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Subjectively construed identities and discourse: towards a research agenda for construction management

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Identity issues are under-explored in construction management. We provide a brief introduction to the organization studies literature on subjectively construed identities, focusing on discourse, agency, relations of power and identity work. The construction management literature is investigated in order to examine identity concerns as they relate to construction managers centred on (1) professionalism; (2) ethics; (3) relational aspects of self-identity; (4) competence, knowledge and tools; and (5) national culture. Identity, we argue, is a key performance issue, and needs to be accounted for in explanations of the success and failure of projects. Our overriding concern is to raise identity issues in order to demonstrate their importance to researchers in construction management and to spark debate. The purpose of this work is not to provide answers or to propose prescriptive models, but to explore ideas, raise awareness and to generate questions for further programmatic research. To this end, we promote empirical work and theorizing by outlining elements of a research agenda which argues that 'identity' is a potentially generative theme for scholars in construction management.

Keywords: Identity, discourse, construction manager, performance, research agenda.

Introduction

While 'identity' is now a major topic of research in management and organization studies, it has received relatively little direct and explicit attention from scholars in construction management. This is not to suggest that identity issues have been ignored, merely that they have most usually been addressed implicitly or in passing by researchers more interested in other empirical issues and directions for theory development. Where 'identity' has been the specific focus of scholars in construction management, most conceptions of it have been psychologically oriented and their methods positivistic (e.g. Phua and Rowlinson, 2004). Here, our approach is sociologically informed and our orientation discursive, critical and interpretive. Our overriding concern is to raise identity issues in order to demonstrate their importance and to spark debate. The purpose of this work is not to provide answers or to propose prescriptive models, but to explore ideas, raise awareness and to generate questions for further research.

Although 'identity' has long been a key interest in the social sciences, it has only comparatively recently become a key theme for scholars in management and organization studies. One explanation for its rise to prominence is its centrality to diagnoses of modern societies as dominated by commodification and disorienting new technologies which have created an increasingly fragmented, discontinuous and crisisridden world in which certainties regarding 'who we are' are harder to sustain (Giddens, 1991). Such an analysis suggests that modernity 'displaces, disturbs, deconstructs and redeploys' such that 'the construction of a self is a struggle at best won only provisionally' (Frosh, 1991, pp. 191, 187). This line of thinking has led theorists in management studies to recognize that identity is not just 'problematic' but also key to an understanding of the dynamics of organizing and in particular issues of leadership and

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project management (Albert *et al.*, 2000). More broadly, it is increasingly apparent that 'identity' has considerable potential as 'a cohering and linking concept between disparate social scientific communities that is yet to be fully explored or exploited' (Brown, 2001, p. 117).

In practical research terms, in order to understand why construction managers behave, function and perform as they do we need to have a sophisticated appreciation of how they conceive their selves. People are reflexive, and make choices and decisions continuously which determine work outcomes. Further, actors' worlds are socially constructed, not pre-given, and how they make sense and enact their work environments—contracts, deadlines, colleagues, clients, etc.—is tied intimately to their identity (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Weick, 1995). There are, thus, few aspects of the work of construction managers that do not have an identity component. Our argument is that recent contributions to this journal on, for instance, leader authenticity (Toor and Ofori, 2009), the competencies of construction managers (Bo et al., 2009), and perceptions of risk and safety (Hallowell, 2010) may benefit from a recognition that these are all grounded in situated actors' conceptions of their selves. More generally, we suggest, identity is, fundamentally, a performance issue. It is the necessary point of origin for investigations of what makes one construction manager successful in the performance of his or her tasks and another less so. Ultimately, we hope that taking 'identity' seriously may lead to a more sociologically informed literature concerned with the micro practices of construction managers, their complex social relations with others, and their performance.

In writing this paper, we have three broad objectives. First, we provide a brief introduction to mainmanagement and organization literature on subjectively construed identities. We consider issues of discourse, agency, relations of power and in particular 'identity work' in an attempt to illustrate something of the intellectual heritage of identity constructs in contemporary theorizing. Second, the construction management literature is investigated in order to examine key identity issues as they relate to construction managers and those with whom they work. We concentrate on (1) professionalism; (2) ethics, (3) relational aspects of selfidentity; (4) competence, knowledge and tools, and (5) national cultural contexts, to demonstrate the latent salience of identity in this literature. Third, we take some 'first steps' toward outlining elements of a research agenda which argues that 'identity' is a theme potentially generative for scholars

construction management, and thus to promote further empirical work and theorizing.

Identity in management and organization studies

'Identity' is a contested concept. Objectivist approaches tend to focus on the social and personal categories that may be used to 'allocate' identities (e.g. 'male', 'professor', 'green eyes') to individuals. Our primary interest, however, is in subjectivist perspectives on identity which dominate European management studies. Here, there is a consensus that people in organizations construct their selves through discourse, that is, 'the structured collections of texts embodied in the practices of talking and writing (as well as a wide variety of visual representations and cultural artefacts) that bring organizationally related objects into being' (Grant et al., 2004, p. 3). Individuals' work identities are derived from the discursive regimes which constitute organizations, and which offer positions, or epistemological spaces, for people to occupy (Clarke et al., 2009, p. 325). One stream of theorizing suggests that subjectively construed work identities are available to individuals as reflexively organized narratives 'derived from participation in competing discourses and various experiences' and which are 'productive of a degree of existential continuity and security' (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002, pp. 625-6). These narratives provide answers to questions like 'who am I?' and 'who do I want to become?' both for the self and for significant others with whom identity narratives are negotiated (e.g. Humphreys and Brown, 2002; Brown and Humphreys, 2006).

'Identity' is a fundamental bridging concept between levels of analysis—individual, group, organization and society (Ybema et al., 2009). Within management and organization studies, most research has been concerned with the identities of organizations (Albert and Whetten, 1985; Dutton and Dukerich, 1991) and of individuals' work identities (Pratt, 2000). Allied studies concern processes of identification, i.e. the extent to which participants actively and positively define themselves in terms of their membership of an organization (Ashforth and Mael, 1989; Elsbach, 1999). Two special issues on identities in organizations in Organization (2008) and Human Relations (2009) and a third, forthcoming in the Scandinavian Journal of Management (2012), symptomize the currently fashionable status of identity studies. Our particular interest is in identity at the level of the individual. While initially much work was preoccupied with developing a secure basis for theorizing identity (e.g. Fournier, 1999; Alvesson and Willmott, 2002),

recently there has been a renewed emphasis on indepth empirical research.

A recognition that modern organizations are not just significant sources of identity opportunities, but also important arenas for the exercise of power, has led to a preoccupation with questions regarding the extent to which identities are chosen or the products of social and institutional structures (Jenkins, 1994; Webb, 2006). For some theorists discourse is 'infinitely malleable' (Eccles and Nohria, 1993), and identity best conceived as the project of resourceful and autonomous beings who give direction to history. Other authors maintain that there is little scope for the manipulation of discourse (Knights and Morgan, 1991; Inkpen and Choudhury, 1995), and that identity is 'the fluid epiphenomena of determining social forces' (Webb, 2006, p. 19). Drawing on Foucault's (e.g. 1977, 1979) understanding of the concept of the individual as an invention of power that arises from a particular 'regime of truth' a number of organization theorists have analysed identities as effects of domination (e.g. Thornborrow and Brown, 2009). Most scholars, however, recognize that while subjectivity and power are inextricably interwoven in all organizational practices individuals are, nevertheless, able to exercise a degree of agency. Thus while 'The biography of any particular person in an organization is ... made under circumstances that they did not choose' (Webb, 2006, pp. 32–3) organizational members 'are not reducible to passive consumers of managerially designed and designated identities' (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002, p. 621).

Considerable attention has focused on identity work, i.e. the work that people undertake in 'forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening and revising' stories of the self (cf. Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003, p. 1165). Scholars have sought to analyse how different groups of people ranging from accountants (Grey, 1994), and management consultants (Costas and Fleming, 2009), to frontline supervisors (Down and Reveley, 2009) and even paratroopers (Thornborrow and Brown, 2009), construct versions of their selves. These studies have focused on the distinctive discourses that individuals in organizations draw on in their ongoing identity work, including those centred on authenticity (Guignon, 2004), aspirational and possible selves (Markus and Nurius, 1986), gender (Collinson, 2003), professionalism (Fournier, 1999), ethics (Kornberger and Brown, 2007), relational aspects of self-identity (Jenkins, 2004), competence (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979), and national culture (Hofstede, 1980). The point of this type of research has been to show the work implications, for individuals and organizations, of employees' definitions of their selves. For example, drawing heavily on a nostalgized version of an organization's

history to inform self-understanding can be both unproductive and self-defeating (Brown and Humphreys, 2002); regarding one's career as a 'project of the self' to be worked on with tireless enthusiasm may be associated with increased chances of progression (Grey, 1994).

In line with this general stream of research we argue that these broad sets of discursive resources are equally salient to construction managers. In particular, we focus on five germane, but not necessarily related discourses in construction management: professionalism; competence, knowledge and tools; ethics; relational aspects of self-identity, and cultural contexts. Our decision to focus on these was made for two principal sets of reasons. First, scholars in construction management have already implicated them in sketching (albeit most often indirectly) the discourses of identities of construction managers. Indeed, the key research themes of the conference proceedings of the Association of Researchers for Construction Management (ARCOM) from 2007 to 2009 reveal that the five discursive resources are highly relevant to current construction management research. These themes are also reflected strongly in published papers in the main journals in the field. Second, these have already been highlighted within the management studies literature as having significant implications for individuals and organizations. This said, we of course recognize that they are only a selection of the discursive resources by reference to which the identities of construction managers may be discussed. Such an approach is consonant with our intention of opening up 'identity' as an explicit topic for debate rather than seeking to define exhaustively the contours of the territory.

To summarize, identity research is a major domain of activity with attention concentrated in particular on how people come to author narratives of the self from organizationally based and extra-organizational discursive resources. Although considerable attention has been devoted by organizational and management theorists to the study of identity, like other 'human, cultural and psychological factors, these issues still attract relatively little attention in the construction literature' (Nicolini, 2002, p. 169). This is unfortunate because 'identity' is a concept that could help construction management scholarship to integrate more fully with mainstream organization and management studies, and around which an interpretive, qualitatively inspired theory base could be created. More instrumentally, an understanding of how construction managers in different identity contexts conceive of their selves may yield insight into the motivations which prompt behaviour and action and improve explanations for project outcomes.

The identities of construction managers

'Construction management' has at least three distinct meanings: a particular method of organizing the construction procurement process; the activities conducted by construction managers; and an area of research and education. These three meanings do not neatly coincide, and no uncontested single and comprehensive definition of the field exists. There are also international differences in conceptions of construction management, in particular those between the US and UK communities, to which we need to be sensitive.

In principle, the practice of construction management (CM) may be said to involve 'the optimum use of available funds, the control of the scope of the work, effective project scheduling, the avoidance of delays, changes and disputes, enhancing project design and construction quality, and optimum flexibility in contracting and procurement' (Arditi et al., 2009, p. 1370). From an American perspective, a construction manager is typically and often narrowly defined within the industry as an individual involved in supervisory and managerial oversight of a construction project (American Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010). However, in the UK context, it appears that there are many nuances associated with it, where construction management is 'defined' or understood as broadly encompassing elements of management, education, and procurement (including technology and economics). Rather than seeing this difference as detracting from the identity agenda that is discussed here, it should be conceived as offering useful avenues for researchers to investigate the identity implications that these differences may have on the practices of construction managers generally. Construction managers may work according to a variety of different contractual terms, independently or within firms, and on projects varying in scope from remodelling a home to large industrial complexes. Their duties include tasks ranging from coordinating and managing people, materials and equipment to managing budgets, schedules, contracts and safety. Given this broad range, it is, perhaps, unsurprising that there often exists some confusion regarding 'what exactly CM is and how it should be practiced' (Arditi et al., 2009, p. 1370). The roles of construction managers are so wide-ranging that there is considerable potential for overlap with the work of others, such as project managers and cost consultants. Indeed, construction managers are often referred to as 'project managers', 'constructors', 'construction superintendents', 'project engineers', 'construction supervisors' and 'general contractors'.

Regardless of how 'construction manager' is or should be defined, some of the most significant and relevant discursive resources on which construction managers may draw in narrating their selves are: professionalism, ethics, relational aspects of self-identity, competence, knowledge and tools, and international cultural contexts and differences. Each of these have also attracted attention from scholars in organization and management theory, and are recognized generally as important resources for identity work.

Professionalism

A profession is a social nexus involving the complex interplay of practitioner, organizational practices and settings, professional associations, knowledge and society. While traditionally associated with established categories of worker such as architects and lawyers, the label 'professional' is one of the most frequently made identity claims made by various aspirational practitioners in specialist fields (e.g. Dyer and Keller-Cohen, 2000). 'Professionals' are generally defined in terms of their competence, integrity and skill (Willis et al., 1994), their ability to apply established knowledge to practical problems (Bennett, 1991), and specific characteristics such as independence of judgement, conformance with codes of ethics and expertise (e.g. Briffett, 1994; Hassal et al., 1996). Assertions of professionalism are typically associated with specialist vocabularies, technical and scholarly qualifications, claims to knowledge and expertise, particular modes of conduct, ability to evaluate and to make authoritative judgements in a given area, and so forth. Concomitantly, claims position relevant others as neophytes, amateur and inexpert.

In the construction literature there are relatively few pieces that reflect in depth on the nature of 'professionalism' and what it means fundamentally to be a construction professional. One exception is Male's (1990) analysis of the potential that quantity surveying has for extending professional power and status through the evolution of its knowledge base and provision of services to clients. Other authors have examined the judgements made by engineers in practice (Parkin, 2000) while Fortune (2006) has discussed the issue of 'professional judgement' in the formulation of building project budget price advice. In practice, and perhaps unsurprisingly, 'professionalism' is a frequently used term in discussions of construction managers (e.g. Caplan and Gilham, 2005; Georg and Tryggestad, 2009). Most descriptions assert that construction managers are 'professionals' who operate in 'construction professional service contexts' (e.g. Hoxley, 2000), while key textbooks in the field bear titles such as Professional Construction Management (Barrie and Paulson, 1992). In a similar vein, the Chartered Institute of Building (CIOB), expects its members to be 'skilled

managers and professionals with a common commitment to achieving and maintaining the highest possible standards. Chartered Member status, represented by the designations MCIOB and FCIOB, is recognized internationally as the mark of a true professional in the construction industry' (http://constructionmanager.co.uk/ciob/). Descriptions of construction managers as 'professionals' support attempts to separate them for specific attention by creating and sustaining symbolic, historical, ideological and institutional boundaries (cf. Cahill, 1999). For construction managers themselves, it is likely that 'professionalism' serves as it does for other notional professionals, as a disciplinary mechanism which allows for control at a distance through the construction of putatively 'appropriate' work identities and conducts (Fournier, 1999, p. 281).

Arguably, however, the professional status of construction managers is not well developed or secure, leading to some anxiety and much debate. Conceptions of professionalism are generally bound up with accepted bodies of knowledge and professional qualifications, which are contested features of CM. Arditi et al. (2009), for example, comment on the ongoing discussions regarding the current civil engineering curriculum in the USA (Russell and Stouffer, 2005). Relatedly, while the American Bureau of Labor Statistics (2010) argues that 'There is a growing movement toward certification of construction managers', yet certification is not always required to work in the construction industry. Much debate has centred on the competencies that construction managers possess or require in order to function effectively, and the aim of these has often been to promote 'intra-professional reflection' (Nkado and Meyer, 2001, p. 481). For some construction managers drawing on their direct experiences as assistants, and managing projects independently, their conceptions of self as 'professionals' may be more important than university qualifications or professional institutional affiliations. This said, there is an apparent consensus on the importance of the term 'professional', and it features large in considerations of most issues in the construction management literature.

Ethics

MacIntyre (1985) has asserted that managers occupy morally vacuous identity positions, while Friedman (1970) has famously contended that managers are amoral agents concerned only with the efficient and effective ordering of material and knowledge resources. Watson (2001, p. 15) by contrast has argued that management is 'value soaked'. Indeed, discourses focused on 'ethics' are increasingly salient in contemporary work organizations, and notions of ethics and

morality are now central to managers' and workers' talk about who they are. Researchers have frequently noted that people's accounts of their selves tend generally to feature narrative unity regarding their purposeful 'quest for the good' (MacIntyre, 1985). Kornberger and Brown (2007) have shown how members of a business incubator developed a discourse in which they construed their individual and collective selves as 'ethical' and 'trustworthy'. Medical doctors are often supposed to subscribe to some form of the Hippocratic Oath and/or the principle 'first, do no harm', and most other professions have various official national and some international 'codes of ethics'. The actual extent to which different kinds of workers and professionals working across organizations do actually define themselves in distinctive moral terms is, though, largely unknown.

Liu and Fellows (2008) identify 'ethics' as one of two significant behavioural considerations in the context of construction industry performance. Interestingly, while the construction management literature is characterized by assertions that 'Construction professionals are expected to behave with professional integrity, including honesty and fairness' (Bowen *et al.*, 2007, p. 643), yet most attention has been paid to the prominence of unethical behaviour among construction professionals.

There is evidence that corruption is a greater problem in construction than any other industry sector (Transparency International, 2005), and there has been considerable commentary on the growth and effectiveness of ethical codes of conduct (e.g. Ho et al., 2004; Bowen et al., 2007). Ho et al. (2004, p. 595) have commented on the 'need for business ethics management' in the Hong Kong construction industry, where 'Immoral practices and ethical misconduct are enduring problems'. Bowen et al. (2007) have investigated a wide range of unethical conduct in the South African construction industry, including collusion, bribery, negligence, fraud, dishonesty and unfair practices. Ray et al. (1999) have commented upon significant ethical issues in the Australian construction industry associated with the tendering process, such as bid withdrawal, bid cutting and collusion. A survey of the US construction industry suggested that 84% of respondents had experienced or observed unethical acts (FMI/CMAA, 2004). Other scholars have noted that the construction industry generally has a poor ethical reputation and discussed its prospects for meeting demands for ethical improvement (Moodley et al., 2008).

Relational aspects of self-identity

Researchers as diverse as symbolic interactionists and social identity theorists have long emphasized the

importance of relational aspects of self-identity. There are multiple aspects to this. Identity construction involves the realization and ascription of 'relationships of similarity and difference' (Jenkins, 2004, p. 5) which create boundaries and define 'alterity' (Czarniawska, 1997). Identity work itself is an active process conducted 'in relation to other speakers' (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p. 18). As Ybema et al. (2009, p. 303) make clear, colleagues, clients, superiors and other actors are people with whom versions of the self must be negotiated through ongoing conversations, and who often place constraints on the kinds of work identities that an individual is able to construct. Other actors, either real or imagined, are audiences to whom people display tailored versions of their selves, often in search of, for example self-verification, social approbation or political gain (Down and Reveley, 2009). That is, identity narratives have '... to be negotiated among and accepted by other actors' (Ainsworth and Hardy, 2004, p. 163). Moreover, others are a discursive resource whom individuals use to inform understandings of who they and others are and are not. Ibarra (1999), for example, has analysed how management consultants and investment bankers adapt to new professional roles in part through observation of role models. In short, the relational character of identity, and the importance of other actors in continuing constructions of selfidentity, their formulation, reformulation, acceptance, resistance, inscription and proscription, has long been acknowledged.

The construction management literature recognizes that construction managers are involved continuously with other key participants in construction projects, such as clients, general managers, project engineers, trade contractors, and architects. In some instances, they may also have subordinates such as assistant managers, field engineers and site supervisors for whom they have line management responsibilities. As Nicolini (2002, p. 167) asserts 'The importance of interpersonal relations, team spirit and collaboration is a recurring theme in construction management'. However, there is, as yet, a dearth of research focused on how such interactions are managed and how identities are authored through such processes. How do construction managers craft their identities in concert with these others? How are their identities negotiated, threatened, supported and contested through their ongoing interactions with others? In answering such questions valuable light may be cast on the interpersonal dynamics, face-games and political intrigues that typically characterize working relationships between professionals and between professional workers and their clients. Such a research programme would draw attention to issues of power and impression management in what are too often considered to be merely

functional relations between empowered actors (e.g. Tuuli and Rowlinson, 2009). This is an emerging research area in construction management that could be enriched through more such individual-level perspectives and investigations.

Competence, knowledge, and tools

All types of workers learn to adopt prevailing 'display rules' (Sutton, 1991) and to perform 'appropriate mannerisms, attitude, and social rituals' (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979, p. 226) in order to gain acceptance and to avoid losing the right to enact desired social roles (Goffman, 1959). Discourses centred on 'competence' and the activities and tools notionally associated with it, are a key aspect of work identity, closely associated with professionalism and professional practice. Understandings of competence often suggest that it involves applied or formalized scientific knowledge (Alvesson, 2004), tacit or bodily knowledge (Castillo, 2002), and a variety of skills, attitudes and personal characteristics related to effective work performance (Boyatzis, 1982). But competence also involves knowledge-in-action (Schon, 1983), understandings of work (Sandberg, 1994) and the practices which relate individuals to communities (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Drawing on Wenger (2000, p. 229), from a discursive perspective, we suggest that what is likely to be most important in construction managers' definitions of their selves, is their talk about joint enterprise, mutual engagements, norms for interaction, and shared communal resources such as language, routines, stories and tools. That is, talk about what it is that construction managers do, and the specific tools, techniques, procedures, methods and languages they employ, are resources for identity work.

Discourses centred on construction managers tend to suggest that they require a diverse range of knowledge, skills and abilities from business and financial management to inspection procedures and architectural sciences. There is an increasingly prominent 'constructing excellence' discourse focused on how construction managers can (and ought to) engage in processes of continuous improvement (e.g. Hedley, 2010). Descriptions of the work of construction managers emphasize that many of their duties take place in the field, that it can be dangerous, and that they need to be flexible, adaptable, decisive, and work well under pressure. The American Bureau of Labor Statistics (2010) points out in particular the need for 'Good oral and written communication skills' and 'leadership skills'. Other authors suggest construction managers engaged in large, complex projects may use a variety of sophisticated scheduling and cost-estimating techniques, and make use of

computing technologies with specialized software. Recent ethnographic work on construction managers indicates that there is interest in studying in depth their quotidian practices (Rooke et al., 2004). This research provides fascinating insight on how contractors plan for claims at the tender stage and during a project in order to win contracts and increase profits using specialist knowledge, experience and intuition to exploit others' errors, poor planning and ineffective communication. There is, though, considerable scope for further empirical research of this kind.

International cultural differences

In defining their selves individuals draw on not just local but also macro discourses such as those concerned with, for example, race, class, global politics, and religion (Collinson, 1992; Essers and Benschop, 2009; Ybema et al., 2009). Of these, perhaps the most significant are the discourses associated with national cultures. As Watson (2009, p. 429) observes, 'human beings are cultural animals' and 'cultures do a lot of our worrying for us-including our worrying about who we are' [emphasis in original]. Alvesson et al. (2008, p. 11) too suggest that 'How we understand ourselves is shaped by larger cultural and historical formations, which supply much of our identity vocabularies ... in indirect and subtle ways'. A wealth of research has shown that different nation states are associated with different and often distinctive discourses on, for instance, education, socialization, political and institutional infrastructures and histories that give rise to specific identity opportunities (e.g. Hofstede, 1980; Whitley, 2007). The implications of this insight are of particular concern in the management of international joint ventures and multinational teams.

As previously observed, international cultural differences are readily apparent in conflicting UK and US understandings of what is meant by the phrase 'construction management'. More generally, in analysing construction management identities, emphasis has increasingly been placed on recognizing how basic assumptions, beliefs, values and behavioural norms vary across cultures (Phua and Rowlinson, 2004). For example, attention has focused on the distinct work implications of individualist and collectivist cultures (cf. Hui and Triandis, 1986; Earley, 1989), and in particular how collectivist societies are more prone to in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination, and are likely to foster construction industries with quite different structural and work relationships (Phua, 2004). Other studies have focused on specific national industry characteristics. It is, for instance, widely maintained that 'the culture of the UK construction industry is opportunistic, prone to conflict and resistant to change', features

which, it is argued, 'impede competitiveness and overall efficiency' (Rooke *et al.*, 2004, p. 655). Research has highlighted the importance of international cultural differences in construction projects which have become progressively multicultural, especially in those countries which depend on migrant workers (Santoso, 2009; Phua *et al.*, 2010). The problems of multicultural construction teams have also been analysed and found to be particularly prone to communication problems (Loosemore and Muslmani, 1999).

In summary, many topics germane to wider identity debates have an established place in the construction management literature. This is not to suggest that the sets of discursive resources we have focused on together combine to give a complete or holistic map of identity issues as they relate to construction management. Rather, what has generally been overlooked is how these aspects of construction management are interconnected as identity issues. A lack of understanding of this interconnectedness has led to streams of research being conducted largely independently, resulting in an unnecessarily fragmented literature. Recognition that issues of professionalism, competence, knowledge and tools, ethics, relationality and culture, among others, are relevant facets of construction managers' working lives and are tied intimately to questions of identity, may potentially have significant research implications. As these discourses have traditionally been investigated from a non-identity perspective, it is not yet clear how they are differentially drawn on, blended or ignored, or indeed which are most significant to construction managers themselves in their definitions of self. These are important issues for empirical investigation. Ultimately, such work could lead to a more coherent and unified agenda for research in which the connections, commonalities and resonances between (studies of) different elements of construction management are better appreciated through identity theorizing.

Discussion: towards an agenda for further research

In this discussion, it is not our intention to deliver a fully worked-out, prescriptive agenda for theory building and research. This we argue is neither desirable nor practical. Rather, we outline five main sets of identity issues that scholars in construction management might usefully explore. First, we consider other discursive resources (gender, authenticity and aspirations) that construction managers may draw on in their conceptions of self, but which the research community has largely ignored. This connects to our previous consideration of discursive resources, serving as a reminder that their exploration mirrors mainstream

management investigations of identity. Our attention then turns to other identity approaches, in particular a dramaturgical perspective, in order to make it clear that there are alternatives to our preferred discursive approach. The scope for making connections between the construction and mainstream management literatures is then briefly touched on. We then consider how an identity-led research agenda might be pursued methodologically, before offering some cautions and discuss limitations associated with the identity literature as we have sketched it. Finally, we provide brief conclusions.

Further discursive resources

What other discursive resources do construction managers draw on in their construction of self? Of the many possibilities, for example, most construction managers are men, and it may be that 'masculinity' or gender more broadly is salient for them. Studies indicate 'that men in organizations often seem preoccupied with maintaining a particular masculine identity (Craib, 1998; Hodgson, 2003)' (Collinson, 2003, p. 533). This is especially true in some male-dominated professions such as engineering, discourses tend often to exhibit an 'exceptionally dense masculine web of assumptions' (Miller, 2004, p. 70). Construction management is a stereotypically masculine field (Dainty et al., 2000; Agapiou, 2002; Miller, 2002; Loosemore and Galea, 2008) whose participants focus on a material, objectively definable world, venerate technique, apparatus and procedure, and emphasize dedication, technical ability and practical skill. Do they then subscribe to a view of their selves which reflects broader societal 'hyper rational' discourses which prescribe that managers should be logical, goal-oriented and unemotional? discursive explorations may also be made centred on race, religion and class. At a time when workforce diversity is an increasing phenomenon worldwide, it is important that, as scholars, we are better informed about the ways in which construction managers conceive their selves so that we can evaluate and perhaps predict and pre-empt the task-related problems identity concerns pose for practitioners, employers and researchers.

Authenticity

One set of questions centres on the extent to which construction managers devise secure conceptions of their selves (cf. Toor and Ofori, 2009). Much debate has been preoccupied with the possibility of achieving an 'authentic' identity, understood as qualities of originality and uniqueness, a state of being 'true to oneself',

and of being sincere, honest and genuine (e.g. Trilling, 1972; Guignon, 2004). As Costas and Fleming (2009, p. 365) have noted, 'people still significantly appreciate their working lives in terms of fake, false, real or authentic selves'. Indeed, their identity narratives may often incorporate antagonisms, doubts and uncertainties which symptomize frailties associated with liquid modernity (Bauman, 2007). Many of the recent empirical studies of identities in organizations suggest that they are characterized by 'self-doubt, self-pity, inconsistency, antagonism, alienation and self-depreciation' (Ybema et al., 2009, p. 312; cf. Collinson, 2003). Clarke et al. (2009, p. 341) argue that people may often incorporate 'antagonistic understandings into their narratives of self' and that these intra-identity conflicts may be uncomfortable. At a time when construction management is still an emerging discipline, do construction managers suffer doubts regarding their status? If so, how do these anxieties structure and inform their relationships with key actors such as clients and architects? These are significant theoretical and practical questions, answers to which would contribute to a more sophisticated understanding of what it means to be a construction manager, and a more informed appreciation of the individual-level causes of project success and failure.

Aspirational identities

What kinds of identities do construction managers aspire to? Research across the social sciences and humanities has long suggested that people work continuously on fashioning preferred versions of their selves (Cooley, 1902; Freud, 1914). In particular, social psychologists have investigated how individuals employ 'possible selves' (Markus and Nurius, 1986), 'potential selves' (Gergen, 1972) and 'provisional selves' (Ibarra, 1999) in their efforts to shape their ideal identities. Within organization and management studies Thornborrow and Brown (2009) have shown how members of the British Parachute Regiment aspire to a fairly standard narrative template which positions them as professional, elite and macho. Do construction managers generally aspire to an agreed identity or set of related identities, or is there large variation in the kinds of identities that they prefer to work on? More intriguingly, what identities do they fear and seek to avoid—constructions of their selves as amateur, dilettante and subordinate, perhaps? Addressing such questions will provide insights into the motivations for everyday practices of construction managers, and the difficulties they grapple with in the conduct of their work that may in turn lead to the generation of practical and educational solutions to task- and career-related issues.

Identity approaches

While we have concentrated on discursive approaches to understanding and researching identity, we recognize that there are other interpretive perspectives and methods that are also potentially generative. One of the most interesting of these is that which emphasizes the importance of individuals' face-to-face interactions, dramaturgy and performances of the self (e.g. Goffman, 1959; Down and Reveley, 2009). From this viewpoint, identity work involves not just verbal processes, but the 'ongoing cyclical interaction between narration and action' (Ezzy, 1998, p. 251). Of course, action may also involve speech, but it is a much broader category concerned with embodiment, choice of interactional partners, reactions, bodily gestures, and facial expression, etc. As Manning (2008, p. 680) asserts, a dramaturgical 'performance is a "seeable": something one sees, a behaviour, not a value, a belief, or an attitude'. Perhaps, as others have suggested, the most fruitful way forward for researchers is to combine narrational and interactionist theories of identity formation in order to investigate further the processual nature of managerial identity work (Down and Reveley, 2009). The important point here is that in investigating identity issues there is no need for researchers in construction management to be exclusive in their methods or approaches, and that the use of multiple perspectives is more likely to yield the rich insights that will most benefit the research community.

Making connections

While there has always been some dialogue between scholars in construction management and organization studies, these conversations have not always been vigorous or sustained. Could studies of identity help to inform the broader literatures within construction management and promote the development of a more integrated set of literatures? It has been suggested that identity 'can be linked to nearly everything' (Alvesson et al., 2008, p. 5). Both the construction and mainstream management literatures are preoccupied with performance and it would seem likely that identity is linked strongly with performance issues. This suggests a number of questions for research that may appeal to both communities: What implication does the identity work of construction managers pursuing treasured and avoiding feared identities have for their performance of key tasks? How do construction managers' conceptions of their selves influence, structure, support and undermine their working relationships with significant work others? Empirical research tackling these questions could then lead to the development of a broader theoretical understanding that transcends the construction

management discipline. Given the generally intricate and sometimes precarious nature of construction managers' work and roles researchers may find that they offer unique insights on agency-structure debates. Considerable debate has focused on the extent to which identities are ascribed to individuals or chosen by them and empirical research on the scope that construction managers have to be creative and to play with available discourses in their definition of self may yield further theoretical insight.

Researching identities

Given an understanding of subjectively construed identity as the set of stories about the self that an individual narrates to the self and to others, it makes most sense to investigate these using interpretive methods. Indepth case study, ethnographic and autoethnographic work focused on the kinds of issues we have highlighted may prove highly productive. Semi-structured interviews in which actors are encouraged to talk at length about who they are and who they wish to become are the dominant means for data collection by discursive sociologists and psychologists. Biographies and autobiographies are another useful source of identity data. There are multiple ways in which identity stories may be analysed. While most researchers prefer to scrutinize identity stories for key or common themes, there are some specific frameworks from literary theory (such as those developed by Burke (1945) and Greimas (1986) and some which have been specifically formulated to research identity (e.g. McAdams, 1996) that can aid analysis. In the end, however, it seems likely that construction management scholars will want to appropriate these techniques to deal adequately with their identity data based on the contexts in which they are researching.

We are aware that while the five identity issues do not constitute a holistic agenda for construction management research, they are important themes to be taken into account by researchers interested in pursuing identity studies. This said, like others who have noted 'the seductive appeal of identity' (Alvesson et al., 2008, p. 7), we also appreciate that 'identity' itself offers just one set of topical directions for scholars in construction management. Identity studies are a current vogue, and the high level of interest that they now garner from scholars may not continue indefinitely. 'Organizational culture' and 'business process reengineering' are just two of many enthusiasms that have temporarily been popular in the management and organization studies literatures; and while interest in them has not entirely waned, it is no longer so intense. For identity scholarship to become and remain deeply embedded in ongoing debates there is a pressing need

for joined-up conversations in order to integrate and harmonize currently often disconnected work.

Conclusions

By design, we have raised more questions than we have managed to answer. We appreciate that as a result our paper may be deemed frustrating and disjointed. To an extent, this mirrors the still-evolving and fractured nature of the general organization and management studies of the identity literature. Yet, despite the inherent weaknesses of our inchoate synthesis, 'identity' focused research may, we maintain, play an important role in developing the theory base of the construction management literature. It could also be a useful organizing concept for empirical researchers interested in practices of construction management. The bottom line here is that what construction managers do is grounded in their conceptions of self, and by analysing their identities we can broaden and deepen our understanding of project processes and outcomes. Further, rather than treat or assume construction managers as a unified and largely homogeneous category, an identity perspective invites recognition that construction managers are, most likely, a heterogeneous bunch with diverse views, beliefs and practices.

Ours is a plea for interpretively inclined researchers in this field to embrace 'identity' as a means for understanding multi-layered, nuanced, unfolding and dynamic relationships between self, work and organization. Like Alvesson et al. (2008, p. 17) we suggest that scholars should study identity in order to provide solutions to research problems, to further our understanding of individual, group and organizational experiences, and to appreciate issues linked to cultural and political irrationalities. 'Identity' studies, we hope, will be not just a frame for exploring and understanding processes of organizing and organizational lives, nor merely a means of stimulating innovative and productive research, but a continuing point of contact that links the specialist construction management field to broader debates in organizational and social sciences.

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