expressed her desire to always be approachable and to create a safe and welcoming environment for others to ask questions. Kauri takes pleasure in answering these questions and providing clarification, as she sees it as an opportunity to promote greater understanding and knowledge between cultures.

> People tend to ask me heaps of questions and they're really comfortable with me when they interact with me and they see how I speak, they are comfortable asking the questions that they were either confused about or didn't have an opportunity to and I hope I'm always really welcoming of that and having to like give them answers that is quite satisfying to them and clarifies a lot of the stuff that they're confused about. We just become ambassadors to it, whether we like it or not.

This act of seeking information and clarification is a form of an ambassadorial role, as it allows the colleagues to gain a better understanding of the participants'

culture and beliefs. By doing so, participants can challenge any preconceived notions or stereotypes that colleagues may have had about the religion or culture and develop a more nuanced and informed view. However, the statement “we just become ambassadors to it, whether we like it or not” implies a sense of an imposed obligation, and suggests pressure to always have the answers or be the go-to person for information. Kauri continued to add: “If you’re an ethnic person that works in the organisation, you are a minority and you actually have a heaviness to be representative and be an ambassador to your people”. This emphasises the burden placed on ethnic minority individuals to represent their culture and community in the workplace. It implies that this role as an ambassador is not necessarily a choice, but rather something that is imposed upon individuals based on their identity and visibility. It suggests that participants may feel a sense of duty to educate and inform others about their religion and culture, even if they may not want to take on this role. Additionally, Tōtara mentioned the image she represented on behalf of her faith: “You give off the good girl vibe or image and you just sometimes maintain it”. This is an added responsibility that can be overwhelming and exhausting, as it adds an additional layer of pressure to perform well in the workplace while also representing and advocating for one’s culture.

Rimu also shared a sense of responsibility for positive representation which can help to challenge negative stereotypes and promote a greater understanding and acceptance of Muslims: “I feel I’m trying to represent the Muslim woman in the best way that I can wherever I go”. By taking agency in representing their community well, the participants engage in a form of ambassadorship. Similarly, Tōtara explained her presence in the organisations: “I see it like being a representative of my religion”. She indicates that her presence as an opportunity to embody the values and principles of her faith.

The participants see their presence as not only representing themselves but also representing their community and faith. They are taking on a double responsibility, whereby their actions and behaviour are not only a reflection of themselves but also of their community. This double responsibility means that the participants work hard to ensure that their actions and behaviour are consistent with their beliefs and values, and that they are constantly aware of how they are perceived by others.

In summary, this theme demonstrates how the personal beliefs and values of the participants in the study have positively influenced their work as police staff in New Zealand. They perceive that the core values of the New Zealand police and the values of Islam align with each other, and their personal beliefs have informed their decision-making and priorities. The participants also expressed their personal agency by taking responsibility for their lives, educating others in order to challenge negative stereotypes and misconceptions about the Muslim faith and integrating their faith into their daily life, including their work duties. However, this came with an added burden or workload. The participants imply that they are taking on additional responsibilities and effort to represent their faith within their workplace, which is not a formal part of their job responsibilities.

The next section explores the experience of Muslim women as New Zealand police staff and their thoughts on the addition of the hijab as part of the official uniform. It also discusses how the participants' experiences of over-inclusion resulted in a form of exclusion.

4.4 Paradoxes of Inclusion and Exclusion

This theme explores the various perspectives of the participants on being included in the police and, paradoxically, how the inclusion becomes a form of

othering. It explores the participants' experiences and interactions as part of New Zealand police staff. It touches on the participants' thoughts on the new addition of the hijab as part of the uniform and how this impacted their sense of inclusion and acceptance in the workplace. Whilst the participants welcomed the addition of the hijab and praised diversity as a sign of inclusivity, they also expressed concerns about tokenism and feeling othered.

The participants shared their views and experiences as Muslim women working at the New Zealand police. Rimu described positive emotions in her experiences of working with the police and reflected on the efforts made by the New Zealand police in diversity initiatives in their recruitment process, emphasising their mindfulness towards selecting candidates from diverse backgrounds:

> I feel proud, I feel very confident, I feel happy and safe, I really enjoy working with police. A lot of people, when they know that I work with New Zealand Police, they open their eyes to working with the police like is that a good thing or a bad thing? And I'm like 100% so far, one of the best organisations that I have worked with. The reason why I say that is because they have been putting a big focus on diversity. And it's not just words. You can actually see that, there's a lot of diversity when you walk into one of the teams, you can see it when they make hiring decisions as well.

With the police organisation's focus on diversity highlights that it is not merely a matter of rhetoric but a tangible demonstration of action, Rimu appreciates the diversity in the teams and how it is reflected in their hiring decisions.

Diversity initiatives by New Zealand police were also noted by Tōtara. She explained that the representation and visibility of diverse identities in public-facing roles can be important for fostering a sense of connection and relatability, particularly for those who may feel marginalised or under-represented: "It's kind of nice when I think the general public sees a Muslim girl there especially, they are Muslim and they

want to see someone they can relate to". She pointed out that seeing someone who looks like her can be reassuring for members of the public who share the same faith or cultural background.

Kauri expressed her presence at New Zealand police as follows: "Feels empowering, comfortable, proud. It is good time to be a Muslim female in NZ". This suggests that Kauri feels a sense of strength and confidence as a Muslim woman working at the New Zealand police, and that she is proud to represent her faith and community in her profession. It also implies that there has been progress and positive developments for Muslim women in the New Zealand police, which has created an environment where they can feel empowered and valued. Kauri continued to explain that her presence is highly valued and accepted:

> I found that on the contrary, they are very open and embracing of that and want you empowered because they are thirsty for your voice. That's what I mean it's a good time to be a Muslim female in an organisation. so, when you are in it, you feel you are there for a reason and feel that everything you say do, your involvement has weight behind it … and you're one of the few, but it's actually really empowering and you feel like you do make a difference when you're here.

Kauri mentioned the positive experience of being a Muslim female in an organisation where she feels valued and heard. The phrase 'thirsty for your voice' implies that the organisation actively seeks to incorporate diverse perspectives, including those of Muslim women. This creates a sense of empowerment and purpose for Kauri, who feels that her involvement carries weight and contributes to the organisation's goals. The quote also suggests that the organisation is open to and embracing of diversity, which contributes to a positive work environment for Muslim women. Kauri also expressed the view that being a Muslim female at the workplace is a rare occurrence, as she mentions that they are 'one of the few'.

Similarly, Rātā shared her experience of being one of the few Muslim women in the organisation by saying, “I haven’t come across many Muslim women in the organisation. So basically, now it’s just me”. Rātā’s statement that ‘now it’s just me’ implies a sense of isolation and being the only one with her identity and experiences in the workplace. This suggests that Muslim women may face unique challenges in the workplace due to their under-representation. In contrast to Rimu’s experience and views on diverse staff, Rātā’s experience accentuates the need for increased diversity in the workplace, particularly in terms of the representation of Muslim women.

Nonetheless, participants acknowledge the efforts towards including the hijab as part of New Zealand police’s official uniform. Rimu expressed the view that it is a step towards increasing diversity and representation in the organisation.

> I thought it was a great idea because they are wanting to increase women in the front-line presence and they also want to have like other ethnicities and being Muslim is becoming a big part of New Zealand … so I do think that having the hijab part of the uniform was a good move.

Rimu recognises the importance of having more women in front-line roles in New Zealand police and believes that the inclusion of the hijab in the uniform will help remove any barriers for Muslim women who wish to join the organisation. Kauri shared similar sentiments, that the efforts made by the New Zealand police to promote inclusion and diversity through the design of the hijab in the police uniform was appreciated: “It was an initiative taken by the police that they didn’t need to do because there wasn’t actually a demand, they pushed for it in the hopes of encouraging Muslim women”. Rātā also stated, in reference to the inclusion of hijab by the New Zealand police, “I think it’s beautiful, the police organisation is, is going to the right direction, which is being New Zealand now. It’s very diverse and they’ve kind of taken all kinds of ethnicities, religions into consideration. It’s amazing”. Rātā describes the hijab as

'beautiful', and emphasised the aesthetics and symbolism of the garment. This suggests that the hijab serves not only as a practical solution for Muslim women, but also as a symbol of acceptance and inclusivity.

On the other hand, whilst Tawa shared similar views of positive inclusion and addition of hijab, she attributed it to the aftermath of Christchurch attacks:

> I thought that was awesome and I think it was just way to like what you call long overdue. … I think it's a lot better now after sadly after Christchurch happened. There's a lot more understanding, there's a lot more support and a lot more people are aware of Muslim females. But before, it was almost like there was no cultural sort of understanding. There's not many Muslims in the organisation. I've never had any issues or anything, but there was just wasn't enough recognition, at the moment I think it's pretty good.

Tawa emphasised the organisational culture changed prior Christchurch attacks, when there was a lack of cultural understanding towards Muslim females in the New Zealand police. Tawa believes that since the Christchurch attacks there has been an improvement in recognition and support for Muslim females in the New Zealand police. This implies that there was a need for greater awareness and recognition of diversity within the organisation.

However, in Kauri's experience, as she explained, her presence as a Muslim woman wearing hijab in a group representing the New Zealand police was noticed: "I can say that it's the double takes because not out of malice, just because it's not common to see a person in a hijab walking in amidst a group full of officers". It sheds light on the impact of Kauri's presence on her colleagues and the wider public. Kauri implied that her appearance can lead to 'double takes', indicating that her presence may initially surprise or challenge some people's preconceptions. Kauri also emphasised that these reactions are not out of malice but rather due to the rarity of seeing someone in

hijab in this context. Thus, it challenges stereotypes and expectations about who can be working with the New Zealand police.

Nonetheless, Tawa's interactions with the public as an New Zealand police staff member seemed to not come up in her interactions with others since the receiver or audience is unable to identify her as Muslim because she does not wear a hijab but she feels it in other ways.

> I think that's one thing is just a lot of people here immediately affiliate the hijab to Muslims and …I've seen people's reaction when they find out someone's Muslim … so I think when we're out in public because we don't wear the hijab and I don't think people necessarily but in terms of like being ethnic, Yeah, I feel that all the time. But being Muslim, not so much.

This implies that Muslim staff who do not wear a hijab may not receive the same level of recognition and respect for their identity. In contrast, Mataī, who wears the hijab, expressed indifference on being Muslim female at the New Zealand police, stating: "It's just the same as any other employee. It's not like they treat me any different. I don't get any sort of special treatment. I had to go through all the process, just like any other employee". Although the statement suggests that the organisation values and prioritises equality and fair treatment for all its employees, regardless of their backgrounds, she did not express the valued acceptance or recognition highlighted by other participants. Mataī recognises the importance of her own qualifications and capabilities in getting hired, rather than just her religious identity.

Similarly, Tōtara explained that working at the New Zealand police as a Muslim female is no different from any other role, as "it's a normal job, I haven't had anything different from it being, I mean I do stand out, the only hijabi within the organisation". This indicates a desire to be treated equally and not as an exception, despite being the only hijabi in the organisation. Tōtara acknowledges that she stands out as the only

hijabi in the organisation. This suggests that she is aware of her uniqueness and may feel a sense of responsibility to represent her community positively in the workplace. However, standing out as the only hijabi in the organisation can also be isolating and may lead to feelings of being different or excluded from the dominant culture in the workplace.

Tōtara further explained hypervisibility and recognition due to her hijab:

> They point you out very fast, it's the hijab, especially when there aren't many people wearing it. If you had multiple people working here with hijab, it'll be harder to point you directly … you get recognised fast and generally stand out.

This suggests that her hijab may be seen as an exotic and unusual feature, leading to her being viewed as an outsider in the workplace. As Tōtara suggested, if there were multiple people wearing the hijab in their workplace, they would be less likely to stand out and be singled out. Additionally, Tōtara mentioned that she is often asked where she is from at work, which could suggest that her ethnic background is different from the majority of her colleagues.

> I think they notice that the minute I walk into the room or just generally meeting them and be like, oh yeah, she's Muslim. … They automatically know that I'm a Muslim just from my hijab and then just walk in and, yep, Muslim and they don't go, oh hey, are you Muslim? Or you're just wearing that for fun? I think the hijab gives it away. It's like the identity of a Muslim woman. So, if I wasn't wearing the hijab, they probably ask me that question, but they would only ask that question if I revealed that I'm from a certain place. … It's what you look like! so say you never ask a white person where are you actually from? ... It's what you look like if you don't fit in the white stereotype that you're entitled to be called a New Zealander.

This is an example of othering or sense of exclusion presented by Tōtara. She is often asked where she is from which suggests that she does not fit the majority

demographic of her workplace, and that her appearance does not conform to the perceived norm of what a 'New Zealander' should look like. It draws attention to the issue of unconscious bias and assumptions based on physical appearance and how they can affect individuals who do not fit into the dominant culture or stereotype.

It is a common experience for people who do not fit into the dominant culture to feel they are 'other' or are seen as different. In Tōtara's case, her hijab and non-white appearance mark her as different from the majority of her colleagues, who are presumably white. Earlier in the interview, Mataī previously stated that she did not receive any preferential treatment at work but, upon reflecting on her interactions with colleagues, she implied that her colleague, who 'fits in' with the majority, received preferential treatment. This suggests that Mataī feels like an outsider in the workplace,

> So, the other person that walked in got special treatment because of how they fit in well. Whereas, I didn't get special treatment and I don't get the help that I need. I was pretty much a one-man army. Probably because I have a hijab on.

It also stresses how lonely and targeted individuals feel when perceived as different or when they do not fit into the dominant culture, similar to what Tōtara experienced, and also highlights a sense of exclusion.

Similar to the discussion of the white dominant culture present, there were multiple mentions of male domination at the workplace. Tawa emphasised that "I feel so awkward, it's very male dominated all the highest-ranking officers are all male, hardly come across another female and feels really out of place all the time". Even Kauri mentioned the ratio of Muslim men to women is higher and explained that "you will find numbers of Muslim males, you could still count them on two hands at least, whereas you can't even count us on one half of one hand". Both Tawa and Kauri mentioned the presence of male domination in their respective positions. Tawa noted that all the highest-ranking officers are male and that she feels out of place as a female.

Kauri similarly pointed out that the ratio of Muslim men to women in the New Zealand police significant outnumber Muslim women.

Similarly, Tōtara mentioned that “police has always been such a very male white dominated field”. It highlights the historical lack of diversity within the police organisation, specifically the dominance of white males. It shows the impact of a lack of diversity in traditionally male-dominated fields, particularly for individuals who do not fit the typical mould, including women and people of colour.

Mataī’s experiences also include being excluded from the police environment and feeling left out of jokes. As an example, she shared a situation where she felt like people being cautious around her because of her Muslim identity:

> I guess when you bring up Muslims or because you’re identifiable, it’s like they’re walking on eggshells around you, so you don’t really feel included. … For instance, we were in the lunchroom and there was a person making lunch with bacon or whatever. And then I had a person walk in and he was about to say, “Oh, lucky there’s no Muslims around”, but he kind of saw me sitting there and he’s like, “Oh, lucky there’s no Jewish people around”. So, it’s like you could have just said it, I probably would have had a good laugh with you as well. It’s not like you’re offending me at all.

Mataī explained that the person making the joke altered the joke they were going to tell after seeing her, implying that they were aware that their original joke may have been offensive to her because of her Muslim identity. This suggests that there may be a fear of offending or excluding those with a Muslim faith, which could stem from negative stereotypes and prejudices about Muslims. Additionally, there is the potential for individuals with particular appearance, ethnicity or faith to feel excluded from the workplace or social environments due to the perception that they cannot take a joke or be part of the in-group.

The participants recognised that they are treated with caution by their colleagues, perhaps due to the fear of causing offence or misunderstanding their cultural background. Tōtara shared a similar example of being excluded when it comes to the police environment of jokes: “Joking wise, I feel they’re a little more cautious towards me than others and since there’s a lot of Muslim jokes, they wouldn’t joke with me at all in that area”. The participants feel they are being treated differently or being left out of social situations can be hurtful and lead to a sense of isolation. Notably, as the interviews progressed, it became apparent that the efforts of New Zealand police towards inclusion in the workplace, which were initially acknowledged by the participants, may not be as prevalent as they first appeared, Tawa explained that the inclusionary efforts only came after the Christchurch attacks, which made her question their authenticity:

> I think that there’s a lot of tokenism in the organisation and it’s just increased since Christchurch. I feel there’s a lot of we have to make sure we have to look like we support Muslims and everything. Ever since Christchurch has happened because like I told you, it’s a very different environment before Christchurch and then after Christchurch. and the hijab and everything started happening after that. It’s sad that it took something like that for them to really be something we need to work on. But I still feel like a lot of it is mainly to show face. the police national headquarters will issue statements they’ll do this and programmes and this hijab thing and this and that. But then when it comes to the ground, like, you know, and ground staff, a lot of staff members still don’t know what you know anything about Islam and Muslims.

Tawa’s experiences suggest an element of tokenism in the police organisation’s inclusionary efforts. She expressed doubts about the authenticity of these efforts, as they only emerged after the Christchurch attacks. This suggests that there may be a lack of genuine concern for the inclusion and support of individuals with a Muslim identity in the police environment. Additionally, Tawa feels that the hijab and other inclusionary

measures are mainly for show, rather than genuine attempts to support Muslim individuals. This indicates a need for greater sincerity and authenticity in inclusionary efforts and a move away from mere tokenism.

In summary, the findings reveal the experiences and views of Muslim women who work at the New Zealand police regarding diversity and inclusion initiatives. Although participants had generally positive experiences and emotions, they expressed concerns about feeling othered at times due to their appearances, ethnicity and faith. The addition of the hijab as part of the uniform was viewed positively as a step towards increasing diversity and representation in the organisation. However, some participants reported feeling hyper visible due to their hijabs and the challenges faced by women of colour in the male-dominated environment at the New Zealand police. Thus, the inclusionary efforts of New Zealand police made the participants feel excluded.

The next chapter discusses the results and findings of this study and reflects on past research.

Chapter 5: Discussion

This study aims to explore and understand the lived experiences of Muslim women employed at the New Zealand police, shedding light on their perceptions of the workplace and collegial interactions. The research acknowledges that these women work in a culturally and politically dynamic environment where attitudes and practices continuously evolve. Therefore, the study aims to provide valuable insights into the personal experiences of these women and contribute to a better understanding of how Muslim women navigate their identity at work and the challenges they may face.

To begin with, it is important to note that this research aimed to understand the lived experiences of Muslim women at New Zealand police, regardless of their ethnicity, hijab-wearing status, or level of religious practice. While the study does discuss Muslim women and the association with the hijab, it is worth noting that Muslim women who do not wear the hijab also participated in this study and provided their experiences. Therefore, this study provides insight into the lived of experiences Muslim women from the perspective of hijabi (participants who wear the hijab) and non-hijabi (participants who do not wear the hijab) women in the New Zealand police. Additionally, none of the participants belonged to the dominant Pākehā culture. Therefore, this study speaks to the complex issues of intersectionality alongside the negotiation of faith at work.

According to New Zealand's 2018 Census (Stats NZ, 2020) the composition of minority ethnicities as follows: Māori (16.5%), Asian (15.1%), Pacific (8.1%) and MELAA (1.5%). The participants are members of these ethnic minorities in New Zealand. However, this study does not identify which minority group the participants belong to, as doing so would risk compromising their anonymity.

To give more context, the 2018 Census recorded over 50,000 people who reside in New Zealand and who identified as Muslims, yet it is still considered a small minority, accounting for less than 1% of the population. Previous research has shown that since 2016, women within the New Zealand police make up only 18.9% of the nationwide organisation and, of those women, 81% are European, leaving little diversity within the organisation.

This study brings attention to the layering of several minority types identified by the participants in this study, i.e., the women are a minority of a minority:

- being an ethnic minority in NZ,
- being a Muslim minority in NZ, and
- being a female in a male-dominated field organisation.

Each participant represents a combination of being a Muslim, a member of an ethnic minority, and a female working at New Zealand police, which is critical in comprehending their experiences and the interactions they have as a result of their intersecting identities. Thus, these complex, intersecting and layered features of the participants' identities become a feature of this research which examines the lived experience of Muslim women in the New Zealand police.

5.1 Findings

The findings of this research are presented in three main themes. The first theme in the findings indicates that participants who wore the hijab demonstrated a strong commitment to their Muslim identity and beliefs, as the hijab symbolised their faith. However, participants who did not wear the hijab also showed a strong commitment to their Muslim identity, despite not visibly appearing Muslim. Both groups shared their perspectives on the negative stereotype of the hijab, which they attributed to the

influence of the media. The findings revealed that non-hijabi Muslim participants expressed more frustration than the hijabi women, as they often received ‘shocking reactions’ when others learned they are practicing Muslims. This frustration stemmed from the fact that their westernised appearance and name concealed their Muslim identity. In contrast, hijabi women expressed frustration because their Muslim identity was constantly pointed out. Nonetheless, both groups asserted their Muslim identity and took pride in it.

The second theme reveals that the participants exercise agency by taking responsibility for their interactions through educating others, and challenging negative stereotypes and misconceptions about the Muslim faith. Despite the additional burden or workload this entails, the results demonstrate that the participants are taking on extra responsibilities and making efforts to present their religion positively in their workplace. Furthermore, the study reveals that the participants perceive a close alignment between their Islamic values and New Zealand police core values, which eases the integration of their faith into their daily work lives.

The third theme in the findings examines the participants’ experiences of being included in spaces where they are a minority. Although such inclusion is often perceived and appreciated as a positive step towards diversity and inclusivity, the low numbers of Muslim participants result in a heightened sense of visibility, which in turn exacerbates their feelings of exclusion and isolation. Significantly, in this situation, though non-hijabis are not as visible, they also shared similar feelings of exclusion.

5.2 Discussion of Findings

The study reveals that the participants have a clear understanding of the significance of the hijab and wear it as a manifestation of their faith, which aligns with

Nagra's (2011) perspective that the hijab represents a display of religious devotion and modesty. Although only four of the participants wore the hijab, the two who did not wear it provided insights that were equally valuable in understanding the experience of Muslim women employed by New Zealand police.

According to the hijabi participants, the hijab is a fundamental aspect of their identity as it publicly communicates their Muslim beliefs. Wearing the hijab empowers and strengthens them, contrary to external perceptions that views the hijab as a sign of oppression. They also associate wearing the hijab with a sense of respect and responsibility and one participant noted that the hijab is a respected symbol. This same participant highlighted that the assumption that women who wear the hijab are forced to do so is false and that it is actually a personal choice.

This is particularly significant because prior research in Europe has regarded the hijab as merely a symbol of identification for Muslim women, which unfortunately often results in unwarranted attention, such as staring, bullying, verbal abuse, and harassment towards women who wear the hijab (Babacan, 2022; Bettache et al., 2018). Additionally, the Human Rights Commission of New Zealand has reported that the majority of complaints received were from Muslim women regarding their modest clothing in reference to the hijab (Jasperse et al., 2011).

The participants recognised the negative stereotypes associated with the hijab and were aware that the media played a part in perpetuating these stigmas. A study on New Zealand media showed that more than 50% of news stories depicted Muslims as terrorists (Kabir & Bourk, 2012). The constant portrayal of Muslims as violent by the media reinforces the notion in the Western world that Islam is an enemy and does not belong (Rahman, 2020). The media's consistent portrayal of Islam as an alien and violent religion dehumanises Muslims, especially those who wear the hijab, which

makes them more susceptible to being targeted. Research conducted both internationally and in New Zealand has shown that women who wear the hijab are often the target of Islamophobic behaviour such as discrimination and harassment. Even one of the non-hijabi participants added that Muslim women who wear the hijab are constantly scrutinised and judged due to their easily identifiable appearance. However, hijabi participants in this study did not experience such behaviour and were instead treated with respect by those around them.

Moreover, this suggests that attitudes towards the hijab and Islam may be changing in New Zealand, and that it is possible for people to treat others with respect regardless of their religion or dress. The participants in the study were aware of the negative stereotypes and discrimination that are commonly associated with wearing the hijab and identifying as Muslim, but they did not let these negative perceptions deter them from holding onto their beliefs and practices. To elaborate further, the view of one of the non-hijabi participants that hijabi women are more scrutinised and judged by society could be influenced by her own personal experiences or observations. Where she has witnessed or experienced instances where hijabi women were treated unfairly or discriminated against based on their appearance, which has shaped her perception. A contrasting observation can be made, as the hijabi participants in New Zealand did not report experiencing such discriminatory behaviours as described by the non-hijabi participant.

A further point raised in the study was the visibility of Muslim women due to their hijab, underlining the disparity in treatment between women and Muslim men who do not wear the hijab and are not as easily identifiable. Tariq and Syed (2018) provide an insight into this phenomenon, explaining that women from minority backgrounds face intersectional disadvantages due to their gender, race, and religion. Despite not wearing the hijab, one participant understood and acknowledged the discrimination that

hijabi women face because of their visible difference from non-Muslim women, due to the hijab. In contrast, men are not as quickly identified as they do not wear the hijab, and therefore they are not subjected to the same level of scrutiny. The statement highlights the gender disparity and the fact that Muslim women who wear the hijab face unique challenges in comparison to Muslim men or non-Muslim women. The non-hijabi participants expressed their frustration with how their Muslim identity is often concealed due to their western-sounding names and absence of a hijab, leading others to assume they are not Muslims. They mentioned that when their Muslim identity is revealed, it often comes as a shock to others, which is bothersome because it suggests that they are not Muslims without the identifying hijab.

The participants who did not visibly display their Muslim identity still held their religion in high regard and actively shared information about themselves with others. They corrected people's assumptions about what Muslims look like and sought to increase awareness about their faith through conversations. This highlights how important it is for individuals to assert their identity and to challenge stereotypes and misconceptions. It also shows that the expression of one's religion is not limited to outward appearances, but can be reflected in one's actions and interactions with others. Therefore, it appears that both hijabi and non-hijabi participants encountered comparable judgments based on various societal expectations, which, in a way, diminished their Muslim identity. This is intriguing as it contradicts prior research by Khosravi (2011) and Tikhonov et al. (2019), which indicated that individuals tend to conform to societal norms during times of hardship or when they have experienced negative perceptions, so as to improve their employment, education and social mobility prospects. In this case, the participants showed willingness to challenge and correct the negative perceptions of Islam and Muslim women, despite the potential consequences for their opportunities and social status.

Notably, one of the hijabi participants was concerned that some Muslim women felt compelled to remove their hijabs in order to advance in their careers or obtain opportunities due to societal pressures, which can be seen as a form of rejection to the visible Muslim identity. This pressure to conform is influenced by societal norms that reject the hijab being worn by women. This creates a sense of conflict between personal identity and social expectations, supporting the findings of the research of Khosravi (2011) and Tikhonov et al. (2019). It is worth noting that this was not the personal experience of the participant, but rather a concern that she had observed in others around her. It is possible that the participant was surrounded by individuals who accept her and her identity, which may have contributed to her not experiencing such pressures.

Additionally, the participants in the study recognised that their Muslim identity was just one aspect of their multi-dimensional personalities and did not define them entirely. One of the hijabi participants explained that she did not want to be solely defined by her hijab but rather viewed it as a garment choice. The participants stressed the importance of challenging the one-dimensional view of Muslim women and advocated for greater visibility of Muslim women in diverse fields to demonstrate their multi-dimensional identities. This is supported by previous research which indicates that Muslim women are often portrayed stereotypically in the media as regressive, pitiful, and isolated individuals who are frequently abused and exploited by their male relatives or spouses (Van Es, 2017). Such portrayals strip Muslim women of their individuality and perpetuate harmful stereotypes that reinforce the notion that they are all the same which aligns with the participant's view that her hijab is only one aspect of her identity, and that she is not defined solely by it.

These findings are significant because little research has been conducted on the thoughts of non-hijabi Muslim women regarding their Muslim identity in New Zealand.

The participants demonstrated a sense of solidarity, acknowledging the challenges they face while still asserting their identity. The study provided a contrast with France and Iran, where the hijab is politicised for different agendas. For example, France seeks to ban it, while Iran enforces it. Additionally, Chapman's (2016) research suggests that hijabi women are often marginalised due to their hijab, which is not fully accepted by society. However, in this study, the participants exhibited a strong, confident, and unapologetic attitude that aligned with their beliefs and did not succumb to societal pressures to remove or change it. Despite their awareness of the negativity surrounding their faith, the participants displayed resilience and strength. The participants in the study saw their Muslim identity as an integral part of themselves, and this identity was deeply rooted in their adherence to Islamic values.

The participants explained that their Islamic values align closely with the values of the New Zealand police, with both prioritising kindness, integrity, respect and honesty among other important values. This shared focus on these values is also reflected in the participants' daily work and interactions with others. This is significant because, as previously discussed, there is a prevalent perception in the West that Muslims and anything associated with Islam are the enemy, outsiders, and oppressed. However, when a well-known organisation like the New Zealand police shares the same values as Islam, it challenges this perception and opens new perspectives for research. This suggests that the negative portrayal of Islam in the West is incorrect, as Islam and the police do indeed share the same values. It also implies that the West may not be as different from Islam as previously thought.

A significant issue noted by the participants was the positive impact of their Muslim values on their approach towards their duties. They stressed the importance of avoiding the judgment of others, particularly while performing their policing duties. The participants acknowledged the danger of labelling individuals as inherently bad when

they are taken into police custody and instead aimed to practice empathy and believed in providing second chances while refraining from making assumptions that could be hurtful. Therefore, the participants perceived their values as qualities that enabled them to connect with individuals on a religious and cultural level. This is in line with previous research by Benton (2020), which suggests that people tend to have more favourable views of government officials when they can relate to them demographically. By embracing empathy and avoiding judgment, the participants establish a better rapport with individuals from diverse backgrounds.

Additionally, the finding that individuals tend to view government officials more positively when they share similar backgrounds emphasises the significance of having a diverse representation within police organisations. This can aid in establishing trust and cultivating improved community relations, which is essential as Panditharatne et al. (2018) highlight in noting the importance of trust in policing. Additionally, Miles-Johnson and Pickering (2017) stress the need to consider how police officers' levels of trust towards diverse individuals can impact their interactions with minority groups. When minority groups perceive the police as untrustworthy, it can have far-reaching consequences. It can hinder the police's ability to serve and protect all members of society, and can even lead to a breakdown of trust between the police and the community. This lack of trust in law enforcement can create a ripple effect that undermines the safety and well-being of New Zealand society. The participants in the study were aware of this potential outcome and demonstrated their agency in instilling their values to create a positive and compassionate environment, which is crucial for building trust between the police and the community.

One participant demonstrated agency through her actions in taking full responsibility for her beliefs and behaviours. She acknowledged that it is not the responsibility of others, such as colleagues or the workplace, to make accommodations

for her needs, which reflects a strong sense of ownership and accountability. Furthermore, the participants saw themselves as an educators and ambassadors for their faith, highlighting the importance of representing their beliefs positively. The participants believed that the most effective way to dispel stereotypes and stigma surrounding Muslim people and the hijab is through action-based communication. By living in accordance with their Islamic values and demonstrating them through their behaviour and explanations to others, they can effectively challenge misconceptions. The participants cultivated a welcoming atmosphere around them, making it easy for others to approach them. They made tremendous efforts to show themselves to others and to rectify the negative image that is often associated with their identity.

This approach is particularly important because, as Karaman and Christian (2021) explain, individuals from minority backgrounds are often expected to educate others about their religious beliefs and combat stereotypes. However, this expectation can be problematic as it places the burden of education solely on the minority group, while the majority group is excused from taking responsibility for their own education and understanding.

Similarly, a participant described how Muslims are often expected to act as ambassadors for their religion whether they want to or not. This expectation adds pressure to always present themselves as the best version of themselves and to challenge and reject negative stereotypes assigned to them in order to accurately represent their beliefs (Kertcher & Turin, 2022; Van Es, 2017). Interestingly, the participants spoke in terms of ‘we’ when discussing their religious beliefs and efforts, aligning themselves with a larger community. This meant that they not only represented themselves and their faith but also a larger group of individuals similar to them, shouldering the weight of this responsibility. As a result, there is a deep intersection between their gender, faith, ethnicity, and community.

During the interviews, both hijabi and non-hijabi participants participated in this behaviour, acknowledging the weight of responsibility that comes with representing their faith. Despite this added responsibility and workload, they expressed a willingness to take it on. They saw it as an opportunity to educate others and viewed changing narrow perceptions as an achievement. Surprisingly, they did not seem to mind the double labour, and so their willingness to take on this added responsibility can also be viewed as an act of resilience in the face of discrimination and prejudice, as it shows their determination to overcome negative attitudes and promote a positive image of their faith.

The participants' resilience may have contributed to their overall positive emotions and pride in their membership of the New Zealand police. They were happy to be part of a well-recognised organisation and saw themselves as representations of the diversity within the police teams. The participants expressed their pleasure in working in front-facing roles where their visibility was acknowledged, implying that it is uncommon to see Muslim women in the police. In their interviews, the participants mentioned that they are only a few in a male-dominated organisation, as they repeatedly used phrases such as 'it's just me' or 'one of few', implying a sense of isolation. This feeling was reinforced by their interactions with staff and public, where they often received 'double takes' that alluded to questioning their belonging at New Zealand police. The finding was not unexpected, as prior research has indicated that about 19% of the New Zealand police's nationwide workforce comprises women, despite the organisation's efforts to enhance staff diversity, including gender representation. This finding would suggest further research and policies aimed at addressing the challenges faced by women at New Zealand police.

Nevertheless, the limited number of women, particularly Muslim women, has resulted in the high visibility of hijabi Muslim women within the organisation. While

being included in the organisation is a great positive, it creates a paradox which leads to a sense of exclusion, as the participants noted being quickly singled and pointed out. The participants did not view this as entirely negative, but they were aware of it. Perhaps the participants had internal concerns that any behaviour perceived as not meeting certain expectations could result in being differentiated in a way that is solely based on their hijab, and may possibly reflect negatively on their entire community who share similar appearance. It is important to highlight the potential negative impact of over-representing a minority group within an organisation. While it is crucial to strive for diversity and inclusion, it is equally important to consider the experiences of those who are visible within that diversity.

Additionally, the experience of exclusion was further reinforced by their colleagues who, upon learning of their Muslim identity, treated them as migrants, insinuating that being a Muslim and wearing a hijab makes one a non-New Zealander, even if they were born in New Zealand. This questioning of their belonging and reinforcement of their status as 'other' was elaborated on by Shaker et al. (2021), who explained how labelling or singling out someone based on their appearance can manifest as 'othering', occurring through various human senses, including visual and auditory channels. The participants also brought up the dominant culture within the New Zealand police, with them feeling surrounded by a group that perceives them as outsiders. These dynamics influence the work environment, where colleagues may unconsciously or consciously change their conversations or jokes in an effort not to offend the Muslim participants, but end up excluding them instead. Understanding the experience of exclusion faced by Muslim participants in the New Zealand police is important because it highlights the issue of 'othering' based on appearance and reinforces the need for greater cultural sensitivity training and understanding in the workplace. The participants' experiences of being treated as new migrants or outsiders, despite being

born in New Zealand, demonstrate the impact that assumptions and prejudices can have on an individual's sense of belonging and identity.

One participant expressed scepticism about the hijab being included in the police uniform as a symbol of inclusivity, noting that it was only introduced after the Christchurch attacks. Despite expressing pride in being part of the police organisation, the participants also acknowledged that their presence was not as widely acknowledged before the attacks. Marques (2010) explains this phenomenon in an organisational context where diversity programmes are often used as a way to appear inclusive without addressing underlying power imbalances. This means that organisations may adopt superficial diversity initiatives, such as hiring a few individuals from under-represented groups without enacting substantial changes to the structures and policies that maintain inequality. Therefore, there is a need for genuine inclusivity and diversity initiatives in the New Zealand police that require structural changes to address these inequalities.

In summary, the study found that the lived experiences of Muslim women in the New Zealand police included an intersection of their gender, hijab, Muslim identity and work. Whilst the participants expressed great pride in their faith and as members of the New Zealand police, they showed agency in educating others about misconceptions. The study found that participants performed 'cultural labour' to maintain a good representation of their faith to others. Finally, the study found that Muslim values are closely aligned with the New Zealand police's core values, resulting in individuals who are highly effective and have a deep understanding of their role to serve New Zealand society.

5.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, the study sheds light on the experiences of Muslim women employed by the New Zealand police and provides valuable insights into their perceptions of the workplace and collegial interactions. The study highlights the numerous challenges faced by Muslim women in New Zealand due to their gender, the male-dominated workplace, race, religion, and social pressure surrounding the hijab. Each participant represents a unique combination of being a Muslim, a member of an ethnic minority and a female working at the New Zealand police. The study identifies the different types of minority layers experienced by participants and the intersection of their identities. The study also emphasises the need to challenge stereotypes and provide a more nuanced representation of Muslim women in the media and society. Finally, the study shows that the participants who wore the hijab felt a sense of strength and confidence in their decision to do so, despite the societal pressures they face.

The study results in three main findings: first, that the participants' identity is reflected or expressed through their actions and conduct. In other words, how they behave and carry themselves reveals information about who they are and how they see themselves. The participants perceive that their Islamic values align with the New Zealand police's core values, an alignment which is interpreted through their work in a positive nature. Second, the participants have become ambassadors, actively breaking down negative thoughts and misconceptions among their colleagues and with the public. Notably, even Muslim women who do not wear the hijab and have Western names are also taking on the responsibility to represent Islam and teach people about it, which can be seen as a form of 'ambassadorship'. Third, although the participants felt a great sense of pride and safety in their workplace, they also welcomed the introduction of the hijab as a symbol of inclusivity by the New Zealand police. However, this created a paradox whereby the excessive inclusion led to exclusion since they were only a few

individuals in their department who wore the hijab, and their visibility made them stand out and be perceived as ‘others’. Some participants felt the introduction of the hijab was motivated by Christchurch attacks and that there was a tokenistic approach; some participants wished the New Zealand police would introduce further education in their departments about the diversity of people in New Zealand.

The New Zealand police’s inclusion of the hijab in the police uniform is a positive step towards diversity and inclusivity, sending a powerful message to the wider community that the police value and respect the contributions of all members of society. The hijab’s inclusion can help build trust and strengthen relationships between the police and communities that have traditionally been marginalised or under-represented. However, the limited number of hijab wearers can result in ‘othering’ whereby individuals feel excluded and differentiated from the majority of police staff. Nonetheless, the positive attitudes of Muslim women towards their work at the New Zealand police fosters a sense of self-assurance and alignment with their values, making their work more meaningful and purposeful, and potentially affecting the New Zealand police’s organisational culture and the communities they serve.

The study underlines the importance of creating an inclusive and respectful workplace culture, a development which can significantly impact employees’ job satisfaction and sense of belonging. Despite facing negative attitudes towards their religious and cultural practices, the Muslim women in the study exhibited great strength, unity and resilience in asserting their autonomy and commitment to their beliefs.

5.4 Implications

Research that includes participants from diverse ethnic backgrounds can offer a unique perspective on a particular topic or issue. This is because people's experiences and beliefs are shaped by their cultural and ethnic backgrounds, which can influence how they perceive and respond to different situations. By including participants from different ethnic groups, researchers can gain a better understanding of the nuances and complexities of the topic under investigation.

The implications of the lived experiences of Muslim women employed by the New Zealand police are significant for both the organisation and society as a whole. These experiences shed light on the challenges that minority communities face within the New Zealand police and can provide insight into ways to improve diversity, equity, and inclusion within these institutions. By understanding the experiences of Muslim police staff, the police can identify areas where they need to improve their policies, procedures and training programmes to better support their employees. For example, the police can provide more comprehensive cultural sensitivity training to help police staff understand the diverse backgrounds and beliefs of the communities they serve. Additionally, the police can work to create a more inclusive and welcoming workplace culture that values their individual staff members' differences.

On a broader level, understanding the experiences of Muslim police staff can help to promote social cohesion, reduce prejudice and discrimination in society. It can help break down stereotypes and foster greater understanding and empathy between different groups of people in the workplace. This, in turn, can help to create a more harmonious and inclusive organisational environment.

5.5 Research Benefit

This research emphasises the importance of the stories of Muslim women in the workplace and recognises the value of giving voice to a minority group. By sharing their experiences, participants have the opportunity to strengthen their identity and gain a sense of empowerment. Being heard and acknowledged can validate their experiences and provide a platform for their voices to be heard. This can also create a space for constructive dialogue and understanding between different cultures and religions. Additionally, sharing diverse experiences can promote constructive dialogue and understanding among individuals from different cultural and religious backgrounds. By giving a platform for under-represented groups to be heard, this research can contribute to creating a more inclusive and diverse workplace. There may also be implications for recruitment of New Zealand police employees.

According to a recent study conducted by Nairn and Roebuck (2022), the New Zealand police is facing significant recruitment challenges due to the lack of diversity among staff, particularly with respect to the under-representation of women and individuals from minority backgrounds. This lack of diversity results in fewer job prospects for the general public, making the job less appealing and even unattractive to many individuals.

Therefore, the organisation could benefit from listening to the experiences and insights of Muslim female police staff. By doing so, the organisation can identify and address the specific needs and wants of women and minorities, potentially increasing diversity and attracting a broader range of candidates for police jobs.

Furthermore, this research can help to challenge the stereotypes that often restrict the representation of Muslim women in society. The preconceived notions of what it means to be a Muslim woman can create an added burden and expectation for

them to uphold a certain image, which can be overwhelming. By recognising and valuing the experiences of Muslim women within the police, society as a whole can develop a deeper understanding and appreciation of their contributions, thereby alleviating some of the pressures they face. This can promote greater inclusivity and equity, contributing to a more supportive and diverse society.

5.6 Limitations of the Study

Despite its significance, this study has some limitations that must be taken into account. Firstly, the small sample size limits the generalisation of the findings across New Zealand. Future studies should aim to increase the participant pool to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the Muslim experience in the workplace. In particular, future studies could look to focus on the addition of Muslim men and increase the number of hijabi and non-hijabi Muslim women. Additionally, a comparable study can be conducted to include Muslim women in police services in both Australia and New Zealand.

Another limitation is the possibility of participant bias, as some participants expressed hesitance and a desire to protect the police during interviews. This may have influenced the data collected and future studies should consider ways to mitigate this bias, such as through the use of anonymous surveys.

Furthermore, due to concerns about participant safety, some opinions and statements about workplace roles and conditions at New Zealand police could not be fully disclosed or discussed and certain material could not be included in this study. While the anonymity of the participants was maintained, this limitation indicates the need for further research that can ensure the safety of participants while allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of the topic.

Finally, whilst this study suggests that wearing uniforms enhances a sense of belonging, it is important to explore how this applies in different contexts and to different groups. This study indicates a need for more research on minority groups and their level of trust towards joining or being a part of the police. Future studies should investigate the factors that influence trust levels, including the requirement to wear a uniform, and how it can be improved to create more diverse and inclusive public service organisations.

5.7 Recommendations for Future Research

Future studies should consider the implementation of cultural education programmes and diversity training, as well as the impact of media communication on public attitudes towards diversity and inclusion in the workplace.

Avenues for future research include conducting a longitudinal study to track the progress and sustainability of organisational cultural change and diversity initiatives in the New Zealand police. This would allow for an assessment of the long-term effects of these interventions and the identification of areas for improvement. The study suggests that participants engaged in ‘cultural labour’ which is a complex area that is deserving of more attention in scholarship.

To improve the representation of Muslims in New Zealand, it is recommended that a study be conducted to explore the expectations and assumptions attributed to those who practice Islam at work. Additionally, understanding the attitudes of New Zealanders towards Muslims in the workplace can help in developing strategies to change negative attitudes and promote a more inclusive and harmonious society.

Finally, it is suggested that future research should extend the scope of the study to include other minority groups and religions. It is important to recognise that diversity

and inclusion are ongoing processes that require ongoing effort and attention. This includes addressing systemic racism and promoting positive representation in media and policy, as well as taking concrete action to promote equity and inclusion at all levels of society.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Ethics Approval

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)

Auckland University of Technology
D-88, Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1142, NZ
T: +64 9 921 9999 ext. 8316
E: ethics@aut.ac.nz
www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics

22 June 2022

Jennie Watts
Faculty of Design and Creative Technologies

Dear Jennie

Ethics Application: 22/146 A thematic analysis of the experiences of Muslim policewomen in New Zealand.

Thank you for submitting your application for ethical review. We are pleased to advise that the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) approved your ethics application at their meeting on 13 June 2022, subject to:

1. Clarification about how many Muslim policewomen there may be in New Zealand Police. AUTEC recommends that the researcher also considers recruiting non-sworn officers;
2. Amendment of the Information Sheet as follows:
    a. Inclusion of advice that the study has been approved by the Evidence Based Policing Centre;
    b. Inclusion of advice about how confidentiality will be assured, including non-identification of police districts and stations in the findings;
    c. Alteration of the section on risks to better reflect the likely level of risks for this study. In particular, AUTEC recommends that the researcher considers what they will do if rampant racism or discrimination is revealed;
3. Provision of an assurance that the indicative questions will be provided to potential participants along with the Information Sheet;
4. Reconsideration of the provision of koha to participants given the nature of the study.

AUTEC recommends altering the title to read 'The lived experiences of Muslim policewomen in New Zealand Police' as it will be more easily understood by potential participants.

Please provide us with a response to the points raised in these conditions, indicating either how you have satisfied these points or proposing an alternative approach. AUTEC also requires copies of any altered documents, such as Information Sheets, surveys etc. You are not required to resubmit the application form again. Any changes to responses in the form required by the committee in their conditions may be included in a supporting memorandum.

Please note that the Committee is always willing to discuss with applicants the points that have been made. There may be information that has not been made available to the Committee, or aspects of the research may not have been fully understood.

Once your response is received and confirmed as satisfying the Committee's points, you will be notified of the full approval of your ethics application. Full approval is not effective until all the conditions have been met. Data collection may not commence until full approval has been confirmed. If these conditions are not met within six months, your application may be closed and a new application will be required if you wish to continue with this research.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, we ask that you use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at ethics@aut.ac.nz.

We look forward to hearing from you,

(This is a computer-generated letter for which no signature is required)

The AUTEC Secretariat
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Hana_malak93@hotmail.com; rufus.mcewan@aut.ac.nz

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet

AUT
TE WĀNANGA ARONUI O TĀMAKI MAKAU RAU

Participant Information Sheet

Date Information Sheet Produced:

12 July 2022

Project Title

The lived experiences of Muslim policewomen in the New Zealand Police

An Invitation

I am Hana Malak; I am 28 years old and identify as a Muslim kiwi – Lebanese. I am conducting this research as part of my Masters in Communication degree at AUT.

I would like to invite you to take part in my research as a participant sharing your experiences as a female Muslim employee of the NZ Police.

This Participant Information Sheet will help you decide if you'd like to take part. It sets out why I am doing this research, what your participation would involve, what the benefits and risks to you might be, and what would happen after the study ends.

I will go through this information with you and answer any questions you may have. You do not have to decide today whether you will participate in this study. Before you decide you may want to talk about the study with other people, such as family, whānau, friends, or healthcare providers.

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of this research is to explore the experiences of Muslim women employed by the New Zealand Police. The objective is to examine the lived experiences of this minority group and how they navigate their identity as Muslims in their workplace.

In part, the research explores the wearing of the hijab in line with their faith and as a part of the official NZ Police uniform, to illuminate the experience of policewomen working in the public service and directly with the public, whose faith is indicated by her attire. This provides insight into the social and personal experiences of Muslim policewomen in NZ society. The study will also explore the experiences of non-sworn and non-hijabi Muslim women too.

This study will contribute to a better understanding of social justice issues in NZ, as well as provide a voice to a minority group.

This study will adopt semi-structured, one-on-one interview method of data gathering with the participants, and thematic analysis will be used to analyse and interpret the data. With this research the researcher seeks insight into the interaction of faith and profession in Aotearoa New Zealand.

This study has been approved by the Evidence Based Policing Centre.

The findings of this research may be used for academic publications and presentations.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

I have contacted the Principal Engagement Advisor for the Ethnic Partnerships team at Police National Headquarters in Wellington to ask that they identify potential participants in my research with the criteria of being female, and Muslim.

You have been invited to participate in this research because you have identified as a woman and Muslim working at New Zealand Police.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether or not you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You are able to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to sign a Consent Form before the interview begins. You will be given a copy of the Participant Information Sheet, a page of indicative questions, and the signed Consent Form to keep.

What will happen in this research?

The research is about Muslim female Police employees' experiences at work. To understand these experiences, I have designed a set of indicative questions to be answered by you through an interview process. These questions can be found at the end of this Information Sheet.

The interview can take place at a mutually agreed place, or on the AUT campus in a meeting room, or by Zoom if that is your preference.

What are the discomforts and risks?

One potential risk for you is to be identifiable within your field. To mitigate this risk, I will provide as much confidentiality as possible in the write up of the study.

The interview transcription is given to you to review, edit or remove any quotes or information that you wish to. Pseudonyms will be used in the thesis and I will remove any identifying information such as district or station.

It is possible you may feel some discomfort or upset during the interview, given the scope of the questions. The interview can be stopped at any point. You have the right to refuse participation, refuse any question and withdraw at any time during the interview without any consequence whatsoever.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

In addition to the option of withdrawing from the study, you may wish to access free counselling from the AUT Student Counselling and Mental Health service. There are three free sessions of confidential counselling support for adult participants in an AUT research project. These sessions are only available for issues that have arisen directly as a result of participation in the research and are not for other general counselling needs. To access these services, you will need to:

- drop into our centre at WB203 City Campus, email counselling@aut.ac.nz or call 921 9998.
- let the receptionist know that you are a research participant, and provide the title of my research and my name and contact details as given in this Information Sheet.

You can find out more information about AUT counsellors and counselling on https://www.aut.ac.nz/student-life/student-support/counselling-and-mental-health

What are the benefits?

As a researcher this study provides further insight and better personal understanding of how Muslim woman in the public serving sector can balance their Muslim identity and work trajectory. In addition, doing this research will be a valuable learning experience and ultimately, I, the primary researcher will gain a Master's level qualification.

This research might contribute to your employer's knowledge of the experiences and perspectives of this minority group. The research gives voice to your stories and experiences.

To the wider community, this research could facilitate better understanding of how Muslim woman negotiate their faith identities within a culturally diverse work environment. It highlights their needs and the support required for ethnic minority. There is no available research on Muslim woman in the New Zealand Police, and very little in other workplaces. Therefore, this research will contribute to the body of scholarship on Muslim identity and experience in non-Muslim cultures. This research may also provide insight into the needs of ethnic minorities in the police force.

How will my privacy be protected?

Conversations between me and you are confidential. The recording of our interview is secured and will only be listened to and be transcribed by me. Then the information is sent to you via email for confirmation, amendment, or removal of any information you do not wish to be shared. I will remove identifying information such as names and geographic location to protect your identity. If you have further concerns or questions, please ask me.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

There is no cost to participate in this research. The interview will take up to 1.5 hours of your time.

As a thank you for your participation a koha of $50.00 Prezzy card will be gifted to you.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Please respond to me within two weeks if you would like to participate in the research.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

I will email you a brief summary of my thesis findings.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this research should be notified in the first instance to the Research Supervisor, *Dr Jennie Watts, jennie.watts@aut.ac.nz, and (+649) 921 9999.*

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, *ethics@aut.ac.nz* , (+649) 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Hana Malak, Researcher: hana_malak93@hotmail.com

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Research Supervisor: Dr Jennie Watts, jennie.watts@aut.ac.nz, and +64 9 921 9999

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *type the date final ethics approval was granted*, AUTEC Reference number *type the reference number*.

Appendix C: Indicative Questions

- What is it like to be a Muslim female police officer?
- What are some of the challenges in your day-today role?
- Does being Muslim influence your work? In what way(s)?
- Is there conflict between your work and your religious identity?
- Do your colleagues interact with you differently than they do with other employees?
- What do you think about the new addition to the police uniform, the official hijab or headscarf?
- How do you feel that the headscarf was introduced to the uniform?
- Were you consulted, or have any influence on the design of the head scarf?
- Do you wear it? If so, is this for all the time you are at work, or some of the time? Why?
- Tell me more about the interactions with your colleagues related to Islam in general, or your own Muslim practice in particular.
- Can you describe interactions with the public – does the hijab or your faith ever figure in these interactions?
- Are the interactions with the public different depending on their culture, faith or ethnicity?
- Do you feel safe at work while wearing the hijab?
- Do you feel there are appropriate resources and support for you in your work environment?
- Do you perceive a reaction when people learn you are Muslim or see a headscarf?

Appendix D: Consent Form

Consent Form

Project title: ***To explore the experiences of Muslim policewomen in New Zealand.***

Project Supervisor: ***Dr Jennie Watts***

Researcher: ***Hana Malak***

- ○ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 04 April 2022.
- ○ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ○ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ○ I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ○ I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.
- ○ I agree to take part in this research.
- ○ I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one): Yes○ No○

Participant's signature: .....

Participant's name: .....

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....

.....

.....

.....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on type the date on which the final approval was granted AUTEC Reference number type the AUTEC reference number

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix E: Oral Consent Protocol

Oral Consent Protocol

Project title: ***To explore the experiences of Muslim policewomen in New Zealand.***

Project Supervisor: ***Dr Jennie Watts***

Researcher: ***Hana Malak***

The participant joins the videoconference

- O Do you agree to my recording your consent to participate?

If they agree, then the record function will be activated and they will be asked the following:

- O Have you read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated dd mmmm yyyy?
- O Do you have any questions about the research?
- O Do you understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that the in terview will also be audio-recorded and transcribed?
- O Do you understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (your choice) and that you may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.?
- O Do you understand that if you withdraw from the study then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used? However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.
- O Do you agree to take part in this research?
- O Do you wish to receive a summary of the research findings? (please tick one): Yes O No O
- O Do you want me to send you a copy of the audio recording for this consent? Yes O No O
- O Please confirm you name and contact details

Participant's name: .....

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....

.....

.....

.....

I will now turn off the recording of the Consent and then will start a separate recording for the interview.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on type the date on which the final approval was granted AUTEC Reference number type the AUTEC reference number

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form

Appendix F: Sample of coding

Q. Can you describe interactions with the public – does the hijab or your faith ever figure in these interactions?

A:

symbol of identity and point of exclusion

I think they notice that the minute I walk into the room or like just generally meeting them and be like, oh yeah, she's Muslim. Yeah. Like you wouldn't get that from a guy. A guy Muslim who walks in. You will not know if he's Muslim or not unless he verbally says, Hey, I'm Muslim.

differentiation and gender bias

But honestly, when I walk in the room, they're like, Yep, Muslim. because they don't question it, they like they don't question that I am Muslim because they automatically know that I'm a Muslim just from my hijab and then just walk in and yep - Muslim and they don't like go, oh hey, are you Muslim? Or You're just wearing that for fun? I think the hijab gives it away. It's like the identity of a Muslim woman. Yeah. Do you know what I mean?

assumption of identity

hijab identification

stereotype

So, if I wasn't wearing the hijab, they probably ask me that question, but they would only ask that question if I revealed that I'm from a certain place. I'm ---, so are you Muslim? That would be the next question, right? Yeah. But I don't even look ---- so.

race and ethnicity

It's what you look like! so like say you never ask a white person, where are you actually from do you know what I mean? You don't go also like where are you actually from? Maybe like I'm from New Zealand. Okay, so where was your ancestor from? But when you meet like say any other ethnicity group, you'd be like, where are you from?

differentiation from appearance

So, if he was ----, they're like, Oh, so where you from? And then he'd be like, Well, I'm from New Zealand. Like, okay, where were you originally from?

race, perception & form of othering

Because like I said, the majority here in New Zealand is white. So, if you don't look white, that automatically means you came from somewhere else. Which is true because you did come from somewhere.

identity shaped by family

Yeah. So, like, you necessarily might not have come from something else your parents did or like you grandparents came from somewhere else. You could say I came from a mum stomach and I was born in New Zealand Hospital. But you're still from somewhere else, do you know what I mean? You could be like New Zealand birth certificate here.

question race and sense of belonging

Your parents were born here, but he looks ----, so people can ask and right away be like, oh, where are you from? Do you know what I mean? It's like what you look like if you don't fit in the white stereotype that you're entitled to be called a New Zealander, then you're automatically from somewhere else so you could identify as like New Zealander because you were born here and never known any other country, you might not even hold passport for any other country, but because of what you look like, people are like, so where are you from? and then you say New Zealand, but where are you originally from? That's the question, right where you're originally from and you're like sitting there like my mum's stomach.

stereotype

questioned origins.

negative in interaction

Appendix G: Glossary

Hijab	A headscarf or veil worn by Muslim women to cover their hair and neck in public. The word 'hijab' also represents the idea of modesty and privacy in Islam.
Hijabi	A person who wears a hijab as part of their everyday clothing. They may refer to themselves as a 'hijabi' rather than saying 'I wear a hijab' as a way to identify with other Muslim women who wear the hijab.
Hijabis	The plural form of 'hijabi', referring to all women who wear the hijab as part of their religious or cultural identity.
Masjid	A place of worship for Muslims, also known as a mosque. It is a central place for prayer and community gatherings in Islam.
Masjidain	The Arabic word for 'two mosques' used to refer to two mosques in a particular location or context.
Qur'an	The holy book of Islam, containing the teachings and guidance for Muslims to follow.