

**And who gets the job?
Narratives, dialogical perspectives and
practices
on implementing positive discrimination in
financial institutions**

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Doctor of Philosophy

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July 2015

Declaration

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Let the beauty of what you love be what you do

Rumi

To my family

ABSTRACT

The high unemployment rate amongst nationals in United Arab Emirates (UAE) has generated the development of the '*Emiratisation policy*', a drive to nationalise the UAE workforce. This quota-based mandate is considered a 'positive discrimination' policy since ethnicity markers are applied. The process of '*Emiratization*' has generated a heated public debate as organisations attempt to develop best practices across industries. This research explores the process of implementing Emiratization in two financial organizations in the UAE.

The extant literature on implementing positive discrimination policies is however very limited, with an individualistic, quantitative and experimental focus. When a more social and organizational approach has been taken, it has been to look into stereotyping and similarity-attraction paradigms to explain work-related outcomes. Such research takes the policy as a given, concerned with its output and rarely considers the process through which the policy is understood, co-constructed and implemented over time and its impact on working practices. A more practice-based perspective is therefore required to explore the working practices and the practical and 'hidden' knowledge that supports them to better understand policy implementation processes. This research aims to address this gap by exploring the common practical (mis)understandings on Emiratisation developed over time among different stakeholders -employees of two financial organizations in the UAE as well as public actors- and their impact on the 'mediated array of human activity centrally organised around [them]' (Schatzki, 2001:2).

The research was designed as a longitudinal qualitative study conducted over a period of three years. The data corpus consists of 54 in-depth interviews, more than 30 hours of observations, 2 Emiratisation conferences, 4 consultancy reports, 6 annual reports and online resources.

The thematic, narrative and dialogical analysis of the data corpus illustrates the ongoing interaction between public narratives, intersubjective (mis)understandings between national and non-national employees and organizational working practices when implementing the policy. In public narratives, Emiratisation is portrayed both as an employment opportunity as well as a strategy to replace expatriates. This tension and the (mis) understandings it generates is reproduced at organisational and intersubjective levels and informs the development of distinct working practices in both organizations.

The study provides new insights into the process of implementing positive discrimination policies in organizations through the practice lens, highlighting the emergent nature of policy implementation, grounding it in everyday knowledge and action. It also offers a rare opportunity to capture *in situ* how Emiratisation 'becomes' a practice.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to all my friends, family and colleagues who supported me through my journey and contributed to this study.

In particular, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Lucia Garcia-Lorenzo for believing in me and offering me the opportunity to study under her supervision. Her outstanding guidance, patience, and ongoing mentorship provided both intellectual stimulation and a nurturing working environment.

I would also like to thank my advisor Professor Saadi Lahlou for his continual support and invaluable insights.

Special thanks to all my colleagues at the Institute of Social Psychology and the alumni for their true friendships. This would have been a lonely journey without you.

Without the support and encouragement of my family, this thesis would not have been possible. My deepest gratitude goes to my parents, who understood and worked around my availability for the past four years to make this happen.

Finally, a big “thank you” to my husband, without his support and encouragement, I would not have been here today.

And, to my participants, without you, there would not have been a project.

CHAPTER 1

1.0. INTRODUCTION

“Developing our country depends primarily on enhancing the capabilities of our nationals”

H.H. Sheikh Khalifa Bin Zayed Al Nahyan, President of the United Arab Emirates and Ruler of Abu Dhabi

The unemployment crisis amongst nationals in United Arab Emirates (UAE) has given rise to the development of the nationalisation workforce policy of *Emiratisation*. With an unemployment rate of 13% amongst nationals, where Emiratis constitute only 11% (900,000) of the country's total population (World Bank, 2012), this quota-based mandate is being implemented in various sectors.

The importance of Emiratisation, an enforced quota-based mandate, becomes clearer when we realize the issue of “Paradox of plenty” in UAE (Aon Hewitt, 2012; Jones and Punshi, 2013). The public sector employs 495,000 Emiratis and is increasingly saturated, whereas the private sector only employs 43,000 Emiratis despite 2.2 Million job openings (TCO, 2012). Moreover, 210,000 Emiratis are anticipated to join the workforce by 2019 (ibid). As Jones and Punshi underline, the aim should be how to ‘unlock’ the paradox of plenty. The GCC is gifted with the world's largest energy reserves and growing educated millennia that can play a significant role in shaping the future of UAE. Jones and Punshi (2013, p.1) address this in the introduction of their book: “The crucial question is: how this enormous potential maybe unlocked and channelled in the right direction. Failure to do so will squander one of the greatest demographic opportunities in recent times. This is essentially the ‘paradox of plenty’”.

Furthermore, in pursue of a long-term vision that entails joining the global scene, UAE is facing the challenges globalisation involves. Giddens (1999) addresses these processes as functioning in ‘opposition fashion’; not only pulling upwards but also pushing downwards while ‘creating new pressures for local autonomy’ and a reason for local nationalism. Hence, the Emiratisation initiative has been in accordance with the country's long-term vision. The mandate aims “to achieve full sustainable employment for every Emirati job seeker” (ADTC, 2010). With unemployment crisis amongst nationals, the policy has also been referred to as “a strategy that aims [...] to transfer

skills and knowledge from expatriates to UAE nationals.” (Kuntze & Hormann, 2006). Therefore, training and development of nationals, with the involvement of non-nationals, is the main focus of the policy.

Emiratisation is perceived as a public policy, a course of action in accordance to a specific declared and respected policy, and is more than just a decision since it often comprises either sets of decisions or possibly an orientation (Hill, 2013). And as such encompasses the indication of rational action only if considering that some ‘principle’ is involved- i.e. reducing the rate of unemployment amongst nationals which is the core principle of Emiratisation policy. More specifically, it is a ‘positive discrimination’ policy that uses ethnicity markers to facilitate national employment. However, as chapter 2 will outline, traditional positive discrimination and affirmative action research apply de-contextualized and often individualised understandings of policies through lab-based or survey-based designs to measure the effectiveness of the policy, its impact on various work attitudes and behaviours, and the consequences of its ban. A particular focus needs to be paid to both the context and the psychological implications of the policy for organizational actors. As we will see, some social psychological concepts and theories, such as social identity theory, stereotyping and similarity-attraction paradigm have been applied to assist in explaining the work-related outcomes of perceived dissimilarity to others in an organisation. However, even such attempts often fail to consider the wider contextual factors, and once again provide a dehumanised and stereotyped account of minorities who are the end users of the policies. They overlook the socially constructed understandings of the policy, and activities in the everyday practices of all stakeholders and how they engage and interact in organisations and public sphere. Hence, they take the policy as a given, focusing simply on the outputs of its implementation, hardly taking into account the process through which the policy is understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in organisations and how it impacts the cultural and working practices of those involved.

Therefore, I address this gap through a practice lens and by bringing forward the importance of context, adopting a cultural psychological standpoint to implementation practices, emphasising meaning, “meaning-making” and meaning-using processes, which should be contextualised within the social and cultural environment to be understood (Bruner, 1990:xiii, Haste, 2012). A practice approach is therefore needed to

study the working practices and the practical and hidden knowledge that support them in order to better comprehend policy implementation process. This research will explore the ‘how’ and the black box of Emiratisation implementation by grounding the policy in “real world”- in concrete human activities in context as its core material (Howarth et al., 2013). Such a pragmatic approach (Cornish & Gillespie, 2009) investigates what happens at the point of implementation and explores the micro-dynamics of organisational change and development as a result of Emiratisation by looking at not only what people say, but also what people do- which comprise cultural and working practices. After all, at the core of all practice theories, practices are perceived as “embodied, materially mediated array of human activity, centrally organised around shared practical understanding” (Schatzki, 2001, p.2). Practices address the ‘how’ of human activity, and as Schutz (1967) argues they cannot be comprehended outside their intersubjectively created meaning and motives. And, “all practices and the tools we use to make sense of experiences are intersubjectively constructed” (Bjorkeng, 2009, p.146).

Therefore to study everyday knowledge and activity, this study looks into the narratives of governmental representatives and key actors in the public sphere and also the narratives and intersubjective exchanges of actors (both nationals and non-nationals) at different levels in the two organisations under study. Furthermore, Emiratisation practices at the two concrete organisations are explored. This illustrates how common practical (mis)understandings on Emiratisation are developed over time amongst various stakeholders and their impact on the ‘mediated array of human activity centrally organised around [them]’ (Schatzki, 2001:2).

The study therefore offers a novel insight into the process of implementing positive discrimination policies in organisations by applying practice theory. It does so by underlining the emergent nature of policy implementation, exploring it in everyday knowledge and action. Furthermore, it offers a rare opportunity to capture *in situ* how Emiratisation ‘becomes’ a practice. It makes an empirical contribution to the current emerging debate on human resource nationalisation in the region through a longitudinal study and practice lens to illustrate how Emiratisation is understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in various contexts.

1.1. United Arab Emirates & Emiratisation

1.1.1. United Arab Emirates

1.1.1.1. Socio-economic, historical & cultural Background

United Arab Emirates (UAE) is located on the southern coast of the Persian Gulf, consisting of seven Emirates, governed by different ruling families. During the history of UAE, access to resources and external political and economic forces, such as the British influence and the discovery of oil shaped the action of its rulers and the future of each of its seven Emirates (Rugh, 2007). During the impending withdrawal of the British military in 1968-1971, through the leadership of H.H. Sheikh Zayed (the ruler of Abu Dhabi), a political alliance was established between the Gulf States (Heard-Bey, 2005). In July 1971, after the withdrawal of the British from the Gulf, the seven Emirates of Dubai, Abu Dhabi, Sharja, Ajman, Ras al Khaimia, Um al-Quwain, and Fujairah, were united to form the United Arab Emirates.¹ Sheikh Zayed was voted as the first president of UAE and was re-elected in UAE each 5 years until 2004. The anniversary of UAE federation is celebrated around the world every year, including in the city of London.

UAE covers 32,300 square miles, with a population of approximately 9 million². UAE infrastructure was built after the discovery of oil and through the influx of an expatriate workforce, and is still primarily maintained by the non-national population. This apparent demographic imbalance, where the nationals constitute only 11% of the population while experiencing a 13% unemployment rate (World Bank, 2012) has had consequence. Emiratis have suffered from a high rate of unemployment as historically they had not been equipped to compete with the experienced non-national candidates and have been heavily dependent on an expatriate workforce. In 2010, TANMIA (The national HR development & employment authority)³ reported that expats constituted 99% of the workforce in the private sector, while nationals occupied 91% of jobs in the public sector. TANMIA has continually reported the unemployment crisis amongst locals due to the influx of expatriate labour.

¹ Bahrain and Qatar were initially to join the federation, but decided to stay independent.

² <http://www.statista.com/statistics/297140/uae-total-population/>

³ <https://www.tanmia.ae/english/Pages/default.aspx>

UAE continues to depend heavily on an immigrant workforce to maintain its projects and economic development. The closest break down of UAE's population by nationality could have been obtained through embassies in UAE, a research conducted by bq-doha (bqdoha, April 2015)⁴. According to this research, besides Western workers and those from other Arab nations, the majority of whom are professional-class expatriates, nationals of South Asian countries, including India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka make up 55% of Emirate's total population, and primarily hold working class jobs. Although the Gulf nations of Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, Bahrain, Kuwait and UAE all have a high percentage of expatriate managers and workers (Markaz, 2012), UAE is one of the most multicultural nations globally (Bealer and Bhanugopan, 2014; Elamin, 2011). Those residing and working in UAE for the majority of their lives are still referred to as a 'migrant worker' or 'expatriate' as obtaining citizenship is often not a possibility. It is beyond the scope of this research to review the laws and regulations of citizenship in UAE; however, minor changes have been made in 2011, which permits children of expatriate fathers and Emirati mothers to obtain UAE citizenship when reaching the age of majority.⁵

1.1.1.2. Understanding UAE Culture

As discussed, UAE infrastructure was built after the discovery of oil and through the influx of expatriate workforce, and is still primarily maintained by the non-national population. This apparent demographic imbalance, where the nationals constitute only 11% of the population has had a twofold consequence. First, the Emiratis have suffered from a high rate of unemployment as historically they had not been equipped to compete with the experienced non-national candidates. And, their collective culture has rather encouraged family dependence and family ventures as opposed to corporate ones. We will see the impact of this collective culture in the working practices of organisations as Emiratis enter the workforce. Furthermore, work in certain fields and positions (e.g. the labour intensive, service industry) are tabooed in Emirati culture. However, this study will illustrate that the cultural constraints and perceptions of an

⁴ For an overview of UAE population by nationality see: <http://www.bqdoha.com/2015/04/uae-population-by-nationality>

⁵ Wafa Issa, 'Children of Emirati Mothers, Expatriate Fathers Offered Citizenship', National, 30 November 2011. Available at <http://www.thenational.ae/news/uae-news/children-of-emirati-mothers-expatriate-fathers-offered-citizenship> (accessed 20 June 2015).

acceptable job are slowly evolving. Finally, religion is embedded in the everyday lives of Emiratis.

1.1.1.3. UAE Economy & Future ‘VISION’

UAE enjoys an open economy with a GDP of \$606bn and a substantial annual trade surplus (CIA, 2015)⁶. Due to the fruitful efforts to diversify the economy, the country has managed to lower the portion of GDP based on oil and gas output to 25% by investing on job creation and infrastructure, which has encouraged higher private sector involvement and foreign investment (ibid).

To provide a wider context of UAE, this section aims to summarise how the government perceives the future of the nation and its aspirations. As the research has been conducted in the city of Abu Dhabi and this Emirate is the federal capital of the nation, Abu-Dhabi 2030 Economic vision, which shapes the decisions and practices of this Emirate, will be outlined in the first section. Dubai’s similar initiatives will also be briefly summarized.

- ***Abu Dhabi 2030 Economic Vision***

Mandated by the crown prince of Abu Dhabi and introduced in November 2008, this is a comprehensive long-term socio-economic vision that guides the evolution of one of the most influential states in the region. The government has classified 9 pillars which will shape the architecture of its social, political and economic future: 1) A large empowered public sector; 2) A sustainable knowledge-based economy; 3) An optimal, transparent regulatory environment; 4) A continuation of strong and diverse international relationship; 5) The optimisation of the Emirates resources; 6) Premium education, health care and infrastructure assets; 7) Complete international and domestic security; 8) Maintaining Abu Dhabi’s values, culture and heritage; 9) A significant and on-going contribution to the federation of the UAE⁷

⁶ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ae.html>

⁷ The Abu Dhabi economic vision 2030, executive summary mandate developed by General Secretaries of the Executive Council, Department of Planning & Economy, Abu Dhabi Council for Economic Development. Available on the website of Department of Economic Development: <http://dpeportal.aedeconomy.ae>. Accessed on 05/04/2014

Thus, the public policy has been developed to support the vision, focusing on four main priority areas: 1) Economic development 2) Social and human resource development 3) Infrastructure development and environmental sustainability 4) Optimisation of government operations. Hence, a key aim of the policy is to encourage full employment among Emiratis and upgrade the education system to provide the opportunity for the emerging generation to add value to the future of the nation and play a key role in the knowledge economy. The vision will be split into five-year programmes.

In developing the 2030 Economic Vision, three countries: Norway, Ireland and New Zealand were used as benchmark for their effective economic development models. Norway has been used as a standard for its comparable oil outputs to Abu Dhabi, Ireland as it has developed a successful diversified knowledge-based economy, and New Zealand for its large export base. According to the 2030 Economic Vision, Abu Dhabi's goal is to judge the success of its performance against the 'experience of flourishing transformation economies' of these nations and 'to import best practices from around the world and apply them within the local context.'

- ***Dubai Plan 2021***⁸

The Dubai 2021 framework pictures the future of the city via 'holistic' and complementary views, beginning with the people and the society as the bedrock of Dubai. The perspectives for the city have been categorised into 6 themes: 1) The people: A city of happy, creative and empowered people, 2) The society: An inclusive and cohesive society, 3) The experience: The preferred place to live, work and visit, 4) the place: A smart and sustainable city, 5) The economy: A pivotal hub in the global economy, 6) The government: a pioneering and excellent government (Dubai plan 2021 booklet, p. 7). Theme key performance indicators have been identified, one of which is the participation rate among Emiratis in the labour market. As part of having a 'city of happy, creative & empowered people', the plan aims for its people to be the 'cornerstone' for city's development across all fields: "Emirati men and women playing an important role in the development of Dubai and filling critical roles across various sectors including social, economic, and urban" (Dubai plan 2021, The Executive Council).

⁸ See for the booklet: http://www.dubaipplan2021.ae/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/DP2021_Booklet_AE.pdf

Therefore, it is evident that one of the key elements of the future visions of governments of Abu Dhabi and Dubai is for the nationals to be active participants in UAE's labour market and hence emphasises the importance of *Emiratisation*.

The urgency of a mandate is highlighted when speaking of the "Paradox of plenty" in UAE (Aon Hewitt, 2012; Jones and Punshi, 2013). As discussed, the public sector employs 495,000 Emiratis and is gradually saturated, while the private sector only employs 43,000 Emiratis in spite of 2.2 Million job openings (TCO, 2012). Furthermore, it is expected that 210,000 Emiratis will be joining the workforce by 2019 (ibid).

1.1.2. Emiratisation

Initiated informally in the late 1990s, the policy was a mandate by the ruler of UAE. To facilitate implementation of the policy, in 2000, The National Human Resource Development and Employment Authority (TANMIA) was established in the Emirate of Dubai under the supervision of the ministry of labour and the federal government. The task of TANMIA was in accordance with the governmental attempt to achieve full employment of the national workforce. TANMIA (2010)⁹ defines Emiratisation as:

At the macro level it is the total integration of UAE national workforce in the UAE labour market in support of the growth and development of the UAE economy. At the organisational level, it is defined as the integration of policies and processes for attracting, recruitment, retention and development of UAE national workforce within an organisation leading to continuous growth and development of the organisation.

However, the Emirate of Abu Dhabi established the Abu Dhabi Tawteen (national) Council (ADTC) in 2005, in order to support Emirati employment in Abu Dhabi and its surrounding Emirates. The vision of ADTC has been to "achieve full sustainable employment for every Emirati job seeker" (Tawteen Council)¹⁰. The agency aims to do this by working with employers, especially in the private sector where there is low

⁹ <https://www.tanmia.ae/english/Pages/default.aspx>

¹⁰ www.tawteencouncil.ae.

percentage of Emiratis, to assure job opportunities are created for nationals across all functional levels. ADTC also advises the government of Abu Dhabi on policies and mechanisms to enhance Emiratisation.

In the meantime, TANMIA remains responsible for the Emiratis of Dubai and Sharjah. Besides TANMIA and ADTC, different federally sponsored organisations, non-profit organisations, and consultancy firms have been established across the nation to assist the government in various ways to address the unemployment matter. Key government representatives and actors and their activities will be discussed in depth in public discourses in chapter 5. This study will illustrate how Emiratisation is understood and its meaning is co-constructed.

Scholarly literature describes Emiratisation as having three core tenets (Forestenlecher, 2012, p. 409): 1) the long-term objective to diversify the economy, away from dependency on the capital-intensive hydrocarbons sector (Rutledge, 2009; Davidson, 2009b); 2) to revamp educational systems and carefully match what is taught with what is demanded in the market (Bains, 2009; EIU, 2009; Davidson, 2009a); 3) to implement a series of ‘direct labour market intervention measures’, including the quota based system and the allocation of specific jobs to be filled only by Emiratis.

As this study will illustrate, Emiratisation as a rule is practiced in various contexts. Although a quota-based mandate, in *Emiratising*, organisations are faced with infinite applications, as rules do not entail the rules of their own application (Wittgenstein, 1967: §219). What they commonly face is compliance with specificity of the policy in terms of percentage of nationals they bring on board. In implementing the policy, the government of UAE has enforced a quota based system through the ministry of labour and social affairs.

The banking and insurance sector have been under the spot light, where strict resolutions have been issued (see Appendices 2 and 3 for copies of resolutions). Accordingly, “Banks operating in the UAE shall undertake to employ nationals at an annual rate of 4%, pursuant to the Council of Ministers’ resolution”. Furthermore, banks must provide the local authorities (Tanmia) with updated data on their status of employment and details of newcomers’ recruitment records. The mandate explicitly specifies that the ministry of labour will suspend dealing with banks that have failed to

comply with the quota. Similarly, Ministerial resolution on the quota system for the insurance sector dictates that “firms engaged in insurance activities shall undertake to employ Nationals at an annual rate of 5%”. And, just as the banking system, ministry will suspend dealing with firms in insurance that have failed to comply with this quota. Moreover, according to the interviews, insurance companies must achieve a national rate of 14% by 2015. All other commercial entities with more than 50 employees must hire nationals at an annual rate of 2% (Kerr & Andrew, 2009).

Furthermore, to join forces and create new initiatives, 2013 was announced as the year of Emiratisation. Vice-President and Prime Minister of UAE announced that “the year 2013 will be a year of creating jobs for UAE nationals. This will be national priority for which all efforts must unite”¹¹ (H.H. Shaikh Mohammad Al Maktoum).

In order to encourage policy implementation, various Emiratisation awards have been introduced. Such awards also serve organisations as a way of illustrating to the government not only their commitment to the policy, but also attracting newcomers. Organisations are nominated for a range of awards after their commitment and process of implementation in terms of following what are known as ‘best practice’ across industries has been reviewed. Emiratisation awards have been ranked in terms of their ‘prestige’ by the federal and local authorities. Awards as a tool for organisations to become ‘employer of choice’ will be further explored in the public discourse in chapter 5. Moreover, Emiratisation summits and congresses serve as the most sought after platforms for sharing ‘best practices’ amongst industry leaders and government representatives, who aim to identify and disseminate such practices across various sectors.

Indeed conferences and summits on workforce nationalisation in the gulf region illustrates that they aim to identify ‘best practices’ across the countries in the region, overlooking the contextual differences. What these countries share is the demographic imbalance and their reliance on migrant workers to run the economy (Harry, 2007). For instance, practices in Saudi Arabia, which faces the paradox of high wealth and high unemployment amongst its nationals are demonstrated in the public discourse, which will be discussed in chapter 5. For instance, *Nitaqat*, the kingdom’s programme for

¹¹ <http://www.khaleejtimes.com/article/20121127/ARTICLE/311279843/1002>

measuring nationalisation was studied by Hay Group consultancy group and results of the research were presented as implementation 'know-how' in the Emiratisation congress of 2012 in Dubai. The Nitaqat programme is a 'radical' solution (Haygroup, 2012) to assess compliance and emphasise Saudisation by categorising private organisations into red, yellow, green and silver (exceptional) bands, based on their Saudisation rate. Organisations identified as belonging into the red and yellow categories suffer from punitive measures, such as getting banned from issuing new visas to expatriates (ibid).

1.1.2.1. Emiratisation in Literature

Although there has been increasing interest in workforce nationalisation policies in the Middle East in recent years, scholarly literature is relatively limited. As governments in the region attempt to tackle the unemployment crisis, literature often overlooks the uniqueness of each country and its contextual challenges. Some of the key themes in the studies of nationalisation and Emiratisation have been the commitment of organisations to the policy (Rees et al. 2007), employability of Dubai's nationals (Al-Ali, 2008), questioning the sustainability of the policy (Randeree, 2009), stereotyping of UAE locals (Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi, 2010), Emirati work attitude (Alserhan and Forstenlechner, 2010), exploring the objectives of multinational enterprises (MNEs) in taking on nationals (Forstenlechner and Mellahi, 2011), policy through a marketing lens (Alserhan, 2013) and the role of policy design (Al-Waqfi and Fostenlechner, 2014).

However, similar to studies on implementing positive discrimination policies, literature on Emiratisation as well takes the policy as given, and hardly considers the process through which Emiratisation is understood, co-constructed and implemented over time and its impact on working practices of those involved.

Therefore, by adopting a practice-based perspective, this longitudinal study on the phenomena of Emiratisation, answers specifically the following questions:

- *How do organisations roll out external policies that have an impact on those whom they must employ?*

And, with the following sub-question(s):

- *How is Emiratisation policy understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in various contexts?*
- *What are the working practices involved in implementing the policy?*
- *How do organisations construct best practices in the context of rolling out external policies?*

This thesis is organised as follows: the first theoretical chapter (2) will explore extant research on policy implementation and positive discrimination policies. While a need for a practice lens and the contribution of cultural psychology and importance of context will be outlined in chapter 3. As discussed earlier, in this study, I analyse not only the practices of organizational members at various levels (both nationals and expatriates), but also the narratives of representatives of the government and those key actors in the public sphere. In doing so, I bridge the macro and the micro (Nicolini, 2009a, 2012), investigating from the social to organizational narratives and practices and to the individual intersubjective (mis)understandings. Accordingly, the empirical chapters are organized as follows, corresponding to the research questions:

- Chapter 5 looks at the analysis of public discourses in order to understand the social and cultural context in which the policy and practice of Emiratisation is being developed. The chapter focuses on what is the cultural understanding of the policy amongst government representatives, HR community, and all other stakeholders in UAE. The chapter first explores shared meanings of the policy amongst stakeholders. Key challenges in implementing the policy are further outlined. Finally, Emiratisation practices commonly referred to as ‘best practices’ in the public sphere are studied.
- Chapter 6 explores organizational discourses (narratives and intersubjective exchanges) to better understand organizational context and explore whether or not public discourses are reproduced at the organizational level. Through a dialogical analysis, the chapter looks into nationals’ and non-nationals’ perspectives on the policy and the variety of relations between such perspectives to underline the existing (dis)agreements, (mis)understandings or tension on those narratives.
- Chapter 7 illustrates how all the narratives and intersubjective (mis)understandings are enacted through practices -as we defined practices through common shared practical understanding organized around activities (Schatzki, 2001). Through thematic analysis and informed by the participant observation, the chapter

illustrates what the practice of Emiratisation involves as the practitioners understand it and tell it.

CHAPTER 2

2.0. Theoretical Framework: On Policy

“When we act to implement a policy, we change it” (Majone & Wildavsky, 1984:177)¹²

This thesis looks into the implementation of *Emiratisation*- a positive discrimination policy for local workforce, in two organisations in UAE. As discussed in the introduction, the unemployment crisis amongst nationals in the country has generated such quota-based mandate in various sectors, in an attempt to nationalise the UAE workforce. In order to better understand Emiratisation, the policy itself, the process of implementation, and where implementation is situated within the policy process, it is necessary to review some of the key notions in policy literature. Therefore, I begin this chapter with an introduction to the policy concept, the policy process, and a brief outline of the impetus of implementation studies and its progress to date. This then leads to the last section of the chapter which highlights some of the core viewpoints and arguments on the roll out of positive discrimination policies in organisations.

In this chapter therefore I shed light on the various undertakings by policy scholars and will underline the need for a cultural and contextual psychology and a practice point of view to understand the implementation of the policy at the micro-level.

2.1. What is policy? How does it develop?

As ‘policy’ is a key notion in this study, this theoretical chapter begins with a brief overview of the definition of this term in the literature of *public* policy. Public policy domain and the process of policy development conclude the first section of this chapter.

2.1.1. Policy

Matland (1995) defines policy as ‘the programmatic activities formulated in response to an authoritative decision’ (p. 154). Therefore, according to this definition, Emiratisation policy is constituted of the set of activities put together by the actors involved, as a result of a quota-based mandate by the federal government.

¹² See McLaughlin, 1987: 173-174

In an attempt to articulate a definition of policy, Michael Hill (2013) reviews some of the existing definitions, and concludes that it is rather challenging to treat policy as a precise and real phenomenon. Referring to the Chamber's dictionary definition of the policy as a course of action in line with an explicit declared and respected principle, he concludes that policy is much more than only a decision, as it frequently consists of either sets of decisions or possibly an orientation. He further explains that policy includes the indication of rational action only if considering that some 'principle' is involved, such as his example of poverty related policies. And as such, I will demonstrate how in various contexts, different understandings of Emiratisation policy's principle lead to various sets of activities.

There are numerous definitions of policy, some of which are summarised in the table below:

Table 1: Definitions of policy adopted from Hill (2013)

Helco (1972:85)	'a policy may usefully be considered as a course of action or inaction rather than specific decisions or actions'
Easton (1953:130)	'a policy... consists of a web of decisions and actions that allocate... values'
Jenkins (1978:15)	'A set of interrelated decisions... concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specific situation...'
Smiths (1976:13)	'the concept of policy denotes... deliberate choice of action or inaction, rather than the effects of interrelating forces [...] attention should not focus exclusively on decisions which produce change, but must also be sensitive to those which resist change and are difficult to observe because they are no represented in the policy-making process by legislative enactment'

These definitions are derived from the literature of *public* policy, which is informing this chapter. Therefore, following an overview of 'policy', it is useful to briefly discuss in the next section what the term 'public' policy implies.

2.1.2. Public Policy

Emiratisation has been referred to as a public policy by many scholars (Modarress et al 2013; Alserhan 2013). Moreover, the federal government of UAE and Abu Dhabi Emiratisation Council discuss this initiative as a public policy¹³. The Dubai economic council (DEC) has also recently announced that Emiratisation as a public policy is the number one priority in its 2014/2015 agenda, while emphasising greater need for public and private sector partnership with regards to this public policy, in order to boost Emiratisation in private organisations¹⁴ (H.E. Hani Al Hamli, Secretary General of the DEC, 2014). Therefore, it is helpful to explore what public policy is and who the stakeholders are in the policy process, as I will illustrate in this study how they collectively contribute to the architecture of policy.

The common understanding of public policy in scholarly literature is “a course of action (or non-action) taken by a government of legislature with regard to a particular issue” (Knill & Tosun, 2012, p.4). Although a general definition; however, it underlines the two following components. First, while public policies denote actions of public actors (usually governments), societal actors as well are contributors. Second, governmental actions are dedicated to a particular issue, meaning their range of activities is limited to aiming at an explicit feature or problem, for instance environmental issues, improving national health services, youth education (ibid). In this study, recruitment and development of the national workforce is the issue in hand. To address this, explicit governmental agencies both at federal and regional level (such as the Abu Dhabi nationalisation council) discussed in the introduction of the thesis are involved. Moreover, numerous societal and organisational actors play a role. Through a macro and micro exploration, in the following results and analysis chapters, I will highlight who the key actors in the context of Emiratisation roll out are, what their role is, and how they are impacted by Emiratisation and in turn are shaping the policy and will demonstrate the multi-actor nature of the policy.

In a more in-depth discussion of those other than the government being involved with the public policy, Hill (2013) brings into the picture not only individuals and organisations which adopt public policies, but also private organisations that have been

¹³ see www.abudhabi.ae/portal/public/en/citizens/benefits_for_nationals

¹⁴ see www.dec.org.ae/events/details

delegated by the government to carry out public services, and finally supra-state institutions that function as superordinate states. Therefore, the actors in the public policy domain are no longer confined in the *state* (national, regional, local), which is ‘a set of institutions with superordinate power over a specific territory’ (Hill, 2013, P19). Once again, this assists in understanding who the actors are in the Emiratisation picture. Not only the national state, the government of UAE plays a role, but also there are regional agencies established in each of the seven Emirates that constitute the United Arab Emirates. Moreover, besides organisational implementers, there are numerous private consultancy organisations that have been commissioned by the state (both at national and regional levels) to investigate various components of Emiratisation and offer recommendations. Social and cultural understandings of the policy and practices of all these actors will be explored in the following chapters. Furthermore, Hill’s description above brings to mind the role of a possible super-ordinate state, which in this research study can refer to institutions that govern the regional affairs, such as the Arab League¹⁵ and OPEC¹⁶ (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries), with direct interest and influence on the socio-economic well-being of the gulf region. Although studying the impact of such supra-ordinate states is beyond the scope of this research.

Therefore, with the increasing number of actors outside and within the nation state, Richards and Smith (2002) underline the importance of moving away from ‘government’ to ‘governance’ in contemporary literature on policy. They urge that attention must be given to “all the actors and locations beyond the ‘core executive’ involved in the policy making process”. (Richards and Smith 2002, p.2 cited in Hill, 2013, p.20). Hence, this in this study I highlight that Emiratisation implementation transcends beyond the activities at the state and regional levels and take the stance that the public policy process is not merely about policies carried out and/or enforced by governments.

As this research explores what happens at the point of implementing Emiratisation, the following section outlines what the policy *process* is, in order to set the scene to situate implementation in this process.

¹⁵ see www.arableagueonline.org

¹⁶ see www.opec.org

2.1.3. Policy Process

In his recent book, “The Public Policy Process”, Michael Hill (2013) states that engagement in any prescriptive (as opposed to ‘descriptive’) method of policy analysis indicates a process perspective of policy and that the researcher’s activity will be associated with one of the policy process stages. For instance, studying implementation and providing guidance and recommendation on how to steer it indicates a process perspective of policy (ibid). The author compares the policy process to taking a journey as the traveller would decide where they intend to go, plan the ideal way to get there, take the journey and possibly at the end reflect on the process for upcoming journeys. Questioning such a planned and linear perspective that undermines the significance of situated activities; I highlight the importance of context and take a cultural psychological and practice approach to investigate the contextual understandings and activities of stakeholders that shape implementation practices and hence the policy. As Taylor states, “the map gives only half of the story; to make it decisive is to distort the whole process” (1993:58).

The *policy process* has been defined as ‘the study of change and development of policy and the related actors, events, and contexts’ (Weible et al., 2012, p.3). The policy process signifies a heuristic for policy research and has often been theorised as comprising of seven key steps (DeGroff & Cargo, 2009, p. 48-49; Brewer, 1974; Jenkins, 1978; Laswell, 1956): 1) setting the agenda, 2) defining the problem, 3) formulating the policy, 4) policy decision, 5) policy implementation, 6) policy evaluation, and 7) maintenance, succession or terminations.

There are various ways of looking at the processes or stages of policy. Furthermore, a coherent set of terminologies does not exist in this field. For instance, Durlak and Dupre (2009, p.327) illustrate this by referring to social scientist’s effective intervention programs for public health as encompassing the following phases of program ‘diffusion’: (1) *dissemination*: how well informed the community is of the presence and benefit of the program offered to them; (2) *adoption*: will the local organisation or individuals agree to adopt this program; (3) *implementation*: the quality of program roll out in the trial period; (4) *sustainability*: if the program be retained in the long run.

The above highlights only one of the approaches to process. Researchers of policy process have outlined several forms of processes. The process lenses and research traditions have been summarised as follows (Weible et al., 2012, p.3-4). First, those as explained above, who adopt a policy cycle view and explain the process as a series of stages, including agenda setting, policy formulation, policy adoption, implementation, evaluation, and termination (Lasswell 1948, 1956; Brewer 1974; Brewer and deLeon 1983; deLeon 1999). Second, further policy theories and frameworks which emphasis solely on specific stages of the process, such as Mazmanian and Sabatier's implantation framework (1981) that focuses only on one stage. Third, there are also policy researchers (such as Walker 1969; Berry and Berry 1990, 2007) who explore adaptation or rejection of multiple policies, such as looking into how multiple policies are reflected on in various contexts (for example organisations, sub-governments, governments). Finally, some theories and frameworks induce processes rather from the viewpoints of the actions of human agents and their objective achievement in developing policies and institutions. An example of such tradition is the institutional analysis and development (IAD) framework and its common pool resource theory by Ostrom (1990, 2005), which focuses on how policy actors take part in adaptive decision making and constant and gradual modification of institutions or rules. However, the framework considers only the 'immediate context' (Howarth et al., 2013), including biophysical environment, socioeconomic conditions and institutional arrangements (Ostrom 1990, 2005) but overlooks the 'situation transcending phenomenon' such as culture, representations and identities (Gillespie, 2010), which this research on Emiratisation brings forward.

Furthermore, it has been emphasised that the policy process must not be separately understood through each of the policy research traditions explained above, but rather the aim must be to get to know how to reflect on and take away from each of these process lenses when suitable (Weible et al., 2012). However, the processes described above - being in stages or cycles have a linearity to it that this study questions. Policies, while becoming 'solid' at one particular point in time in the form of a decree such as Emiratisation, have a more emergent and non-linear life that the above approaches would led us believe. This research will focus on how the Emiratisation policy is being implemented in 2 organizations. But, through the micro-exploration of those two implementations we will also see how in pursuing the policy agenda (to reduce unemployment rate amongst nationals), the problem (to Emiratis the work force in

public and private institutions) is redefined and how the different implementations help reformulate the policy and shape their future implementations and evaluations (see for instance chapter 5 on public discourses).

It is not surprising therefore that implementation became the key focus on the policy process. The following section provides a brief review the impetus for implementation studies.

2.2. How is policy implemented?

2.2.1. Policy Implementation Studies

This chapter aims to offer a general overview of some of the research in the field of policy implementation. However, it would be presumptuous to assert comprehensiveness given that the field of policy implementation research is congested with models, frameworks and scattered theories, with an immense list of variables. In an attempt to highlight this fact, O'Toole (1986) reviewed more than 100 implementation studies that had in total referred to more than 300 key variables. Matland (1995) subsequently notes that 'a literature with three hundred critical variables doesn't need more variables: It needs structure' (p.146). Meier has also made a remark on this challenge: "I often characterize the theory as 'forty-seven variables that completely explain five case studies'... I propose... [any] policy implementation scholar who adds a new variable or a new interaction should be required to eliminate two existing variables" (1999, 5-6 cited in O'Toole 2000, p. 268). The field of implementation research is flooded by potential explanatory variables (O'Toole, 2004). With an emphasis on improvement of policy effectiveness, such models assume that knowledge of implementation 'best practices' can be obtained a priori. However, viewing Emiratisation policy as a knowledge artefact, the next chapter will challenge such de-contextualized perspective on policy.

2.2.1.1. History of policy implementation studies

It was during the 1960s and 1970s that a growing interest in policy studies led to the simultaneous development of academic policy studies as a multi-disciplinary and

applied area of research (Helco 1972), which concentrated on three key areas (Barrett, 2004, p.250): 1) *policy analysis*: involved with exploring the policy content and processes of decision making; 2) *evaluative studies*: involved with evaluating policy results in order to measure effectiveness; 3) *Organisational studies*: involved with the operation of political and administrative organisations as behavioural systems, and prescriptions for enhancing performance. However, as performance appeared to be below outlooks, attention moved away from the ‘what’ of policy results to ‘why’ of the apparent policy failure, and to concentrate on the real process of translating policy into action, or the process of ‘implementation’ (Barrett, 2004). Therefore, policy implementation began to bear importance in the 1970s, especially with the work of Pressman and Wildavsky’s research into the unsuccessful Economic Development Administration project in Oakland, California. The notion of policy implementation gained significance as hundreds of scholars joined the debate (O’Toole, 1986; Linder and Peters 1987).

At the very basic level, policy implementation has been explained as “what develops between the establishment of an apparent intention on the part of government to do something, or to stop doing something, and the ultimate impact in the world of action” (O’Toole, 2000:266). Implementation has been perceived as a stage in policy process, which is considered by the actions of several levels of agencies: institutions, organisations and their members, and is continually impacted by the socio-political context (De Groff & Cargo, 2009). Ottoson and Green explain that “implementation is an iterative process in which ideas, expressed as policy, are transferred into behaviour, expressed as social action” (1987, p.362 cited in De Groff & Cargo, 2009). Such social action is seen as programs, procedures, regulations, or practices (De Groff & Cargo, 2009). Policy implementation remains to have considerable practical interest for policymakers as it can be a main obstacle in the policy process and also one of the greatly used areas of policy analysis (Lester and Goggin, 1998; Deleon & Deleon, 2002). And as the public discourses in the following chapters reveal, emphasis has been placed on implementation as the key determinant of Emiratisation success.

Consequently, the high number of research projects has resulted in many research designs, models and a large range of variable in order to better understand the implementation process and its products (O’Toole, 2000). Hence, various disagreements

emerged in the literature, such as small qualitative research versus large quantitative, policy design versus implementation, and more importantly, top-down versus bottom up frameworks (ibid).

Policy studies literature in the late 1960s and early 1970s was dedicated to the politics of policy making, perceiving implementation as a fundamentally ‘top-down’ administrative process (Barrett, 2004). Focusing on the effectiveness of public policy, evaluative studies were dedicated to analysing the issues of implementation and detecting the main causes of ‘implementation failure’ (Pressman and Wildavsky 1984; Gunn 1978; Sabatier and Mazmanian 1979; Dunsire 1978; Hood 1976; Hanf and Scharpf 1978). Scholars with the top-down perspective researched the best way to move a policy proposal to its successful execution (Deleon and Deleon, 2002; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1981; Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980; Berman, 1980). Such analysis illustrated the impact of local factors, including size, inter-organisational relationship, commitment, capacity and institutional complexities shape reactions to policy (McLaughlin, 1987, p172). Therefore, they illustrated that ‘implementation dominates outcomes’ and the most promising and well-planned initiatives relies eventually on what happens as ‘individuals in the policy system interpret and act on them’ (ibid, see also: McLaughlin, 1987, p172; Bardach, 1977; Berman & McLaughlin 1978; Elmore, 1977; Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). The efforts of the first generation led to various atheoretical, non-cumulative and single case studies (Paudel, 2009; Goggin et al., 1990)

As the ‘top-down’ scholars established the ‘implementation perspective’ by noticing the problem and outlining its parameters, they created the foundation for a second generation of implementation researcher, who started to investigate the relation between policy and practice (McLaughlin, 1987). The alternative second generation scholars took a ‘bottom-up’ stand (Deleon and Deleon, 2002), believing that implementation can take place only when those who were mainly impacted were actively involved in the policy’s planning and execution (Lipsky, 1971, 1980; Hjer, 1982; Hjern & Hull, 1983). In their view, policy evolved when adapted in the process of translating intentions into action (Barrett, 2004). The second generation’s efforts led to the development of various analytical frameworks and models (Goggin et al., 1990, p14).

The top-down/bottom-up viewpoints highlighted a series of key issues regarding the purpose of implementation analysis and the meaning of implementation, including the questions of: are implementation analyses about prescription (what ought to happen) or description (complexity of interactions taking place in implementation process)? And, is their intention enhancing policy design and/or achieving a better understanding of what happens in practice? (Barrett, 2004)

However, the top-down or bottom-up debate on policy implementation did not fade away (Winter, 2003). And, as a result of this tension, in 1980s a third generation of implementation models developed, which took a rather scientific approach to policy implementation studies in an attempt to study diverse behaviours across different times, policies and units of government to predict the type of future implementation behaviour (Deleon and Deleon, 2002; Goggin et al., 1990).

Subsequently, key implementation scholars (Matland, 1995; Ingram, 1990; Scheberle, 1997) suggested contingency theories, which explain how various conditions necessitate different implementation strategies and how the appropriate strategy is contextual (Deleon and Deleon, 2000). Hence, each organization copes in its own ways with external policies. The contingency approach to change is central to such discussions, as Bernard Burnes (1996, 1997, 2004) argues for a ‘no one best way to manage change’ (1996, p.11). Based on contingency theory ‘the “one best way for all” organizations is replaced by the “one best way for each” organization’” (Burnes 1996, p.15).

The sterile top-down or bottom-up debate is left in the past as the contingent viewpoint and also synthesis approaches were offered (O’Toole, 2000). However, in practical terms the difference is still important, depending on where power and control is most suitably located in the implementation system. As each offers certain strength, ‘comparative advantage’, similar to a contingency viewpoint is suggested (O’Toole, 2004). The concept of ‘comparative advantage’ is offered as a strategy by Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989) in an attempt to illustrate that if neither the top-down nor the bottom-up viewpoint on its own can provide a solution, it may be due to the reason that the effectiveness of each is contextual. The authors provide some recommendations in terms of which situations are anticipated to be related with which value for top-down or bottom up. For instance, in developing countries without any central authority, bottom-

up analysis can shed light on how to mobilize stakeholders on the ground and build collaborations (O'Toole, 2004). Other examples of literature that address the question of top-down or bottom-up strategies include Matland (1995), where the author suggests a model that synthesises the two strategies by focusing on the theoretical importance of ambiguity and conflict for policy implementation. Based on policy's *ambiguity* (ambiguity of goals and means) and *conflict* level (e.g. agreement on goal), various factors key to implementation process are highlighted. Then, four policy implementation paradigms are introduced: low conflict-low ambiguity (administrative implementation), high conflict-low ambiguity (political implementation), high conflict-high ambiguity (symbolic implementation), and low conflict-high ambiguity (experimental implementation) (p. 145, 160).

As described above, research on policy implementation has developed over the years from a top-down approach to integrating a more practice oriented bottom up approach. However, most research still considers the policy as a given and does not explore its daily development or its impact on those affected in each implementation context.

In an attempt to summarize the numerous amount of studies, Schoefield (2004, p.287) identifies 3 overarching themes in the implementation research. First, there are studies with a focus on developing analytical models, referred to as 1st, 2nd and 3rd generation models. Second, are the themes that encapsulated various approaches to research in public policy implementation, mainly top-down or bottom-up approaches. And, finally, those themes that attempt to underlie main implementation variables such as studies by O'Toole (1986, 1993) highlighted above. Schoefield (2004) further states that with few exceptions (Lin 1996, Scheirer and Griffith 1990), implementation studies have overlooked the *micro behavioural factors in organisations*. He highlights the importance of this gap by emphasising on the definition of implementation as a policy-action continuum (Barrett and Fudge, 1981, p.15) and the significant role of the 'action agents' of implementation who must enact and operationalise the policy. The 'policy does not implement itself' (Barrett and Fudge, 1981, p.9) and policy must be operationalised into action (Schoefield, 2004, p.303). The author draws from the literature on organisational learning to illustrate through a model (p. 296)¹⁷ how policy

¹⁷ Public policy implementation occurs as a result of learning and learning is a function of: the competence and capabilities of public managers (bureaucrats), knowledge representation, latitude of bureaucratic discretion, the motivation of bureaucrats. Constrains of learning are: problem complexity,

learning occurs and emphasises the importance of solutions invented by the action agents when operationalising the policy, which are further incorporated in to the routines, tasks and procedures. While Schoefield's model only considers the competence, capabilities and resources of bureaucrats and action agents in organisations, this study underlines also the significant role of all the impacted organisational actors in shaping the policy. Moreover, through micro analysis in the two organisations, this research highlights how the policy is understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in various contexts. Policy as a knowledge artefact and 'best practice' that is continually re-contextualized calls for highlighting the importance of knowledge management literature in implementation studies, which will be covered in depth in the next chapter.

Underlining the importance of organizational knowledge for policy implementation, Mischen et al. (2008) apply complexity theory, knowledge management, and social network analysis to policy implementation to explore both inter-organisational and inter-organisational policy implementation. The aim of this research is to apprehend the core mechanisms that allow for the development of behaviours, which cause implementation success or failure. The study concludes that for organisations to realise their objectives, they must recognize the key social networks within or amongst organisations and the routines that are a result of and eventually lead to patterns of behaviours. Connecting the dots between *policy implementation and knowledge management* has been conducted by Mischen (2007) and Sandfort (1999) in order to illustrate that effective policy implementation relies heavily on effective knowledge management (Mischen et al., 2008). Furthermore, it is a product of the 'knowing organisation', which depends on productive management of sense-making, knowledge creation and decision making processes of an organisation (Choo 1998, Mischen et al. 2008, p.315). Through feedback and sense-making, organisational members are able to interpret their situations based on their beliefs and enact, which in turn will impact their upcoming beliefs and their environment (Mischen et al., 2008; Choo 1998, Weick 1995). Organisational agents need to acquire and store knowledge in order to make decisions, and such knowledge in organisations is embedded not only in organisational informational repositories, but also in the cultural, tacit and explicit knowledge of individuals (Mischen et al., 2008, p.322). Mischen et al. further draws from Lipsky's

(1980, p. xiii) reference to a policy as an ‘emergent phenomenon’ as the judgments of street-level bureaucrats, the routines they create, and the tools they use to deal with uncertainties and work stresses, eventually *become* the policy they implement. Therefore, ‘policy emerges from the collective actions of frontline workers’ and every implementation site is unique due to the changing internal and external circumstances and distinctive organisational and network histories (Mischen et al., 2008, p. 321-322). The authors conclude by emphasising that more in-depth application of knowledge management literature by policy implementation scholars is needed.

Lipsky acknowledges that policy implementation comes down to those who implement it; however he limits the scope of those who impact the policy to merely the “street-level bureaucrats” and disregards the influence of those who are affected by implementation- the end users as the target groups. ‘Front line workers’ here or the street-level bureaucrats denotes to some of the public sphere stakeholders in this study, whose narratives are explored in chapter five. However, this study extends the ‘emergent’ and non-linear viewpoint of policy implementation as it also incorporates not only the macro, but also the micro exploration of implementation in two organisations and their impact on future implementations and reformulation of the policy.

The research outlined above highlights how the field of implementation studies can benefit from organisational learning and knowledge management studies in general. However, implementation studies that apply concepts and theories of knowledge processes are scarce. The notion of *communities of practice (COP)*, which will be explored in the next of chapter of this thesis, has been applied in the context of teachers implementing new educational policies (Coburn and Stein, 2006) and health related policies in the low income nationals of Africa (Meessen et al., 2011). Although a valuable tool for disseminating knowledge and practices in organisations, the application of COPs in policy implementation studies has been limited. The importance of this socio-cultural viewpoint of learning has been demonstrated in how teachers comprehend and enact on the instructional policy (Coburn and Stein, 2006). The authors view policy implementation as “a process of learning that involves gradual transformation of practice via the ongoing negotiation of meaning amongst teachers” (p26). They contend most research on implementation which take on an individualistic approach of learning based on cognitive learning theory believing that learning how to

implement the policy will occur based on the pre-existing knowledge, beliefs and experiences of implementing agents, such as the teachers (Jennings, 1992; Spillane, 2000; Spillane & Callahan, 2000; Spillane & Jennings, 1997). Adopting the notion of COP, the authors view policy as an effort on behalf of one community of practice (the policy makers) to impact or coordinate the practice of others (organisations implementing the policy) through boundary objects, brokers, or boundary practices (p.30). The next theoretical chapter will shed light on the notion of community of practice and the empirical data will illustrate their existence in the form of network of communities of practices in the case of stakeholders in chapter 5, constituted of HR practitioners, consultancy firms and federally sponsored organisations. Furthermore, we will see their pre-existence in the two organisations, and the relation between (mis)understandings of the policy and its impact on the COPs will be explored in chapters 7 and 8.

A practice lens has also been adopted by Mclaughlin (2005) in understanding the implementation problem in educational institutions listening and learning from the field and the 'situated practice'. By studying four cases, in which federal government tried to implement change in local educational practices, they contend the initiatives that presumed direct relationship between federal policy 'input', local responses, and program 'output' (p.59). The study was an attempt to highlight what the implementation researchers had been ignoring: what the 'black box' of local practices, belief and traditions contained (ibid). The study concluded that the pace and level of change in local practices was a result of local elements that were not in control of the policy makers. Yet again the study looks at the practices of street level bureaucrats and forgoes the micro analysis in organisations and those being affected. Therefore, in order to understand the 'how' of policy implementation in two organisations, in this study I explore the narratives of all organisational actors to highlight commonalities and differences, and the perspectives on policy- intersubjective understanding- of both expatriate and national workforces who been impacted (see chapter 6). Such narratives and their underlying tensions and the (mis)understandings on the policy inform organisational cultural and working practices as the empirical chapters will illustrate (see chapter 7).

2.3. Government policies applied to organisations

The previous sections have illustrated that implementation is the key stage of policy process, and have outlined various views on implementation. However, the research question remains: What happens at the point of implementing an external policy in organisations?

As a stage of policy process, implementation does not all occur immediately, but can take two to four years to comprehensively roll out within an organisation (e.g., Fixsen et al., 2009; Bierman et al., 2002; Fixsen, Blase, Timbers, & Wolf, 2001; Panzano & Roth, 2006; Prochaska & DiClemente, 1982; Solberg et al., 2004). As a ‘recursive process’, implementing a policy in an organisation contains the following 6 practical and yet non-linear stages (Fixsen et al., 2009, p. 533; Fixsen et al. 2005)¹⁸:

Exploration- Identifying the need for a new program (in this case is the Emiratisation policy), obtaining information, exploring options and evaluating the fit, examining and if necessary enhancing the readiness of an organisation by the implementation team. As the empirical chapters will illustrate, organisations obtain information not only from the federal and local agencies, but also hire external consultants and attend Emiratisation forums and conferences to obtain further information.

Installation- Taking the required initial steps to assure resources are available, a comprehensive ‘start up costs’ and its accessibility in terms of funding, HR, developing various frameworks, preparing and training staff, obtaining new technologies, etc. In the case of Emiratisation, one of the key steps appears to be having human resources in terms of HR who can facilitate the process. And, financial resources needed to train and develop Emirati newcomers.

Initial implementation- Managing members’ experience of change and hence anxiety and fear at both personal and organisational levels, facing complexities of implementation, trying to start the program, and verifying the confidence in the

¹⁸ see: <http://nirn.fpg.unc.edu/learn-implementation/implementation-stages>

judgement to adopt the program. Following chapters will illustrate how such anxieties and interruptions are managed in organisations.

Full implementation- Fully incorporating the new ways of doing things in the everyday practices, policies and procedures; and appreciating the expected benefits and measuring effectiveness of the program. Chapter 5 will exemplify some of the Emiratisation practices in the public sphere; while chapter 7 will demonstrate Emiratisation practices in the two organisations under study.

Innovation- Facing every implementation site which is unique and hence offers new obstacles and yet opportunity for adapting the intended practices and programs, experiencing some undesirable ‘program drifts’ as threat to fidelity, also opportunities for ‘innovations’ that will then need to be incorporated into the ‘standard model’ of implementation practices (Winter & Szulanski, 2001), it is recommended that program is first fully implemented with fidelity prior to any efforts at innovations in order to avoid fidelity evasion. What is referred to as ‘program drifts’ in here is discussed as ‘improvisations’ (Ryle 1979, Weiss 1980, Weick, 1998) or ‘practical logic’ (Bourdieu, 1977), which will be discussed in depth in the next chapter.

Sustainability- Implementation site must be sustained for years to come and remain effective despite continual contextual changes, skilled staffs are continually replaced, funding must be continued, program requirements modify, external factors change, etc.

Every stage may influence the others in a complex and non-linear manner. For instance, if there is sudden employee turn-over, an organization has to shift from full implementation to initial implementation. Therefore, the stages of implementation must be viewed as parts of a ‘tight circle with two-headed arrows from each to every other component’ (Fixen et al., 2009, p.533). And therefore this study focuses on a cultural psychology point of view that stresses the daily development of the policy and the importance of context in order to understand what happens at the point of implementation. McLaughlin (1987) discusses how implementation happens in a ‘fluid’ setting and implementation problems are therefore never ‘solved’. The fluidity and the

complexity of each implementation setting are at the core of a societal (cultural) psychology (Howarth 2013 et al.) stand to policy implementation.

Perceiving implementation as all that a programme contains when it is delivered in a specific setting, Durlak and Dupre (2008, p.239) identify eight aspects of implementation (the first five stated earlier by Dane and Schneider, 1998): 1) *Fidelity*- how much the changes and advancement of the policy still resembles the original envisioned program (e.g. compliance, truthful replication); 2) *Dosage*- how much of the envisioned program has been rolled out (quantity, intervention strength); 3) *Quality*- How good various policy parts have been executed (e.g., are the original program aspects carried out visibly and appropriately?); 4) *Participant responsiveness*- the extent the program evokes the interest or grabs the attention of participants; 5) *Program differentiation*- How much its theory and practices are different to other's; 6) *Monitoring of control/comparison conditions*- explaining the type and level of services members get; 7) *Program reach* (participation rates, program scope) is the level of participant's contribution; 8) *Adaptation*- adjustments made to the initial program during the roll out (programme modification and reinvention). The authors offer a framework and identify 23 contextual factors affecting implementation process that are associated with communities, providers and innovation, organisational functioning, and support system. They categorised these into (p.337): general organisational features (e.g. positive work climate, shared vision, integration of new programming, organizational norms regarding change), specific organisational practices and processes (e.g. shared decision making, coordination with other agencies, communication mechanism, formulation of tasks), and specific staffing considerations (e.g. managerial support, training and technical assistance). Once again, such frameworks assume that implementation knowledge can be acquired a priori, overlooking its emergent nature and contextual elements at play in every implementation site.

The above framework amongst many others, and the discussion earlier in this chapter, illustrate that beyond organizations and their members, the policy domain also contains not only the state (national, regional, and local) institutions, but also the super-ordinate state, such as the European Union (Hill, 2013). Moreover, since implementation is one stage in the policy process, the focus of implementation research can be varied: that of micro vs. the macro studies. McLaughlin (1987) distinguishes the two as distinct

communities of discourses, where “macro analyses operate at the level of the system by emphasizing regularities of process and organizational structures as stable outlines of the policy process and frame individual action in terms of position in relational network; whereas, micro analysis operate at the individual level by interpreting organizational action as the problematic and often unpredictable outcome of autonomous actors, motivated by self-interest” (P.177). McLaughlin (1987) concludes that combining these two modalities of discourse in a model which could incorporate the multi-level, multi-actor complexities is the biggest challenge of third generation scholars. De Groff & Cargo (2009) also discuss a similar distinction by referring to macro-policy process and implementation as a chain that encompasses the programs implemented in community or organizations, as opposed to micro-level implementation processes that take place within organizations and is impacted by elements of organizational culture, capacity and internal champions, amongst many (see Scheirer, 1981). Bridging the macro-micro is one of the aims of this study as I begin with questions of understanding the policy at general level (public discourses) and go down to organizations to understand the commonalities and differences in the narratives of organizational members, the intersubjective (mis)understanding and hence Emiratisation practices in different contexts.

The macro and the micro incorporate various actors at different levels. Policy implementation, whether based on an inter or intra organizational perspective, necessitates realization of the multi-actor feature of policy action (O’Toole, 1996). The existence of multiple players in policy implementation demands that implementation incorporates synchronizing action across many organizational actors and also the implementers (O’Toole, 2000). Such a multi-actor view is not restricted to inter-organizational studies. Although intra-organizational cases are at times viewed as tools and theories that assist in understanding the management of public organizations (Montjoy and O’Toole, 1979), but also such examples illustrate multi-actor characteristics, more specifically when clients (or targets of the policy who constantly respond to policy by co-production), various political support groups, and many other external influences are considered (O’Toole, 2000). As a result, a ‘networked form’ of implementation and a multi-actor perspective needs to be adopted in implementation studies (ibid, p. 267).

Adopting such a multi-actor view in this research, I have analyzed not only the practices of organizational members (both employees and managers), but also the narratives of representatives of the government and key actors in the public sphere.

The influence of politicians, managers and street-level bureaucrats on policy implementation is fundamental. May & Winter (2007) conducted a quantitative study on implementation of an employment policy reforms in Denmark, which aimed at placing the unemployed (referred to as 'clients') into jobs immediately through regional and local caseworkers. The study concluded that although majority of caseworkers took actions that are in line with the policy objective, the influence of politicians and managers is relatively limited when compared to the impact of caseworkers' understanding of policy objectives and their policy knowledge and policy predispositions.

According to May & Winter's study it is the employees' perspective of the policy that becomes a key indicator on how the policy is being implemented. And it is such knowledge and perspectives of the policy that is of interest in this thesis. My research transcends the street-level bureaucrats' knowledge and attitude towards the policy through a dialogical analysis of intersubjectivity that incorporates as well interests and goals of policy targets, which are not accounted for in May and Winter's de-contextualized quantitative study.

Therefore, adopting a cultural psychology and a pragmatic approach, through interviews, participant observation and document analysis, this thesis looks into the experiences and understandings of those directly impacted by the policy at various organizational levels, while taking into the account the larger network in hand that is constituted of stakeholders in the public sphere, which will be discussed in chapter 5.

So far this chapter has provided an introduction to the policy concept, the policy process, a brief outline of the impetus of implementation studies and its progress to date, and implementation of government policies in organisations. However, not all policies are the same and the current study focuses solely on the case of Emiratisation- a 'positive discrimination' policy. Therefore, this then leads to the next part of the chapter

which highlights some of the core viewpoints and arguments on the roll out of positive discrimination policies in organisations.

2.4. Positive Discrimination/Affirmative Action & Its Implications

2.4.1. Background: What is Positive Discrimination or Affirmative Action?

Studies on positive discrimination or affirmative action programs are prevalent exemplary of policy implementation in organisations. The focus of literature on positive discrimination has mainly been on the American educational cases and often referred to as “affirmative action” (Holzer and Neumark, 2006). *Affirmative action* includes a set of practices carried out by employers, university admissions offices, and government agencies to go beyond non-discrimination, in order to enhance the economic status of minorities and women relating to employment, education, business ownership and growth (ibid). Affirmative action policies are in place in majority of developed nations and many developing ones; however, although topical, they are often a subject of debate amongst politicians (Feltovich et al., 2011).

The American education system has offered the impetus of affirmative action implementation studies, and also the effects of its ban (See Howell, 2010, Feltovich et al. 2011; Antonovics and Sanders, 2013). The affirmative action legislation was first introduced in 1965 in order to amend racial discrimination. US president Lyndon Johnson introduced the concept by describing this to his audience:

Imagine a hundred yard dash in which one of the two runners has his legs shackled together. He has progressed 10 yards, while the unshackled runner has gone 50 yards. At that point the judges decide that the race is unfair. How do they rectify the situation? Do they merely remove the shackles and allow the race to proceed? Then they could say that equal opportunity now prevailed. But one of the runners would still be forty yards ahead of the other. Would it not be the better part of justice to allow the previously shackled runner to make up the forty yard gap; or to start the race all over again? (Quoted in Bell, 1973, P.429).

An example of the implementation of an affirmative action policy in the education sector had been the programme of increasing the proportion of underrepresented minorities (URMs) admitted to the UC (university of California) system. More specifically the elite campuses such as Berkeley and UCLA had been a key focus of affirmative action policies in the state of California (Antonovics and Sander, 2013). This affirmative action directly altered many of the working practices in admission process, amongst others, such as offering series of race-conscious scholarships and variety of opportunities for the URMs (ibid).

Recent literature also reveals notable instances in various contexts, including the case of tribes in India, where a quota-based policy targets three various parts of the society. First, it consists of reserved seats in the state and federal assemblies. Second, it sets specific quotas in public employment to promote opportunities. Third, besides offering free secondary schooling, the policy has set quotas in higher education (Cassan, 2011). Positive discrimination or “reservations” goes back to the colonial period of India. However, after the Independence and the Constitution of 1950, it became a systematic policy that has been implemented across the nation (ibid). Rather than North American studies of mainly educational systems, Cassan’s study is a closer example to Emiratisation as ethnicity markers for employment are applied.

At the work place, a very recent example of inclusion programs with an aim to shatter the glass ceiling has been the Lloyds Banking Group’s commitment to 40% quota for women in top roles (FT, 2014: www.ft.com, February 3, 2014). The quota sets a new standard in the FTSE 100 companies’ ‘30 per cent club’ advocacy group, which states that maintaining a minimum of 30% top women leaders ‘positively influences a company’s culture and decision-making process’ (ibid). In 2011, the UK government set a goal demanding 25% of FTSE 100 board positions to be held by females by 2015 (ibid). However, the rate of change is slow. In the UK it has been predicted that at this rate of change, it is going to take more than seventy years to reach an equal number of female directors of FTSE 100 companies (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2008 cited in Noon, 2010). As the data illustrates in chapter 5, Emiratisation creates opportunities such as the first female Emirati pilot, which as well shatters many cultural and organisational glass ceilings.

Workforce nationalization in the Arabian Gulf region is another example of how organizations must cope with external policies and certain comparisons can be made between Emiratisation and “positive discrimination” or “affirmative action” policies, where markers such as ethnicity are used (Alhersan, 2013; Forstenlechner et al., 2012; Godwin, 2006). As a quota-driven employment policy, Godwin (2006:1), views Emiratisation as an affirmative action program that ‘satisfies the employment and career aspirations of its citizens’ and opens the doors for the Emiratis in the private sector. However, applying the ‘US-centric’, Western models of diversity management will overlook the local conditions (Forstenlechner et al. 2012: 2; Syed 2008; Jones et al., 2000). Therefore, multi-levels of analysis of structural and institutional support and cultural change at national, organisational and individual levels is essential for studying ‘diversity and equal opportunity as a negotiated process, which is socially and historically embedded’ (Syed and Ozbilgin, 2009: 2440 in Forstenlechner et al., 2012, p. 300). While the Emiratisation policy also incorporates quotas, it has a higher organizational impact as it entails training and retention of unskilled nationals, and therefore aims to purposefully change organizational working practices, social boundaries and perceived identities.

2.4.2. How is positive discrimination/affirmative action implemented? What are the implications?

The objective of implementing most affirmative action policies has been to correct previous disadvantages by ‘explicit preferential treatment of a targeted racial group’ (Feltovich et al., 2011) or in the case of affirmative action in organisations is to incorporate the under-represented whether based on gender, disability or nationality. The question remains once rolled out, what is the impact at the state/national, organisational and individual levels? What changes does it bring about nation-wide? How does it alter the organisational working practices when it is implemented? And how does it impact the targeted groups? The remaining of this chapter reviews some of the literature in the field to assess whether they provide some answers to the above questions.

2.4.2.1. At the National Level

At the national level, the federal governments in many countries apply affirmative action policies as they are faced with the issue of 'strategic equality', which is 'the amount of substantive equality necessary to avoid crisis' (Coleman, 2012, p.27). In America, although in less than 60 year, most of the nation will be non-white, whites will still be holding positions of economic and political dominance (ibid). Similarly in UAE, currently nationals constitute only 11% percentage of the local population (World Bank, 2012) and represent 1% percentage at the private sector (TANMIA, 2010), demonstrating a clear demographic imbalance. Accordingly, the federal government announced 2013 as the year of Emiratisation 'to create jobs for UAE nationals... this will be a national priority for which all efforts must unite' (Khaleej Times, 27 November, 2013). Therefore, positive discrimination/affirmative action policies not only provide a more balanced picture of the composition of workforce in organisations but also a promise of such a balance at a larger scale in the long run by redressing the inequality in power.

However, several affirmative action programs have been reversed (or banned) years after their launch. Herring and Henderson (2011, p.631) outline some of the reasons why affirmative action came under attack: many perceived them as ineffective for lowering inequality for under-represented (e.g. Berry, 1976; Cole, 1981; Loury 1991; Ornati and Pisano, 1972; Wilson, 1987). Furthermore, some believed that it is assisting those who need it least while overlooking those who really need it (e.g. Wilson, 1987). Some studies also made explicit how the selected can feel stigmatized for being chosen based on the policy (e.g. Carter, 1991; Loury, 1991). And, finally many viewed them as 'reverse discrimination' at the expense of the white males who hold equal or higher qualifications (e.g. Cole, 1981; Glazer 1975; Sher, 1975). As a result, the rhetoric shifted from affirmative action to inclusion as 'diversity' (Downey, 1999 in Herring and Henderson, 2011). While the West has long experienced positive discrimination and affirmative action policies and has now arrived at 'diversity rhetoric', in the context of UAE, Emiratisation is yet at its initial stages.

For the reasons discussed above, in USA, for several decades affirmative action programs were under attack in courts, by legislatures and media as many critics

perceived them as ‘an unprincipled program of racial and gender preferences that threatens fundamental American values of fairness, equality, and democratic opportunity’ (Herring and Henderson, 2011). The most controversial case of affirmative action ban (led to several law suits) is the 1998 California’s Proposition 209. Proposition 209 modified the California Constitution to forbid public institutions from discriminating in accordance to race, sex, or ethnicity. For instance, it banned the application of racial preference in admission of under-represented minorities in UC campuses and raised questions regarding its consequences. Exploring implementation of Proposition 209 (Antonovics and Sander, 2013), illustrate that yet there was a ‘warming effect’- an increase in URMS yields (probability of enrolling if offered a place). Research indicates that once again new practices in reward and recruitment could partially contribute to avoiding a ‘chilling effect’ as the Proposition signalled greater importance of these institutions, and simultaneously officials feared losing many applicants (ibid). In light of having to be race-neutral, UC staff had to once again change their working practices: on the recruitment side, they initiated programs that assisted in building bridges to key minority educational institutions, such as high schools in order to build rapport and encouragement; and as for new financial aid practices, many of such funds were moved “offshore” (Antonovics and Sander, 2013, p.35). Regardless of the efforts, critics of proposition 209 believe that it put an end to affirmative action practices of educating, hiring, training and in general reaching out to female and minority groups in California educational institutions and also corporations (ibid). While literature in the West is concerned with the implication of policy withdrawal and the cooling effect, UAE has a long journey ahead to such worries.

2.4.2.2. At the Organisational Level

The case of Emiratisation represents one of the extremist of positive discrimination mandates, in that it imposes a strict quota system to organisations. For instance, in the banking sector, organisations are obliged to increase the number of nationals by 4% annually. A similar quota system is also seen in the public limited and state-owned organisations in Norway, where a minimum of forty percent of their board of directors must be female (Noon, 2010). This impacts the selection and hiring practices of organisations and can possibly make the Human Resources vulnerable to critics of the fairness of their selection in light of the quota system. For instance, Noon (2010) refers to such fixed quota systems as resulting in the ‘best candidate’ not being selected since

the central condition for selecting amongst candidates is social group characteristics, such as race/ethnicity, sex, religion, etc. (p. 730). To overcome such criticism, he proposes two mild forms of positive discrimination as opposed to the quota system: the 'tie-break' and the 'threshold' system. Under the tie-break system, the selected individual is not underqualified, but has been given an advantage to remedy organisations' social composition of labour. The author refers to the UK Equality Act (2010, section 159) as an example of the tie-break system, where managers are encouraged to incorporate under-represented when selecting between similarly qualified applicants. The 'threshold system' represents as well a different form of positive discrimination, which necessitates applicants to reach minimum qualification benchmarks, however, it permits managers to choose in favour of applicants from under-represented group. In the case of Emiratisation, this study will reveal whether organisational members believe in the fairness of HR practices in that if the 'best candidate' is being selected or not. And, how strictly the fixed quota based system is being followed, as opposed to the milder systems discussed above.

In monitoring the composition of workforce in organisations, an ideal approach can be assigning responsibility to a staff member as an affirmative action officer who "must have the authority, resources, support of and access to top management to ensure the effective implementation of the affirmative action program" (U.S. Department of Labour, 2005 Quoted in Kalev et al., 2006). The officer can therefore monitor the underutilization of minorities and notify managers of their division's progress (Linnehan and Konrad 1999, Kalev et al., 2006, Reskin 2003) or start constructive dialogue about making additional improvement (Strum 2001). The existence and role of such staff members will be explored in this study.

Therefore, it is evident that new practices must be initiated by HR and followed by many members of the organisation in order to assure policies are implemented. However, some measures have been heavily criticized by many as organisations are accused of taking these steps in order to protect themselves legally and be viewed as implementing good faith initiatives to avoid inequality (Edelman et al. 2005). This thesis will highlight whether such practices are common in the organisational under study. Kalev et al. (2006) believe that perhaps organisations are taking

antidiscrimination measures as “window dressing to inoculate themselves against liability, or to improve morale to increase managerial diversity” (P.610).

In light of positive discrimination programs, Coleman (2012, p.29) defines diversity as “the racial, ethnic, or cultural mixing of peoples for the purpose of achieving a more efficient workplace a more intellectually stimulating educational environment”, which should help employees learn about various cultures and perspectives. However, employing diversity as a tool to repair the larger strategic objectives of racial equality is highly contested and at the very best it benefits the majority or the very few minorities who entered institutions (ibid). It is beyond the scope of this research to provide an in-depth review of the positive impact of diversity in organisations. However, organisations do benefit from diversity by exploiting greater levels of development and innovation generated by the members from different backgrounds (Herring, 2009; Herring and Henderson, 2011). For further literature on tapping into diversity please see Thompson (2003), Woods et al. (2011), Pittinsky (2012).

2.4.2.3. At the Organisational Actors’ Level

Moving on to a more individual level, critics of equalisation of opportunity policies perceive it as unfair to minorities, believing it assists in perpetuating negative stigmas in respect to their abilities (Sowell, 2005). Therefore, it is important to understand the experiences of those affected by such policies. Tokenism theory sheds light on this matter by suggesting that numerical underrepresentation is the principal source of negative work experiences for minorities (Yoder, 1991; King et al., 2010). Studies on the experiences of female top managers revealed that they ‘became tokens: symbols of how-women-can-do, stand-ins for all women...’ (Kanter, 1977: 207). Kanter (1977) concluded that female employees who constituted less than fifteen percent of their peers experienced the following three negative processes: higher sense of attention or greater visibility (higher performance pressure), overstated differences between the tokens and dominants (sense of isolation, increased boundaries and rejection) and expectations to conform to majority and to their social roles. As Emirati women are ‘tokens’ in many organisations in UAE, their experiences is explored in this study. Other empirical evidence such as the case of male flight attendants reveals that their performance can be impacted by tokenism as they experience lower self-esteem, lower job satisfaction and

reduced organisational attachment (Young & James, 2001). However, there has been research suggesting that some tokens do experience positive feelings such as solidarity with their male counterparts in the case of female coal miners (Hammond & Mahoney, 1983) and the experience of tokens is contingent upon organisational structure and contextual factors, including status, occupational deviance and job prestige (Kings et al., 2010).

As discussed in the introduction of the thesis, the workforce in UAE has historically been comprised of expatriates, and hence the steady inclusion of nationals in organisations based on the Emiratisation policy creates token statuses for many Emiratis, where expatriates remain the dominant social group. For instance, Emiratis so far constitute only about 7.4% of the workforce in the private sector (Emiratisation Summit, 2014). This evidently leads to reinforcement of different social boundaries, where Emiratis and expatriates must start working together, while historically and culturally belonging to distinct social groups. A *Social boundary* has been defined as: “any contiguous zone of contrasting density, rapid transition, or separation between internally connected clusters of population and/or activity”, where within-boundary and cross-boundary transactions take place (Tilly, 2004: 214). In the operation of a social boundary, it is key for the relevant social process to exhibit all the following elements at the same time: distinguishing relations on each side of a separating zone, distinguishing relations across the zone, and common representations of the zone, the zone in this case being the boundary between Emirati and non-Emirati employees (Tilly, 2004). Implementing the Emiratisation policy in organisations is a social process and as such can be examined by looking at the causal connections involving the reshaping of particular social boundaries in between nationals and non-nationals. Such investigation will also shed light on the understandings and misunderstandings that emerge in the (re)imposed national/non-national boundaries.

Besides experiencing Emirati/expatriate boundaries, national employees are under the spotlight across organisations and nationwide due to the policy. The mounting pressure in combination with nationals’ knowledge of the existing stereotypes that might be applied to Emirati workforce can have significant consequences on their performance. Referred to as the “stereotype threat”, being part of a dissimilar identity group, the minorities in an organisation commonly experience distress as they feel that they are

being observed and judged in accordance to negative stereotypes (Roberson and Kulik, 2007; Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). Hence, they continually share the apprehension of possibly making mistakes which would involuntarily confirm the negative stereotypes (ibid). Such examples will be explored in chapter 7 on organisational practices.

Applying Coate and Loury's (1993) theoretical model of statistical discrimination, Feltovich et al. (2011) through experiments explore the impact of affirmative action on their target group's skill acquisition abilities. They indicate that theories of statistical discrimination has concluded that under specific circumstances, affirmative action can result in major feelings of being dis incentive, including more negative stereotypes and less investment in skills by the targeted group. They conclude that the impact of affirmative action on the behaviour of the targets is theoretically indeterminate. This study will explore the training experiences of the Emirati newcomers and will shed further light on their skill acquisition abilities, possibilities of stereotype threat or other impediments to the training practices.

In managing inclusion, while overlooking the differences would result in minority social groups feeling excluded, celebrating minorities' differences will make the non-minorities feel excluded (Stevens et al., 2008). There are two main methods organizations use when trying to alter their environment to encourage diversity: The colour-blind approach and the multicultural approach (Stevens et al., 2008). A basic definition of diversity states the extent an organisation is heterogeneous with regards to personal and functional attributes (Jehn et al., 1999). While the colour-blind approach to diversity promotes an idea of "the melting pot" and overlooks distinct group identities (source); multiculturalism views such differences amongst the workgroups as sources of benefits that must be recognised and leveraged (Cox 1991 in Stevens et al., 2008). Although diversity management is not the main focus of this research, it will be made apparent in this study to which degree organisations in UAE apply these approaches in order to implement the policy and the corresponding working practices.

2.5. Concluding Remarks

As discussed in this chapter, the implementation of public policies in organizations is a complex process, since it requires the consideration of the perspectives of multiple actors and research at several levels of the organisation. As this study on the implementation of Emiratisation will show, focusing on what happens at the point of implementation- where the policy is expressed as social action- would allow us to incorporate all those perspectives into the research. Methodologically this requires analysing not only the narratives of representatives of the government and those key actors in the public sphere, but also narratives, intersubjective (mis)understandings and practices of organisational members (expat and Emirati employees and managers).

As demonstrated in this chapter, traditional PDPs/AAPs research apply de-contextualized and often individualised understandings of policies through lab-based or survey- based designs to assess the effectiveness of the policy, its influence on different work attitudes and behaviours, and the consequences of its ban. Specific attention needs to be paid to both the context and the psychological implications of the policy for organizational actors. As the previous two sections have outlined, existing research has acknowledged this need and social psychological notions and theories, including social identity theory, stereotyping and similarity-attraction paradigm have been used to help explain the work-related outcomes of perceived dissimilarity to others in an organisation.

Even such efforts time and again overlook the wider contextual factors, and once again deliver a dehumanised and stereotyped account of minorities. They disregard the socially constructed understandings of the policy, and activities in the everyday practices of all stakeholders and how they engage and interact in organisations and public sphere. Hence, they take the policy as a given, concentrating only on the outputs of its implementation, seldom exploring the process through which the policy is understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in organisations and the way it shapes the cultural and working practices of those involved.

However, as stated in the introduction chapter, this study will explore the ‘how’ and the black box of Emiratisation implementation by grounding the policy in “real world”- in

concrete human activities in context as its key material (Howarth et al., 2013). Such pragmatic approach (Cornish & Gillespie, 2009), examines what happens at the point of implementation and explores the micro-dynamics of organisational change and development as a consequence of Emiratisation, by looking not only at what people say, but also at what people do. Central to all practice theories, practices are seen as “embodied, materially mediated array of human activity, centrally organised around shared practical understanding” (Schatzki, 2001). Therefore, Emiratisation practices are shared practical understandings around common Emiratisation activities, where the combination of such understandings and activities- as told and witnessed- constitute practices.

Therefore, in order to study Emiratisation policy through practice lens, the next theoretical chapter is dedicated exclusively to practice theory and the contribution of cultural psychology to it. By adopting a pragmatist view of practice, the following literature review is focused on the emergent outcomes and exploration of what individuals not only understand but actually do in organisations by understanding the ‘how’ as opposed to the ‘what’ of working practices in context. This will allow for exploring how common narratives and possible tensions have developed, as well as concrete working practices in two organisations, such as training and retention of the Emirati workforce, how the Emiratis participate in communities of practice, and finally whether the blue prints of policy implementation can be re-contextualised as best practices across various industries.

3.0. Theoretical Framework: On Practice-based Approach

The previous chapter illustrated that with an emphasis on enhancing policy effectiveness, existing models on PDP/AA assume that knowledge of implementation as ‘good designs’ or ‘best practices’ can be obtained a priori. Through top-down or bottom-up approaches, most research in the area still considers the policy as given and does not explore how the meaning of the policy is co-constructed, its daily development, its impact on those affected, and most importantly the complexities and the wider context in which it is implemented.

However, this study explores what happens when policy is turned into action- the point of implementation. The adopted definition of practices in this research as shared practical understanding around activities (Schatzki, 2001) sheds light on how to answer the ‘how’ of policy implementation. This necessitates exploring how the meaning of policy is co-constructed and what constitutes Emiratisation activities. Amalgamation of such understandings and activities- as told by the participants and witnessed through participant observation- constitute the practices of Emiratisation. Therefore, dialogues and intersubjectivity shape not only social and organisational identity, but also inform working practices within the organisations they are implemented. Through a cultural psychological standpoint, the mutually constitutive nature of practices, intersubjectivity and narratives are further explored and underlined in this study.

Viewing Emiratisation policy as a knowledge artefact, or a body of knowledge, I will challenge de-contextualized perspectives on policy and propose bridging the macro and the micro by exploring not only the narratives in the public sphere, but also intersubjective dis(agreements) and mis(understandings) on policy amongst nationals and expatriates and hence a micro-level analysis of implementation through cultural psychology in order to enhance effectiveness.

In the following sections on practice-based studies, I first review the key literatures of the founding fathers of the field in what ‘practice’ means and how it has been applied. For instance, section 3.2.2 illustrates this in the case of ‘rule-following’ because Emiratisation as a quota based mandate exemplifies a unique rule. The remaining

review on practice literature focuses on the application of the notion in organisations with an underlying emphasis on knowledge management through various tools, such as communities-of-practice and best practices. With an unemployment crisis amongst nationals, the policy has also been referred to as “a strategy that aims [...] to transfer skills and knowledge from expatriates to UAE nationals” (Kuntze & Hormann, 2006). Therefore, training and development of nationals, with the involvement of non-nationals, is the main focus of the policy. Furthermore, a network of communities of practice amongst all Emiratisation stakeholders exists, which will be explored further in chapter 5. Also, participant observation and interview data has shown that there are already existing COPs in the two organisations under study impacting Emirati integration. Finally, the policy in itself is perceived as a ‘best practice’ and hence this study explores how best practices are rolled out in various contexts.

Prior to reviewing practice-based studies, I would like to stress that a unified practice theory or practice-based approach does not exist, but “only a number of research traditions and scholars connected by a common historical legacy and several theoretical family resemblances” (Nicolini et al., 2003). Practice theories embody a ‘broad family of theoretical approaches connected by a web of historical and conceptual similarities’ (Nicolini, 2012:1). Nicolini (2012) states that although practice theories provide various methods of understanding and explaining social and organisational phenomena, they should solely be treated as a plurality. The expressions ‘practice theory’, ‘practice thinking’, and ‘the practice approach’ are often used interchangeably (Schatzki et al., 2001). The demand for what has been referred to as practice idiom, practice standpoint, practice lens, and a practice-based approach rests in its ability to describe key aspects of our world as something that is continually made and re-made in practice by applying tools, discourses and our bodies and views organisations simultaneously as the site and the result of work activities, as ‘bundles of practices’ (Nicolini, 2012:2).

3.1. Practice Theory

3.1.1. First Generation

There has been wide-range of references to the concept of practice across various disciplines, including cultural theorists such as (Foucault, 1966, 1979, 1980),

philosophers (Wittgenstein, 1953; Taylor, 1979, 1993) and sociologists (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990a, 1990b; Giddens 1979, 1984). Reference to practice between all these authors seems to be related to their interest in the 'everyday' and 'life-world', while all influenced by the interpretive turn in social theory (Reckwitz, 2002:244).

The term 'social praxeology' was originally applied by Loic Wacquant for stressing the importance of practice in Bourdieu and Giddens' work (Wacquant, 1992). As the prominent social theorists of our time, they have established a research agenda that has been called 'social praxeology', intending to expand on the core notion that 'social life is a contingent and ever-changing texture of human practices' (Nicolini, 2012:44). The two approaches believe that the majority of the systematic aspects of our everyday experiences, including phenomena such as social boundaries, constraints, power relations and institutions are to be comprehended as the properties of the structures and associations amongst practices. Thus, practices organised across space and time and their impact are the basic area of research of social science. And as such this study looks into the practice of Emiratisation across space- in the public sphere and in specific two organisations, and across time- in a longitudinal study, to explore how it unfolds by time in various contexts. As Giddens (1984:2) states: 'The basic domain of study of the social sciences ... is neither the experience of individual actor, nor the existence of any form of social totality, but social practices ordered across space and time.'

As one of the forerunners of practice theory, Pierre Bourdieu opposes the theories that perceive practice as either a mechanical reaction that would be defined by prior conditions, or bestowing freewill (1977:73). To overcome the dichotomies of subjectivism and objectivism, he offers the notion of Habitus as a system of ongoing, transposable dispositions that incorporate previous experiences in order for individuals to perceive, make judgments, and complete an immense number of tasks (Bourdieu, 1977). The habitus is defined as the "universalizing mediation, which causes an individual agent's practices, without either explicit reason or signifying intent, to be none the less 'sensible' and 'reasonable'" (1977:79). Bourdieu explains the notions of practical sense or practical logic, "the practical mastery of the logic or of the imminent necessity of a game- a mastery acquired by experience of the game..." (1990a:61). In applying the metaphor of social life as a game, he refers to the uncertain attribute of the practical logic as 'the "art" of the necessary improvisation which defines excellence'

(Jenkins, 2002; Bourdieu, 1977:8). Habitus can hence be comprehended as situated intersubjectivity underlying the practice (Bottero, 2010) and ‘functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions’ (Bourdieu 1977: 95). The scope of this research has restricted looking into the habitus of individual participants. However, as the empirical chapters will illustrate, practices and improvisations of action agents when enrolling out the policy demonstrates their ‘practical logic’ and the situated intersubjectivity that gives rise to what become Emiratisation ‘practices’.

As opposed to Bourdieu’s studies, which were based on empirical research, Anthony Giddens (1984) offered his perspective on practice approach in the ‘theory of structuration’ by focusing on the history of philosophy and social theory (Eriksen and Nielsen, 2001). In doing so, Giddens integrates the apparent theoretical dichotomies of structure verses agency through the notion of ‘duality of structure’, structure as both ‘the medium and outcome it recursively organizes’ (Giddens, 1984:374). This is a theory of continual (re)production of society as *praxis*, where the inquiry of ‘what comes first’ is no longer valid (Nicolini, 2012). Structure and agency are mutually generative in that ‘structure is both enabling and constraining’ (ibid: 70). Structures become visible as rules and resources, the ‘material time-space presence, and memory traces orienting our conduct’ (Nicolini, 2012:45). Hence, rather than containing structures and social practices, society and social practices demonstrate structural properties; that is, viewing structure not as form and shape, but rather as what gives form and shape to social life and exploring it is the continual exploration of structuration (Nicolini 2012).

Structuration theory demonstrates “how principles of order could both produce and be produced at the level of practice itself” (1984:376). Practices keep Giddens vast wheel in motion as they are the ‘point of articulation between actors and structure’ (Nicolini, 2012:45). Giddens regards practices as regularized types of activity which have the following three key characteristics (Nicolini, 2012:46-49). First, they are created by knowledgeable actors who apply rules (codes and norms) and resources (material and symbolic). The ‘knowledgeable actors’ in the case of Emiratisation refers to the action agents in each organisation who must comply with the policy. Second, practices are continually and essentially temporally, spatially, and paradigmatically situated (1979:53). The cultural psychological standpoint and the emphasis on ‘context’ in this

longitudinal study underline the temporality and situatedness of practices. Third, Practices are mutually dependent and continue their existence in a circle of reciprocity as they are fundamentally idiosyncratic while being related to social life at local and global levels. Situated actors knowledgeably participate in different social activities and interactions, and the social relations and rules are therefore being negotiated and recurrently reproduced (Giddens, 1984). Accordingly, in this study we will see how the temporality and idiosyncratic nature of Emiratisation practices are reflected in its enactment and implementation variations that exist across time and space and hence continually negotiating its meaning of this rule. Structuration is hence, “the structuring of social relations across time and space, in virtue of duality of structure” (Giddens, 1984: 376).

Giddens takes a critical position on the views of individuals as autonomous of their daily social surroundings and purposeful in search of their guided ‘projects’, arguing that key is the “transformational character of all human action, even in its most utterly routinized forms [...] and all forms of constraints are also types of opportunity, media for the enablement of action” (1984:117). Competence of actors is assessed by others based on the “rationalization of action, within the diversity of circumstances of interaction” (Giddens, 1984:4). Mutual knowledge involved in encounters is essentially practical and is embedded in the ability to ‘go on’ within the practices of social life (Giddens, 1984:4). Once again the importance of ‘context’ is brought forward as rationalisation of action is contextual. In the case of Emiratisation, the competence of both action agents in charge of rolling out the policy, and the Emirati novices to ‘go on’ is socially constructed and embedded in practices of organisational life in light of the policy.

Furthermore, Charles Taylor (1979) highlights the significance of the social matrix in which individuals practice and generate meaning. Illustrating this through the example of negotiation in different cultures, Taylor refers to the social relation of the agent and the implicit norms, including autonomy, rationality and good faith, which constitute the practice of negotiation in specific societies. Individuals in various societies are faced with many social realities and meanings. These norms and implicit meanings are not subjective, but rather intersubjective, embedded in the practices that themselves are not a set of individual actions, but ‘are essentially modes of social relation, of mutual

action' (Taylor, 1979:57). Taylor suggests that social reality is consisted of social practices that provide the 'intersubjective medium of mind' (Cole, 1998:138). And, the impact of context on practices is essential as Taylor demonstrates this through the way in which vocabulary embedded within practices leads to various actions and meanings (Corradi et al., 2010). As such, the influence of context on rules is evident. Taylor talks about following rules as practices (1993:57-58): "In its operation, the rule exists in the practice it "guides" [...] the 'rule' lies essentially in the practice. The rule is, at any given time, what the practice has made it." As such, this study will explore how Emiratisation mandate, as a rule, is in the Emiratisation practices and is continually inherently changing while trying to stay the same.

3.1.2. Rule as Practice

Emiratisation as a strict quota based mandate is an external rule imposed on organisations that must be practiced under certain guidelines. Therefore, this section briefly reviews some of the leading literature on following rules as a practice.

There has been numerous interpretations of Ludwig Wittgenstein's Philosophical Investigations (1953) and his account of rule-following, the main one being that of Kripke (1982). The intention of this section is not to provide a new reading of this literature, but rather to illustrate the significance of his work in the practice approach studies and its relation to the research question of how organisations implement external policies that are mandated.

Due to Wittgenstein's contribution in Philosophical Investigations (1953), rule-following as a practice has become part of the conservatism tradition by changing it from a symbol of the priority of theory over practice into an illustration of the priority of practice over theory (Bloor, 2001). In section §185 of the Philosophical Investigations, by showing how to write down a series of numbers, Wittgenstein illustrates that rules on their own do not indicate how they are to be followed and therefore there are no preceding guidelines to direct us. Hence, we eventually act blindly (1967: §219) as rules do not entail the rules of their own application. In §201 of Philosophical Investigations (1953), Wittgenstein presents his "rule-following paradox", in that how can an individual follow according to a rule (with its infinite applications), when the examples that an individual learns the rule from and the examples that in

which the individual illustrate that he/she has learned the rule are only finite? Wittgenstein (1953) claims that an interpretation of a rule cannot validate the claim that a rule is being followed correctly by the individual, and also following a rule correctly does not indicate that the envisioned rule is being followed (Langseth, 2008). Therefore, rule following is customary, as it is taking action based on communal practices, which are established by training and regularity of use (ibid). As in the case of policy implementation we will explore the 'customary' ways of following Emiratisation in various contexts. What appears to be right is different to what is right (§258). The normative feature of rule-following is a result of agreement amongst various rule-followers and hence rule-following is a practice (§202).

Hence, Emiratisation is a practice and this study will illustrate that it is through the interpretations and common intersubjective (dis) agreements and (mis)understandings amongst stakeholders that various applications of the policy co-exist, which are continually being negotiated, and inherently changing, while attempting to establish 'customary' ways of practicing Emiratisation rule.

3.1.3. New Managerial Literature on Practice

While theorists including Bourdieu, Giddens and Taylor were amongst the forerunners of 20th century in developing what is now commonly acknowledged as the practice theory, Theodore Schatzki (1996), Schatzki et al. (2001), Reckwitz (2002), Gherardi (2000), Simpson (2009), Corradi et al. (2010) are amongst some of the current key contributors to the practice studies.

Investigating the 'everyday' and 'life-world', practice theorists are inspired by the interpretive turn in social theory (Reckwitz, 2002:244). Perceived as a subtype of cultural theory, what differentiates practice approach is where the social is 'localized' (Reckwitz, 2002:246), positioned in 'practices', which are then considered as the 'smallest unit' of social analysis (ibid, p.249). And in order to understand 'how' organisations implement the policy, we need to look at the 'everyday' and 'life-world' of the organisations to learn about situated Emiratisation practices.

In organizational studies, the practice lens has been emerging in the past decade across its various fields of research, including strategy-as-practice (Whittington 2004, 2006; Johnson et al. 2003; Samra-Fredericks 2003, 2005; Jarzabkowski et al. 2006),

organizational learning and knowledge management (Blackler 1993; Nicolini et al. 2003; Brown and Duguid 1991, 2000, 2001; Gherardi, 2000, 2006) and literature on the development and application of technology (Orlikowski, 2000, 2002). This study draws the most from literature on organisational learning and knowledge management as it is interested in 'how' Emiratisation policy as a body of knowledge or a 'best practice' unfolds across time and space. Furthermore, as training and development of Emirati novices is at the core of the policy, knowledge management literature offers tools such as communities of practices, which will be reviewed in this chapter.

The term 'practice turn' was coined by Theodore Schatzki in 2001. The movement has been perceived as a reaction to increasing frustration with the division between academic theorizing and the practical experiences of organizing and organization (Whittington 2004, 2006). Although vast definitions of practice exists, according to Schatzki practice studies are united in the idea that phenomena such as knowledge, meaning, human activity, social institutions and etc. take place within, and are parts of the field of practices (Schatzki et al., 2001:2). And, the field of practice is the total nexus of interrelated human practices (ibid). Therefore, the practice approach can be defined as all analysis that either improve an account of practices, such as field of practices- in this case field of Emiratisation practices for instance in public sphere (see chapter 5), or a subdomain like science; or, consider the field of practice as the place to learn about the nature and the changes to their subject matter- such as how the Emiratisation is being understood and rolled out (ibid). According to Schatzki, at the heart of all practice theories, practices are perceived as "embodied, materially mediated array of human activity centrally organized around shared practical understanding" (P.2). The site of organization is consisted of practices and the organizational phenomena emerge through and are the result of a texture of inter-related practices (Schatzki 2002; Reckwitz 2002; Czarniawska 2004, 2007, Nicolini, 2009a). Adopting Schatzki's definition of practices in this thesis, Emiratisation practices are therefore a result of common practical understandings that organise human activities. As discussed in the introduction chapter, such viewpoint necessitates exploring not only what people say, but also what people do- narratives and intersubjective understandings and organisational activities- which together constitute Emiratisation practices and answer the research question.

Through a practice lens in organizational studies, the researcher has a way into ‘understanding organization as it happens’ (Miettinen et al., 2009:1310). And as such, through the longitudinal study that contains interviews, participant observation and documents, this study has allowed for understanding the implementation of the Emiratisation policy in organisations ‘as it happens’. The conventional language of social science, including organizational studies divides phenomena into three levels: from the micro (what people say and do) to the meso (routines) and the macro (institutions) (ibid). However, Miettinen et al. (2009) state that research in the field of practice makes us reground our inquiry of organizational activities in terms of phenomena that are really done while they appear in the here-and-now. Therefore, the notion of practice necessitates generating the language and ways that allow us to go beyond such division of levels in order to comprehend practice as happening concurrently both locally and globally, being unique while culturally shared, ‘here and now’ besides ‘historically constituted and path-dependent’ (ibid:1310). Accordingly, this research has bridged the micro and the macro, the global and the local by concurrently exploring not only the public sphere, but going down to the organisational and individual level and looking into organisational practices in situ as they happen. Such investigation of practices as they unfold, underlines the temporal and contextual nature of practices, the intersubjective understandings that inform them, and highlights the need for a cultural psychological take on policy implementation practices, which this research offers.

As stated in the introduction chapter of thesis, this study adopts a ‘pragmatic’ approach to practice. An alternative voice is added to the common debates in practice studies through pragmatist philosophy, which brings together the habitual and creative characteristics of practice as it also surpasses the issue of separation amongst individual and social levels of analysis (Simpson, 2009). Such a “holistic approach to practice” (Simpson, 2009:1331) contests the prevailing ‘rational action’ (i.e. those that depict the discipline of economics, indicating the individual actor voluntarily exercises freedom of choice) and ‘normatively oriented action’ (in sociological theories with a focus on structural determinism) theories that lead the contemporary debate on practice (Joas, 1996). Drawing from the writings of Mead (1925), Simpson brings together the notions of transactionality and temporality to illustrate a theoretical perspective on practice as dynamic, emergent and socially agentic. Interested in the black box of implementation,

such pragmatic approach informs this thesis as it looks into the ‘how’ of policy unfolding across time and space. Practice is the conduct of transactional life, which includes the temporally-unfolding, symbolically mediated interweaving of experience and action, allowing for opportunities for creative action. Therefore, as opposed to the rational and normatively oriented theories of action, which emphasise merely the envisioned outcomes, a pragmatist view of practice is focused on the emergent outcomes and exploration of what individuals actually do in organisations by understanding the ‘how’ as opposed to the ‘what’ of practices. The empirical data in this research will shed light on the temporally-unfolding and emergent nature of Emiratisation practices and the policy in itself.

However, the fundamental challenge amongst practice-approach scholars is how to re-present practices, which I will address in this study. To understand and re-present practice, Nicolini (2009a) offers a useful provisional framework. The framework draws on the metaphorical movement of ‘zooming in’ and ‘zooming out’ of practice, realised by altering theoretical lenses and re-positioning in the field to outline certain features of practice and bring them forward when others are bracketed (P.1392). As such I first zoom out in the field, as activities never happen in isolation. This is done by taking into account all stakeholders, the shared narratives in the public sphere, and moving between practices as they are interconnected. Next, I zoom in on sayings and doings through narratives and intersubjective (mis)understandings, objects and artefacts used in the practices and observable practical concerns that organise practicing. Because the aim is to zoom in on the accomplishments of practice and zoom out of their relations in space and time in order to be able to comprehend and re-present practices (Nicolini, 2012: 223).

Nicolini suggested that the phenomenon of practice is complex and must be studied by applying a ‘toolkit-logic’ or a type of ‘programmatically eclectic’ (ibid). And therefore, through the research design I have adopted in this study, I contribute to the ‘toolkit’ that allows for re-presenting practices. This has been done in accordance to Nicolini’s suggestion that practices could be re-presented by zooming in on the saying and doings and emphasising on realizing real-time practices, and that practising is shaped anew each time. Based on this, Nicolini underlines the difference between canonical (Orr, 1996) and non-canonical practices. Through a cultural psychological approach to

practice and the emphasis on the co-constructed meaning of the policy and how it informs and is enacted in practices, the ‘hidden knowledge’ and working practices of policy implementation are uncovered.

Moreover, Nicolini (2009a) recommends re-presenting practice through highlighting the active role of materials and tools, by focusing on the heterogeneous nature of practice (Engeström 1987, 2000; Latour 2005). The non-human, such as technological tools, artefacts, human and financial resources in organizations and human actants must be equally zoomed in in order to understand and re-present practice. And as the empirical chapters will illustrate, I incorporate many non-human actants that are present in the study, such as the policy documents, performance appraisal measures, absenteeism control systems, training facilities and tools, amongst others. Zooming out allows for trailing connections and following the associations between practices by following them in space and time and exploring how their connections are maintained via organisation between human and non-human mediators (Nicolini, 2009a). And, it is one of the aims of this study to extend the idea of zooming in and out, the micro and the macro: the social psychological and cultural contexts, incorporating intersubjective relations and understanding of the wider connections of practices.

As this research focuses on the ‘how’ of positive discrimination implementation, practices under study must address the particularities of the placement, training and development of the minority group- Emiratis. And at the core of such process lies the role expatriate employees as the trainers and the mentors, who has historically and culturally remained the majority workforce and belong to informal pre-existing communities of practice. As an example of an ‘ideal forum’ for sharing knowledge, communities of practice (COP) (Wenger 1998, 2000) have dominated the recent managerial literature on practice. Since the notion of integration of Emirati novices into the pre-existing communities in organisations is important to implementation of the policy, COPs will be reviewed in depth in the following section.

3.1.4. Communities of Practice

As stated above, at the micro level, pre-existing communities of practice exist, constituted of the expatriate workforce based on their field of work (e.g. insurance underwriters, stockbrokers), where Emirati newcomers’ competencies are socially

determined. Furthermore, at the macro-level, there are networks of communities of practices, such as HR officers at the frontline of implementation- as stakeholders aim to share Emiratisation best practices across industries and even across the region. The dynamics of each of these will be explored through the empirical data and the final chapter.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the role of policy implementation knowledge in organizations can be immense. And, there is a continuous attempt to capture and transfer know-how. In the case of Emiratisation, this becomes evident in chapter 5 as various actors and stakeholders demonstrate their Emiratisation know-how, or what they perceive as 'best practices' as the government is in continual search of identifying and spreading such practices across various industries. Therefore, the notion of Communities of Practice (COP) can be applied as organizational forms that undertake a drastic galvanization of knowledge sharing, learning and change. As a forum for disseminating knowledge and practices in organizations, COPs come into play as a valuable tool in this research.

The transition from the cognitive and individual view of learning to a social and situated one is attributed to the notion of communities-of-practices (Corradi et al., 2010). Lave and Wenger (1991) discuss practice-based theory of learning in communities of practice, which have been defined as "groups of people informally bound together by shared expertise and passion for a joint enterprise" (Wenger & Snyder, 2000:139). Examples of such groups are all around us: bankers specializing in mergers and acquisitions, engineers working in railways, or middle managers in an insurance company or across insurance industry. As 'social containers of competence' (Wenger, 2000:229), COPs are perceived as vital social units of learning as well in the context of grander systems, which are arrangements of interrelated communities of practice. It is important to note that COPs are formed organically, where members maintain their links by either meeting regularly or staying connected through by emails. In such self-organized groups where members are self-elected based on their ability to give and take away, what is important is for the members to "share their experience and knowledge in free-flowing, creative ways that foster new approaches to problems" (ibid). In the case of Emiratisation, the study will shed light on how Emirati novices integrate into pre-existing COPs. By observing diverse apprenticeships, Lave and Wenger (1991)

demonstrated the way in which newcomers joined communities at its margins, ‘legitimate peripheral participation’, and slowly became full participants (1991:3). The intention is not to learn ‘from talk’ as a replacement of legitimate peripheral participation, but to ‘learn to talk’ as key to legitimate peripheral participation (1991:108-109). Knowing hence is not contingent on a “brain in a living body, but it also takes a very complex social, cultural, and historical system, which has accumulated learning over time [...] Knowing is an act of participation in complex ‘social learning systems’” (Wenger, 2000:225-226). In such systems, competence of others- that of Emirati newcomers- is historically and socially defined, and knowing is demonstrating competence that has already been set in social communities. Therefore, as the previous chapter outlined, as the ‘tokens’ Emiratis will face range of challenges, which the empirical data will reveal. Their competence is therefore defined by three factors (Wenger, 1998:2):

1. Their joint enterprise as understood by the members and continuously renegotiated. So, to be a competent contributor necessitates an insight of the nature of the community. If there are pre-existing boundaries between the nationals and expatriates, an ‘insight’ into the nature of such communities can be challenging.
2. The associations of mutual engagements that links the participants to form a social entity and relationships of mutuality. Competence is therefore based on engagement with the community and developing rapport and trust. The intersubjective (mis)understandings of the policy will shed light on whether such rapport and trust is shared amongst all organisational actors.
3. The shared repertoire of collective resource that members have established, such as routines, artefacts, sensibilities and vocabulary. Therefore, access to this repertoire as well as the ability to apply them correctly is essential to become a competent member. And once again, data will demonstrate if Emirati novices have access to such repertoire, and if they are perceived as capable to correctly engage with them.

However, each individual experiences knowing in their own distinct way. Therefore, socially defined competence is continually in interplay with one’s experiences, which in turn allows for learning to take place (Wenger, 2000). And it is such realities of the lives

of impacted employees that this research is interested in. Newcomers' experiences are at tension with the pre-defined competencies in the existing communities while they attempt to apprentice themselves and gradually belong to the pre-existing communities. Belonging to communities of practice can take different forms at different levels. The following three different modes coexist, and between them belonging to social learning systems takes place (Wenger, 2000:227):

1. *Engagement*: doing things collectively, communicating and creating artifacts. For example, attending a meeting or assisting a colleague with an issue. It is the various methods of engagement with one another and with the world that forms our experience of who we are as we learn about our capabilities and how the world reacts to our engagements. Opportunities for Emiratis to 'engage' will be explored throughout the study.
2. *Imagination*: building an image of our community and ourselves and the rest of the world so that we can orient ourselves and reflect on our position and discover opportunities. Wenger here applies the notion of imagination as suggested by Benedict Anderson (1983) to illustrate nations as communities, where seeing ourselves as part of a community like a nation necessitates imagination in order to be able to engage with our fellow citizens. Discrepancy in what each group thinks of such a community/what each group's community actually is. But yet, the question remains whether nationals and expatriate employees share the same imagination of a community, or are divided by a boundary that is being reinforced through the policy?
3. *Alignment*: Ensuring that local actions are suitably aligned with further practices in order for them to have an impact beyond our individual engagement. Rather than solely submitting to external authority, alignment here refers to "a mutual process of coordinating perspectives, interpretations, and actions so they realize higher goals" (p. 228). As organisational members arrive from various contexts with different goals and interests, their understandings of the policy and perspectives and how they accordingly enact in their practices will be explored in chapters 6 and 7.

Differentiating between these three modes of belonging is beneficial because analytically every mode adds a distinct feature to the establishment of social learning

systems and individual identities. Moreover, in practice, every mode necessitates a various kind of work. For instance, opportunities for joint activities are essential for the work of engagement; whereas imagination needs opportunities for taking a step back from our circumstances (Wenger, 2000). As the various modes can be conflicting as well as complimentary, Wenger (1998) advises balancing the restrictions of a mode with work of another. For instance, the restriction of engagement can be counterbalanced thorough reflections that lead to imagination or boundary collaborations requiring alignment with other practices to realize a mutual purpose.

In sum, learning takes place through engagement and belonging in the communities of practice, which allows for the formation of identity and the community of practice turns into the key context in which participants work out the common sense via mutual engagement (Wenger, 1998). Since the data reveals that such COPs exist amongst expatriate workforce, it is key for organisations to explore their dynamics as they can allow for Emirati novices to acquire expertise. As the authors describe, the continual involvement of the newcomers in the community involves:

“Absorbing and being absorbed in the ‘culture of practice’ [...] might include (knowing) who is involved, what they do, what everyday life is like, how masters talk, walk, work and generally conduct their lives... what learners need learn to become full practitioners. It includes an increasing understanding of how, when and about what old-timers collaborate, collude, and collide, and what they enjoy, dislike, respect, and admire” (Lave and Wenger, 1991:95).

In this study, the “masters” in the quote refers to the expatriates in organisation who must take on the responsibility of sharing their know-how. However, opportunity for participation is essential for learning. Since there are various social structures of practices and pre-existing power relations that determine the circumstances of participation, there are varieties of learning prospects given to the newcomers, which taken together with their own personal characteristics and contextual conditions leads to many learning trajectories (Nicolini, 2012; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Gherardi et al., 1998). Therefore, I will explore various learning trajectories of Emirati novices in this study.

It is important to note that LPP has been criticized for placing emphasis on illustrating persistence and perpetuation of practices, rather than explaining change (Nicolini, 2012). More specifically, the role of mediating artefacts has been unnoticed in exploring key changes influencing practices in post-industrial society (ibid). Furthermore, many scholars (Nicolini, 2010; Contu and Wilmott, 2000; 2003) have argued that COPs studies overlook the link between practice and its wider socio-historical context, such as widespread problems of power, ideology and domination. However, in the case of Emiratisation in this study, through a cultural psychological viewpoint, I situate the practices of communities in the wider context and incorporate notions the impact of notions such as culture and power in analysing the empirical data. Finally, coupling the terms community and practice, with an emphasis on community, can lead to weaken the key processual, social, temporary and conflictual character of practice, whereas the sense of community appears to be itself the outcome of specific practices (Nicolini, 2012: 93).

Communities of practice exemplify the need for a further understanding of what constitutes a body of knowledge and whether knowledge can be managed. Therefore, the remaining two sections aim at providing a better understanding of knowledge creation and knowledge transfer, which is at the core of understanding and disseminating working practices developed in the process of rolling out the policy.

3.1.5. Practice Epistemology & Knowledge Management

As discussed earlier, Emiratisation policy as a body of knowledge or best practice is continually re-contextualized, hence the meaning of it is in the working practices in each organisation, and is being re-formulated in practice in accordance to the intersubjective (mis)understandings that organise working practices. Governmental efforts to objectify Emiratisation practices across various industries and give it a unified meaning are in line with the de-contextualized studies of positive discrimination or affirmative actions discussed in the previous chapter, which believe implementation knowledge can be acquired a priori. Therefore, in this section I unravel the buzz word of 'knowledge management' as it is also significant in the training and development of Emirati workforce.

Often referred to as ‘another light-weighted managerial fad’ (Ray, 2005:1), interest in knowledge management (KM) has been remarkably increasing since the late 1990s. Such interest in objectification of knowledge is evident in knowledge artefacts, which illustrate the viewpoint of representational epistemology. Based on the Cartesian relation between thought and action, “Action is driven by reliable prior knowledge” (Tsoukas and Knudsen, 2002:425). On the contrary, the practice epistemology adopted in this study demonstrates well-informed engagement and utilisation of such artefacts, while adapting them in accordance to contextual demands (Jarzabkowski & Wilson, 2006). What is key in the practice view of knowledge is its focus on comprehending the social, historical and structural context in which knowledge is generated (Corradi et al., 2010).

The common threat amongst most literature on practice is the orientation to the distinction between the know-*that* and the know-*how*, which are the inter-related parts of knowledge (Ryle, 1949); and the tacit and explicit knowledge (Polanyi, 1966). Polanyi describes, “we know how to do it in practice... but we know more than we can tell” (Polanyi, 1966). Therefore, an inexpressible tacit coefficient exists that allows every thought and action (Ray, 2005). Therefore, the question is: can we know how to implement the policy? And how can we teach the ropes to the novices in organisations. As part of the KM efforts, there has been an increasing investment in understanding the working practices and the know-how (Ryle, 1949) and non-canonical practices (Brown and Duguid, 1991). Even though the concept of ‘practice’ suggests being something that can be reified, transferred and trained (Turner, 1994); however, the influence of practice theorists in organizational literature is rather as an epistemology for exploration of working practices and the ‘hidden’ knowledge that enables them (Corradi et al., 2010). And it is such working practices that this study explores in implementing the policy.

Development of the knowledge management efforts has been partly the result of the work by Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995). While Polanyi believes in the inexpressible nature of the tacit aspect, Nonaka stated that with adequate determination, parts of the tacit dimension could be converted to ‘explicit knowledge’ and transferred across the organisation when first ‘converted into words or numbers that anyone can understand’ (Nonaka and Takeuchi, 1995:9) and the task is to ‘express the inexpressible’ (Takeuchi and Nonaka, 2004:36). The two perspectives mirror challenges that exist in policy

implementation- more specifically in the case of Emiratization as empirical data reveals that often developing Emiratis is commonly narrowed to in-class trainings, believing in the conversation of expatriates' knowledge and experience into courses and certificates. Moreover, it also underlines what this study challenges: acquiring policy implementation knowledge a priori. Nonaka and Takeuchi's 'spiral of knowledge creation' became international phenomena. Their claim was demonstrated in the process of learning by trial and error, where in Japan, a project engineer was trained by a master bread maker to design a bread maker. This SECI model contains the following four stages of 'knowledge conversation' (Nonaka et al., 2000): 1. Socialisation: conversation of the chef's individual know-how to the engineer; 2. Externalisation: conversation of engineer's know-how to product specifications and explicit knowledge; 3. Combination: changing the specifications into formal documents which could be widely distributed; 4. Internalisation: applying and engaging with the explicit knowledge so that it turns into tacit know-how. These four stages foster the continuing dynamic interaction between the tacit and explicit knowledge in the 'spiral of knowledge creation'. So, can we transfer knowledge from nationals to expatriates? And, can we transfer policy implementation knowledge even in reified form?

Through a cultural psychological lens to practice that brings forward the importance of context, I remain critical of such 'knowledge conversion' that can be disseminated. One of the main critics of this knowledge creation process, Ray (2005:8) states, "the tacit knowing that enables practice is objectified: knowledge becomes a transferable commodity and communication is presented as if it were a form of conveyance". Furthermore, he adds that it is the Japanese organisational culture of 'company-as-family' or esprit de corps that brings insiders closer and hence creates group-level knowledge, which is unlike the individual knowledge (ibid). In the case of Emiratisation, we will see in the empirical chapters how challenges in organisational life due to the policy inhibit such 'company-as-family' culture.

Such a difference between the tacit knowing possessed by a group than its individual members is illustrated in the discussions of 'generative dance' (Cook and Brown: 1999). Discussing the knowledge one possess as the 'epistemology of possession', Cook and Brown (1999) describe that this epistemology does not encompass the knowing inherent in the individual and group practices and suggest that knowing as action calls for an

‘epistemology of practice’ (p. 386). Knowledge is a tool of knowing and it is through the ‘generative dance’, the interplay of knowledge and knowing that new knowledge and knowing is generated (Cook and Brown, 1999:393). Rather than converting tacit into explicit knowledge, the concept of ‘generative dance’ and the generation of new knowledge are demonstrated in the instance of flute making and the dynamic communication among the social and the material world; i.e. master & apprentice and the flute. And, in the case of Emiratisation, this would refer to the role expats might be performing in relation to the Emiratis as they are positioned as masters. I will illustrate this further in chapter 7 through the notion of coaches and mentors.

The viewpoint of knowing in practice, which I adopt in this study, highlights the understanding of knowledge as “at any given time, what the practice has made it” (Orlikowski, 2002:205). It therefore emphasises the knowledgeability of action or knowing in practice. Knowing is an endless social achievement, constantly being re-created when “actors engage the world in practice” (Orlikowski, 2002:249). This emphasises the mutually constitutive nature of “knowing how” and practice. Therefore, sharing “knowing how” allows others to learn the practice that requires the “knowing how” and enables them to enact in diverse situations (Orlikowski, 2002:271). Therefore, regardless of having the ‘knowledge’ of implementing the policy acquired through the network of COPs, it is through Emiratising in each specific organisational context that action agents learn about policy roll out in situ. Furthermore, the importance of ‘knowing how’ is fundamental for Emirati novices as it challenges the current training programs.

In sum, practice epistemology explains the tension that exists in two different aspect of implementing the Emiratisation policy. First, this becomes evident in the context of training and development of nationals, and the difference between knowledge and knowing as discussed above. Second, it emerges as the government intends to generate and re-contextualise best practices across industries, which will be explored in depth in the following section.

3.1.6. Standards and Best Practices in Managerial Literature

Developing best Emiratisation practices to share across organisations remains one of the objectives of the government. In an attempt to demonstrate some of these practices,

annual summits and conferences are held in the cities of Dubai and Abu Dhabi. Delegates constitute a network of Emiratisation communities-of-practice, including stakeholders, such as HR officials, federal representatives from various councils and ministries, and numerous organisations involved with the policy. For instance, experts at the 6th Emiratisation forum in Abu Dhabi (November 11, 2014) have ‘highlighted best practices to enhance Emiratisation in private sector’ (www.mideaster.com/news). Furthermore, the ministry of labour continually works with other nations in an attempt to transfer best practices that relate to Emiratisation, such as management of the temporary contractual employment cycle (www.uaeinteract.com/government/labour.asp).

As discussed in the previous section, “knowledge management” has been the buzzword in the managerial literature for more than a decade. Recognizing and capturing core competencies have been considered as critical to gaining competitive edge. Within the context of implementing external policies, when such policies are rolled out in organisations, obstacles are encountered. As a result, one of the key managerial tasks is finding solutions that can later be perceived as “best practices.”

Although defining a ‘best’ practice in actual quantifiable terms is complex, they have been applied in various sectors, such as technical standards and business models (Kostova & Roth, 2002) and public policy decision making (Hall & Jennings, 2006). In the current research, Emiratisation policy in itself can be seen as a standard and a best practice. Moreover, to increase feasibility of implementing Emiratisation, the government hopes to capture and transfer the best practices, which have been generated in rolling out the policy, across organisations in various industries.

From a technical viewpoint, best practice has been defined as, “an efficient model of action orienting it toward achieving a predefined goal” (Bazin, 2010:2). This definition is related to the etymology of the word practice that originates from the ancient Greek *prassein* which means “to do, to realize, to accomplish”. Hence, the perfect way of acting is agreed upon and standardized as the “best practice”, which everyone must implement since the measure of assessment will be its efficiency (ibid). Considered a “frozen procedure” (Bazin, 2010:2) which increases efficiency without requiring any thoughts, best practice has been referred to in the classic literature (ibid) as a generic

material (Nelson & Winter, 1982), a scheme of action (March & Simon, 1958) or individual habit (Stene, 1940). However, through a cultural psychological and pragmatic standpoint, I contend such de-contextualized perspective on practices and will demonstrate through this study their temporally unfolding and emergent nature.

Detecting best practices is a challenge in itself (Brown and Duguid, 2000) since not only there is a gap between how a task is explained in process manual and what it actually is, but also there is a gap between what people think they do and what they actually do. Since real work practices demand tacit improvisations, these gaps must be bridged in order to gain a better understanding of organisations' best practices. Bringing forward the notion of context in this thesis, and through a longitudinal study I look into not only the public sphere, but also two specific organisations in order to get a better understanding of what are commonly known as Emiratisation 'best practices', and how they are developed over time and re-contextualized. In doing so, I will highlight improvisations and enactments in various contexts.

When best practices as bodies of knowledge are re-contextualised within or amongst organisations, the issue of their 'stickiness' or 'leakiness' emerges as the common theme in management studies (Szulanski 1996, Brown and Duguid 2001, Jensen et al., 2004). Studying why organisations do not know what they know, Gabriel Szulanski (1996) suggests that knowledge-related obstacles, such as the audience's low absorptive capacity and distant association amongst the source and recipients are the main obstacles in transferring best practices. And in the case of Emiratisation, each organisation in its unique context faces the challenge of adopting the 'best practices' that have been identified and promoted in the public sphere. Szulanski proposes increasing efforts to enhance the learning capacities of those involved, nurturing a closer relationship among these entities, and ensuring practices are well understood and communicated.

However, as discussed earlier, two different themes exist in knowledge management literature (Ray, 2005): the Japanese suggestion that tacit knowledge can be converted into explicit knowledge and re-contextualised, versus the viewpoint of knowing-in-practice, which I adopt in this study. The former suggests that knowledge can be transferred as a commodity and best practices have a universal meaning, whereas the

latter implies the ‘mutually constituted’ (Tsoukas, 1996:14) nature of tacit and explicit knowledge and the inability to distil the tacit coefficient of practice. Best practices as explicit knowledge are rather information and as Polanyi states, “The ideal of a strictly explicit knowledge is indeed self-contradictory; deprived of their tacit coefficients, all spoken words, all formulae, all maps and graphs are strictly meaningless” (1969:195). This viewpoint illustrates the underlying problem that exists in identifying and re-contextualising implementation best practices. The tacit knowledge is inexplicable in every abstract sense and we will never be able to give it an explicit description as its actuality is only implied by our ability to ‘do things’ in practice (Polanyi and Prosch, 1977:62). And it is this tacit knowledge of the action agents in rolling out the policy that allows for various working practices to emerge. Re-contextualisation of best practices requires an iterative struggle to reconstruct the practice being transferred (Winter and Szulanski, 2001; Jensen et al., 2004). Hence, adaptation of the practice is vital in this process. The general meaning of the practice will be affected when overall adaptations are done. However, specific changes to practice will impact some aspects of the practice while preserving its general meaning (Shannon and Weaver, 1949; Roberts and O'Reilly, 1974; Muchinsky, 1977). The process of transferring best practices becomes more challenging (‘stickiness’) when more adaptation of the original practice is required (Jensen et al., 2004). Also, timing of adaptations plays an important role because as the complexity of practices increase, changes to practices will make them incompatible with the original one (ibid).

As a result, utilisation of policy implementation best practices necessitates the individual to improvise in varied contexts. In line with the view of knowing in practice, the individual in the dynamic and unexpected work environment must improvise when action is informed by knowing. Therefore, improvisation “involves reworking pre-composed material and designs in relation to unanticipated ideas conceived, shaped, and transformed under the special conditions of performance, thereby adding unique features to every creation” (Berliner 1994:241 cited in Weick, 1998:544). Examples of such improvisations will be demonstrated in chapter 7 when looking into organisational working practices. Weick (1998) discusses that in following rules, managers depend on their insights and perceptions to identify the path to attain the anticipated result, in accordance to their own experience of having been there and their know-how. Improvisation is after all, “the pitting of an acquired competence or skill against un-

programmed opportunity...” (Ryle, 1979:129). And the specific context of each implementation site offers opportunities to the action agents to improvise. Individuals’ practices set a precedent and as a result improvisation eventually turns into policy (Weiss, 1980; Weick, 1998) when such individuals implement ad hoc, subjective and improvisational strategies in unanticipated settings (Daft and Weick 1984). Empirical data in chapter 7 will illustrate examples of such improvisations.

In summary, the knowing in practice view offers a new understanding of bodies of knowledge, such as best practices, and illustrates that attempts at identifying, coding and re-contextualising them objectifies them to having a universal meaning and value. Therefore, as adaptation and interpretation of policy is vital in implementing it in the dynamic organisational contexts, the importance of “knowing how” for action agents, which allows local enactment becomes more evident. As a result, the working practices that emerge in the process of Emiratising are different in various organisations since stakeholders with different interests, arriving from various contexts and holding a range of perspectives apply the policy differently. The relation between such contextual perspectives constitutes the intersubjective (dis)agreements and (mis)understandings, which in turn inform and (re)shape Emiratisation working practices. In order to better understand such perspectives and their impact on practices, a focus on the how particular social traditions and practices shape the implementation of the policy, and how this is co-constructed by stakeholders is necessary. Hence, the next section will show that through a cultural psychological perspective and with an emphasis placed on ‘context’- which was discussed in the introduction of the thesis, exploring the intersubjective exchanges will allow for explaining organisational members’ activities and strengthen the study of practice.

3.2. On Cultural Psychology & Intersubjectivity

3.2.1. Cultural Psychology & Context

As discussed in the introduction and throughout the chapters, in line with the cultural psychological tradition (Rommetveit 1979; Schutz 1973), this study is primarily concerned with meaning, “meaning-making” and meaning-using process and how such meaning is shared and fundamental to every activity and experience (Bruner, 1990:xiii). Therefore, the variety of stakeholders’ perspectives coming from different contexts, which in turn inform the working practices involved in rolling out the Emiratisation policy, can be explored. After all, it is through common practical understandings amongst a collective developed over time that practices are centrally organised (Schatzki, 2001).

The discipline of cultural psychology understands the mind not as a general processing device (Cole, 1998), but as a “content-driven, domain-specific, and constructively stimulus bound; and it cannot be extricated from the historically variable and culturally diverse intentional worlds in which it plays a co-constitutive part” (Shweder, 1990:13). Such mutual constitution implies psychological tendencies entail and are formed by engagement with the culture-specific meanings, practices, artefacts, and institutions of specific cultural contexts and such psychological tendencies allow the continuation of these specific cultural contexts (Fiske et al., 1998; Schweder, 1990).

In *Acts of Meaning* (1990), Bruner discusses Cultural Psychology as a field that is mainly concerned with meaning, “the meaning-making” and meaning-using process and how such meaning making is shared and is essential to all activities and experiences (1990: xiii). Such a new discipline places culture at its core, rather than its peripheries and to understand culturally mediated thinking, it necessitates denoting the artefacts that through them behaviour is mediated and also the context in which the thinking happens (Cole, 1998). In line with Dewey’s (1938:66) explanation of ‘situation’: “... we never experience nor form judgements about objects and events in isolation, but only in connection with a contextual whole”, Cole (1998: 132-134) talks about the two core conceptions of context, that which surrounds and that which weaves.

Context as that which surrounds shows various levels of context. Here, the psychologist's focus is on the task, trying to apprehend how the task is formed by the broader levels of context. A complex temporal interdependence exists amongst different levels of context and hence such levels constitute one another, while power imbalance is evident amongst participants at different levels (Cole, 1998).

Context as that which weaves together, describes context as “the connected whole that gives coherence to its parts” (Cole, 1998:135). This definition infers the dynamic and unclear boundaries between task and its context, where context cannot be reduced to that which surrounds. The mind works through artefacts that are woven together and hence weave together the activities of individuals in accordance with evolving events of life. Interests of participants and inhibitors of their activities determine the tools they interact with in the world and therefore the appropriate order of context. Also, applicable interpretation of context for the behavioural analyst is contingent on the goals of the analysis. According to this view on context: “the combination of goals, tools, and settings constitutes simultaneously the context of behaviour and ways in which cognition can be said to be related to that context” (Cole, 1998:137).

Consequently, cultural psychology shows how persons in various contexts, with various goals and interests develop various perspectives since they see the world differently. This generates the problem of intersubjectivity, which will be explored in rolling out the Emiratisation policy as different stakeholders arriving from different contexts respond differently. Therefore, this study explores how these stakeholders understand the policy, and how the meaning of the policy is co-constructed and implemented over time in organisations and the impact it has on the working practices.

3.2.2. Intersubjectivity in Organisations

The significance of intersubjectivity was underlined in the 19th century by German philosophers Johann Fichte and G.W. Hegel. Nevertheless, in the twentieth century, it was the writings of American social psychologist Herbert Mead that advanced this notion.

At the core of human social life, intersubjectivity has been defined in many different terms in the literature. Gillespie and Cornish (2009) have categorised six definitions that are in circulation:

First, at its most preliminary level, intersubjectivity represents agreement in terms of sharing a definition of an object. For instance, in studies of native and non-native Japanese speakers, Mori & Hayashi (2006) illustrate how intersubjectivity in interactions can be reached through coordination of linguistic and non-linguistic resources as language learning develops in socially situated practices.

Second, intersubjectivity has also been defined as mutual awareness of agreement or disagreement and also recognising such understanding or misunderstanding (Laing, Phillipson & Lee, 1966). The framework developed by Laing et al. can be used in the understanding the dynamics of trust and distrust through three levels of intersubjectivity (Gillespie, 2007). The first level of “*direct perspectives*”- the level of attitudes, beliefs and direct representations- is interested in the self’s and other’s perspectives on a certain phenomenon. For instance, operating at this basic level is evident the dress code/colour of interviewees or political campaigners attempting to draw on the implicit and unreflective perception of the audience who associate their choice with being trustworthy and reliable. The second level of “*meta-perspective*” relates to the viewpoints of self and others on each other’s perspectives on the certain phenomenon. In other words, an awareness of the perspective of the other and also self’s understanding of the intent of other. At this level, individuals are acting upon the direct perspective of other, such as partners purchasing roses at above average prices on valentines’ day to communicate their love for their partner. According to Goffman (1959), this is to “give off” a specific expression (Gillespie, 2007). At the last level, the “*meta-metaperspectives*” refer to self’s perspective on the other’s perspective on self’s perspective on the phenomenon and vice versa. In other words, what other thinks self thinks other thinks. As meta-perspectives allow action upon the direct perspective of

another, meta-metaperspectives allow action upon the metaperspective of another (ibid). Examples of people (and organisations) often operating at this level can be seen in the implementation of Emiratisation policy, in terms of national's perspective on non-national's perspective on national's perspective on the policy. As individuals always only have partial information about other's perspective, trust is essential and therefore the contextual embeddedness of intersubjectivity must be highlighted (Gillespie, 2007).

Third, the notion of intersubjectivity has been used by cognitive approaches to describe the attribution of intentionality, emotions and beliefs to others (Gardenfors, 2008).

Forth, several researchers concentrate on the embodied feature of intersubjectivity and theorising intersubjectivity as implicit since individuals instantly bound together through an embodied orientation to one another (Merleau-Ponty, 1945; Coelho & Figueiredo, 2003), illustrating the least reflective kind of intersubjectivity.

Fifth, the situated, interactional, and performative attribute of intersubjectivity is stressed by researchers, including Goffman (1959), Garfinkel (1984) and Schegloff (1992). As the most reflective practice of intersubjectivity (Gillespie, 2007), Goffman (1959) for instance contended that analysis of face-face interactions is necessary for an adequate comprehension of interpersonal relations and society's interaction order.

Finally, cultural and dialogical researchers have used the concept of intersubjectivity to explore the partially shared and mainly taken-for-granted background that interlocutors assume and against which things can be said and done (Jovchelovitch, 2007; Rommetveit, 1979; Schutz, 1973).

The six definitions of intersubjectivity discussed above are not mutually exclusive since they each denote a different important dimension of the concept. Therefore, Gillespie and Cornish (2009) have defined intersubjectivity as "the variety of relations between perspectives... and the perspectives can belong to individuals, groups, or traditions and discourses, and they can manifest as both implicit (or taken for granted) and explicit (or reflected upon)" (p.19). And it is this definition that has been adopted in this study, which provides a language of dis(agreement) and mis(understanding) that allows us to

talk about various intersubjective relations, which in turn inform and centrally organise practices.

Literature on intersubjectivity within the managerial writings is important in links to practices unfolding, and the concept underpins organizational practices. The subject of intersubjectivity contributes significantly to intra and inter-organizational studies as perspective taking is the bedrock of any commercial exchange, collaboration and organisational change, such as mergers and acquisitions or external policy implementation.

Advocating a strong culture of perspective making and perspective taking in organisations, Boland & Tenakasi (1995) argue that generating knowledge that leads to innovative products and processes in knowledge intensive firms demands not only having solid perspectives within a community, but also the capability to consider the perspectives of others. This is crucial as such organisations consist of various communities, which have very specific expertise. By proposing electronic communication systems to facilitate knowledge work, the authors rely on narratives to assist in building strong perspectives in a community of knowing and also expressing such perspective can build boundary objects that can facilitate perspective taking between communities.

Furthermore, in managerial studies, resource management amongst various trading partners and hence relational norms are at the basis of successful business exchange. Spekman et al. (1996) discuss such relational norms as relationship specific expectations about behaviour that is shared by all stakeholders. The authors add that as effective collaboration is becoming more and more crucial to sustain competitive advantage, when depending on such shared collaborative norms, managers must take into account the perspectives of both parties and their expectations in a dyadic approach. These mutually held expectations include understanding the other party's needs, sharing knowledge and experience, trying for mutually beneficial results, and also together, always expecting changes that could influence the prospects of their relationship.

Finally, in demonstrating the power imbalance existing in organisations, Galinsky et al. (2006) illustrate empirically that power is associated with greater difficulty in taking other's perspective. Based on four experiments and a correlational study, the authors

concluded that those primed with power relied heavily on their own position and view while considering the feelings and opinions of others with less accuracy. In organisations, such reduced inclination to understand other individuals' perceptions and emotions are the "perspectives not taken" (p. 1068). The authors further argue that by not taking the perspective of others, the powerful faster and more easily take steps to achieve their individual goals (Galinsky et al., 2003). Moreover, the findings on perspective taking are in line with the studies that show how power can lead to objectification (Gruenfeld et al., 2005; Keltner et al., 2003), where the powerful are inclined to see others merely as qualities which serve their own objectives, without thinking of other's human aspects.

The role of intersubjectivity in implementing Emiratisation in organisations will be clarified in the analysis chapter of the study.

CHAPTER 4

4.0. RESEARCH SETTINGS & METHODS

As illustrated in chapter two, literature on positive discrimination policies tend to adopt a de-contextualized approach and take the policy as a given, concerned merely with the outputs of its implementation, hardly taking into account the process through which the policy is understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in organizations and how it effects the working practices of those involved. Such policies as best practices and social change programmes also take for granted the wider context, such as cultural gaps, power inequality, and other contextual factors, including time. However, a cultural psychological perspective that I have adopted in this longitudinal study is focused on exploring the ‘realities’ of policy implementation as it is told and seen. The emphasis is on “thinking, meaning-making, and concepts, must be understood not as attributes solely of the individual but contextualized within the social and cultural environment” (Haste, 2012, p.2). Therefore, understanding the ‘how’ of Emiratisation implementation has required studying it in “real world”- in concrete human activities in context as its main material (Howarth et al., 2013). Consequently, a practice lens is needed to explore the working practices and the practical and ‘hidden’ knowledge that inform them (Gherardi, 2009) in comprehending policy implementation, as highlighted in chapter three. Practices after all are shared practical understandings around activities (Schatzki, 2001). The study therefore examines the phenomena of Emiratisation implementation in context, through a pragmatic approach, entailing exploration of various interests at stake, in different contexts over time, through multi-method data collection and analysis approach.

More specifically, it first looks into the public discourses to understand the social and cultural context in which the policy and practice of Emiratisation is being developed (chapter 5). Furthermore, organisational discourses- narratives and intersubjective exchanges are explored in two concrete organisations to better understand the organisational context to see if public discourses are reproduced at the organisational level or not. And, to further explore the differences and tensions on those narratives and (dis)agreements and (mis)understandings on policy through a dialogical analysis (chapter 6). Finally, how all that is enacted through practices of the two organisational and how they impact the ‘mediated array of human activity centrally organised around

them’ will be explored in chapter 7. Bridging the macro and the micro will illustrate how Emiratisation policy is understood, con-constructed and implemented over time in various contexts.

The research was designed as a longitudinal qualitative study conducted over a period of three years in two organizations in the Finance and Insurance industry. The data corpus consists of 54 in-depth interviews, 30 hours of observations, 2 Emiratisation conferences, 4 consultancy reports, and annual reports for both organizations during three years and online quota decrees. The thematic, narrative and dialogical analysis of the data have been applied to explore common narratives on what Emiratisation policy means, the intersubjective (dis)agreements and (mis)understandings and how the policy has been implemented (see Appendix 1 for a summary of research design).

4.1. Research Paradigm, Design and Setting

Underlining the assumptions and research paradigm (Burrell & Morgan, 1979) in this research is essential in clarifying the approach followed. This study is conducted in line with the interpretive and social constructivist paradigm and sees the social world “as an emergent social process which is created by the individuals concerned” (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 28). From an ontological perspective, the thesis is characterised by relativism as it questions the ‘out-there-ness’ of the world (Willig, 2001, p.3) and emphasises the diversity of interpretations that can be applied to the notion of Emiratisation policy. From an epistemological perspective, it is characterised as subjectivism in that meaning is co-created and “one can only understand by occupying the frame of reference of the participant in action” (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p.5).

Therefore, in an attempt to explore the ‘how’ of positive discrimination policy implementation and the working practices that unfold in implementing Emiratisation policy, qualitative research method was adopted. This method was appropriate since it provides a holistic account of a novel phenomenon which existing theories do not fully explain (Swanborn, 2010; Maxwell, 1996; Lee, 1999; Eisenhardt, 1989). The ‘holistic approach’ means we must consider that overall, behaviour of individuals and social phenomena are determined by a complex set of causes and hence simple causal models (i.e. applied in surveys) are not suitable (Swanborn, 2010). As Attride-Stirling (2001,

p.403) stated, “The value of qualitative research lies in its exploratory and explanatory power”. Qualitative research offers insights into how individuals make sense of the phenomenon being explored, while allowing the researcher to make sense of the process through which events unfold (Maxwell, 1996). This qualitative research is both deductive, as it draws on the pre-existing literature on the phenomena, policy studies and practice lens; and inductive, since it aims to unveil particular results from the collected data.

Case study method was used in this research which focuses on a particular instance or manifestation of the phenomenon to be studied (Swanborn, 2010, p. 21). As Gerring (2007:1) explains:

“There are two ways to learn how to build a house. One might study the construction of many houses- perhaps a large subdivision or even hundreds of thousands of houses. Or one might study the construction of one particular house. The first approach is a cross-case method. The second is a within-case or case study method.”

Furthermore, the study applies a multiple case study as more than one instance of phenomenon is studied (Swanborn, 2010); drawing from its strength for comprehensive inquiry into social processes that are observed within the context they develop (Gerring, 2007). Multiple case study approach was effective as it allowed collection of comparative data, and hence richer analysis than single cases (Eisenhardt, 1991; Yin, 1994).

Finally, this qualitative research is a longitudinal study, where the process of Emiratisation at each organisation is studied at two different points in time. The longitudinal study allows the researcher to document changes of perceptions or actions via continual collection cycles and offers “the most consistent way of analysing developments and process in their course” (Flick, 1998:138).

4.1.1. Research Context

The research setting for my multiple case studies was *Invest Co.* and *Insurance Inc.* The finance and insurance sector was selected as it has been under the spotlights by the government to take in Emiratis in accordance to strict quotas (see resolution in Appendices 2 and 3) Selecting these two organisations for conducting my study was appropriate for the following reasons: First, both are participating in the Emiratisation programme. Invest Co. has been nominated for Emiratisation award for its outstanding efforts and the head of Human Resources at Insurance Inc. has been a guest speaker at various Emiratisation forums and conferences, discussing the importance of the policy. Furthermore, as a well-established institution and well-ahead in the path of Emiratisation implementation, Invest Co.'s implementation practices give an impression of success – one that has followed the norm and must be followed- and hence organisations such as Insurance Inc. are following its footsteps and 'best practices', while adapting and inventing their own wheels and hence provide excellent cases for comparison. Finally, as discussed earlier, government institutions are highly saturated when it comes to national employment while private organisations are reaching out to the international pool to search for suitable candidates. Therefore, semi-private organisations such as Invest Co. and Insurance Inc. which are placed in the middle of the spectrum provide an excellent opportunity to study their working practices. Invest Co. and Insurance Inc. provide an exceptional opportunity to study how two organisations that are obliged to follow the quota system, and are also at the cross roads of private and public institutions, implement the policy.

- **INVEST CO.**

Invest Co. is a large semi-private financial institution based in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates. The organisation has international presence in more than twenty countries. Offering financial services and products, Invest Co. is perceived as one of the most reliable institutions in the region, holding significant market share. However, the organisation is facing immense competition as the number of financial institutions in UAE is rapidly increasing. Furthermore, Invest Co. must comply with the Emiratisation quota of the financial industry, according to which organisations in the financial sector must increase the number of their national employees by 4% annually (See Appendix

2). Therefore, just as its competitors, the company is attempting to select and train the best national candidates. Currently the organisation has more than 4,000 employees, of which 33% are nationals.

Committed to implementing Emiratisation, Invest Co. has introduced specific programmes to facilitate Emiratisation implementation, which are dedicated to the education and development of national newcomers. These include a state of the art “College” and a well-established “Emiratisation department”. Therefore, the organisation was deemed suitable and noteworthy for this research project as it exemplifies an institution implementing the Emiratisation policy at its best. Invest Co.’s efforts begin with an emphasis on transforming and developing the nationals through its various programmes. Invest Co. takes great pride in its initiatives for nationals. As part of the Emiratisation programme, the College at Invest Co. offers a series of individual courses tailored for nationals. These include not only speciality courses, such as Risk and Change Management, but also cover fundamental skills including Communication, Problem Solving, and Negotiations amongst many others. Moreover, there are Master Programmes in various areas of Business Administration.

Invest Co. emphasises that such efforts are in line with the mission of the policy and the advice of the founder of UAE, late Sheikh Zayed Al-Nahyan who stated, “we must open up new horizons for their [nationals] ambitions, remove hurdles obstructing their ways, and pass on old experiences and good ideas”. Invest Co. refers to their initiatives as the first step in ‘providing the opportunities for Emiratis to excel, ‘nothing is more important than investing in the future leaders of UAE’, and ‘Emiratisation has our absolute support’.¹⁹

- **INSURANCE INC**

As Invest Co. is thriving in its Emiratisation initiatives, *Insurance Inc.* can be viewed as following its path and attempting to re-contextualise its ‘best practices’, but is still in its early stages. Insurance Inc. is one of the largest and oldest insurance companies in United Arab Emirates. Based in Abu Dhabi, this semi-private organisation offers competitive insurance solutions and innovative products, making it one of the most

¹⁹ Annual reports

reliable insurers of UAE. Insurance Inc. provides both individual and corporate products, such as medical and home insurance and corporate aviation and energy. The organisation holds branches across UAE and has more than 400 employees comprised of 30 different nationalities. National employees constitute only 11% of the total number of insurance professionals at this organisation. Insurance Inc. also faces the challenge of immense competition due to the increasing number of newly established insurers in the region. Furthermore, according to the head of human resources, the organisation must meet the quota set by the ministry of labour, which indicates that the percentage of national employees must reach 14% by the year 2015 (see Appendix 3 for resolution)

In order to facilitate Emiratisation, in 2013, human resources department (HR) at Insurance Inc. embarked on an initiative that resulted in hiring an experienced female Emiratisation officer. Therefore, an Emiratisation department has been gradually established as part of the HR. Furthermore, the organisation enrolled itself in the *Absher* programme (the official website of Absher), which is an initiative started by the Ministry of Presidential Affairs to facilitate UAE nationals enter the private sector.²⁰ Insurance Inc. is one of the few companies in the industry that has taken part in this initiative. The new initiatives of this organisation make it an appealing case study in which also the trajectory of some of the transferred practices is being studied.

4.2. Data Collection and Selection of Participants

This study uses multiple data sources, namely interviews, observations, and archival data. The triangulation of the data enhances confidence in the robustness and accuracy of the emerging theory (Jick, 1979; Denzin, 1989; Kumar, Stern, & Anderson, 1993). Applying several methods and measures of an empirical phenomenon allow to ‘overcome problems of bias and validity’ (Blaikie, 1991:115). Denzin (1978) describes four forms of triangulation as: 1) *data triangulation*: data is collected at various points in time and through various sources, 2) *investigator triangulation*: as data collected by various researchers individually and then outcomes are compared and contrasted, 3) *methodological triangulation*: different methods of data collection are applied, 4) *theory*

²⁰ See <http://www.absher.ae/en/>

triangulation various theories are applied in order to interpret the data set. Furthermore, a fifth category was introduced by Janesick (1994) as *interdisciplinary triangulation*, where the research practice is informed by many academic disciplines, such as social policy, sociology, anthropology (in Cox and Hassard, 2005). Every category of triangulation is also constituted of different sub-types, such as *methodological triangulation*, which incorporates a combination of qualitative and quantitative research designs (Creswell, 1994; Paul 1996; Saunders et al., 2001; Cox and Hassard, 2005). In accordance to the above categorization, this research applies both data and methodological triangulation as data has been collected in a three year time period and various types of data collection methods (interviews, observation and documents) have been employed.

4.2.1 Data Sources

Studying the public sphere and two organisations for three years illustrated how the policy is understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in various contexts and allows for identifying working practices (Schatzki, 2002, 2006) through attending Emiratisation conferences and forums, interviews, field observations and documentary data.

During data collection, many informal meetings and discussions with the employees of Invest Co. and Insurance Inc. took place both prior and after the set meetings and interviews. In total, 54 semi-structured interviews were conducted (3 with those associated with the federal government and policy makers) concentrating on how the nationals and expatriates understand the meaning of Emiratisation policy and its practice in the context of its implementation in each organisation. Furthermore, large samples of secondary data (see Appendix 4), including annual reports for both organisations during three years, press releases, four consultancy reports, presentations and reports from two Emiratisation summits and conferences, and online policy documents were gathered and other online sources. I also visited not only the headquarters and the various branches of each organisation, but also attended several meetings, visited the ‘College’ of Invest Co. and sat in several workshops. A total number of 30 hours were spent in the field during observation.

4.2.1.1. Interviews

Conducting interviews in this study facilitated the process of enquiring openly about situational meanings for action and discursive understandings through interpretation (Hopf, 2004). Focus groups were not used in this study due to the risk that participants might feel inhibited in openly participating in the discussion of the topic in front of others due to the topic's sensitivity. As the nature of this study has been the understanding of Emiratisation and the practices involved in implementing the policy, the use of interviews is in line with the social constructionist stance of this research and has allowed for exploration of participant's perceptions and meanings, instead of an external objective reality (Sarantakos, 2005). Dealing with 'interpreting' social realities, semi-structured individual interviews allowed for comprehension of the life worlds of both nationals and non-nationals and their relation to their situation (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000). Different issues emerged during the discussions, allowing for amending the topic guide, given the flexible nature of semi-structured interviews.

During two visits to UAE, 28 interviews at Invest Co. and 24 interviews at Insurance Inc. were conducted. As described in the following section, observation in more public environments (Flick, 1998) was also applied as a data collection method to better comprehend work practices at both organisations. However, interviews and observations remain key data sets in this study. Narrative fragments generated through interviews have allowed me to "piece them together into more-or-less coherent stories" (Brown & Humpherys, 2003:128). In uncertain circumstances, while providing safety, narratives allow the subjects to make sense of the change process (Garcia-Lorenzo, 2010, 2004). As Boje expresses, "in organizations, storytelling is the preferred sense-making currency of human relationships among internal and external stakeholders" (1991:106). Narration is not a particular form of description, but "it is the archetypal mode of a subject's experience of the world" (Lahlou, 2010, p.310). Narration is not a particular form of description, but "it is the archetypal mode of a subject's experience of the world" (Lahlou, 2010). Hence, it is by the use of language, the narrative as transactions and not only representations, that meaning is generated when participants give sense to their experiences 'through integrated and sequenced accounts or stories' (Harré & Gillett, 1994; Cunliffe, Luhman, Boje, 2004:263).

4.2.1.2. Field Observation: Participant and non-participant observation

Research at *Invest Co.* began with a visit to the Human Resource department. I learned that a separate division, called “Emiratisation department” functions as an arm of HR, responsible for recruitment, development and placement of the national employees. An Emiratisation officer, a female national, alongside with her team facilitates the implementation of the policy within the organisation. Operation of this team was observed during the first day, making organisational commitment and the urgency of the task of Emiratising clear.

Based on a recommendation from the head of HR, I began visiting the “College”, located in the outskirts of Abu Dhabi (thirty minutes from the headquarters). The “College”, consisting of further HR offices and many classrooms to train both nationals and non-nationals, was toured with an HR officer making evident the level of investment in this establishment. Designated classrooms equipped with the latest technology are used to educate nationals, and illustrate management’s commitment to the policy. Furthermore, I attended lectures and workshops (on leadership and mentorship) during my visits, which are aimed at both nationals and non-national managers, being delivered by UK based consultants. In addition, I visited not only the head office, but also three branches of *Invest Co.* in Abu Dhabi during the fieldwork. Interviewing some of the participants at various branches gave me the opportunity to observe their working environment and to better understand their challenges.

Also, an extensive amount of time was spent at the corporate department during field work at *Invest Co.*, as in between interviews I was allowed to sit in selected national managers’ offices to observe their meetings and interactions with non-nationals and national newcomers. This shed light on how their understanding of the policy is manifested in their selection and development of nationals. I also had the opportunity to observe the appointment of a national middle manager for a one year sabbatical in order to take a management course in Washington DC as part of the Emiratisation programme. Observing similar motivational and developmental incentives being offered to nationals made me interested in such practices and I began following (through the chat via the blackberry messenger) the trajectory of a young national employee attempting to pursue an MBA programme in London. This experience has exemplified

the gap that can exist between organisational commitment to the policy and its plans, and nationals' capabilities.

During data collection at *Insurance Inc.*, I had the opportunity to observe and participate first-hand at the operations of the Human Resource department. Besides observing some of their meetings, more than five hours were spent alongside the Chief Human Resource Officer (CHRO) getting involved in reviewing applications of candidates for the "Emiratization Officer" position. The following day, I provided feedback during the post-interview session and selection process. The nominated candidate plays a key role, as this was Insurance Inc.'s first step in establishing an Emiratization division in HR. During this observation, I focused on what CHRO, who is an experienced national, considered as important qualifications for the Emiratization Officer position. Moreover, the process reflected how he envisioned the division would contribute to the implementation of the Emiratization policy at the organisation and his intended approach. Notes were taken after each meeting, which were used in order to have a better understanding of the HR practices. These have been incorporated into the discussion section of the study.

In addition, during the research process in Abu Dhabi, I made a day visit to Insurance Inc.'s two branches in the city of Dubai (a two hour drive from Abu Dhabi). The visit was suggested by the CHRO. One of the two branches had been newly established and two national female employees had been recently hired at these branches. Interviews were conducted with these two employees and half a day was spent at each branch observing their operations and the challenges faced by national employees.

Following this visit, through one of the employees in Dubai and with the permission of the HR department, I was put in direct contact with a newly appointed female national. Her role as a deputy manager took place in the city of Dubai. However, she had requested a ten day training program in the headquarters in Abu Dhabi, constituting of rotation amongst various departments. After an informal meeting with her, during which we had the opportunity to briefly discuss her plans, I was allowed to shadow her at my discretion and observed her daily activities for three days. After attending several sessions with her, I then conducted a 90 minutes interview, which was informed by the previous observations. This participant and her friend were also interviewed during the

second phase of data collection, in order to follow their trajectory and explore their experiences of being part of the Emiratisation process.

Also, after conducting the interviews, during each visit, I spent two consecutive days visiting the Motor department at the head office in Abu Dhabi. The first visit started with a tour of the department guided by a non-national line manager. I spent the rest of the visit walking around the department, or sitting at the customer service area where the majority of activities take place. This non-participant observation provided a clearer understanding of not only the activities of this department but also the physical plan and distribution of the employees, and the position of the Emirati employees within it. During the observations, the issue of cultural constraints became more evident, informing the analysis.

Furthermore, during the first field trip to Abu Dhabi, I visited the TAWTEEN Council (Abu Dhabi Nationalisation council) and conducted an interview with the head of this council. Although the role of TAWTEEN is described on the council's website and was also explained during this meeting, its day-to-day operation and its accessibility to public was observed.

Finally, I had the opportunity of attending an Emiratisation conference in Dubai in May 2012, an Emiratisation summit and employment exhibition in February 2014. The participants and presenters who were mostly from the industry, not only presented their way of overcoming Emiratisation, but also recent trends of Emiratisation were illustrated.

4.2.1.3. Archival Data

Prior to fieldwork, literature on Emiratisation was reviewed to better understand the phenomena and also inform the topic guide. Besides scholarly articles, online sources were used to gather preliminary information on who the stakeholders are, how the policy is defined by federal agencies and how is its development justified by its initiators. Such literature was collected from the websites of institutions such as 'Abu Dhabi Nationalisation Council', 'National Human Resource Development and Employment Authority', 'Official Portal of Dubai Government', and 'Official website

of Emiratisation Forum’, amongst other to shed better light on context as well as meaning of the policy in public discourses (see Appendix 4).

During visits to Invest Co., Insurance Inc., and the Emiratisation conferences, the remaining data set was collected. These have been categorized as those addressing at the policy level, and those at organisational level (see Appendix 4 for a detailed list of archival sources). At the policy level, internet sources have provided Emiratisation related documents ranging from Emiratisation laws and cabinet resolution, announcements, rewards and up-to-date Emiratisation news across the country. Policy documents support all three analysis of thematic, narrative and dialogical. A selection of online resources (see Appendix 4) have been thematically analysed in order to study the Emiratisation meaning and best practices in the public sphere. Furthermore, data was collected at the attended conferences and summits, including presentation slides and audio recordings of stakeholders which were as well thematically analysed for understanding the policy in public sphere. At the organisational level, annual reports for the past three years for each organisation were accessed online, which support all three levels of analyses. Furthermore, consultancy reports were obtained at the conference and forum, which have been as well analysed thematically to explore the meaning of the policy in public sphere and the best practices. Data from these various sources collated with the interviews and observations allowed to further triangulate the findings.

4.2.2. Research Participants

4.2.2.1. Participants at Public Sphere

The public sphere referred to in this study is constituted of: participants and speakers at Emiratisation Congress 2012 and Emiratisation Summit 2014, Emiratisation consultants -represented through the analysis of four consultancy reports and presentations, and policy makers -represented through 3 in-depth interviews with key policy makers. As mentioned in the ‘archival data’ section, I also collected internet-based resources on the federal and local governments’ Emiratisation practices, and other facilitators’ and stakeholders’ efforts through their websites. And, finally I collected some online updates on Emiratisation activities across the nation (see Appendix 4).

Besides ‘Emiratisation officers’, ‘Talent Managers’, other HR staffs, and senior management of organisations from various sectors, the conferences and summits also included talks and presentations by governmental representatives and other federal authorities, who provide insights into the most recent nationalisation landscape in the country. The above constitute the ‘stakeholders’ in the public sphere who are the architects of the policy

4.2.2.2. Participants at Invest Co. & Insurance Inc.

Research in this study was conducted in the Finance and Insurance sector since organisations in this sector have been more active regarding Emiratisation implementation and must follow the quota system. During Time one, 16 interviews at Invest Co. and 18 interviews at Insurance Inc. were conducted. And in Time two, 12 interviews at Invest Co. and 5 at Insurance Inc. were conducted (Appendix 5 & 6). As Gaskell (2000:41) explains, in qualitative research the researcher’s concern is ‘not counting opinions or people but rather exploring the range of opinions, the different representations on the issue’. Therefore, in collecting data through interviews, participants were selected in a way that allowed for evaluation of varied perspectives and practices based on the process of ‘corpus construction’ defined by Bauer and Aarts (2000) as ‘saturation’ is the point at which, ‘inclusion of new strata no longer adds anything new... and to detect additional variety adds disproportionality to the costs of research’ (p.34).

- **Time 1**

At Invest Co., participants consisted of employees at the headquarters of the organisation, and at two different branches in UAE (Appendix 5). Besides interviews conducted at the human resource and Emiratisation department, most of the participants were selected from the following three departments: customer service, markets, and corporate. This selection was due to the vast difference in their levels of required expertise, which in turn has a direct influence on their Emiratisation practices. Through a contact person at Invest Co., five interviews were confirmed and three were set tentatively, prior to arrival in UAE. In order to understand the process and experience of Emiratisation, employees with different years of experience and at different hierarchical level were selected. After conducting the initial interviews, newcomers with more than

six month experience were also approached using the snowball method. Employees used blackberry messenger to locate other national colleagues who would be willing to participate in the research. The strong network amongst them was a result of the time they had spent together in training at the College. To reach saturation level, sixteen interviews were conducted, while 13 of the participants were UAE nationals and only 3 were expatriates.

At Insurance Inc., the majority of participants were selected from the following two departments: Motor underwriting and Motor claims (Appendix 6). The rationale behind this selection was the unusual cluster of national employees in these two divisions. Furthermore, three interviews were conducted at the human resource department to have a better understating of their activities and level of commitment to the policy. Only one interview with Chief Human Resource Officer was set before arrival to UAE. It took approximately four weeks to conduct the interviews at Insurance Inc. in Time 1 as participants were recruited gradually and mainly through snowball method. While employees at different levels were interviewed, newcomers were also focused on, in order to understand their training process and their integration experience. Furthermore, after the first data collection experience at Invest Co., the crucial role of expatriates in the Emiratisation process became evident. Therefore, at Insurance Inc. equal number of national and non-national participants was interviewed. As Gaskell notes, "... there are relatively limited number of views or positions on a topic in a particular social milieu" (2000:41).

Data collection during Time 1 at Insurance Inc. took much longer than anticipated, as I was faced with the following matters when inviting employees to participate in the interviews:

First, the Human Resource department was the first section to be studied. In an attempt to collaborate and facilitate the research process, the Chief Human Resource Officer chose the participants within the organisation and assigned his assistant to contact these employees and arrange the interviews. However, this created an ethical dilemma for me as the participants were no longer anonymous, and also this could have forced them to give dishonest replies. In order to solve this issue, after meeting the first two elected employees, I decided on the snowball method and asked them to introduce me to their colleagues. Those two interviews were discarded.

Second, the majority of national employees are concentrated in the Motor department, which does not require knowledge of English language. Although volunteer translators were available, due to the sensitivity of the topic and the possibility of participants holding back information, only those who spoke English were interviewed. My basic Arabic proficiency was also used at times. Weak English of some of the participants was limiting their ability to articulate their thoughts relating for instance to questions around meta-perspectives.

Third, because of organisational politics and sensitivity of the topic, two sets of participants did not provide information that could be incorporated in the research. First were those who held strong opinions on the research topic and spoke of their experience regarding its effect on the work place but then asked for the conversation to remain 'off the record'. Second, were participants who did not feel at ease to make any comments relating to the research topic.

Fourth, some employees had assumed that the researcher was a consultant hired by the HR to further investigate Emiratisation implementation. This issue became apparent in the first few interviews and therefore a clear introduction was made at the beginning of each interview to resolve any misunderstandings.

Fifth, when the snowball method was employed, I soon learned that the questions were shared amongst closed colleagues and some had come in prepared with passive answers. Therefore, it took more time to find participants who did not fall into this category.

- **Time 2**

Invest Co.'s main contact was emailed mid-summer 2013 to arrange a re-visit in September 2013. An informal methodological control was decided on in advance. The plan was to first approach a small sub-sample of those to whom I necessarily had to speak to for a second time. If their perceptions of Emiratisation and their narratives had completely changed with respect to Time 1, a further investigation and interviewing of the possible remaining participants would be mandatory. Otherwise, the interviews in Time 2 would focus only on completing the data set. In the case of Invest Co., this meant speaking to the expatriate employees as their role was overlooked in Time 1.

The initial interviews were conducted with the heads of the Human Resource Management and Customer Service. This indicated no changes in their narratives on Emiratisation. Also, two interviews took place with employees of corporate department to further see the development of the policy through their perspective. As part of this, an Emirati employee who was considered a newcomer in Time 1 was also interviewed to follow up on the initial career plans that were set for him in 2011. Ideally, two other 'newcomers' from 2011, who held great aspirations and prospects, were to be interviewed to observe their perspectives and progress. However, they had left the organisation. Furthermore, it was brought to my attention by the head of HR that the Emiratisation officer has been replaced. Unfortunately, permission was not granted to interview the new employee. However, I interviewed once again the previous head of Emiratisation, who is still with Invest Co. Overall, the five interviews indicated that narratives on Emiratisation had not changed since 2011.

Finally, as part of completing the data set at Invest Co., 7 expatriates from various backgrounds were approached through snowball method and interviewed. To see the range of experiences with Emiratisation and perspectives, expatriate participants include both newly hired employees, and even those who have been with the organisations for up to 25 years. The interviewees are either part of the customer service/sales department or the corporate.

At Insurance Inc. the same informal control was in place in order to assess whether all employees need to be interviewed, or just a sub-sample. In order to assess the progress of Emiratisation initiatives at Insurance Inc., re-visiting the Human Resource department was a necessary first step. Therefore the Chief Human Resource Officer (CHRO) and his deputy were the first two interviewees in Time 2. Moreover, the newly appointed Emiratisation officer was interviewed in order to better understand organisational plans with regard to the policy implementation.

Moreover, following the trajectories of those who were just brought into the organisation in Time 1 was of great interest. Therefore, two of the female participants who were employed as part of the policy in 2012 were interviewed once again. The interviews with such participants from Time 1 not only shed light on the development

of the policy since Time 1, but also illustrated that narratives and perceptions of Emiratisation had not changed. Although due to the informal methodological control, not all employees were interviewed, inquiries were made about them while at Insurance Inc.

4.3. Instruments

As interviews have remained the core data collection method, interview topic guide is the key instrument applied during the process.

4.3.1 Interview Topic Guide

The interview topic guide was developed (see Appendices 7 to 10) based on ‘critical reading of the appropriate literature’, ‘reconnaissance of the field’, ‘discussions with experienced colleagues, and creative thinking’ (Gaskell, 2000:40) the topic guide was created. The interview topic guide was informed and guided by the research questions and the conceptual framework.

The initial interview topic guide, which was used during Time 1 data collection at Invest Co., covers four areas: the general background information, the organisation, Emiratisation: meaning and Emiratisation experience, future of the policy. Different questions were asked from nationals and non-nationals regarding the meaning of the policy and their experience of it (see Appendix 7). A funnel-based approach was employed when asking questions. Thus, the questions asked had a logical order, starting with general questions about employee background and progressing to more specific probes such as their Emiratisation experience.

After a pilot interview was conducted in London with an employee of Invest Co. currently working at the London branch, more detailed questions were developed regarding the daily training programme for newcomers. Since the interviews were semi-structured, the topic guide remained flexible and as the interviews progressed, new questions were added. For instance, at Insurance Inc. when the new retirement policy for expatriates was highlighted as an issue for both nationals and non-nationals, questions regarding the policy were asked and one of the non-national managers at

retirement age was interviewed (participant 15). Furthermore, the initial study at Invest Co. indicated that the notion of intersubjectivity could shed light on understanding the practices in implementing the policy. Therefore, prior to the first data collection at Insurance Inc., the topic guide was amended accordingly to incorporate questions regarding this concept (see Appendix 8).

Time 1 data collection and preliminary analysis revealed new insights into the process and hurdles of rolling out the policy. As a result, the interview topic guide was amended accordingly for Time 2 (see Appendices 9 & 10).

At Invest Co., inquiry to some of the structural changes in the organisation was made during the interviews. Such instances included questions with regards to the appointment of the new CEO and Emiratisation officers. Furthermore, expatriate newcomers were asked in-depth about their previous work experience and education level, how they were brought into the organisation, and their new role. Such enquiry was meant to understand why an expatriate, as opposed to a national was selected to fill the available positions. Finally, expatriates who had been with the organisation were asked to speak about their future planes, to better understand their expectations prior and post retirement.

Time 2 interview topic guide for Insurance Inc. was also amended just as Invest Co. to incorporate the results that were highlighted during the preliminary analysis and the changes in the organisation. For instance, these included the importance of the retirement plans and their impact on the expatriate employees, the support of the top management, the role and impact of the newly appointed Emiratisation officer.

4.3.2. Procedure

- **TIME I**

The first study at Invest Co. was conducted during an eight day visit to UAE in April 2011. Access to Invest Co. was granted via a friend who currently works at this organisation. His assistant was assigned as the contact person, who not only set up the initial appointments, but also facilitated other interviews during the stay (see Appendix 11 for sample correspondence). Interviews with the head of HR and the head of training

and development were conducted at the Invest Co. College. Interviews with senior employees took place at their personal offices and lasted 45 minutes to an hour. However, interviews with newcomers were shorter (30-45 minutes). In order to interview the newcomers, the meeting area of the office of the main contact person was offered and utilised only once as the participant seemed conscious of being at a national colleague's office space. Therefore, further interviews took place at each participant's own office space, where they seemed at ease, or at general meeting rooms. Moreover, many casual conversations with participants took place during the time spent in between interviews. Although "off the record", but the conversations assisted in understanding the context. Furthermore, follow up emails with questions to be clarified were sent to several employees after returning to London. In addition, field notes were taken during the Time 1, as explained in section 3.2.1.2. Some notes (such as key words or quick phrases) were taken while at the organisation, while others were done immediately after leaving the site. Also, at times where taking handwritten notes was not feasible, few comments were recorded on the digital recorder and were later added to the field note diary.

The first study at Insurance Inc. was conducted during a month long visit to UAE in May 2012. Access to Insurance Inc. was granted through the Chief Human Resource Officer (CHRO). The personal assistant of CHRO remained the designated contact person who set the initial interview and assisted in arranging some of the following interviews. Interviews at the insurance company took place mainly at the head office. Those in HR were interviewed at their own offices. However, all further interviews were conducted in one specific meeting room, which was made available to me for the entire fieldwork period. The meeting room was located on a floor that was away from HR and Motor claims and Motor underwriting departments, providing a 'safer' environment for the participants to speak.

A follow up meeting with the Chief Human Resource Officer on the last day of the visit was essential for clarifying some of the ambiguous information provided in the interviews. These included the new retirement policy, appraisals, and the differences in salary between nationals and non-nationals. Furthermore, on the last day, I met with the CEO (non-national) of the organisation. Unfortunately, he refused to be a participant in this study and therefore the conversation has not been included in this data. However, it

became clear that the discrepancy between the HR departments' commitment to Emiratisation programme and the actual implementation possibilities at Invest Co., such as the number of nationals, is due to the CEO's focus on organisational success in terms of financial bottom line, rather than corporate citizenship.

- **TIME II**

Time 2 research at Invest Co. was conducted in September 2013 during a three weeks visit to UAE. Assistants of the head of Human Resource department and the customer services were contacted in July to secure to appointments. Interviews with these two participants took place upon arrival and at their offices. An expatriate office manager who has become a friend during the course of the field work was also contacted in advance and was interviewed. Through her and the snowball method, other expatriate employees were approached at Invest Co. Rather than finding participants through HR or top management; this approach was taken to avoid ethical issues of anonymity and in assuring interviewees are at ease so that relevant and rich data could be obtained.

As discussed in the previous sections, besides the five participants from Time 1, seven expatriates were interviewed in Time 2 as the importance of their role only became evident after the preliminary analysis of Time 1 data. These participants ranged from private assistants to senior managers, in order to better understand the variety of their perspectives, expectations and their involvement with the policy in different hierarchical levels. Some expats remained hesitant at the beginning, seemingly doubting my intentions and background. However, in such situations, I took greater time to explain in depth my background, the purpose of my research and at points, what an organisational psychologist does. This successfully clarified to the participants that I have no ties to the HR department and the results of the research will remain anonymous. There were also instances where the expatriate participants initially responded by showing that they are not aware of such a policy or have little understanding of it. However, after a brief introduction on Emiratisation by myself, they began to draw on their extensive knowledge on the topic and at times referred to and compared Emiratisation to the policies being rolled out in the neighbouring countries, such as Saudi Arabia or Qatar, by which either they or someone they know has been involved and/or affected.

Although some level of reluctance was also felt when speaking to the head of HR in Time 1, during the second visit it appeared the he was more open and comfortable when

talking about the Emiratisation practices. However, the interview remained relatively brief, concluding with him not granting permission for an interview with the newly appointed Emiratisation officer. This was perceived as the lack of confidence in the knowledge of the new employee. He stated that all questions can be directed to him and he would be happy to answer them. In light of this situation, I decided to hold a second interview with the previous Emiratisation officer, who has recently been moved to a new position in HR. As this change was very recent, the ex-officer appeared to be the best candidate to inform me of the recent changes and their implications within the organisation.

Finally, four of the nationals (P1, P7, P8, and P17) who were interviewed in Time 1 had left Invest Co. Reviewing the exit reports of these employees could have shed some light on where their expectations were not met. However, such documents were confidential and access to them was not granted. Therefore, it was only through conversations with their colleagues and managers that some of their experiences were shared.

Time 2 fieldwork at Insurance Inc. was also conducted in September 2013 during a three week visit to UAE. The head of Human Resource Management department (CHRM) was contacted in advance and appointments with him and his deputy were confirmed. The first interview took place with CHRM at his office, where I began by making a brief presentation of some of my findings from Time 1. Parts of the thematic map were also reviewed together. This not only allowed me to give something of value back to the organisation, but it also cleared any uncertain notions on my part and was a re-assuring process. Furthermore, it showed the level of commitment and effort that was put in, which was found intriguing by CHRM, and created an immediate further interest in the project. An hour long meeting with the newly appointed Emiratisation officer was also held, during which the new initiatives of the organisation were explained.

Time 2 data collection at Insurance Inc. was limited to five interviews as the perceptions on Emiratisation had not changed and it appeared that I had reached saturation level. The last two interviews were conducted with the two female employees who were newcomers to the organisation in the previous visit. The highly experienced, ambitious employees were brought in as part of the Emiratisation policy implementation and were

at the verge of much advancement during the first visit. Therefore, Time 2 offered a rare opportunity to assess their progress, the commitment of the organisation to their development, and their experience at Insurance Inc.

In addition to the five interviews, casual conversations took place with four of the participants from Time 1 in order to get informed of any possible changes that would be of importance to this research project. Motor Claims and Motor Underwriting departments at the headquarters in Abu Dhabi were visited. And, organisational documents were collected. Two emails were sent out to the CHRM after the field trip, in which questions regarding the insurance certificate attainments for nationals were answered.

During my fieldwork, as the research progressed, the rigid format of the interview evolved from a structured questions and answers, to a more fluid conversation. The accumulation of knowledge on the topic and more in depth questions allowed for much more interesting dialogues with both employees and the managers, where not only issues around the topic were discussed, but also some participants were eager to go on about their thoughts different aspects of a more fruitful implementation. For instance, the interview with the head of the strategy at Invest Co. extended to 80 minutes, beginning with questions around his understanding of the policy, and rather delving into a rather brainstorming session on strategies on enhancing national motivation.

At both organisations, participants were briefed on the purpose of the study prior to each interview. Participants were then provided with a written consent form to be signed (see Appendix 12), in order to assure anonymity and confidentiality, and verbal permission for audio recording. Furthermore, certain amount of interviewer self-disclosure was utilised at the beginning of interviews to put participants whom the researcher had not already met at ease. All interviews were transcribed by me and transcriptions were checked against the recordings to confirm the anonymity of data and accuracy (Flick, 1998). They were then uploaded into NVivo software in order to organise such a large amount of data.

4.3.3. Data Analysis

In analysing the collected data, I first conducted thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke,

2006) across the entire data set. Next, “thematic narrative analysis” (Riessman, 2008) was applied to underline the commonalities and then the tensions in narratives of national and expatriate employees of two organisations across two times. Finally, as a third stage, dialogical analysis of intersubjectivity was applied (Gillespie and Cornish, 2009), to highlight key cases of dis(agreements) and (mis)understandings on policy, which inform and re(shape) implementation working practices.

4.3.3.1. Thematic Analysis

During the first stage of analysing the data, thematic approach as an accessible and theoretically flexible method was used. Based on the 6-step procedure of Braun and Clarke (2006), after repeatedly reading the transcripts and taking notes, preliminary codes were generated and were then collated into potential themes. Next, the themes were reviewed and checked against the extracts and were at the end defined and named prior to producing the report (see Appendices 14, 21, 24, 28, 32 & 35 for thematic maps). Thematic approach has allowed underlining similarities, differences and unexpected insights across a dataset (Braun and Clarke, 2006). While conducting the thematic analysis, the data was organised into 1st and 2nd-order categories (see Appendices 13, 15, 19, 20, 22, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33 & 36), where the first-order analysis ‘adheres faithfully to informants terms’ and produces the basic codes; the second-order incorporates ‘theoretical level of themes, dimensions, and the larger narrative’ to answer the key question of ‘What’s going on here, theoretically’ (Gioia et al., 2013: 20).

4.3.3.2. Narrative Analysis

Next, a *thematic narrative analysis* approach has been adopted (Riessman, 2008). In doing so, the main focus of the analysis is content- *what* has been said, rather than how it has been said or to whom. Therefore, as suggested by Riessman (2008), thematic coding has been combined with close attention to individual cases to be able to keep all the aspects of a narrative intact (such as sequential), and witness participant’s agency in the narratives.

The interview material, which was transcribed by myself was uploaded on NVivo software and basic/first level codes were generated (unit of analysis is meaning of Emiratisation). These revealed that employees’ accounts of Emiratisation refer to three

phases: recognition of a problem or crisis, introduction of the policy in organisations, and the current state. Then, the basic codes were divided in accordance to these three phases. Next, given the context and theoretical knowledge, second level codes, or basic themes were identified (see Appendix 17). At this point of analysis, emphasis was on commonalities across all interviews, instead of differences. During the following stage, themes were further divided into categories that correspond to majority of interviews. Finally, these categories were organised into a narrative structure so that they would offer a complete illustration of the data set. These represented the stories of each phase that constituted the core reconstructed narrative. The narratives were further organised based on two co-ordinates (see Table 3 in section 6.2.): First, the three phases to illustrate the temporality aspect of narration. Second, identifying the elements of every story based on the notion of pendant (O'Connor, 1995).

First set of 'co-ordinates':

Narratives of Emiratisation by the employees of both organisations indicated three phases: *Antecedents to Emiratisation*- when unemployment crisis were recognised which called for a response; *Emiratisation Implementation*- when policy was launched in organisations and is expressed as social action; and finally *Consequences of Emiratisation*- a rather “current state of affairs” in both organisations.

The accounts of organisational members illustrate the temporality aspect of narration. Narrators attempt to create plots by taking from the ‘disordered experiences’ so that they can give reality a “unity that neither nature nor the past possess so clearly” (Cronon, 1992, p. 349 cited in Riessman 2008, p.7). Therefore, as the narrators look back to build the plots, they incorporate an aspect of temporality, which Riessman (2008) refers to as the Western audiences’ fixation with “forward marching time of ‘and then what happened?’” (p. 7).

Second Set of Co-ordinates:

The elements of every story, a set of co-ordinates, are identified in accordance to the O'Connor (1995) recommendation of applying the notion of ‘pentad’ from drama analysis. An organising tool, the pentad comprises elements of act, agent, agency, purpose, and scene (O'Connor, 1995, p.775).

The unit of analysis here is the meaning of Emiratisation amongst organisational members. Once the unit of analysis was decided on, segments from each interview relating to this were identified, coded and categorised as described previously. Short extracts corresponding to each category are then presented. The coded material is then organised based on the following questions for each of the three phases to identify the components of the narratives:

When/Why is the Emiratisation policy developed and implemented? What is it trying to accomplish? These questions denote to the *purpose* and *scene*.

How is the policy being implemented? This denotes to *agency* and *act*.

Who are the actors? Those involved in rolling out the Emiratisation initiative? This denotes to the *agent*

What are we tackling through the policy? This denotes to *agency* and *act*.

In addition to the organising tools discussed above, it is important to highlight that narratives are not shaped in a vacuum and the context of narratives was accounted for, the importance of which in co-construction of narratives will be further discussed in chapter 6.

4.3.3.3. Dialogical Analysis

In order to go beyond the more descriptive nature of thematic analysis into a deeper interpretive level, first the narrative analysis (as illustrated in the previous section), and then this new stage of dialogical analysis was conducted. Through a method of dialogical analysis (Gillespie and Cornish, 2009), divergences of perspectives, their inter-relations and understandings and misunderstandings have been highlighted (see section 4.3.3.3 of chapter 4 for details). By applying the dialogical concepts of context, addressivity and voice, Gillespie and Cornish offer a tool that allows analysis of interviews and documents to “identify the explicit and implicit, direct, meta, and meta-meta perspectives for all individuals or groups in a given relation or joint activity” (2009:40). The following three levels of intersubjectivity (Gillespie and Cornish, 2009) have been outlined and analysed. The first level is known as the “direct perspectives” and refers to the self’s and other’s perspectives on a given phenomenon. This is where they directly represent their attitude and opinions. Next, is the “meta-perspective”,

which denotes to self's and other's ideas with regards to each other's perspectives on the specific phenomenon. The third and final level is that of 'meta-metaperspectives', exploring self's perspective on other's perspective on self's perspective on the phenomenon and vice versa. Therefore, the analysis explores expats and national's perspectives on policy at all three levels.

Applying the framework to data from two distinct groups of nationals and expatriates allows for actual intersubjective relations to be explored. Although the explicit perspectives are given, arriving at the implicit meanings requires an interpretive process, which is based on assumptions, frame of references and the local, social and historical context. By comparing the implicit direct perspectives of nationals and expatriates we can establish (dis)agreements, while comparing implicit direct perspectives and meta-perspectives allows us to establish whether there are understandings of misunderstandings (ibid). Such (dis)agreements and (mis)understandings allow us to explain the actions of organisational members and how they inform organisational practices.

Due to the limitations imposed by time and word count, it has not been possible to conduct a dialogical analysis on the entire dataset. Also, doing so would have compromised the detailed in-depth analysis. As a result, only key examples have been chosen in accordance to their relevance to the unit of analysis (ibid, p.33) and their reading of the policy as an opportunity or a threat. The in-depth analysis is demonstrated in chapter 6 and main cases of (dis)agreements and (mis)understandings have been underlined (see Table 4 in section 6.3.1.3. and Table 5 in section 6.3.2.1.).

4.4. Quality Assurance

Qualitative data analysis has been for long under heavy criticism for overlooking quality assessment criteria (Gaskell & Bauer, 2000). Tackling this point, besides triangulation, three quality indicators (i.e. 'thick description', 'corpus construction' and 'surprise as a contribution to theory and/or common sense') suggested by Gaskell and Bauer (2000) were used in order to improve the quality of data analysis in this thesis:

- Thick Description: Thick descriptions offer an opportunity to the readers to either accept or reject the interpretation given by the researcher (Bauer &

Gaskell, 2000). To meet this criterion, verbatim reporting of the sources was used significantly.

- Corpus Construction: “Corpus construction is functionally equivalent to representative sampling and sample size, but with the different aim of maximizing the variety of unknown representations” (Gaskell & Bauer, 2000: 347). This was addressed in the study during data collection, as meaning saturation criterion was applied when finalising the number of participants.
- Surprise as a contribution to theory and/ or common sense: Gaskell & Bauer (2000) stated that researchers must avoid using qualitative interviewing or text analysis as producers of citations, as it can lead to supporting preconceived notions. The following chapters will illustrate how surprises and tensions are highlighted in this study.

The following chapter looks into the public discourses to highlight the social and cultural context in which the policy and practice of Emiratisation is being developed. Next, in chapter 6, organisational discourses- narratives and intersubjective exchanges are studied at Invest Co. and Insurance Inc. in order to not only explore the organisational context, but also identify which public discourses are reproduced at organisational level. Also, through a dialogical analysis, we gain a deeper understanding of the differences and tensions on those narratives and (dis)agreements and (mis)understandings on policy. The last empirical chapter illustrates how at the two organisations, all that is enacted through practices and the way they effect the mediated array of human activity that are organised around them. Bridging the macro and the micro will show how Emiratisation policy is understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in various contexts.

CHAPTER 5

5.0. EMIRATISATION IN THE PUBLIC DISCOURSE

Theoretical discussions in chapters 2 and 3 underlined the need for a cultural psychological viewpoint and a practice lens to understand the implementation of Emiratisation policy in organisations. Studying the ‘how’ of Emiratisation implementation necessitates incorporating the wider contexts through a cultural psychological perspective on practices. Considered a ‘standard’ or a ‘best practice’ by its developers, this unique policy is continually re-contextualized across time and space. However, as discussed, existing literature takes for granted how the policy is understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in organisations and its impact on the working practices of those involved. Taking a ‘real world’ cultural psychology view point to Emiratisation and interested in meaning and meaning making, I focus on human activities in context as my main material (Howarth et al., 2013). Through a pragmatic approach (Cornish & Gillespie, 2009), I investigate the ‘black box’ of implementation- what happens at the point of implementation. Therefore, I explore the micro-dynamics of organisational change and development by looking at not only what the stakeholders say, but also what they do since practices are “mediated array of human activity centrally organised around [them]” (Schatzki, 2001, p.2).

The current chapter takes a macro perspective, and is focused on the social and cultural context in which the policy and the practice of Emiratisation are being developed. The chapter focuses on what is the cultural understanding of the policy amongst government, HR community, and all other stakeholders in UAE. As the chapter will illustrate, common understandings of the socio-economic and political context of UAE, and the challenges Emiratis face in entering the workforce in their own country gives rise to the policy as a positive discrimination policy and a best practices. This chapter investigates how the policy is portrayed in the public sphere and implemented generally by different stakeholders. Studying Emiratisation practices in the public sphere reveals general understandings of the policy- practitioners’ shared view of the appropriateness of particular actions in a certain context (Smets and Jarzabkowski, 2014). This will allow me to compare, contrast and explore whether the public narratives and discussed best practices will be reproduced in the two organizations under study. Therefore, the following three empirical chapters will explore the development and implementation of

the Emiratisation policy from the macro national and organisational levels to the micro employee level, bridging the macro-micro levels as Nicolini (2009a, 2012) suggests in order to 're-present' practices and unfold their 'becoming' (Bjorkeng, 2009).

The chapter is structured as follows: First, shared meanings of the policy amongst stakeholders are explored. Second, key challenges in implementing the policy are outlined. Finally, Emiratisation practices commonly referred to as 'best practices' in the public sphere are explored.

As discussed in chapter 4, 'stakeholders' in the public sphere- representatives of the government and key actors from various organisations- are the architects of the policy. Not only the federal government initially designs the policy, but also the policy is adapted at the local level by the local authorities, HR, influenced by the consultant, and finally reshaped once again by the target group who are the end users. Therefore, Emiratisation as a 'best practice' is continually reinterpreted and re-contextualized by the stakeholders when they implement ad hoc, subjective and improvisational strategies in unanticipated settings (Daft and Weick, 1984).

Emiratisation conferences and forums are perceived as the most sought after platforms for sharing 'best practices' amongst industry leaders. The director of the 8th Emiratisation Congress highlighted: *"This congress will showcase proved processes that have yielded tangible results. Learn form industry experts and discuss solutions needed to move your nationalisation programme forward."* Stakeholders in the public sphere constitute a network of community practices, 'socials containers of competence' (Wenger, 2000:229) and considered an ideal form for sharing implementation knowledge. The policy as a boundary object (Star & Griesemer, 1989) and the HR and governmental representatives as brokers come together to co-construct their implementation know-how and in turn re(shape) the meaning of policy.

Moreover, current labour laws and their impact on organisations across industries have been an important part of the conferences. Therefore, there have been persistent efforts to illustrate the development of such laws and how companies should adjust their HR strategies to comply with them.

As discussed in chapter 4, Thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) has been conducted on the congress and summit transcribed discussions and presentations, consultancy reports, interviews with policy makers, federal and local governmental portals, non-profit facilitators' presentations and websites, and finally some of the highlighted Emiratisation activities online. Due to the limitation of the chapter, it is not possible to outline understandings and practices illustrated across the public sphere. Therefore, emphasis has been placed on practices of a sample of key players (i.e. influential organisations with Emiratisation success records), some of their smaller followers, and incidents of interesting viewpoints and practices.

5.1. PERCEPTION OF EMIRATISATION AMONG PUBLIC STAKEHOLDERS

This study adopts cultural psychological tradition (Jovchelovitch, 2007; Rommetveti, 1979; Schultz, 1973), which is primarily concerned with meaning, "meaning-making" and meaning-using processes and how such meaning making is shared and is essential to every activity and experience (Bruner, 1990:xiii). Therefore, the chapter begins with exploring the common understandings of the policy amongst general stakeholders and the possible tensions. Three key understandings have emerged through the thematic analysis. These are Emiratisation as a provider of employment and development opportunity, a strategic decision, and a CSR activity.

• *Employment & Development Opportunity*

In exploring the understandings of policy, it is important to first overview how government officials and entities at both federal and regional level define the policy. As described in the introduction of thesis, while Abu Dhabi Tawteen/Emiratisation Council (ADTC) is responsible for those seeking jobs in Abu Dhabi and its neighbouring Emirates, TANMIA (The National Human Resource Development and Employment Authority) is focused on the Emirate of Dubai and its surrounding. ADTC's vision is for Emiratis to become the first choice of employment in Abu Dhabi and its mission is *'to ensure full utilization of Emirati Human Capital potential for Abu Dhabi's social and economic development through employment and up skilling services for job seekers ... and policy development'*²¹. While TANMIA also shares the objective of ADTC by *'achieving full employment for Emiratis, increasing the supply of qualified*

²¹ <http://www.tanmia.ae>.

nationals and developing practical competencies and potentials’; however, it also highlights an objective to ‘*reduce foreign labour component of the total workforce*’²².

Therefore, it is explicit that at the very basic level, Emiratisation is about providing not only employment, but also development opportunities for the local workforce. Hence, it is beyond a quantitative measure. As a national HR manager expresses: “*Nobody can hire me like this. They have to train me and give me the opportunity to succeed...*” (Hospitality Group, Summit 2014)

Furthermore, the negative connotations of the opportunities offered by the policy were contended by the Emiratisation officer of Hospitality, as he referred to their organisational culture set by the chairman, who is a UAE national himself:

“The chairman puts no difference between Emiratis and nationals, we need a person who when comes to work does not say I am an Emirati but says I am an employee of Hospitality... he says make a mistake and I support you, so it is not based on fear”.

According to the projected growth rate of Emirati workforce by TCO Management Consulting (2012), there will be 210,000 Emiratis who are expected to join the workforce by 2019 and in the absence of effective and expansive initiatives, the unemployment rate will potentially become even higher.

At the core of Emiratisation policy is the need to reduce unemployment rate amongst nationals. In the public sphere, there are debates as to who is considered unemployed. And, what is the real unemployment rate as some may not be active job seekers. While many emphasise the increasing number of unemployed Emiratis in Abu Dhabi, research by local educational and research centres were presented at the summit 2014, through which the reason for the soaring number was clarified. The greater number of unemployed has been identified in Abu Dhabi (please note that according to the presenters exact figures were ‘unofficial’ and therefore not cited) following encouragements from the rulers of Abu Dhabi for all national residents of the emirate to register to enter the workforce. As a result, it was stated that many of those that are outside the labour force were encouraged to register, and a large number were people who did not want to work before, such as housewives and those with other source of

²² <http://www.uaetawteen.com>

income. Therefore the increased figure in the number of unemployed Emiratis was perceived as a success in the summit since it illustrates that more Emiratis are attracted to the labour force and hence the national base in the labour force has been widened.

- ***Strategic Decision***

Heavy reliance on foreign workers in UAE has been perceived as a key motivator for building Emirati capabilities to ensure the nation can someday be self-sufficient. Boyden consultancy group (2012) concluded that the UAE government has to focus on how to overcome over reliance on expats at all levels of the workforce.

Not only governmental entities imply Emiratisation is a strategic decision to rely further on local workforce, but also the end users in the public sphere perceive it as an independence plan. The expatriate Emiratisation officer at Holding Group states: *“they want to prove themselves to UAE that they are ready to take over”* (Summit 2014). The urgency of it was further emphasised by highlighting scenarios where expatriate forces would leave the nation:

“We know when SARS broke in the region few years back... expats fled. So if something happens to the political, economic and social structure, you need to take your business forward... So, it’s all about sustainability... Not having nationals is a strategic risk for your decision” (HR, Expatriate, The Bank, Summit 2014).

Besides a strategic decision in terms of independence from the expatriate workforce, Emiratisation means a strategic move to many organisations in terms of ‘tapping into the local market’. It is *“expanding your customer access through cultural awareness to penetrate and gain higher percentage of local community clients and also enhance corporate image among government units while reducing overhead of governmental regulations on visa, labour, etc.”* (VP, IT, The Free Trade Zone, Congress 2012). Asserting this understanding of the policy, Boyden consultancy²³ (2012) reports, *“Emiratisation is meaningful role for Emiratis- where the local cultural and linguistic abilities best put to use in global companies operating in the UAE”*.

Moreover, besides cultural, linguistic, and networking advantages of having Emiratis on

²³ www.boyden.com

board, federal agencies and non-profit organisations encourage and facilitate Emirati employment in the private sector by offering not only implicit perks, but also explicit benefits. For instance, ENDP²⁴ (Emiratis' National Development Programme) offers this through close partnership with private sector in the retail business:

“ENDP received strong commitment from private sector: funding to sustain the entire programme plus contract offer for all trainees who graduate... Engaged media to get support for the cause of Emiratisation” (ENDP, Emiratisation Congress 2012).

- ***Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)***

A common thread amongst most stakeholders has been an understanding of Emiratisation as CSR. Organisations exhibiting CSR activities are not only following the mandatory regulations, but also surpassing them through practices that are aimed to go beyond the organisational interest merely to benefit the society (McWilliams and Siegel, 2001). Therefore, in the case of Emiratisation, this has been in terms of not only complying with the spirit of the quota-based law, but also engaging in activities that go beyond meeting the numbers and intend to serve social good in UAE (see Aguinis and Glavas 2012 for a comprehensive review of CSR).

There are various ways of how organisations implementing Emiratisation can give back to the society. Providing training and development opportunities for nationals have been the most common practice:

“Nationals if they come to the company and not learning and not doing anything, it is damaging... This should be CSR... The country opens the door to hundreds of international companies to work in a tax free environment and have all they wished for, so it is all about balancing it. For instance, through exchange programmes, you say come and I teach you. I work for only 5000 if you teach me something that my market value will go up” (Chief Human Capital Officer, National, Communication Group, 2014 Summit).

The Holding group, a local enterprise enjoys 100% Emirati retention rate (which is rare) and explains:

“The point is that we are trying to contribute to the country and this is how we educate the UAE nationals coming in... If you (Emiratis) want to go for the government and make an impact in 10 years, great... how can we (i.e. private sector) get you there? How can we build your foundation to get there?” (Expatriate Emiratisation Officer, Summit 2014)

²⁴ <http://www.endp.ae/en/default.aspx>

Emiratisation efforts as CSR also give organisations the opportunity of getting attention in the media. For instance, Telecom Group, the Emirati telecommunication company has publicised its four pillars of sustainability as Emiratisation, entrepreneurship, UAE culture and heritage, and the environment. In conducting business in the right way and in line with the UAE's Vision 2021, the company is committed to Emiratisation as a corporate social responsibility. By providing a career driven work environment, the organisation has successfully reached a 35.5% Emiratisation rate in 2014 and have been the lead in encouraging nationals to join the ICT sector (UAE interact news, 17/04/2015)²⁵.

5.1.1. TENSIONS IN UNDERSTANDING EMIRATISATION

The previous section underlined the common understanding of the policy amongst the stakeholders in the public sphere. However, it must be noted that tensions exist and perceptions or understandings of the policy are not homogenous. Three such tensions were most recurrent: First, understanding the policy as an employment and development opportunity for national or replacing expatriates. Second, Emiratisation understood as an employment opportunity for every Emirati, or just for the 'talented'. And finally, Emiratisation construed as an employment opportunity in public or private organisations, or training nationals to become entrepreneurs. The three tensions are summarised in the following table:

²⁵ <http://www.uaeinteract.com/french/news/default.asp?ID=30>

Table 2: Tensions in understanding Emiratisation

Levels	Tension 1	Tension 2	Tension 3
	Emiratisation: Employment for nationals <i>or</i> replacing expatriates	Emiratisation: for everyone <i>or</i> the talented	Emiratisation: creating employees <i>or</i> entrepreneurs
Government	Dubai vs. Abu Dhabi definitions	Initiatives to enhance average performers	Enterprise development initiatives
Organisations	Organisations needing people ready to work	In search of local talent	Possible intermediary training platform for future entrepreneurs; Closed doors forcing ent. initiatives
Individuals	Ambiguity amongst nationals & expats	Nationals under spot light to become talent; Expatriates under spot light to create talent	Nationals become job providers; Expatriates as trainers and/or investors

- ***Emiratisation: employment for nationals or replacing expatriates***

As discussed in the beginning section of this chapter, the National HR Development & Employment (TANMIA) emphasises ‘achieving full employment for Emiratis, increasing the supply of qualified nationals and developing practical competencies and potentials’. However, it also highlights an objective of ‘reduce foreign labour component of the total workforce’.

On the other hand, the Abu Dhabi economic vision 2030 emphasises the need for expatriates. Objective 19 of the vision states: “The Abu Dhabi economy will be reliant on foreign labour for the foreseeable future, and so efforts will be made to attract and retain foreign talent and skilled labour, including an assessment of immigration procedures” (P. 77).²⁶

²⁶ For further information see: <https://www.ecouncil.ae/PublicationsEn/economic-vision-2030-full-versionEn.pdf>

As a national Emiratisation manager expressed in a panel discussion during the 2014 Emiratisation Summit:

“there is no way you can nationalise the whole company, even the government sector... we have an expanding number of private sector companies coming in, so there are a lot of job opportunities... but they want people who are ready to work from day one. In the graduate trainee, there is a learning curve... probably in 30 or 40 years down the line, maybe we will be 100% nationalised... but today we don't have enough experience as we need to acquire this knowledge and experience in order for us to fill these gaps that exist today”

Therefore, there is an underlying tension in understanding the meaning of the policy as merely an employment opportunity for the nationals, or also an expatriate replacement scheme. This is a tension that is also reproduced at the organizational level and it will be explored further in the next chapter.

- ***Emiratisation for everyone or the ‘talented’***

Rather than being referred to as ‘Emiratisation Officer’, most HR officials at the Emiratisation congress and summit were referred to as ‘Talent Managers’. The title itself implies searching for talent, and/or, developing Emiratis to become talents. As the host of the Summit 2014 questioned: *“90% of the budget is actually going to the 10% of the people who are really talented... so, what about the other 90%?”* Furthermore, it tends to address the implicit stereotypes and is an attempt to contend them. The advert to the Emiratisation Congress 2012 stated: *“With a strong potential in the UAE talent pool, are you armed with a long-term nationalisation strategy to attract and secure top Emiratis in your company?”*

In terms of bringing nationals on board, the managing director of Talent Consultancy explained:

“It is not about hiring more Emiratis but it is about hiring bright Emiratis. It is good for the individual, good for the organisation and good for the country in the long run because you make sure you are matching the right person to the right type of role (Expatriate, Summit 2014).”

However, such a view has been contested by many stakeholders. Since one in four Emirati is a high school dropout, managing director of a Consultancy Firm draws participants’ attention to what he believes is the true meaning of Emiratisation: *“don’t think Emiratisation is all about the people with a degree in their hands... What kind*

work can you provide to the school leavers?” (Expatriate, Summit 2014).

Aware of such tensions and the minimal opportunities for the average performers, non-profit organisations have been set up across the country to develop Emirati youth from an early age. For instance, “Emirates Foundation”, an independent philanthropic organisation has been established in Abu Dhabi to ‘inspire, empower and guide the youth of the UAE to ensure a sustainable future of the nation’. The organisation, sponsored by the government, aims to achieve this through various programmes under the umbrella terms of ‘social inclusion’, ‘community engagement’, ‘leadership and empowerment’.²⁷ With the small pool of Emirati talent available, this explains the emphasis on identifying and disseminating ‘best practices’ in organisations that would echo such programmes. As such, exploring the working practices of two organisations in chapter 7 will illustrate how organisations enact and attempt to address the needs of the ‘average’ performer, or create ‘talent’.

- ***Emiratisation: creating employees or entrepreneurs***

With the saturated public sector and a resilient private sector (unable to match expectations and capabilities of Emirati job seekers), it appears that the public sphere is experiencing a new tension. While Emiratisation has been a mandate for organisations to open their doors to nationals, it has also spread its focus to include efforts to develop Emirati entrepreneurs. In 2012, the Boyden consultancy report drew attention to entrepreneurs in the local landscape by questioning whether nationals have the entrepreneurial spirit of their forefathers and role models. The company stated that the most recent research proves that Entrepreneurship can be taught, so how and where can we engage Emiratis to start their own business?

In order to develop Emirati entrepreneurs, Khalifa Fund for Enterprise Development has been established. As an independent body of the Abu Dhabi government, the Fund “invests in the people of the UAE by promoting their natural abilities and talents, encouraging their creativity, and enabling them to actively contribute to the growth of the nation” (see: www.khalifafund.ae). Advisors to the CEO of Khalifa Fund presented their efforts in Emiratisation Summit 2014. Focusing on students from elementary to university, the Fund is dedicated to provide all the necessary resources to the Emirati

²⁷ For further information see: <http://www.emiratesfoundation.ae/en>

entrepreneurs.

Furthermore, a day prior to the launch of Summit 2014, a career fair and seminar on Emirati youth was held in order to better understand the needs and challenges of youth. Surveys were conducted amongst the participants (number of surveys is unknown). When asked where they would rather work, 42% indicated they would like to become an entrepreneur, 31% prefer to work in the public sector, and 27% in the private sector.

Therefore, there is tremendous amount of support for Emiratis for entrepreneurship, with the view of creating entrepreneurs who will eventually run their own businesses instead of being employees. Such encouragements are also echoed in the media. For instance, Emirati young talents have participated in ‘Global Business Opportunity’ training program in the UK “with the mission to start their own business internationally... and to empower young talents and make them realise their entrepreneurial skills in a truly global sense” (programme officer, 22/09/2013, Golf News in UAEinteract).²⁸ Therefore the policy is expected to transcend the problems of unemployment and move Emiratis not only into employed members of the UAE society but also into job and wealth creation individuals.

What should be noted is that all three tensions discussed above are interrelated and reflect the emergent nature of the policy and its meaning in situ. The meaning of the policy is in its practice, and although it honours its principle of tackling the unemployment amongst nationals; however, this is shaped in response to the contextual factors and the challenges encountered. For instance, those nationals not perceived as ‘talents’ are invested in as ‘entrepreneurs’. And those not able to enter the private sector due to their lack of skill-set in comparison to expatriates’ turn to the public sectors as employees or attempt to become entrepreneurs. At the same time, dependency on expatriates and Emirati vulnerability is re-emphasises as not only they need expatriate know-how in honing their capabilities to prepare them as entrepreneurs, but also they need foreign investments, once again demanding dependency and collaboration with the expatriate workforce.

²⁸http://www.uaeinteract.com/docs/Young_Emirati_talents_participate_at_GBO_2013/57197.htm

5.2. CHALLENGES

The public discourse illustrates a narrative of progress since various obstacles are faced in implementing the policy and best practices have been established to tackle them. The following seven challenges have been identified as the most recurrent: implementing genuinely vs. window dressing, private vs. the public sector, employability of nationals, retention of Emiratis, knowledge/wisdom transfer, culture, and HR.

- ***Implementing Genuinely vs. Window Dressing***

While many organisations comply with the mandate, how genuine they are in helping overcome the employment issue is at times questionable. As the policy is a quota-based mandate, organisations can perceive Emiratisation as merely a quantitative measure. However, in its implementation, potential interpretations in situ are interminable, as rules do not entail the rules of their own application (Wittgenstein, 1958).

Addressing this issue at the 2012 Emiratisation congress, the managing director of *Arm-*a consultancy firm, categorises the status of the already employed Emiratis as: First, ‘masked’ employment that results in overstaffing, such as the public sector and the subsequent ‘inefficiency in some governmental services’. Second, are those that are masked by the ‘quotas’, referring for instance to some organisations in the private sector that have included nationals only as number to the payrolls, but have not deployed them productively. And finally, is the ‘mismatch of skills’, which has resulted in the underdevelopment of human capital.

As illustrated in the previous section, the government has clearly stated that at the core of the policy lies the training and development of national workforce. Therefore, although complying with the quota in terms of numbers allows organisations to get away, but this in itself is not perceived as genuine policy implementation in the public sphere:

“And it is unfair, especially the private sector, they go and they recruit high school graduates. Why? Because they have to fulfil the ratios. And when you take a high school student and you don’t train him well and you don’t allow him to be integrated into the organisational mainstream, and he leaves. So, your back door is as big as your front door. People come in and people leave. And a high school student in comparison to an expat who has a lot more experience, is

unfair” (HR, The Bank, Summit 2014)

- ***Private vs. Public Sector***

Looking at the distribution of UAE employment gives a vivid picture of how nationals are clustered in the public sector. Amongst nationals, 85% work in the government/public sector, while only 7.4% are at the private sector. At the same time, 64.6% of expatriates work in the private sector and 14.8% at the public (presented at Summit 2014). According to this study, UAE graduates constitute only 0.2% of the labour market in the private sector (2 out of each 1000). Following discussions in the previous chapters, the private sector and Emiratis are not attracted to each other. This was referred as a ‘key time bomb’ at the summit 2014 since the private sector creates 90% of the jobs while the government takes 90% of the nationals (Management Consultancy, Summit 2014).

Unfortunately, high levels of ‘false expectations’ have contributed to the issue of private versus the public sector jobs. The ‘generous compensation packages and lesser working hours in the public sector create an expectation gap’ (TCO Management Consulting, 2012). According to the TCO analysis, specifically at the entry level, Emirati expectations are AED 17,000-20,000 (GBP 3,000-3,500 K) per month, whereas the private packages offer AED 4-10K (GBP 700-1,700 GBP) per month. Moreover, the average number of working hours in the private sector is about 30% more than in the public sector. Therefore, ‘higher pay for a smaller effort has distorted expectations of Emiratis seeking employment’ (ibid). This is a challenge that is reproduced at the organisational level and it will be explored further in the next chapters.

The Federal National Council (FNC) called on the Ministry of Labour in February 2015, to adopt new measures and mechanisms to fasten Emiratisation percentage in private organisations. They called for implementation of ‘plans and programmes to narrow the gap between public and private sector in terms of privileges and wages’ (Emirates News Agency, UAEinteract).²⁹

Looking at Emiratisation from a positive discrimination lens, the policy is unique as minorities in positive discrimination cases in the Western world do not face such

²⁹http://www.uaeinteract.com/docs/FNC_calls_on_Ministry_of_Labour_to_set_measures_to_increase_Emiratisation_rate_in_private_sector/66405.htm

discrepancies and do not experience having such alternative options.

Public discourse attributes this large discrepancy to ‘misconception’ from both sides: from the private sector about the Emirati expectations and work ethics & misconceptions about resistance of the private sector. Therefore, employability of nationals in the private sector becomes a challenge, which will be explored in more depth in the following section.

- ***Employability of Emiratis***

One of the underlying obstacles in employability and retention of the Emiratis have been linked to the education system. Although the education system in UAE has undergone a reform, its impact will only be visible in the long-term. As the MD of Talent Consultancy (Summit 2014) put it: *“Emiratis come from flawed education system and they expect managerial position. There is a giant gap and companies are feeling it. Getting people who don’t have a lot to offer...”* Despite the reform, Boyden consultancy (2012) questions the future of Emiratisation in terms of whether the current education system delivers the hard and soft skills required for the roles of future.

Although the challenges of education and high expectations of Emiratis are the prevalent themes, participants at the congress and Summit were urged to look under the surface. As the host of the 2014 Summit (an expatriate HR director) expressed:

“Everyone talks about the stereotypical aspects of Emiratis. I wonder when somebody is out there looking for gold, do they just knock on a rock and find it? [...] once you have that faith, you will find them”.

Organisations at the Summit were urged ‘not to box Emiratis in a category’ as a female Emirati college student shared her experience:

“It is knowledge side... and we want them to believe in us. For example I want to work for a consulting company as an intern. The HR lady was very excited because she thought I am from INSEAD University. I said no, Zayed University³⁰ and when she heard that she said sorry, we don’t any vacancies.”

In discussions around investing in Emiratis, an expatriate HR manager expresses his view: *“none of that can be done if the person who you are trying to do this for is not or does not attend, does not come, does not put enough time...”*

³⁰ One of the leading local universities based in the city of Abu Dhabi. See: <http://www.zu.ac.ae/>

Stereotypes as a key impediment to policy implementation will also be evident at the organisational level and discussed in chapter 7.

Besides education and work ethics, the majority of jobs offered are largely off limits to locals because of the cultural sensitivity and social prestige. This is the result of extensive studies by TCO management consulting (2012), which illustrated why although there are 1.2 Million jobs untapped, 87,000 Emiratis are still unemployed. The study shows that the following industries are “least favoured” by Emiratis: agriculture, hunting, forestry & fishing; activities of private households; manufacturing; construction; wholesale and retail related activities, and hospitality. These industries provide 56% of jobs in UAE, while Emiratis represent 6% in them.

- ***Retention of Emiratis***

Retaining the Emirati workforce in an organisation is one of the fundamental challenges that are underlying the discussions amongst stakeholders. The head of Abu Dhabi Emiratization Council (TAWTEEN) highlighted this matter by discussing how they ‘re-activate’ the files of those returning in search for a new job.

However, the question that comes to mind is since firing nationals is uncommon practice and various programmes are at their disposal, what would trigger an Emirati to want to leave? And, whether those leaving conduct an exit interview, and if so, how transparent and honest both parties are at such interviews. During discussions at the congress and the summit it became evident that many HR officers were not eager on investigating the ‘why’. And, employees who are leaving appear to be often dishonest at such interviews. An HR member shares his experience with an Emirati who had just resigned:

“He said I was busy and just wanted to go and this guy called and asked me to please sign this form... I thought my future employer might call these people for references and I don’t want to paint a bad picture... And, they are asking why am I leaving? They are not asking me why I am not staying” (HR, The Bank, Summit 2014).

Discussions amongst stakeholders point fingers to management for their inability to retain their talent: *“attracting and retaining your talent depends on aspects such as*

career growth, recognition and learning and development” (Aon-Hewitt consultancy report, 2012). Similarly, at the 2012 Emiratisation congress, the vice president of The Free Trade Zone expressed their experience as, *“local retention happens when they feel engaged and important, realizing that money is not the key issue; relationships and recognitions are”*. Sharing such knowledge in the communities of practice of implementers highlights the importance the government puts on identifying and disseminating best practices in organisations. In addressing the lack of engagement and high turnover at the congress, the director of HR at a Dubai hotel attributed this challenge partially due to *“potential competition, rather than collaboration between UAE nationals & non-national colleagues, which impacts effective teamwork”*. Therefore, a collaborative culture that would foster Emirati development was advised. In discussing such ‘lack of collaboration’ and ‘competition’, the next section will look further explore one of its key implications.

- ***Knowledge or ‘Wisdom’ Transfer***

As discussed earlier, Abu Dhabi economic vision 2030 emphasises the importance of a knowledge economy and development of nationals to play a role in it, while maintaining the expatriate workforce. However, according to a case study conducted at a governmental organisation in UAE, TCO Management Consultancy (2012) concluded that only 43% of Emiratis took on ‘core’ jobs. And, 1 in 5 core jobs are occupied by an Emirati (one-third in jobs are not requiring higher education). And rather 9 in 10 ‘support’ jobs are occupied by an Emirati. TCO concluded that Emiratis are missing the opportunity to participate in knowledge-based economy. And that knowledge is created in UAE in the hands of expats.

This can partially be explained by the picture the public discourse draws of some expatriates as stumbling blocks in the development of Emiratis. Understanding the policy as a threat, some in the expatriate community would make every effort to secure their positions. At the same time, not only the core of the policy as defined by the government, but also the rest of the public sphere expects accountability and responsibility from the expatriates in training and developing Emiratis colleagues. In discussing accountability of expatriates in implementation, an expat Emiratisation manager (Holding Group) expresses her view:

“We can’t force people to become accountable- people always say let’s give them measurements, let’s link it to their bonus, that is just going to make it painful and people (expats) will become resentful. We have to make people to actually believe in developing UAE nationals, we have to make them believe in Emiratisation as a whole and that is why making them a part of it, involve our coaches, get our managers trained as coaches because they don’t want to impart that knowledge and we don’t know how to get over that barrier and make them believe in it, so we tell the UAE nationals that it is their responsibility to break down that wall. And it might sound a bit harsh, but it is not really. Because what we do is that we explain to them that you got a manager who within 4 weeks could be kicked out of UAE and his kids thrown out of school or university, his wife might be pregnant and get kicked out of the country, where the rest of the world is really in recession. How would you feel if you have got all this knowledge? Would you like to share it? No. I don’t want to share it. So, they go in there and they make the manager feel secure enough to be part of Emiratisation and to understand that it is not a threat and it is actually a really amazing movement across the country” (Emiratisation Summit 2014)

An expatriate member of the central bank acknowledges: *“no trust, hence no exchange of knowledge... you have expat communities formed, for example the Aussies and the Pakistanis... this does not move things forward.”* Therefore, knowledge can be guarded in such communities, where nationals may have to depend on themselves.

Parallels can be drawn and lessons learned from Saudi Arabia, which has been at the forefront of nationalisation programme long before UAE introduced Emiratisation. Study conducted by Hay Group consultancy in 2012 in Saudi³¹ highlights the reluctance amongst expatriates to coach and handover to nationals. There is significant resistance amongst expatriates as 42% believe that most expatriates don’t support jobs being nationalised for fear that they will be pushed out. Only 32% do support Saudisation and are keen to coach colleagues. Therefore, significant efforts by organisations to involve and engage expatriate workers in the process of knowledge sharing could build important bridges in the workplace.

- ***Culture***

The workforce in UAE is constituted of more than one hundred nationalities. The unique collective and conservative culture of UAE and its rapid evolvement and joining the global world has created a cultural clash in the organisational scene and a challenge in policy implementation. Therefore, the importance of incorporating the local culture

31 Surveys amongst expatriate managers

into organisational cultural practices was highlighted at a panel during the 2014 Emiratisation Summit by one of the Emirati students who had gone through an internship:

“In our culture, when we go to visit a house, the head of the household comes to greet you. So, when you start working for a company, there is a subconscious expectation that the head of the household should come even for 5 minutes and that will make a difference.”

Furthermore, in a collective and conservative society, employees often live with family members and finding it difficult to commute or move for work. This lack of ‘mobility’ was highlighted by an Emirati at the summit emphasising: *“we live in a house where we are born and we have the family support system and difficult to become the residents of another city”*. Addressing this issue was highlighted as fundamental in closing the gap between the private and public sector.

Also, cultural influence on career choice has been highlighted as a key challenge in attracting UAE nationals to many of the jobs available. Example of being a photographer was used during the summit as a job that is perceived as culturally unacceptable in UAE culture.

Being sensitive to the local culture in terms of altering the physical space of organisations was also underlined as a necessary step towards Emiratisation, which many organisations may have overlooked. Nationals repeatedly brought up the need to have prayer rooms as religion is embedded in the Emirati culture and must in turn be constituted in the work environment.

Religion as part of the fabric of the society must be taken into consideration in Emiratisation implementation. An expatriate participant of the summit explained his experience when managers at multi-national corporations were asked to take on female nationals: *“Some companies they were rude. One of the big business men had lots of jobs suitable for women but said that OK, bring me the females without the head scarves and I will employ them. This was the situation in 2005.”* However, Emiratisation has come a long way since and it was evident during the participant observation that Emirati women currently are a key part of the workforce, while attending work in their local outfit. Narratives of culture as a challenge in Emiratisation implementation have also been reproduced at the organisational level and will be looked into in chapter 7.

In summary, the common thread amongst all references to culture have been whether the Emirati culture has been incorporated in to the organisational value and cultural practices, and an emphasis on the link between respect for the local culture and values and national retention, and an avoidance of nationals feeling ‘alienated’ (The Bank, Summit 2014). This will be further discussed in chapters 7 and 8 when talking about stereotypes and the boundary between nationals and expatriates. Although religion is a core part of culture of the region, however it maybe not contemplated in the policy. Yet, perhaps it impacts how employees see themselves differently.

- **HR**

The important role of HR officers in implementing the policy is evident in the public discourse as they not only take on the responsibility of selection, training and development design, but also they are the brokers in communications with all other stakeholders. The policy can be seen as a boundary object (Star & Griesemer, 1989) that creates collaborative work within the network of communities of practice involved with Emiratisation. For instance, the HR officials in charge of translating and implementing the policy in organisations become brokers (Wenger, 1998) in continual communication with not only policy makers, enforcers and all other stakeholders, but also the target group.

Implementing Emiratisation places immense pressure on HR as they must impress not only organisational members at all levels, but also the government. Therefore, their responsibility makes them vulnerable for criticism as they are at the frontline.

For instance, they were under attack at the 2014 Summit for lack of communication with the Emirati newcomers during the probation period: “*HR directors they abuse the power and sometimes after 2 months they fire people... You don’t have to wait for the 6 months, after the 1st month begin telling the employee what concerns you have and let them work on them...*” Furthermore, HR professionals were urged to apply all the ingredients that are there in order to put together a ‘recipe’ or a ‘gulf style HR best practices’ that would be productive (GM, Talent Consultants).

However, being able to come up with HR practices specific to UAE requires absolute

knowledge of the local culture. In a young nation with such rich culture and heritage, some level of ‘familiarity’ with the culture does not suffice. Although expatriate HR/Emiratisation officers made tremendous efforts during the congress and summit to show they have learnt and delved into the local culture and build bridges between cultures, such as telling stories of visiting locals’ houses and eating local food. But, many cultural differences can be overcome more efficiently through appointing local Emiratisation officers. HR is heavily weighted towards being expatriate and finding opportunities for exposure and close contact with Emiratis in a closed conservative society has been expressed as a challenge in itself. An experienced expatriate consultant addresses this matter:

“Picture yourself as the Emirati candidate. If you want to understand and to raise concerns and issues and seek directions, who can you go to? HR managers? I am so sorry, all of them are busy to their eye balls and they are not the right people and they don’t even speak the same language. I am sorry, 99 percent of them of them are foreigners and they don’t even speak the same language. So, how can make them understand what they are looking at?” (Consultancy Firm, MD, Summit 2015).

This will become evident in the next chapters as many employees, specifically female nationals express being more comfortable to communicate with an Emirati female HR with regards to their problems.

Furthermore, looking into the job engines and the new openings announcements in the media (e.g. www.emiratisation.org) immediately brings to attention the awareness of such a problem and attempts at addressing it. Many of the ‘open to nationals only’ job adverts are HR/Emiratisation officer positions.

5.3. BEST PRACTICES

In a study conducted by Aon Hewitt (experts in HR and outsourcing consultancy services) in 2012, the organisation stated that it is their objective to ‘blend global best practices within ongoing and compelling regional insights’ to tackle the workforce obstacles and opportunities. And due to the ‘uniqueness’ of Middle East labour market, urged policy makers, organisational leader and HR to ‘glocalize’ their strategies to be able to work in this context. Similarly Boyden consultancy stated: *“In spotting, engaging and developing future leaders: Where are the training and development models of best practice both in the UAE, Middle East and the World and how can they*

be replicated here?” (2012)

Emiratisation forums and congresses serve as a platform for stakeholders, the network of Emiratisation community of practice to come together and share their best practices. As the spokesperson from the foundation of youth development stated:

“we have done internal research and we found out that there are more than 20 entities, private or government and they are doing Emiratisation programmes which are quite similar and they started from scratch, but if there was a knowledge transfer between these entities, they would not be starting from scratch and they can do the best practices between each other” (Summit 2014)

Such forums and congresses themselves are facilitated by the government in an attempt to collect Emiratisation best practices across various industries. The policy itself is perceived as a best practice, and its ‘best’ implementation practices will be enacted differently in each organisation, in accordance to the corresponding context. And hence requires an iterative challenge to adapt and re-construct the practice (Winter and Szulanski, 2001; Jensen et al., 2004). The following seven practices have been implied as ‘best practices in the public sphere’: employer of choice, partnerships & collaborations, certificates & degrees, integrated responsibility/linked performance measurements, coaching and mentoring, succession planning, addressing cultural gaps.

- ***Employer of Choice***

As illustrated so far, organisations thrive to attract Emirati ‘talents’ from a small pool of supply. Therefore, they apply certain measures to increase their chances, such as receiving Emiratisation rewards, developing career growth programmes, sponsoring events, and using ICTs and social media. These efforts are made in order to be known as ‘employer of choice’ amongst the nationals. Some of such efforts are also evident in the two organisations under study and will be discussed in chapter 7.

One of the methods of illustrating to the government their commitment to the policy, but also attracting Emirati newcomers has been through receiving Emiratisation awards. Organisations are nominated for a range of awards offered by the federal and local governments after reviewing their level of commitment, their process of implementation (i.e. whether or not they follow practices perceived as ‘good’ or ‘best’ across industries), and their results.

A prestigious award (in the ‘gold category’ of rewards) is the ‘Dubai Human Development Award for Emiratisation’. By acknowledging and rewarding accomplishments of organisations in terms of developing Emiratis, the award provides not only encouragement, but also research is done in award winning organisations in order to share best practices. The providers describe benefits of the award in the 2012 Emiratisation congress as providing prestige and recognition, media coverage, and in turn benefiting from being able to absorb highly qualified Emiratis, ‘who will maximise the organisation’s growth potential’. Furthermore, organisations can advantage from framework and feedback report of a team of qualified assessors. Therefore, the award serves the organisations in many ways, which will allow them to attract higher quality newcomers. An HR officer from The Bank explains his award-winning organisation’s experience as:

“If you win the award, it is a mandate that you need to share your best practices in the community. So, you have got best practices will be featured in books; you get to speak in shared practices forum. It is win-win: you get to be evaluated, you win, you benchmark your processes, and you share them as well. So, there is specific advantage going for these kinds of awards” (Summit 2014).

As the 2014 youth survey indicated, Emiratis are concerned not only with financial reward, but also they would like to work in an environment that promises them a career. Accordingly, the national airway of UAE based in Abu Dhabi, *Etihad Airways* has been known as one of the role models in implementing the policy. In February 2015, Etihad Airways hit Emiratisation milestone with 2,000th Emirati employee. (24/02/2015, Emirates News Agency in UAE interact).³² The VP of HR at Etihad airways discussed her organisations aim to ‘brand’ itself as the ‘best employer’ during the 2012 congress. This is done by focusing on fresh students and attempting to develop them to ‘future international leaders’ through not only intensive training, but also centring this on their future growth plans to ensure long term career progression and ‘rich future of opportunities’.

Moreover, in order to demonstrate to the national employees that they are the ‘employer of choice’, many organisations sponsor events, such as recruitment fairs and events at

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http://www.uaeinteract.com/docs/Etihad_Airways_hits_Emiratisation_milestone_with_2,000th_Emirati_employee/66827.htm

educational institutions.

Additionally, ICTs and social media have been used as platforms to facilitate Emiratisation. More specifically, social media has offered an opportunity for communication amongst all stakeholders. And, they are a platform for organisations to ‘build their corporate brand to support Emiratisation’ (Talent Manager, Summit 2014). For instance, Talent Manager, the sponsor of Emiratisation Summit 2014, allows for social networking and bring Emiratis and employers together. Organisations in turn make every effort to promote themselves as the employer of choice to the small pool of Emirati candidates and also for the Emiratis to seize opportunities offered.

- ***Partnerships & Collaborations***

In implementing Emiratisation policy, the public sphere emphasises on partnerships and collaborations for enhancing effectiveness.

Connecting the world of education in UAE to industries is one of the vital steps in introducing the workforce to the work environment and vice versa. For instance, organisations such as Boeing offer internship programmes for up to 6 months in the United States, which Khalifa fund (a federal organisation) contributes to, and Education Org- a non-profit organisation that aims to empower young Emiratis facilitates it.

During the 2014 Emiratisation summit, organisations were urged to work closely with colleges and universities in order to “*capitalise on the opportunities that will mushroom in three years... they must align education with skills that we want and schools not to prepare just their certificates, but also their employability*” (Managing Director, Job Search). This was also emphasised with regards to the over flow of some specialisations and the need to have a better view and closer collaboration to know the number and profile of Emiratis in the pipeline.

In an attempt to bridge the pay difference between the private and public sector, organisations at the 2014 summit were encouraged to think of creative collaborations. For instance, collaboration between Deloitte and Al Hilal Bank was exemplified, where

the Emirati employees work for Deloitte, but receive their salaries from Al Hilal bank.³³

Although certain partnerships and collaborations have been exemplified in the public sphere as best practices, there have been only few institutionalisations of such practices. More specifically, there were demands at the summit to institutionalise how organisations hire from universities and colleges in order to have both Emiratis and private organisations interested in each other. Examples of such practices were special courses that could be offered based on specific job requirements, and internships and summer schools in order to bring students closer to the reality of work and provide a better insight, feedback and improvement.

The host and presenter of the summit 2014 concluded by emphasising partnerships as the most fundamental step towards implementations: *“we need a partnership between private organisations, government, educational institutions. It is time we start asking what we can do to make it happen. We have huge responsibility with the careers of almost 375,000 new graduates that are coming out Emiratis.”*

An institutionalised example is the Abu Dhabi Emiratization Council (ADTC), which brings the employer, the council and the educational providers as ‘three partners’. It provides range of trainings for the registered jobseekers, including vocational training (Interview with ADTC Manager). Furthermore, the ‘ABSHER’ program has been introduced, which is an initiative to enhance participation of Emiratis in the private sector and boost their competitive advantage. This is clearly a best practice and an attempt to tackle the ‘paradox of plenty’ through collaboration with the private sector itself.³⁴

- ***Certificates & degrees as part of continual development***

As educational standard remains a challenge amongst UAE nationals, Emiratization efforts are built around further education, mainly in the form of certificates and degrees in order to enhance nationals’ employability. An expatriate Central Bank official who has lived and worked in UAE for more than 20 years explains:

³³ Al Hilal bank is a 100% governmental-owned Islamic bank based in Abu Dhabi, UAE.

³⁴ To participate in the Absher programme, Emirati job seekers must register on the ADTC database. Employers wishing to participate in the Absher initiative must contact the Ministry of Presidential Affairs to enrol and sign an MOU. For further information see: www.absher.ae

“When the law comes to Emiratize an industry, we develop more training programmes. High school levels increased and certificates and higher diplomas and then bachelors were granted. Women and men campuses were built in every Emirate, which were free for UAE Nationals.”

Continual development of the nationals in line with the policy carries on in organisations through various educational programmes. For instance, as illustrated by the head of Emiratization of Etihad Airways at the 2012 congress, the ‘cadet pilot program’, is an 18 months program at Horizon Institute in the city of Al-Ain, UAE, designed to produce licensed Emirati commercial pilots with bachelor degrees. Furthermore, since 2007, the organisation offers Emirati newcomers the opportunity to be enrolled in the ‘Technical Engineering Development Program’ - a five year integrated theory and practical program (3 years theoretical learning at Higher College of Technology and 2-3 years on-job-training).

Etihad Airways efforts are fruitful and highly publicised. For instance, it appointed the first female Emirati airport manager in January 2015, who joined the organisation in 2009 as part of the Graduate Management program³⁵ (01/02/2015, Emirates News Agency in UAEinteract)³⁶.

Many contend the common emphasis on the in-class trainings and the value placed on the courses and certificates as part of the on boarding of Emiratis:

“There are development programmes that are isolated. For example you have university student who graduated from the US and is given English communication course. So, the development programmes are unrealistic and demotivating” (Management Consultancy, Summit 2014).

Over-emphasis on in-class courses as best practice in many organisations appears to undermine the value of on-the-job training and the non-canonical practices that are fundamental to developing the national novices. Therefore, knowledgeability in action or knowing in practice (Orlikowski, 2002) for young Emiratis is often overlooked. Emphasis on advancement through certificates and degrees can partially be attributed to

³⁵ “A structured 18 month training initiative that develops talented Emiratis who are carefully selected and trained in all aspects of airline operations”

³⁶

http://www.uaeinteract.com/docs/UAEs_Etihad_Airways_appoints_first_female_Emirati_airport_manager/66330.htm

the challenges nationals face when expatriate workforce act as stumbling blocks and limit knowledge sharing. Therefore, further measures have been offered to tackle this matter, which will be discussed in the next section.

- ***Integrated Responsibility/Linked Performance Measurements***

While best practices around ‘partnerships and collaborations’ reflect sharing responsibilities at a macro level, this section explores shared and integrated responsibilities at the micro level within organisations.

The current labour laws in association with Emiratisation and their impact on organisations across industries have been an important part of the narratives amongst the stakeholders in the public sphere. Therefore, there have been persistent efforts to illustrate how companies should adjust their HR strategies to comply with them. For instance, at the 2012 congress, the executive director of Emirates National Development Programme (ENDP, a governmental organisation), provided local implementers with Key Performance Indicators (KPI) linked to Emiratisation, as a vital tool and a best practice to assess and continually monitor their compliance level. Performance measurements linked to Emiratisation as ‘standards’ and ‘best practices’ will be further explored in chapter 7.

Integrated responsibility was also emphasised by the head of Emiratisation at Hospitality (Summit 2014) as he discussed the vital role of middle managers in implementation process: *“the weight is on the shoulders of line manager and employee. So, if the employee fails, the line manager fails with him. So, nobody can hire me like this...”*

Making managers accountable through performance measures has become a best practice, which is believed to tackle the obstacle of ‘knowledge transfer’. In line with this practice, during a debate at the 2014 summit, one of the HR officers shared his experience:

“To make the managers accountable and responsible for the engagement of their employees, regardless of them being Emirati or what... I still see a lot of people are dis-engaged because the managers are not giving a lot of information. Talk about knowledge transfer, they don’t want often to share that information because it is their security online.”

If performance measures of the managers are linked to Emiratis’ and managers’ efforts

in facilitating the policy, there will also be room for some degree of coaching and mentoring.

- ***Coaching & Mentoring***

Implementing the various frameworks to develop Emiratis is believed to be possible by not only employee commitment, but also coaching and mentoring. Therefore, many organisations have built coaching and mentoring capabilities from the top as a necessary step for the success of the process. Boyden consultancy (2012) advises managers to mentor, coach and inspire the Emiratis and asks: *“who are the leaders that Emiratis can take their inspiration from? What role models do we have for male and female leadership in the UAE?”*

Coaching and mentoring Emiratis has taken a new meaning when the HR managers in charge are themselves nationals. Director of Government Relations & Emiratisation at Hospitality Group (a National himself) illustrate how they have taken coaching nationals to another level by offering “life coaching” and urges participants to adopt the practice. He explains: *“we try to organise their lives so they can work better. We go beyond and listen from our eyes. We set up coffee meetings to know what their personal issues are...”*

Furthermore, specific ‘tailor made’ internships have been designed for Emiratis, which not only exposes them to workplace, but also offers opportunities to be led by example. For instance, the non-profit organisation, *Education Org* has been established in UAE and is continually in the spotlight in media. The core of Education Org activity lies in the importance of mentoring for nationals. Through more than 2,500 volunteers, ‘job shadowing’ programs are offered to students. In an attempt to make the private sector known to Emiratis and vice versa, students take day long responsibilities while being mentored by senior staff, at organisations such as JP Morgan.

Coaching and mentoring programs motivate and inspire nationals and provides an opportunity to unlock their potential. And, they can take place even prior to employment during internships, in order to bridge the gap between education and workplace.

- ***Succession Planning***

Succession planning has been discussed in the public sphere not only as a strategy to promote Emiratis, but also as a means to retain them in organisations. Lack of proper succession planning is perceived as a key contributor to the high turnover of nationals. Succession planning as a tool for Emiratis to replace expatriates was *not* emphasised in the public discourses. Perhaps this is due to the scarcity of Emirati nationals capable of taking over the role of senior expatriates because of their insufficient skill sets and experience. Different form of succession planning will be looked into in the two organisations under study in the following chapters.

‘Succession planning’ was described as part of the commitment to Emiratisation, where organisations are expected to create ‘shadow’ training positions as part of their succession planning policy and programme, in order to facilitated ‘transfer of knowledge’ and provide work experiences to Emiratis (Dubai Human Resource Development award, managing director, 2012) .

As the majority of Emirati workforce is yet to be capable enough to be moving upward to senior positions, ‘lateral’ succession planning has been suggested as a best practice in the public sphere. Although not progressing upward in the organisation, through lateral succession, Emiratis can develop their skills on the job. An expatriate managing director (Consultancy Firm) drew parallels between the role of a national and expatriate as the co-pilot and the pilot, and advised in Summit 2014:

“It doesn’t mean that you become a manager and then a general manger and then a senior manager... Succession planning could be lateral as well, and that is the only time that you will be able to understand the responsibilities and talent of each individual... It is a natural succession planning, where the Emiratis get a lot of opportunities to show case their skills”

However, upward succession is the most common practice across industries, although without an indication of whether or not it is an expatriate replacement strategy. For instance, fast track career development programmes for UAE national employees have been designed to accelerate their career path in organisations such as the First Gulf Bank (14/05/2014, Emirates News Agency, UAE interact)³⁷

³⁷http://www.uaeinteract.com/docs/FGB_launches_fast_track_career_development_programme_for_UAE_national_employees/61706.htm

- ***Addressing Cultural Gaps***

The Emirati newcomers arrive at organisations from a collective, conservative culture, where religion and tradition is intertwined in their everyday lives. Therefore, addressing the cultural gap is vital in successful policy implementation. An expatriate head of HR puts it:

“I think expats come in with our Western techniques and Western management styles, and we forget leadership style is in the country that is not in the UK. And one of the beautiful things I found working in the Middle East for 7 years is culture. This country of UAE nationals is built on relationship building, which is often neglected in the West.” (Emiratisation head, Holding Group)

Various practices have been adopted by organisations to adapt to the culture, while changing it in the meantime. For instance, a local oil company (2012) illustrated best practices that take into consideration the conservative local culture. As the organisation was battling with increased rate of hiring females, new policies were implemented to allow females to work in oil fields. Alongside, this company developed strict sexual harassment policy based on the national culture, to ensure female employees can work in a comfortable and safe environment.

Since religious beliefs are at the core of Emirati culture, it has been perceived as best practice to incorporate them in the organisational values. The Islamic Bank of Sharjah has mandates from the management to assure that extracts from the holy book and Hadith are framed into the corporate values. The head of HR tells us:

“by doing that, we are directly creating a feeling of familiarity for our young UAE national workforce [...] plus, we train the other associates to use these values so that these values are distributed universally across the organisations” (Summit 2014)

Furthermore, cross-cultural awareness practices have been set in place in many organisations to foster better understanding, dialogue and respect. An Emirati HR manager at the panel discussion in summit explains how her organisation asks employees to volunteer for cultural awareness:

“It helps breaking the ice, and for them to understand why do I need to have a break for my prayer, why the men are wearing white and the woman are wearing black, why I need to cover up. All these are simple things that make

them understand and respect the culture.”

The managing director of Management Consultancy (Summit 2014) introduced their concept of the “Transit Launch”, which are cultural integration workshops through which national employees integrate with the expatriates. As the public sector is saturated and the private sector holds the majority of jobs, such attempts are made to also ‘ease the transition between the public and the private sector’.

5.4. Discussion & Concluding Remarks

When reviewing updates and news on Emiratisation and exploring talks, presentations and publications, it immediately becomes evident that many evolve around announcing a national becoming ‘the first Emirati’ in a specific field. Examples include the first doctor, the first female pilot, or the first female airport manager as discussed above. The credit is attributed immediately not only to the individual, but also to the policy for providing the opportunity, and to the organisation which has taken on board and developed the national. Such announcements can be interpreted from various angles:

First, it becomes evident that if for instance there is only one national in a specific field, and given the significant demographic imbalance and the growing economy in UAE, there will be a need for expatriate workforce for many years to come. Hence, challenging perceptions of the policy as an expatriate replacement scheme.

Second, such Emiratis will be taken on as ‘token’ statuses and due to their numerical underrepresentation are vulnerable to experience negative work experiences (King et al., 2010; Yoder, 1991). Becoming symbols and headline news exposes them to greater visibility and reinforces the already existing difference between them and the dominant group of expatriates.

Third, it could also be argued that in cases such as the first Emirati female pilot, there is not only a change in organisational cultural practices, but also a cultural change in the UAE society by exemplifying women as capable of not only actively participating in the male-dominant society, but also taking on difficult roles. Moreover, it illustrates the possibility for a work/life balance for female Emiratis, although exploring the role of female nationals in Emiratisation is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Fourth, according to research conducted by the “Emirates Foundation for Youth Development” on financial literacy of Emirati youth, 70% of young Emiratis are reported in debt because they lack sound financial planning and have a desire to acquire luxuries. This reinforces the need to get jobs in order to maintain luxury life styles. Hence, further consumption acts as a motivator and an enabler of Emiratisation. It also creates more double-income families, and shifts the Emirati culture and the working practices within organisations as they must adapt to accommodate not only male but also female Emiratis.

In addition to announcements on breaking the glass ceiling by Emiratis in various industries, a re-current interest and theme is in the private sectors’ activities and their ‘taking’ a number of Emiratis. This chapter has illustrated the challenges and misconceptions shared between Emiratis and the private organisations. Furthermore, it has exemplified governmental initiatives such as the ABSHER program or Education Org internships to make the Emiratis and private sector attracted to each other. Various collaborations, partnerships, coaching and mentoring programmes, and many other initiatives that have been designed to facilitate policy implementation are continually altering the working practice within organisations. Moreover, the details of how the government is compensating the organisations (besides subsidising training programs) remain unclear. However, feelings of Emirati employees who are aware of being on board due to implicit or explicit incentives offered to employer are unknown.

Emiratis are also referred to as ‘talent’, specifically in job adverts which invite ‘talent’. Not only the constant use of ‘talent’ underestimates the value of the ‘average’ employee and questions his/her place in the workforce, but also it appears to act upon the perceptions of nationals as incompetent. Additionally, job adverts ‘specifically for Emiratis’ raises the question of whether it is due to the cultural demands of the role, or its low level of difficulty, or positions are created and publicised due to the pressures of the policy? Or, do organisations genuinely believe that nationals hold special contributions and talent that can be tapped into. Such ‘Emirati only’ adverts not only introduce new recruitment practices, but also once again reinforce the pre-existing boundaries between the nationals and expatriates (Tilly, 2004).

As illustrated in this chapter, the policy responses to the evolving challenges that unfold

and hence new meanings are projected to Emiratisation. For instance, policy as an enforcer is to get private institutions to take on nationals. Or, the policy perceived as a business facilitator is to allow organisations to capitalise on Emiratisation by taking on nationals and enjoy the perks that come with it. The policy (re)emerges as creator of Emirati private sector professionals, Emirati entrepreneurs, Emirati female professionals, or even Emirati blue-colour workers in some cases. And in turn, breaks conventions, and boundaries are being (re)imposed and (re)defined and Emirati identities are (re)shaped continually as the policy unfolds and various meanings are projected on it in various contexts.

In summary, this chapter investigated how the policy is portrayed and implemented by a number of stakeholders. Studying how public discourse understands Emiratisation practices has revealed general understandings of the policy- practitioners' shared view of the appropriateness of particular actions in a certain context (Smets and Jarzabkowski, 2014). In the following chapters I will look closer at the narratives and practices generated by the implementation of the policy in two concrete organizations. The last conclusion chapter will compare and contrast the findings of this chapter against the two organisations under study to explore whether there are various forms or similar examples of policy implementations between the public sphere and these organisations. This will highlight how a positive discrimination policy is understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in various contexts, and its impact on the working practices of those involved. While this chapter has explored the public national understanding of the Emiratisation policy; next two chapters will look at the organisational and finally the level of employees who are affected.

CHAPTER 6

6.0. NARRATIVES & INTERSUBJECTIVITY

This chapter deals with the organizational and employees' perception of the policy: narratives and discourses on the Emiratisation policy, the main arguments, and the intersubjective (dis)agreements and (mis) understandings. The chapter is based on the data collected by in-depth interviews, which have allowed investigation of meanings participants give to Emiratisation. Stories of implementation agents and actors impacted by policy in both organisations of all time periods have been considered for this purpose. The two specific organisations in the finance and insurance industry were selected as they are under the spot light for complying with strict quota based mandate (see copy of the resolution in Appendices 2 & 3). Their narratives are central as they also raise specific questions of perspectives and intersubjectivity, which I then will grapple in the last part of this chapter. Going from overall discourse in the previous chapter to organisational narratives, intersubjective (mis)understandings and practices offers a higher granularity of what the public discourses and narratives mean and how they are enacted. I will explore this in the next two chapters.

6.1. Narratives of Emiratisation: Meaning and Main Arguments

6.1.1. Why Narratives?

Taking a social constructionist view of the policy, the chapter will illustrate how organisational actors use narrative story lines to make sense of the policy, meanwhile trying to show that they are merely explaining facts. As Riessman (2008) explains: "Telling stories about difficult times in our lives creates order and contains emotions, allowing a search for meaning and enabling connection with others" (p.10). Focusing on interruptions in life created by instances such as illness, divorce and fertility, the author illustrates the meaning-making purpose of narratives. Similarly, with the introduction and implementation of Emiratisation policy, disruptions are created in the regular lives of not only nationals, but also expatriate workforce and the organisational working practices. Therefore, it is crucial to examine how organisational members attempt to create order and search for meaning of the policy through narratives. In uncertain circumstances, while providing safety, narratives allow the subjects to make sense of the change process (Garcia-Lorenzo, 2007, 2010). Barthes (1977) states that narrative "ceaselessly substitutes meaning for the straightforward copy of the events recounted" (p.119 cited in Presser, 2010).

Therefore, the narrative analysis applied here allows us to examine what are the understandings of Emiratisation that have been co-constructed in a specific manner. Narrative analysis views the policy process as a storied one, which ‘draws on an amalgam of ideas and rhetoric devices to construct shared and accepted understandings of social problems’ (Carter, 2009, P. 373).

In this research, such connective links allow us to construct the complex matter of understanding the Emiratisation policy and further making it possible to understand its development, implementation practices, changes and hurdles organisations face.

6.1.2. The reconstruction of Emiratisation narrative

I illustrated in depth in section 4.3.3.2 of chapter 4 how stories collected during individual interviews were then reconstructed into narratives that represent organisational members’ shared understanding of Emiratisation policy. Although commonalities and some differences or ‘tensions’ will be presented in this chapter, at first common themes across narratives are discussed. As I illustrated in detail in section 4.3.3.2 of chapter 4, I arrived at such commonalities through a “thematic narrative analysis” approach (Riessman, 2008). The narratives were organised based on two co-ordinates. First, Employees’ accounts indicated 3 phases of Emiratisation, highlighting the temporality of narration: *Antecedents to Emiratisation*- when unemployment crisis were recognised which called for a response; *Emiratisation Implementation*- when policy was launched in organisations and is expressed as social action; and finally *Consequences of Emiratisation*- a rather “current state of affairs” in both organisations. Narrators try to build plots by drawing from the ‘disordered experiences’ in order to give reality a “unity that neither nature nor the past possess so clearly” (Cronon, 1992, p. 349 cited in Riessman 2008, p.7). Second, to identify components of narratives, I apply the notion of ‘pentad’ (O’Connor, 1995) to the 3 phases, and therefore elements of stories are organised based on the questions of when/why, how, who, and what (see section 4.3.3.2 of chapter 4 for detail)

However, in addition to the organising tools discussed above, it is important to highlight that narratives are not shaped in a vacuum and the context of narratives must be accounted for. The following section explains the central influence of context in co-construction of narratives.

Importance of Context:

The role of context is crucial in understanding narratives. Presser (2010, p. 441-442) highlights the criticality of the following relevant contexts that researchers conducting narrative analysis must consider: structural context (e.g. state/prison in his research on criminology), experiences of storytelling (not only individual, institutional, societal/cultural, but also the histories of self-disclosure), genres and standard plots (focusing on those that have currency in culture such as clichés) and the research encounter (the context of story-telling itself and the role of researcher as the re-presenter of the narrative). In drawing the attention to social context, the author refers to Maynes et al. (2008) who write:

“The insistence that historical contexts and then institutions embedded within them matter is right on the mark, but the analysis must make these connections in concrete ways, in ways that sometimes push the analyst beyond the life story. Only then we can understand why and how context matters” (p.53).

In this analysis, the historical and socio-political context that enables the participant make sense of their experiences have been taken into account. As for the local context of story-telling production, it goes without saying that the conversation between me and each participant, which were by no means confined to the topic guide questions, certainly impacted individual’s narratives, just as my re-presentation does. Therefore, the analysis opposes the viewpoint by Riessman (2008) which states that the role of the researcher and the local context is ‘minimal’ in thematic narrative analysis. Although such an influence will be more evident in the interpretive commentary I will provide in intersubjectivity analysis of discourses in the last section of this chapter. However, having said that, it is important to acknowledge the limitation that knowing every narrative is socially co-constructed and shaped in accordance to a specific interaction in situ, the narrative reconstructed from the thematic analysis merely searches for commonalities and aims for generalisation. Therefore, key tensions need to be explored after discussing the common elements of the narrative, which will be further explored when looking at the intersubjective (mis)understandings and (dis)agreements.

6.2. Narratives of Emiratisation

As discussed in the previous section, narratives of Emiratisation by the employees of both organisations indicated three phases: *Antecedents to Emiratisation*- when crisis were recognised which called for a response; *Implementation*- when policy was launched in each organisation and expressed as social action; and finally *Consequences of Emiratisation*- a rather “current state of affairs” in both organisations. Furthermore, the material is then organised based on the following questions for each of the three phases to identify the components of the narratives:

- **When/Why** is the Emiratisation policy developed and implemented? What is it trying to accomplish? These questions denote to the *purpose* and *scene*
- **How** is the policy being implemented? This denotes to *agency* and *act*
- **Who** are the actors? Those involved in rolling out the Emiratisation initiative? This denotes to the *agent*
- **What** are we tackling through the policy? This denotes to *agency* and *act*

Table 3: Organisation of time periods and themes for the main narratives

Time Periods Narrative Coordinates	Antecedents to Emiratisation	Implementation	Consequences of Emiratisation
When/Why <i>Scene and purpose</i>	<i>How it was before the policy</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High National Unemployment • High expat Dependency 	<i>When action was taken in our organisation</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More than a number's game 	<i>New Avenues opened</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private and new sectors
Who <i>Agent</i>	<i>Pre-Emiratisation people</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emirates a second 'home' for expatriates • The stay at home nationals 	<i>Emiratising people</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A pledge by all organisational actors at all levels 	<i>Impacted agents</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The independent national • We are all victims
What/How <i>Act and agency</i>	<i>The 'response'</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An enforced mandate 	<i>Welcoming those new to 'work'</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceptions of nationals' skillset • Working practices 	<i>The Distinctions</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organisation more loyal to employees • Us versus them

6.2.1. Antecedents to Emiratization

In discussing the formation of policy agendas, Stone (1989, p.281) reminds us that there is always a 'black box' prior to agenda formation: how situations are perceived as caused by human action and therefore amenable to human intervention. Below underlines employees understanding of the 'black box':

THE SCENE

As discussed in the introduction, UAE infrastructure was built after the discovery of oil and through the influx of expatriate workforce, and is still primarily maintained by the non-national population. This apparent demographic imbalance, where the nationals constitute only 11% of the population while experiencing a 13% unemployment rate (World Bank, 2012) has had a twofold consequence. First, the Emiratis have suffered from high rate of unemployment as historically they had not been equipped to compete with the experienced non-national candidates. And, their collective culture has rather encouraged family dependence and family ventures as opposed to a corporate one. Second, their minimal presence in the workforce has made Emiratis vulnerable to expatriate dependency and its implications. The following will illustrate this in terms of how the national and expat employees in both organisations view Emiratization policy as a response to the above crisis:

Increase National Employment

With the high unemployment rate amongst the nationals, the policy promised to open doors for the local workforce as the need for such facilitation is evident in all the stories. An Emirati newcomer explains:

“Before nobody could work here. Maybe just 1 Emirati in this organisation... And, nobody worked in private and semi-government. Because some people did not have work and stayed home...” (P1, N, Insurance Inc., T1).

An expatriate assistant manager tells us his standpoint on the policy and the organisational landscape:

“Actually, they are trying to push their people, or local people to join all the business or everything in the country, to be involved in this business. This is the main idea. And, of course they will have a chance to work. So, nobody can stay at home and say I cannot work because I didn't find a

job. This is the main thing.” (P13, E, Insurance Inc. T1).

The governmental response of a strict mandate raises the question of why they felt the need for such a drastic measure. Looking closely at such narratives of organisational actors as illustrated above, sheds light on the prevalent organisational culture that was not encouraging towards national participation prior to Emiratisation, and therefore underscores the criticality of the policy as an attempt to influence organisational culture and working practices.

Promote National Independence

In addition to being unemployed, minimal representation of national workforce in organisation has created another layer of uncertainty amongst Emiratis. The strategic position of UAE in the Middle East, surrounded by nations themselves often in political turmoil, has always generated a sense of insecurity. In a country where its own citizens constitute a fraction of the population, reliance on expatriate workforce can entail uncertainties, since they would vacate if the region is not perceived as safe anymore. Therefore, as a young nation, which has been built by the hands of the expatriates, the Emiratisation policy has been described by many nationals and even non-nationals as “national independence”:

“This is kind of a way to motivate Emiratis to give. To show them that at the end of the day they still have opportunities. Because of the 8 million population, we are roughly one million [...] the purpose is so genuine: we (UAE Nationals) form less than 2% of the entire workforce, which is really dangerous. Especially in the financial sector which is really in a dangerous stage...” (P12, N, Invest Co. T1)

It goes without saying that the expatriate population confirm the above that the nation is in need of permanent workforce, rather than those on a ‘visa’ status. A Palestinian employee who has been working at Insurance Inc. for more than 25 years states his position on the policy:

“It is very nice. Why not? If the sons of Emirates not work, who works? Must work and must take salary... He gives it to me? Tomorrow, if I go, who will do his work? So the sons of these Emirates must take work” (P15, E, Insurance Inc. T1)

As we saw in the previous chapter, public discourses perceived the policy as a ‘strategic decision’, which constituted not only UAE becoming self-sufficient, but also organisations tapping into the local market. This is reproduced at the organisational level with slight variation, highlighting urgency for independence from expatriate workforce, without considering any benefits that comes along with implementing the policy.

“PRE-EMIRATISATION” PEOPLE

Emirates: A second ‘home’ for expatriates

The above statement is the common story of many expatriates and it has two immediate implications: First, it implies that the notion of being an ‘expatriate’ entails a different meaning in this context as it is irrelevant to the number of years lived in the country. For instance an employee who has lived and worked in UK for more than 20 years will not be called an expatriate. Second, it indicates a need to leave, perhaps an unwilling decision for many expatriates. The strict immigration laws in the country prohibit granting permanent residency or citizenship based on number of years spent in UAE (detail discussion in introduction/context). The high unemployment rate amongst the nationals and the Emiratisation policy further reinforces the need for tighter immigration policies.

Although such expatriates were always aware of being visiting workforce, willingness to stay was prevalent. A close investigation underlines their apparent pre-Emiratisation position. As a female expatriate who has been working at Insurance Inc. since 1992 explains her position:

“We are guests here. OK, we are working hard, we are taking our salary but when they say khalas (means finished in Arabic) bye bye, we will go home. It is hard for me. I am here in UAE since 1979. I love UAE. It is a very very nice country and I feel like it is my country. Because you know, I am Palestinian and living in Lebanon before, and Lebanon it is not comfortable for me. I can visit Lebanon but not for long” (P6, E, Insurance Inc. T1).

Historically, the lack of local workforce educated and experienced enough, who would also be willing to take on a daily job, necessitated the need for such expatriate

workforce, many of whom are Arab nationals from countries such as Palestine, Lebanon, Egypt, and Syria. They have an added advantage over their Western competitors due to their fluency in Arabic language, culture, and lower wage expectations.

The stay at home Nationals

In the meantime, many nationals engaged in private ventures since any foreign investment in UAE by law requires a local partner, offering the nationals perpetual income with minimal efforts (www.abudhabi.ae). Their presence in the organisational scene was hence limited to top managerial positions (e.g. CEOs and honorary board members) since they did not hold the educational qualifications or the experience to work along the expatriates. As national and expatriate employees tell us:

“40 years ago, number of national bachelor holders was so few. Perhaps you would be over qualified. The general manager of any entity does not hold such a degree. And you can see how this became in just 40 years... So, the government spends/invests in its nationals because they are the future.” (P16, N, Invest Co. T2).

“Nobody needed to work before. He needed just to be manager.... Sign and go... Now, it is OK... there are locals. This is rule now in Emirates” (P15, E, Insurance Inc. T1)

Evidently, the leaders of the nation had higher ambitions for their compatriots. And as a response, Emiratisation policy was introduced. Participants continually speak highly of and refer to ‘they’ - i.e. the rulers of the nation as the visionaries and initiators of the mandate to allow for the nationals to enter the workforce, hence attempting to change national’s values and self-image. However, as discussed in the public discourses, there are new initiatives that promote a renewal of interest for Emiratis to be engaged in private ventures as entrepreneurs.

THE ‘RESPONSE’

An enforced mandate

The linking of the narratives of national unemployment and insecurity with the many expatriates’ hesitation to leave the country earlier than anticipated and perhaps resistance to Emirati involvement in work, underlines a call for a quota based positive

discrimination policy centred on citizenship. A national employee describes the mandate as:

“It is increasing the Emirati percentage within the overall workforce. This is the broader term, as a step towards eventually having the major workforce in the organisation be Emiratis. So, we are giving opportunities for the Emiratis to lead the company in the future.” (P4, N, Invest Co., T2)

Well aware of the crisis in hand and the policy, the expatriate workforces in both organisations highlight the resolving of demographic imbalance at workplace through a mandate:

“Basically to employ more locals... Because when you compare ratios, the UAE nationals against the expats, I think the expats are much more. So, they want to balance it with a mandate. And, I think our organisation is not yet even close to getting it balanced at the moment” (P23, E, Invest Co., T2)

Therefore, Emiratisation sketched not only a new picture of nation’s future, but also a new image of organisations, one in which nationals could play role in both:

“I always think about work as how to add value to yourself and to the whole Emirate. I suppose when you read about this thing from Tawteen (Emiratisation Council), you know AD has the 2030 vision. So, I want to be part of that vision... as long as I see myself as part of that vision, at that time I will be 40 or 45 and at that time I see myself as a leader when the vision is completed then” (P15, N, Invest Co., T1)

6.2.2. Implementation of Emiratisation

It is not known when the policy was introduced in the country or in each organisation under study. However, it is common knowledge that as one of the oldest and significant sectors in the country, the oil industry has been the forerunner in attempts to include nationals in the workforce. The finance and insurance industries then followed with strict quotas set federally and dictated through the central bank.

THE SCENE

More than a numbers' game

Although employees refer to the Emiratisation initiative as a door opener for nationals to enter the workforce, their understanding of the policy does not end there. A great amount of expectation is anticipated from participating organisations in not only placing the national, but also training and developing him/her. Public discourses in the previous chapter highlighted this when questioning whether implementation practices are genuine or merely 'window dressing'. Similarly, such concerns are reproduced at the organisational level in terms of the level of investment an organisation makes in an Emirati newcomer. Therefore, while a quota and a percentage monitoring apparatus, there is a common belief in Emiratisation's higher aim when implemented in an organisation:

"I wish there could be some control measures or something because Emiratisation is not only about filling gaps or increasing numbers. It is also about developing them, improving them. You are creating future leaders. That is what I mean. If you are recruiting someone, giving them just a job, OK, they are getting a salary... But you are not giving them the right way in order to progress and success in the future" (P16, N, Invest Co., T2)

"It is helping the nationals to not only just get the job, but to develop them in their work and help them and support them. Support them in every way... like at work if they need anything, and if they need to leave to study, you give them 100% support" (P5, E, Insurance Inc. T1)

These narratives echo the need for greater monitoring of the national's wellbeing after recruitment. If both the nationals and the expatriate believe that the Emiratis are brought into the organisation as a number and a mean of compliance, it creates a culture of letting the Emirati just be, impacting the self-image of the newcomer and de-motivating the employee.

EMIRATISING PEOPLE

While the government takes an active role in developing the policy, it is then up to each organisation under the spot light to implement it. The task of implementation lies not only in the hands of the top management, but also requires the engagement of all

organisational actors, whether national or expatriate.

A pledge by all organisational actors at all levels

Enforcing Emiratisation needed the cooperation of expatriate managers and their commitment to the policy. Also, all expatriate co-workers have to embrace the notion without being guided much as to ‘how’ to integrate their national colleagues and teach them the ropes, and more importantly ‘why’. This entails allowing Emirati novices that are at the peripheries to become full members of the pre-existing communities of practice (Wenger, 2000).

For organisations to be able to invest in anyway in Emirati newcomers requires commitment from the top, which is not only a direct result of the top management’s understanding and fondness of the policy, but also their perceptions of nationals.

“We have a very strong and a very caring board... because these kinds of strategies need long time for them to mature and to come to existence... We have a board that Emiratisation and Nationalisation is a priority to them. We will get there God willing” (P2, N, Insurance Inc. T2)

As the authorities in various fields, expatriate employees play a crucial role in the future of the policy. An experienced expatriate describes how he feels about the policy and positions himself in its implementation:

“As a Bank I need to make bankers, as a corporate banker, I need to make corporate bankers, as investment bankers, I need to make investment bankers who are nationals and will represent their nationality and their fellow Emiratis. So, I have to ensure that they are being selected well, trained well, and offered the opportunity in order to develop and in order to create a career path for them” (P18, E, Invest Co., T2)

However, none of the efforts will be fruitful unless the Emiratis are willing to work and the expats are willing to accept them without questioning their intention of being there, or their capabilities. Therefore, the following section will review what participants believe must be tackled at the point of rolling out the policy.

WELCOMING THOSE NEW TO CONCEPT OF ‘WORK’

Perceptions of Nationals’ skillset

The common understanding of the policy at its most basic level has been to provide opportunity for the unemployed nationals, most of whom have none or minimal work experience. Hence, the policy in itself infers and creates pre-conceived perception of nationals and their questionable ability to contribute to workplace. An expatriate employee new in the country expresses his thoughts on policy implementation:

“So, my view is that if I have like 3 nationals and one is not interested at work, I can still treat him as a cost centre and work around him and he will grow at his own pace. As a cost centre, rather than a profit centre....We are all supposed to be a profit centre. If somebody is underperforming, let him be a cost centre. Let him grow at his own pace, so you don’t really have to rock the boat every time...” (P18, E, Invest Co., T2)

The national newcomers, many at an organisation for their very first time and perceived to be placed due to the policy will then have to encounter such perceptions while trying to comprehend the meaning of holding a daily job and what it entails. A national employee at Invest Co. explains:

“I will tell you something: the new graduates they come in and they are so excited and they expect they will be on the job immediately and have the responsibility to do lots of things, but it is not... they have to be trained. Some of them are not patient... they just feel bored” (P6, N, Invest Co. T2)

Emiratizing: Working practices

Emiratization activities and the working practices will be explained in detail in the next chapter. However, the following is a very brief account of what they constitute. Emiratising in the two organisations entails: selecting amongst a few qualified nationals, placing significance on initial training and continual development, disparity in wages and treatment between nationals and expatriates and emergent and prominent role of HR. As challenges are encountered, various best practices are developed and/or re-contextualized, which will be explored in depth in chapter 7.

6.2.3. Consequences of Emiratisation

THE SCENE

New Avenues: Private organisations & new sectors

Private and semi-private organisations

Nationals have always avoided the private and semi-private organisations because of their highly competitive nature and tougher work environment. Likewise, such organisations have been inclined to hire expatriates. However, due to the federal pressures imposed by the policy on these organisations, and also with the saturated level currently evident in the public sector, many nationals have recently had no choice but to consider the private and semi-private organisations:

“So, the Emiratisation is an initiative first of all to ensure that UAE nationals are finding open doors when they want to join private sectors. Because historically, those doors were closed unfortunately... If you leave it to the private sector, people who look after the private sector companies, they always go for expats because they are cheaper in terms of pay, they don't cost as much as locals. They will settle for 3,000-4,000 DHS but the locals will ask for 10,000-15,000 DHS, depending on the cost of living in UAE. So, the Emiratisation is a drive kicked off by the government to make sure that the private sector, to make sure that those in Finance are opening their doors for Emiratis who want to join” (P4, N, Invest Co. T1)

As we saw in the previous chapter, public discourse attributes the large discrepancy between the percentage of nationals at private vs. public sector to ‘misconception’ from both sides: from the private sector about the Emirati expectations and work ethics & misconceptions about resistance of the private sector. Therefore, employability of nationals in the private sector has been perceived as a fundamental impediment to Emiratisation, which has also been reproduced at the organisational level.

New Industries

With the national objective of lowering reliance on the oil reserves and therefore diversifying the economy (AD 2030 Vision), new sectors as potential recruiters have recently been opened up to the Emiratis:

“Emiratisation it means in my opinion getting UAE nationals in the hard jobs. What do I mean by hard jobs: It means the job that Emiratis are spoiled enough and will not take it [...] we don't see them in the manufacturing sector; let's say Emirates' steel industry. You see like Asian people or expat who will take care and take full responsible for this

industry. So, the softer jobs, like HR you will see many UAE nationals in this field. In accounting, you will find few...” (P19, N, Insurance Inc., T2)

“They are just depending on oil I think at the moment. Even banking is the only line which most of them are getting to. What about the private companies? You hardly see any locals in the private companies. And, you don’t see any professionals. Doctors... I have hardly seen any. I haven’t come across even 1 Emirati doctor. Or, engineers in software field... Professionals are very low. Maybe here yes, but not other fields... They are going into their own business... (laughs)” (P23, E, Invest Co. T2)

Therefore, narratives in the two organisations indicate that a new generation of Emirati workforce is emerging, one that must adapt the values and cope with the highly demanding and competitive culture of private organisations and new sectors, while being the target of the policy- continually negotiating and reshaping what it means to be an Emirati workforce and in turn the meaning of the policy itself.

However, discussion in the public discourses in the previous chapter implied that cultural influence on career choice is a key challenge in attracting UAE nationals to many of the job available. Culturally unaccepted professions, such as photography was used as an example to demonstrate the limitations Emiratis experience.

THE IMPACTED AGENTS

The independent National

As discussed earlier, connotations of Emiratisation evolve when discussing the phase of development, implementation or post-implementation. The narratives of organisational members entail a shift of responsibility and accountability from the government to organisation and finally to individual nationals themselves, hence highlighting the importance of Emirati agency. Although the public discourse illustrated that the stakeholders, including HR and federal agencies are proactive in facilitating the policy. However, the nationals as situated actors are expected themselves to knowledgeably participate in different activities and interactions, and the social relations and rules are therefore being negotiated and recurrently reproduced (Giddens, 1984).

An expatriate colleague explains his expectation of the nationals:

“Good performers because they are rare commodity and scarce, definitely I know they will get their opportunity. This is what I am telling my staff whenever we have these mass meetings and presentations. If you want to

be someone in here, you will be someone here, but it all lies in your hand. If you sit and simply give complaints, you will not reach anywhere. It is you who should take the initiative to overcome your problems to show to us you are a dependable person” (P3, E, Invest Co., T1)

However, the impact on the national employee who feels unsupported by their colleagues is immense. A national female employee expresses how ‘depressed’ she is as an underutilised member of the organisation, and her recent efforts to create responsibilities for herself:

“I am OK. I have adjusted to whatever they are giving me. I am trying to take anything... Even in some cases, I am doing some training for staff (voluntarily), presentations, etc.” (P4, N, Insurance Inc., T2)

The importance of Emirati employee’s agency is reflected not just at work, but also when looking back at their job hunt efforts. The initial step of job search and placement is meant to be facilitated by the federal government arm, TAWTEEN (Abu Dhabi Nationalisation Council). However, none of the Emirati participants in this study were brought into the organisation through the council and had instead sought employment themselves. A female national expressed her disappointment:

“I graduated from college in 2006 and I stayed at home for 2 years... Didn’t find a job and worked with my brother on our own business. Then, I found a job in a lawyer’s office and worked for one year and after I found here by chance... I put my papers and after few weeks they called me... I tried Tawteen Council before, but nothing happened... All my family applied to Tawteen, and nobody called. Just once they called and they asked what your name is? Are you working? And it was the same for my brother... And then it finished. No body called again.” (P11, N, Insurance Inc. T1)

The narratives illustrate how the federal strategies and institutional guidelines are continually challenged and negotiated as new understandings, such as ‘independent nationals’ emerge.

We are all victims

Narratives of victimization are common amongst both nationals and expatriates. In their ‘causal narratives’ (Riessman 2008, Stone 1989), employees effected in anyway by Emiratisation connect policy and their experiences. Narrators directly or indirectly critique the various relations that have been developed as a result of Emiratisation and imply their position of being a victim in this process. Nationals continually relate the expatriate population to the policy in highlighting their role in their training and development. By critiquing their expat colleagues, nationals relate the slower progress

of many Emiratis to their lack of opportunity given to them by the non-national workforce:

“Expats should maybe giving us more confidence, by giving more tasks and more challenges and not only just training, but training sometimes that is relevant to what we are doing at work” (P4, N, Insurance Inc. T2).

Therefore, narratives of Emiratisation allow each narrator explain his/her actions and therefore ‘ones’ self to oneself” (Pressor, 2010, p.433). Through narratives individuals construct their identities as to who they are and how they would like to be perceived by others, such as colleagues or managers. Such identities are continually reshaping: “always producing itself through the combined processes of being and becoming, belonging and longing to belong” (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.202). In reflecting on their experiences and making sense of the interruptions occurred by the policy, expatriate population have described themselves as educators of nationals, mentors, temporary staff, but also as victims of inferior treatment in comparison to the nationals. The better treatment of Emiratis is related to the policy itself, illustrating another causal narrative, one that also many nationals agree on:

“The organisation’s theme is more geared towards UAE national. For example, the leeway given to UAE nationals who make mistakes... the chances or opportunities are given to them are more than the chances or opportunities or tolerance level given to expat. It is always in the organisation... You have to be more patient when it comes to UAE nationals. It is understood that the UAE national needs time to... The expat, you know if you make a mistake, even a non-intentional mistake, you will be asked to leave the organisation, or you received a final warning. But, if you are a UAE national, no... There is a bigger tolerance level. I am not exaggerating [...] I received many threats from the UAE national that they will be calling the newspaper or the radio to complain that they have been ill-treated...” (P4, N, Invest Co. T2)

An expatriate deputy manager speaks of his experience with the national employees:

“If someone comes in late, I myself I don’t accept. Even if UAE national... I just report to the head of the department (who is a national) she is there and supports me if anybody out there is not up to the mark; she punishes them by giving them warning. We had a UAE national here and she was with us and I don’t know how she came into this company. Her English was very poor and her attitude was bad and she was not good with the customers. We told the manager and she transferred her away to the back office. So, we don’t spare them” (P20, E, Invest Co. T2)

What is evident is the creation of an organisational culture tolerant towards the national by trying to punish them in manners that maybe perceived as harsh by Emiratis and yet

not sufficient by the expatriate population.

THE UNRESOLVED ISSUES

Organisation more loyal to Emiratis

The policy is further perceived as an opportunity and a break that fosters unacceptable work ethics amongst the Emirati workforce. Therefore, the organisations appear more loyal to their national employees than the employees are to the organisation. An Emirati manager who has been with Invest Co. for more than ten years explains:

“Safe organisation means it does not fire people so many people here they take it easy and they relax. No accountability. Sorry, I am so frank but this is actually how it is [...] Now, I will talk about our environment: nobody has to go. They say have you counselled them? How do you council someone who does not come to work?” (P13, N, Invest Co., T1)

Therefore, the policy is reinforcing the unfamiliarity of many Emirati newcomers to what it means to be an employee and socially acceptable work ethics, once again underlining their self-image of a novice and a victim.

US versus Them

The constructed narratives not only convey meaning but also create possibilities for belonging to certain groups or reinforcing such membership. The social distinction between the nationals and expatriates has historically and culturally been prevalent in the UAE society and the organisational scene. In discussing their understanding of Emiratisation, both groups reveal statements of who the “significant other” is by referring to each other. Therefore, in the process of policy implementation and in an attempt to make sense of this experience, both nationals and expats are continually assembling and disassembling their identities in accordance to their perceived audience. By doing so, they are emphasizing the existing social categories that have been evident in organisations, which in turn necessitated the need for the policy but yet needs to be tackled. The distinction between us and them is evident through all the narratives, such as one below where the expatriate employee describes his understanding of the policy and his role:

“It is not only about just hiring them, but retaining them, developing them. So, if the Emirati comes in through the newcomer education programme and you are assigned as a mentor to this UAE national, that is part of the Emiratisation programme in itself. So, you, yourself, an expat you are playing a role in this to help them” (P24, E, Invest Co. T2)

Furthermore, a clear distinction by narrators was created not only between nationals and expatriates, but also the ‘good’ nationals from underperformers:

“We have nationals in this organisation at all different level; from customer service to the top... the lower levels are the worse of nationals... The generation that was created in the 80s are the most responsible ones. Those from the late or mid 90s are the worse...” (P14, N, Invest Co. T2)

The prevalence of us and them in the narratives of nationals and expatriates gives an indication of the nature of existing communities of practice. The social distinction between nationals and expatriates which is emphasised further through the policy makes the integration of Emirati novices in the pre-existing COPs challenging. This is reinforced through the socially defined competence level of nationals in COPS that are based on prior stereotypes, which in the next chapter we will see are shared amongst both national and expatriate employees. Therefore, through the separation and integration, there is an ‘activation’ of social boundaries (Tilly, 2004) in the process of delimiting particular COPs in terms of belonging.

6.2.4. Tensions in Narratives of Emiratisation

The first section of this chapter has focused on the commonalities in participant’s narratives when they speak of their understanding of the Emiratisation policy. However, this does not mean that their understanding of the policy was homogenous. The existing tensions create interesting insights to how the narrators have different interpretations of the policy and its agents. Although several various tensions have emerged in the analysis, the remaining of this section underlines the essentials as the following:

- Discrepancies in the perceptions of the nationals, who are at the core of the Emiratisation objective
- Policy entailing nationals to act as independent employees versus dependant on their expatriate colleagues
- Policy as a threat to the expatriates vs. an opportunity to the nationals.

What is their drive: Emiratis in need or Emiratis Prosperous?

Common understanding amongst many participants is that due to the socio-economic conditions of UAE as an oil producing nation (29,900 USD GDP/capital, Forbes,

2014³⁸) and the small population of the Emiratis, nationals do not feel a need to work. Emiratis' minimal exposure to the organisational environment and therefore large discrepancy between their work attitude and their expat colleagues' has also been a contributor to this image. However, some local narrators in this research have stated their own or their friends and family's need to take on a job for financial reasons:

"Before, it was the expats who were making the ends' means, but now UAE nationals also are finding it a little bit difficult to survive because of inflation and things like that... for example there are single mothers and they are taking all the burdens of the kids. ... And that is not what the rest of the world sees; they think everybody has an oil well in their backyard" (P1, N, Insurance Inc. T2)

Discussing the policy, an expatriate manager expresses his standpoint on the future of Emiratisation and the national's unwillingness to work:

"Nationalisation is going on with its time. But, about themselves, I cannot see that the future would be good because they don't work any work. They don't need to... In Saudi Arabia for example, any Saudi can drive a Taxi. Those work... Me, I don't have anything, I have to work, I have to fight to have something. They have everything, for what they should fight? Maybe, now new generation working on themselves more.... Ladies are better for sure ..." (P21, E, Invest Co, T2)

However, many national participants either implicitly (e.g. in an attempt to imply their need to work for financial reasons, two Emirati participants bring up in their interview their father's occupation as different skilled trades people), or explicitly describe the Emiratis' need and inclination to not only get a job, but also consider positions which have been perceived by many as not esteemed:

"It is not a shame. We have even cashiers now in Carrefour and Coops (supermarkets).... They are from UAE and from Abu Dhabi and Dubai... Maybe in Dubai more they go into junior jobs, any kind of job. Abu Dhabi is heading towards that... Yes, because people they need a job and for the time being it is difficult to find a job" (P6, National, Invest Co., T2)

A female national further highlights the increasing presence of the female workforce in the 'unattractive' fields:

"I saw it myself in Marina Mall, in Paris Gallery and 'Next' shop 2 local girls are working as sales persons" (P17, N, Insurance Inc. T1)

Stories of nationals' degree of willingness to work are rooted in the country's history as

³⁸ <http://www.forbes.com/places/united-arab-emirates/>

the expats have been the main contributors to the workforce, and also in the Emirati culture of tabooing certain fields and positions (e.g. labour incentive, service industry). Therefore, the broader social structures weigh heavily on the lives of the Emiratis as they attempt to adapt to the new way of life in light of the policy, while trying to maintain a culturally expected Arabian luxury lifestyle. However, as the narratives reveal, the cultural constraints and perceptions of an acceptable job are slowly evolving. Although, the pace of change may be considered slow.

Independent vs. Dependent Nationals

As illustrated in the previous section, in discussing the meaning of Emiratisation, the discourse evolves when speaking of the policy in the phase of development, to implementation and post-implementation since the narratives indicate a shift of responsibility and accountability from the government to organisation and finally to individual Emiratis. Nationals are expected to take it upon themselves to acquire the necessary skills and pave their own way, all the while they are told to work with their experienced expatriate colleagues to learn the ropes. A national assistant manager expresses her enthusiasm to play a role in the country's future:

“We have experienced people, technical people from outside the UAE and we are thankful for them but we need to take their experience and try to now adopt that and do it ourselves” (P4, N, Insurance Inc. T1).

However, due to the large discrepancy of educational level, skill sets and experience of nationals and expats, there are disagreements as to whether there could be autonomous Emiratis:

“In many of the cases, many of the nationals they prefer to be told a lot of the information by us, and that is the feeling that is out there... but here we are very careful that we don't do that...” (P19, E, Invest Co., T2)

Therefore, the expatriates' narratives indicate an attempt on their behalf to avoid spoon feeding the nationals; although nationals' independence in the forthcoming future appears questionable. The public discourses in the previous chapter also revealed the continual need for expatriate workforce. Above leads us to the last but most significant tension that has emerged across the data set throughout the analysis.

Contrasting Views of Emiratisation

Narratives of Emiratisation in this chapter have illustrated that two powerful, dominating and common discourses have emerged that are ordering the understanding

of what the policy is: an *opportunity* to the nationals or a *threat* to the expatriate population. This supports the finding of the previous analysis chapter where tensions relating to the meaning of the policy exist: the policy is seen in the public discourse as either an employment for nationals programme, or an expatriate replacement scheme. At the organizational level it became clear that a strong thread in participants' narratives was that the policy is not only a programme to increase the number of national employees in organisations, but also to reduce the number of expatriates.

For example, a confident, experienced and a newly recruited national explains:

“Emiratisation is just to replace the expat with Emirati people who can do the work... for me to be his (a non-national's) deputy it means that one day he will leave.... They (HR) did not tell me this but I told them that is what I want” (P 9, N, Insurance Inc. T1)

However, with the unemployment in UAE, Emiratisation has gained more importance as it provides an opportunity for the national job seekers to enter the workforce:

“It is just a recruitment initiative... about employing nationals of this country as well as the expats. That all that it is” (P5, E, Invest Co. T1)

Re-presenting the narratives of Emiratisation at the organizational level in the first half of this chapter has offered the readers the opportunity to enter the perspectives of organisational members on policy. Moreover, above two key leading common discourses, which were produced at the public discourse level, have developed, and are organising the understanding of what Emiratisation is: that of “opportunity” or “threat”, equally with substantial implications on practices. These discourses are shared by both nationals and expatriates, exemplifying the social construction of what Emiratisation is about and implying a number of positions. Although this section has addressed the two discourses by taking into account the structural, cultural and historical context; the following will offer a dialogical analysis at the micro-level by also incorporating the local context.

6.3. On Intersubjectivity & Dialogical Analysis

While the narrative analysis in the previous section has looked for common understandings of the policy amongst all organisational actors across the data set, the dialogical analysis has made a clear distinction between the perceptions of nationals and expatriates.

The analysis so far has found that, unsurprisingly, nationals and non-nationals have various perceptions/understandings of the Emiratisation policy. The quota based policy enforced upon them has led to a range of positive and negative views of the policy. Such contrasting interpretations of the policy consist of either the policy as a threat to non-nationals and an expatriate replacement scheme; or an incentive and an opportunity for the nationals. Yet, an unanticipated result of the analysis was to find that such perceptions were shared amongst both nationals and expatriates.

As discussed in chapter 4, conducting a dialogical analysis across the dataset on all the statements is not possible given the time and space limitation of this project. Therefore, a selection of examples have been presented based on their relevance to the unit of analysis (meaning of the policy and communicative relation (ibid, p.33) and their inference to policy as being either a threat or an opportunity (see Appendix 18 for examples on mapping of perspectives through the coding framework). Amongst them, key cases of (dis)agreements and (mis)understandings have been selected through in-depth analysis demonstrated below at three levels of direct perspective, meta-perspectives, and meta-meta perspectives (see section 6.3.3. for further detail)

6.3.1. Level I: Direct Perspectives (DP)

The analysis begins by interpreting some of the statements of locals and expatriates at the direct perspective level using the coding frame for dialogical analysis. Both groups were asked what they think the policy means. Their statements explicitly communicate a direct perspective; although can be interpreted in order to arrive at the implicit understandings. Such an interpretation to get at not only explicit but implicit perspective is possible by taking into account the context and analytical concepts of addressivity and voice, which will be elaborated in the following section (Gillespie and Cornish, 2009). Based on the notion of addressivity, as opposed to the individual, the

communicative relation is the basic unit of analysis, since the boundary of every utterance according to Bakhtin (1986) and Mead (1922) should take into account the audience in terms of their actual future response and also the anticipated one (ibid).

The following statements have been selected as they elaborate the views of either key organisational members, such as example 1, or are identified by the researcher as rich utterances. With an exception of one expatriate employee (P14, Invest Co.), who at first claimed she understood the policy as ‘people requesting to take the nationality of UAE’ (although later on it became evident that she was aware of it), all other participants had a clear viewpoint of Emiratisation and were able to articulate their direct perspectives. Besides interview transcriptions, participant observation also informed the analysis and supported the interpretative process to arrive at implicit perspectives.

- ***Statement 1***

The first example to explore the explicit and implicit perspectives can be seen at Insurance Inc. when the Chief Human Resource Officer (CHRO) expresses an explicit direct perspective on Emiratisation as “***it does not mean anything, it comes with being an Emirati***” (P2, National, Insurance Inc. T1). The CHRO stated this view in a calm and unemotional manner during the interview. At first this can be viewed as he is not very positive on policy, although he needs to deal with the programme. His statement could have also been observed as an implicit perspective, if for instance during the participant observation, I saw the CHRO not taking much action in facilitating the implementation. Although on the surface the statement can appear neutral and refer to the policy as just one more thing on his list to do; however, given the context, it can further be interpreted to arrive at implicit perspective. In doing so, it is important to note that he is one of the very few highly experienced Emiratis who has been involved in recruiting nationals in various organisations for many years and continually draws from such experience. In exploring his implicit direct perspective, it can be inferred that such programmes are ingrained in the way the country’s workforce is currently re-structuring and hence we must deal with it. Therefore, implying a restriction it imposes on his job as the individual in charge of hiring, who must meet the specific quotas. Or, he could be implying that it is about a right of an Emirati citizen and it is about time we realise that. Given the context that he was brought into Insurance Inc. to establish an Emiratisation department due to his high reputation in previous organisations, the statement is

interpreted as implicitly implying the policy is the right of the Emiratis, which we must realise and also taking a rather patriotic line. The analysis makes sense when taking into account all the background information on the participant, the policy, and also the Emirati culture in terms of the high expectations of a national manager to support his compatriots. Finally, given the above interpretation, within his range of authority and ability as the CHRO, he may also be implying that he will be giving Emiratis priority in recruitment and within the organisation, and provide further opportunities for them. Therefore, even if the policy is a restriction on his job, it can be implied that he deals with it whole heartedly. While this first case highlights the understanding of policy as a right and an opportunity for the nationals, the following example will underline an alternative perspective- that of the policy as an opportunity for expatriates.

- ***Statement 2:***

The perception of the priorities given to the nationals and the opportunities provided to them can raise the question of whether such opportunities are purely at the expense of the expatriates. For instance, will the nationals be the only ones offered training and development facilities and therefore progress at higher rates than expatriates? Will the expatriates be required or permitted as well to take part in the tailor made programs of the nationals? Can opportunities to obtain various international certificates be extended to the expatriate employees? Can they advance as well in light of the policy?

The perspectives of the expats, few of which will be explored in the following examples do not at all give any indications of whether they could benefit in any way from Emiratisation. However, many nationals think otherwise. An Emirati employee at Invest Co. expresses his perspective on the policy: ***“because of the policy, actually some of the expats could also develop within the company like the nationals”*** (P4, National, Invest Co.). The national is implicitly referring to the various training and development programmes that have been established within the organisation, including a state of the art college. It is important to understand the social and historical context of such an establishment and the local context. Invest Co. College was initially established in order to offer courses for the nationals. However, since it was founded, it has been expanded to offer state of the art courses for all the employees of the organisation. Therefore, by creating opportunities for the Emiratis, opportunities were also provided for the expats. Such ‘opportunities’ were witnessed during the participant observation by the researcher

in visits to the College. Expatriates can enjoy courses on variety of topics provided by lecturers from top-ranked international universities, and/or consultancy firms. It can also be implied that the policy has impacted the organisational culture, where the organisation now is also an educator for both nationals and expats.

Although many may view the policy as an opportunity, the narrative of threat has also been shared and will be explored in the following case.

- ***Statement 3***

In order to better explore the various perspectives on the policy, this third example studies the direct perspective of an expatriate employee at Insurance Inc. When asked about the meaning of Emiratisation, the female expatriate employee expresses her view as: ***“Well, this is the country for the Emiratis. So, they will join this job and we cannot say anything”*** (P6, Expatriate, Insurance Inc.). From this direct perspective, it can immediately be inferred that the participant does not necessary like the policy, although she understands the context of it. On the other hand, given the notions of addressivity and context, implicit claims can be made that goes beyond the explicit statement. Addressivity discloses the implicit orientation of the participant to the orientation of her audience. The inherent addressivity allows the researcher to “reverse engineer” the utterance in order to speculate about the inferred audience and context (Gillespie and Cornish, 2009, p. 34). Therefore, although there is nothing in this utterance about the culture of the organisation, the policy, or the laws in the country, however, it can be suspected that the utterance is coming from an expat who is not content with having the policy at her organisation and will be impacted. Given the background of the participant who has been raised in the Emirates, the political and socio-economic context of her country of origin (Palestine) and the strict immigration laws of UAE, which does not grant citizenship based on birth or number of years in the country, implicit claims can be made. The utterance can be interpreted as I cannot expect to be entitled to the same rights as the citizens of this country and hence feeling disempowered. The policy is implicitly perceived as rather an inconvenience and further implying that perhaps the nationals should not be here. The first segment of the utterance, “this is the country for the Emiratis and they will join” appears rather positive and stating the obvious. Furthermore, it implies an understanding of the policy as a patriotic act. However, by adding the finale section, “and we cannot say anything”, the participant implies that

Emiratization is going to impact her voice not only in the organisation, but perhaps in the country. Therefore, it can be inferred that perhaps she does not agree with the policy and therefore a negative connotation. Or, alternatively, that possibly she does agree with the policy in principle; however, she does not like not having a say in it. Therefore, she could even be an admirer of the concept of the policy; however, she may be anxious and concerned about its implication in terms of the well-being and impact of the policy on the future of organisation (pace and success of implementation) and her position in it. Thus, the expatriate perceives the policy as a threat to her own career.

- **Statement 4**

Furthermore, an expatriate employee describes his understanding of the policy and the presence of Emiratis in the organisation as, ***“because in our department we need Arabic language people, we need locals”*** (P7, Expatriate, Insurance Inc.). Although the explicit meaning of the statement is obvious in that the nationals do serve a purpose in the organisation as they speak the local language; implicit perspectives can be explored. Nationals at Insurance Inc. are clustered in Motor Claims and Motor underwriting departments. Amongst others in the organisation, these are perceived to be the low demanding divisions. Therefore, an interpretation of the statement can be that the expatriate is underestimating national’s capabilities to work in other departments. And, believes the only reason the organisation needs Emiratis is due to their ability to speak the language as they are not good at anything else. Therefore, it can be claimed that the expatriate perceives the policy as an opportunity for the nationals to enter the organisation and take on jobs, for which they may not have been considered, had it not been for the policy. Furthermore, the participant’s comments on the tradition of clustering of the nationals at these specific departments can imply his possible perception of the local colleagues as threats, and therefore best to be contained in these divisions. And, he is perhaps suggesting their lack of ambition in taking full advantage of the opportunities offered by the policy to progress within the organisation by staying in such divisions. There can be numerous implicit interpretations. For instance, equally one can infer that the participant does not see the nationals as threat since he may not believe in their capabilities.

- **Statement 5**

While the previous statement highlights the perception of an expatriate employee on Emiratisation, the current one addresses that of a national employee at Invest Co.:

‘It is increasing the Emirati percentage within the overall workforce as a step towards eventually having the major workforce in the organisation be Emiratis’ (P11, National, Invest. Co.)

The explicit direct perspective is rather obvious, as the Emirati employee sees the policy as growing numbers. However, given the context and addressivity, further implicit understandings can be drawn. The notion of addressivity as discussed above discloses the implicit orientation of the participant to the orientation of his audience. Therefore, by reverse engineering, the inferred audience and context can be speculated. The participant in his utterance does not make any references to the enforced quota; however, an increasing one can be assumed. Without contextualising the statement, it could only be concluded that a national employee is hoping for the organisation to be run by his compatriots perhaps for patriotic reasons, amongst many. However, given the local and structural context, further interpretations can be conducted and implicit perspectives outlined. The participant is the internal manager, seen as one of the senior superiors for all employees. As the head of internal affairs, he is partially accountable for absorbing the nationals brought into the organisation through HR. Hence, he is also a key figure in being responsible for increasing the Emiratisation ratio by 4% annually as imposed by the central bank. Furthermore, he expresses his concern during the interview for a continual attempt at retaining the ratio at a minimum of 40% group wide, which he perceives as the desired number by the authorities. Therefore, given addressivity, his response to the question of ‘meaning of the policy’ can be comprehended in terms of the anticipated audience to which the utterance is oriented to, and the real audience it has. Therefore, it can be implied that the participant firstly refers to his duty to increase the number of Emiratis, and therefore, perceives the policy as a task. Moreover, as one partially responsible for placement of the newcomers in the organisation, he refers to the ‘overall workforce’ and having nationals as the ‘majority’ one day. This implies his confidence in the capabilities of his fellow Emiratis to become organisational leaders of future. Moreover, the participant perceives the policy as a process. The current state can be inferred as an interim, as it can be implied he sees the

policy as an expatriate replacement scheme and hence a threat to some of the expatriate workforce.

The above statements underscore the unanticipated result of the analysis that the contrasting perceptions of Emiratisation as threat or opportunity are shared amongst both nationals and expatriates. By comparing the direct perspectives of nationals and non-nationals in the following section, actual agreements and disagreements will then be highlighted.

6.3.1.1. What is aligning and what is not: Comparing direct perspectives

The dialogical analysis offers a rich articulation of different potential intersubjective relations between the expatriates and nationals, or within each group. By comparing the direct perspectives of the two groups, actual agreements and disagreements can be recognized.

6.3.1.2. Key cases of agreements

The first agreement is identified by comparing the direct perspective of the nationals and expatriates above, where both groups agree on the point that Emiratisation is a right and therefore, organisational members' rights are being negotiated due to the policy. This is evident in the first example, where the local employee believes that the policy is the right of the nationals, '*it comes with being an Emirati*', and, the third example implying the expatriate is feeling disempowered and uncertain about her rights. The policy perceived as normative by both groups, implies an agreement that the rights of all organisational members are being continually negotiated: the Emirati newcomers brought in as part of the policy, the expatriates and also the facilitators such as the HR officers who must follow the quota system.

Comparing the first and third examples, the understandings of an expat and a national further highlights a second agreement: the alignment of their implicit perspectives with regards to the policy as a patriotic act. Such implicit understanding of the national can also be deducted from the participant observation by the researcher and studying the participant's activities, which will be explored in the next chapter. Drawing from the context, the expatriate employee in this case (example 3) reflects on her upbringing in

the Emirates and her love for the country, while implicitly acknowledging policy's higher deed, but its implication as a possible downside on her future.

In line with the interpretation above, a third agreement between the two groups can be inferred as the nationals come first due to the policy and therefore the policy as an opportunity for the Emiratis. The notion of 'opportunity' can be further explored to understand several implicit meanings of it in this context. At a fundamental level, both nationals and expatriates understand the policy as an opportunity in terms of an 'opening' - offering employment. Furthermore, they agree that given priorities at work, opportunity is also a 'chance' and an 'occasion' for Emiratis to prove themselves in organisations. According to the statements above, there is also an agreement that governmental agencies and human resource officers at both organisations are providers of the greater opportunity to nationals rather than the expatriates. However, common understandings of the extent that nationals are indeed taking full advantage of such opportunities will be explored later on in this chapter.

Fourth agreement can be inferred by comparing the implicit direct perspectives of both groups that the policy is a threat to some expatriates. Statement 5 by a national manager states clearly his vision of the future of organisation, one that is run purely by the local workforce. Furthermore, direct perspectives of many expatriate (e.g. statement 3) illustrate an implicit perspective of the policy as a threat and their inability to have a voice in it.

6.3.1.3. Key cases of disagreements

Although many agreements can be implied from the participants' account, above highlights only the key instances. Moreover, in understanding the various relations between individuals or groups, it is equally important to underline the core disagreements amongst them.

The first such disagreement has emerged when closely investigating Emiratisation as an 'opportunity'. This refers to perceiving the policy as a misfortune and a situation with a potential for downside for expatriates. The expatriates, who share such a perception, believe that Emiratisation is only an opportunity for the nationals at the expense of the expats. However, many national participants' perception on the policy has revealed that

their opinion on the policy is not only an opportunity provider for the nationals, but also for the expatriate population. As discussed above, for instance, the training and development facilities that have been established for the nationals are not exclusive for their use. Expatriates also have the opportunity of utilising such facilities, if they wish. Although, larger number of nationals are enrolled in such programmes due to their higher needs. Other instances of opportunities that the policy can provide for the expatriates will be explored in the next chapter when closely exploring the Emiratisation practices at each organisation.

Understanding of the policy as an opportunity however has created a second disagreement between not only the expats and nationals but also within each group. The divergence of perspectives arise from questioning whether the nationals are taking full advantage of the opportunity provided to them in order to advance and progress, or are they rather exploiting it. Such tension is shared amongst all organisational actors, as many nationals themselves are critical of their compatriots' efforts.

The third disagreement refers to the contrasting views of Emiratisation showing disagreement on what the organisational members' perspective is on the intention of the policy: whether the policy is a threat to the expatriates or simply a national development programme. Such disagreements are present not only between the two groups of nationals and expatriates, but also within each group, i.e. amongst the nationals and expatriate themselves. A contributing factor to such disagreement is the confidence level of the individual employee. The over-confident ambitious national newcomer sees himself/herself as potential successor of the expatriate employee, whereas the experienced nationals realise such employees must pace themselves as development and gaining the required expertise can take years. In the meantime, while the self-confident expatriate is ready to move on to a new job, possibly in a new country, the threatened expatriate will be apprehensive about his job security and attempt to protect his/her position. Whether they understand or misunderstand each other on this will be further explored in the meta-perspectives section.

Fourth disagreement can be established when exploring the divergence of perspectives with regards to the implied well-being of the organisation and all its actors in light of understanding the policy as either an opportunity or a threat. It can be understood that

many (both nationals and expatriates) secured proponents of the ‘policy as just an opportunity’ do not see any hindering to organisational health as they perceive national newcomers engaged and the expatriate colleagues collaborative and positive. However, if the opportunities are taken for granted by Emiratis and exploited, then consequences are expected. On the other hand, if the policy is perceived as a threat, implications on psychological well-being and work performance of expatriates are inevitable, which will unsurprisingly rub off on their Emirati colleagues and overall organisational well-being. Equally, nationals viewing Emiratisation as a threat to expatriates, just as implied in example 5, can be predicted to behave in manners that hinder not only their own career progress, but also create anxiety and enhance the sense of insecurity amongst their expatriate colleagues, and in turn impact organisational performance, health and consequently its culture. As discussed in the previous case of disagreement, the vast range of perspectives on policy as a threat and/or opportunity exists not only between the two groups of nationals and expats, but also amongst each group, and therefore creates a complex web of effects on organisation and all its actors.

Table 4: coding frame for a dialogical analysis of intersubjectivity- Direct perspectives on policy and key (dis)agreements

National/ Explicit	National/ Implicit	Expatriate/ Explicit	Expatriate/ Implicit	Comparing DP: Actual Agreements on	Comparing DP: Actual Disagreements on
1. 'it doesn't mean anything, it comes with being an Emirati'	-policy ingrained -must deal with it -imposes restrictions -is their right -patriotic -giving priority -opportunity for N.	3. 'Well, this is the country for the Emiratis. So, they will join this job and we cannot say anything'	-not entitled to same rights as nationals -feeling disempowered -policy as inconvenient -perhaps nationals shouldn't be here -policy as patriotic act -impacting her voice -creating anxiety & concern -wellbeing/future of org? -threat	-Emiratization is a right -All org. member's rights are being continually negotiated -Policy as normative -Patriotic act -Nationals come first	- Opportunity just for nationals <u>or</u> expats as well - Policy allowing for exploitation by nationals -Nationals taking full advantage <u>or</u> not - Purely an opportunity for national
2. 'because of the policy, actually some of the expats could also develop within the company like the nationals'	-by creating opportunities for Emiratis, opportunities were provided for expats -impacting organisational culture -organisation as an educator -Greater competition	4. 'because in our department we need Arabic language people, we need locals'	-nationals are here only because of the policy -underestimating national's capabilities -they are not good at anything else -opportunity for nationals -not taking full advantage to progress -threat to expatriate -Emiratis to be contained	-Opportunity for nationals: opening, chance, occasion -Providers of opportunity: gov. & HR -Threat to some expatriates	recruitment & development <u>and/or</u> an expatriate replacement scheme -Impact of threat/opp. on wellbeing of orgs. & their members -Impact on orgs. culture
5. 'It is increasing the Emirati percentage within the overall workforce as a step towards eventually having the major workforce in the organisation be Emiratis'	-policy as duty to increase numbers -policy as a task -confident in Emiratis' capabilities -policy as patriotic act -policy as a process -policy in interim state -policy as expat replacement scheme -policy as threat				

6.3.2. Level II: Meta-perspectives (MP)

The previous section explores organisational actors' perspectives on policy by asking the direct question of what they think the policy means. Comparison of such direct perspectives allows for studying the actual intersubjective relation of agreement or disagreement. However, to investigate further relations between their perspectives, it is necessary to inquire each groups' meta-perspective. Therefore, both nationals and expatriates were asked what they each think the other group thinks of the policy, i.e. exploring the meta-perspectives on Emiratisation. As discussed in the methodology chapter, questions on meta-perspectives were either asked directly during the interview or were arrived at by the participants themselves when talking about the policy. Comparison of meta-perspectives with direct perspectives establishes the actual understandings and misunderstandings and allows us to make claims based on interpretations. Once again, it is important to note that as Gillespie and Cornish (2009) emphasise there is no assured ways of knowing precisely what the utterance implies and the analysis is an interpretive process. And, validity of implicit meanings and the level of confidence with regards to each interpretation depend on assumptions and are based on in-depth knowledge of the wider context, which in this study is not only drawn from the researchers' knowledge and experience, but also informed through fieldwork. In order to increase confidence level, data was also discussed with colleagues, who, given the context, arrived at relatively similar interpretations. Furthermore, as illustrated in interpreting every utterance, alternative interpretations are explored as well.

6.3.2.1. Cases of (mis)understandings

The following will highlight key utterances of meta-perspective, allowing for first exploring implicit meta-perspectives by taking into account the notions of context, addressivity and voice as discussed in section 4.2. Next, actual understandings or misunderstandings between expats and nationals will be established by comparing meta-perspectives of expats with direct perspectives of nationals and vice versa.

- *Case 1*

In expressing their opinion on nationalisation programme, the expatriate employee tells us:

“For them, this is their country. So, they think wherever I go, they will take

care of me... some of them, they feel there is no need to work to have this job... So, I will work just as much as I can” (P8, Expatriate, Insurance Inc.)

The first section ‘this is their country’ could be seen as policy promoting patriotism, implying nationals are now taking ownership of their own country, in contrary to how things were before. Given the context of the policy, this inherently creates a sense of expatriate losing their ground in the country and making explicit a sense of fear. Through the notion of ‘voice’ (Bakhtin, 1986; Gillespie and Corniche, 2009) the expatriate’s utterance offers a version of the national’s perspective on the policy, making explicit the presence of several perspectives within this utterance and allowing for studying intersubjective relations. Such multiple perspectives in this utterance include not only that of the national and expats, but also the policy makers and implementers, and inferring expatriates’ implicit meta-perspective of Emiratisation as a protection plan for nationals. After revealing implicit meta-perspectives of the above utterance, the following understanding and misunderstandings can be established:

First, comparing implied meta-perspective with the direct perspective in example 1 highlights a clear common understanding of the policy as an act of patriotism. Therefore, it can be said that both nationals and expatriates understand each other’s perspective on policy as a patriotic deed and agreeing on it.

Second, comparing such implied meta-perspective of policy as a protection plan with the direct perspective explored in the previous section, such as nationals coming first, can imply that there is not only an agreement, but also an understanding of the policy amongst nationals and expatriates as a protection plan.

Third, expatriates’ perspective that nationals are coming into the organisations without a need to take a job, can imply a meta-perspective that nationals perceive work as a social status. This in turn creates a newly constructed meaning amongst expatriates for what work means to Emiratis. Therefore, it can imply that the policy may be changing the definition of work to what is a tool for gaining status, and a token of prestige.

The interpretive process suggests that Emiratis’ efforts of entering the workforce has been misunderstood by many expatriates as an attempt to gain status, or another item to

flaunt, highlighting non-national's possible unawareness of the socio-economic condition of the country and the unemployment crisis. Such misunderstanding can be established by comparing the meta-perspective of the expatriate by the direct perspective of many nationals who explicitly or implicitly indicate their need to take on a job for financial incentives. Some of these statements were illustrated in the first half of this chapter while discussing tensions in narratives and inquiring Emiratis drive to work. Furthermore, such misunderstanding was concluded by the researcher while engaged in interactions with Emiratis and nationals in field work. The expatriate workforce is hence misunderstanding the reason beyond the policy and the need for enforcing it. Although it is important to indicate that during the participant observation, it was noted that many Emirati newcomers prefer certain positions for their specific prestige; nevertheless, financial incentive remains as the core motivator.

- **Case 2**

A common thread in narratives of Emiratisation and the various perspectives on the policy amongst both nationals and expatriates has been the policy as an expatriate replacement scheme. This has created a sense of fear amongst expatriates as discussed in the direct perspective section. The first level of direct perspectives illustrated that there are disagreements with regards to the policy as an expatriate replacement scheme because some view it simply as a national development programme without a downside for expatriates. As demonstrated above, the notion of intersubjectivity allows for not only identifying agreements and disagreements at the direct perspective level, but also identifying cases of understandings and misunderstandings between nationals and expatriates (or within each group) that have occurred at meta-perspective level. Case 1 in this section represented what an expatriate thinks the Emirati's perspective on the policy is. On the other hand, this second case exemplifies a national's perspective on what he thinks the expatriates' perspective on the policy is. The employee states:

“The insecurity is an internationals thing. When the Emiratisation thing happened, lots of people thought ohhhh you guys are here to replace my job... I have never seen that happening...we will always have a multi-cultural society... there is not enough Emiratis to be taking over all these organisations and factories”. (P11, National, Invest Co.).

The statement is a product of the historical and social context the national has

experienced and is reflected in the expats' voices that populate his utterance. Although at a meta-perspective and talking about others' perspective, it is still the national employee who is talking. So, on one hand it can be said this is the voice of expatriates who fear the policy, but equally these are voices within the participant and hence it is him and his understanding of the expats' fear or what he is projecting on them, which is in a way coming through his own voice. Therefore, the claims about what he really thinks are only an interpretation.

The statement clearly reveals the tension that exists with regards to the intention of the policy. At the direct perspective level, it was established that there is a disagreement amongst all organisational actors on whether the policy is an expatriate replacement scheme or just a national recruitment and development plan. The national participant holds a positive attitude towards the policy and clearly implies that Emiratisation shall not be a reason for any tension in the organisation and there was false sense of fear. Having worked at Invest Co. at a prestigious and highly skilled market division, the national is well aware of the job conditions at an international scale and draws parallel between recruitment and sustainment through Emiratisation with what is happening on daily basis at any organisation with regards to employees' attitudes and implies Emiratisation is as well a competition for jobs, which is a global phenomenon and fair game amongst all employees based on their security level and capabilities, and therefore intensifying competition for jobs. Given the context of the policy and the history of the position of expatriates in the workforce, the participant is also inferring that many expats had created a comfort zone for themselves; however, the policy created an interruption. Furthermore, at an explicit level, he believes expats' anxiety related to policy is unnecessary and there are enough jobs for everyone. However, at the end of his utterance, he specifically makes a reference to jobs at 'factories'. Without contextual knowledge, the utterance could have understood differently as if nationals are currently employed at factories or would consider. However, knowing his position in the organisation, and the cultural context of UAE, where nationals would not desire jobs at factories, it can be implicitly implied that he is referring to expatriates as possible candidates for such positions and not the Emiratis. And therefore, the policy will rather place the nationals at rather prestigious positions, such as his current job. It can be interpreted that based on the socio-economic conditions of UAE, such as the growing economy and the demographic imbalance, the participant implies there will always be

jobs for everyone. Therefore, the policy does not impose a threat. However, it can be interpreted that it may limit the choices for expatriates, although there will still be jobs available.

This case illustrates while there are disagreements with regards to the intention of the policy and its consequence amongst nationals and expatriates and within each group; however, there is certain level of perspective taking that is evident. But, it is fundamental to underline whose perspective is being taken in order to avoid confusion and make distinction between understandings and misunderstandings. Some nationals such as the participant in this example do take the perspective of the threatened and insecure expatriates and understand them, although disagree with their perspective. However, comparing the meta-perspective of this national with a direct perspective of a secure expatriate would clearly underline a misunderstanding. Hence, there are numerous (mis)understandings floating around with regards to the policy's impact as a replacement scheme, depending on the context, background and intentions of each party.

However, whether they understand each other or not, the utterance's implicit metaperspective when compared to the direct perspectives covered in level I, indicates the following: there is an understanding that the policy is ingrained in the daily life of the organisation and that it impacts the organisational practices and culture. Moreover, further understanding can be established that regardless of their competence or security level, certain level of disempowerment, concern, fear and anxiety within the expatriates appears inevitable. As a result, an agreement can be drawn that well-being of organisational members and therefore the organisation itself can be impacted by policy implementation in light of such understandings. Furthermore, comparing the implicit meta-perspectives with the direct perspectives also highlights an understanding that policy interrupts the regular organisational activities and the lives of its targets, including both nationals and expatriates. Furthermore, it is agreed that it intensifies competition for jobs.

Finally, it underscores a misunderstanding that exists across all organisational actors, even nationals, perceiving Emiratis in pursue of only prestigious jobs. The cultural constraints and perceptions of acceptable jobs are marginally but gently changing and

therefore giving rise to such misunderstanding.

- **Case 3**

When an expatriate employee at Insurance Inc. was asked what he thinks the national colleagues think of the policy, he states:

“For me if you give me all these benefits I should be working hard, but for him to make easy: If I am not working, I am already making salary and it is already more than you...” (P6, Expatriate, Insurance Inc.)

Once again, through the notion of ‘voice’ (Bakhtin, 1986; Gillespie and Corniche, 2009) the expatriate’s utterance offers a version of the national’s perspective on Emiratisation, illustrating the presence of several perspectives within this utterance that would facilitate studying various intersubjective relations. The expatriate’s utterance is populated not only by his perspective and that of the Emiratis, but also addressing the supporters of nationals, i.e. the providers of such ‘benefits’. Therefore, an implicit meta-perspective of Emiratisation can be implied as indulging the nationals in benefits.

The participant clearly indicates at the beginning that she is not being given the benefits that are given to the nationals and underscores the different treatments that exist. This highlights an agreement and understanding of the discrepancies in benefits by comparing the implicit meta-perspective with the direct perspectives of many nationals viewing the policy as an ‘opportunity’ for Emiratis. Therefore, there is an understanding of the policy as an opportunity that allows for disparity and exploitation by some Emiratis.

Furthermore, the expatriate questions the values of nationals at work and implies expatriates exhibit higher level of diligence, responsibility and in more general terms, work ethics. The utterance implicitly infers that in light of the policy, the national employees get away with just doing the bare minimum. Or, possibly he is implying that given the policy, they keep their job intact without doing any work at all. The participant questions nationals’ dedication to doing their part to earn such benefits.

Comparing this meta-perspective with the direct perspective of many nationals highlights a (mis)understanding amongst all organisational members in terms of the

national's willingness to work for what they receive, and illustrates the implication of seeing the policy as an opportunity for nationals by many Emiratis and expatriates. Once again, there are proponents of the Emiratis who believe given their lower level of experience and education and their minimal exposure to organisational environment, they should be given a 'break', i.e. re-emphasising the policy as an opportunity. On the other hand, some nationals and expatriates believe in equal treatment and levels of efforts exhibited by both groups. Therefore, various understandings and misunderstandings are floating around based on who is taking the perspective of whom. This conclusion is fundamental in highlighting a major misunderstanding.

- **Case 4** (*P, National, Invest Co.*)

The previous cases illustrated the meta-perspective of an experienced expatriate while the following will highlight that of an experienced national:

“I think they don’t like it, but at the same time, they don’t blame us because since the beginning when he was born here or if he comes, he knows that this country is for its people”

The first segment of the statement, ‘I think they don’t like it’, implies that even though they may not be happy about having the policy, but the expatriates are ‘giving off’ the expression (Goffman, 1959, p.14) that they are supporting it, ‘an intersubjective dynamic to control the impressions made in the mind of one’s interlocutor’ (Gillespie, 2007, p. 275). Therefore, a further implicit interpretation could be that the expatriate colleagues are ‘giving off’ the expression of being collaborators, trainers and facilitators of implementation while worried about the impact of the policy on their own future. Participant voicing that ‘they don’t like it’ implies that they may see it as a threat.

Also, the utterance implies that the participant understands the policy as a right, a priority to nationals, going beyond opportunity, implying again that everyone’s rights are being negotiated, and in line with the previous example, highlighting the tension that exists in understanding the policy.

The latter part of the statement refers to national’s perception of the expats knowledge of having to eventually leave the country and the psychological contract he projects on them. As stated earlier, culturally and historically, every non-local employee in UAE is

considered an expatriate, even if they were born in the country. Therefore, the legal employment contract between an employee and employer is contingent not only on the termination of the contract based on performance-related factors, but also tied to immigration rules, whichever comes first. However, as illustrated in the narratives section, prior to the existence of the policy, there was an informal contract, a 'psychological contract' (Rousseau, 1989, 1995; Coyle-Shapiro, 2008) that appeared to promise higher levels of job security due to the dependence on expatriate workforce. However, comparing the meta-perspective of this national with the direct perspective of the expatriates who fear an earlier departure, highlights what the expatriates believe to be their current reality of the situation. And hence, it can be implied that there is a breach of the previous psychological contract in light of the policy, and an attempt to make sense of the situation as new psychological contracts are perhaps indeterminate and shaping. While, this national's utterance implicitly implies that such a psychological contract between the expatriates and the employers should be intact. Therefore, although there is an agreement that leaving the country is inevitable for the expatriates, there is a misunderstanding between the nationals and expatriates as to what constitute their psychological contract as the one the national projects on the expatriate is implicitly different to what is expected by many expatriates.

Finally, the utterance ends by 'he knows that this is the country for its people', the national takes ownership of his country through the policy and demonstrates patriotism. When compared to the direct perspectives of the expatriates, it implies an understanding of the policy as a patriotic act and giving ownership back to its citizens.

Furthermore, at this meta-perspective level, the national is illustrating an awareness of the perspective of the expatriate and also implicitly infers an understanding of their intentions. The implicit meta-perspective of the participant is that all non-nationals are in UAE for employment and hence have a financial reason to take advantage of this tax haven. At the same time, expatriates' implicit direct perspectives imply the unfairness they perceive if the policy impacts their lives by shortening their intended duration of stay. Therefore, it can be interpreted that there is an understanding of expatriate's insecurity and frustration; however, the common understanding is that the Nationals' are not concerned with implications of the policy on the lives of Expatriate workforce.

- *Case 5*

While the previous statement highlighted the meta-perspective of an experienced employee, this section on MPs ends with the following utterance from a national newcomer:

***“They are kind of jealous. I can feel they don’t want to see us reach places because they are afraid we will take their place and then they have to leave”
(P5, National, Insurance Inc.)***

In the context of the Emiratisation policy, the statement suggests implicit meta-perspectives. The beginning segment of the utterance ‘they are kind of jealous’ carries a negative connotation towards Expat’s perspective on the policy and implies there is something to be jealous of. This could be the opportunities the policy offers to the nationals. And/or, the threat it may present to the expatriates. The expatriates’ voice appears in the national’s utterance, projecting a perspective of fear on them. The participant implicitly assumes that it must be either them or us, once nationals reach places, i.e. there will not be enough jobs for everyone. Hence, implicitly highlight that in light of the policy, this is now a competition for jobs amongst nationals and expatriates. Furthermore, as a newcomer, but one with more than five years of experience in the Insurance industry, she implies she is confident in national’s capability to someday take the place of expatriates. Given the historical culture in which expatriates have been the dominant workforce, and in the context of the policy, where they play a key role as the trainers and mentors of nationals, further implicit MPs can be drawn. An immediate one suggests possible lack of collaboration from the expatriate colleagues due to the perception of the Emiratis as a threat and competition. Whether this remains a challenge in organisations while implementing the policy will be explored in the next chapter.

Comparing the meta-perspective of the national to the direct perspectives of the expatriates explored in the previous section allows us to study understandings and misunderstandings. Through their direct perspectives, expatriates implicitly implied feeling disempowered, policy as an inconvenient, and that perhaps nationals should not be here. Comparing above MP to these DPs, it can therefore be implied that there is an understanding of the policy as intensifier of competition amongst nationals and expatriates in order to have a job.

The above section illustrated the explicit and implicit Meta-perspectives of nationals and expatriates. Also, comparing MPs with direct perspectives, allowed for establishing actual (mis)understandings and making claims based on interpretations. However, there are limitations to such claims and interpretations. Not only the time and space of this project does not allow for interpreting every utterance, it is also important to remind that interpretations underlined above are by no means assured ways of knowing precisely what the utterance implies (Gillespie and Cornish, 2009), and is merely an interpretive process based on in-depth knowledge of the wider context, researcher's understanding and experience and information obtained during the fieldwork.

Table 5: coding frame for a dialogical analysis of intersubjectivity- Meta-perspectives on policy and key (mis)understandings

Meta-Perspectives (MP)	National/Explicit	National/Implicit	Expatriate/Explicit	Expatriate/Implicit	Comparing MP & DP: Actual Understanding	Comparing MP & DP: Actual Misunderstanding
1. Expat's perspective on National's perspective on policy 2. National's perspective on Expat's perspective on policy	2. <i>'The insecurity is an international thing. When the Emiratisation thing happened, lots of people thought ohhhh you guys are here to replace my job... I have never seen that happening... we will always have a multi-cultural society... there is not enough Emiratis to be taking over all these organisations and factories' (P11, Invest. Co.)</i>	-Positive attitude towards the policy -Emiratization shall not be a reason for tension -False sense of fear -Intensifying competition for jobs -Fair game -Security level & capabilities matter most -Interruption to expatriate's comfort zone -Sees nationals at rather prestigious positions -Policy does not impose a threat -limits choices for expatriates -There will still be jobs for expatriates	1. <i>For them, this is their country. So, they think wherever I go, they will take care of me... some of them, they feel there is no need to work to have this job... So, I will work just as much as I can (P8, Ins.)</i>	-policy promoting patriotism -Expatriates losing their ground -Sense of fear -Policy as protection plan -Nationals perceive work as a social status -Policy changing the definition of work for Nationals	1) -Policy as an act of patriotism -Policy as a protection plan 2) -Policy is ingrained in the daily life of the organisation -policy impacts organisational cultural and working practices -Inevitable feelings of disempowerment, concern, fear and anxiety amongst Expats -Policy interrupts regular organisational activities and its targets	1) -Policy and employment as an attempt to gain status -Expats misunderstanding National's need for the policy 2) -misunderstanding the intention of the policy -Emiratis in pursue of only prestigious jobs
3. Expatriate's perspective on National's perspective on policy 4. National's perspective on Expat's perspective on policy	4. <i>'I think they don't like it, but at the same time, they don't blame us because since the beginning when he was born here or if he comes, he knows that this country is for its people' (P1 Invest Co.)</i>	-Expatriates 'giving off' the expression of supporting the policy; expressions of being collaborators, trainers and facilitators -Policy as a threat to expatriates -Policy as a right for Nationals -Policy giving priority to Nationals -Everyone's rights are being negotiated -Understanding Expats intentions -Assuming Expat's psychological contract has not changed -Expats intent is solely financial	3. <i>'For me if you give me all these benefits I should be working hard, but for him to make easy: If I am not working, I am already making salary and it is already more than you (P6 Ins.)</i>	-Policy as indulging Nationals -Expats have higher level of diligence, responsibility & work ethics -Nationals getting away with bare minimum -Questioning National's dedication	3) -Discrepancy in benefits -Policy as an opportunity that allows for disparity in benefits and exploitation by some Emiratis 4) -Policy giving ownership back to its citizens -Understanding expats insecurity and frustration -Nationals are not concerned with implications of the policy on the lives of the Expatriates 5) -Policy as intensifier of competition for jobs: Expats vs. Nationals	3) - Nationals' willingness to work for the benefits they receive 4) -What constitutes the psychological contract between Expatriates and employers
5. National's perspective on Expat's perspective on policy	5. <i>'They are kind of jealous. I can feel they don't want to see us reach places because they are afraid we will take their place and then they have to leave' (P5, Ins.)</i>	-It must be either them or us -There will not be enough jobs for everyone -Policy as a competition for jobs amongst nationals and expats -Confident in Nationals' capabilities to someday take the place of expatriates -Possible lack of collaboration from expatriate colleagues				

6.3.3. Meta-Metaperspectives (MMP)

The final level of intersubjectivity between nationals and expats in relation to the policy is the Meta-metaperspectives- referring to the national's perspective on expat's perspective on national's perspective on the policy and vice versa. Examples of MMPs were limited in the interview for the following two reasons: First, it was difficult for the participants to understand the question when and if they were asked about their MMP on policy, and even if they did; they were rarely being able to articulate an answer. Second, although the question on MMP was on the topic guide, in order to avoid psychologist's fallacy (James, 1890; Gillespie and Cornish, 2009), it was decided in advance not to pressure for an answer if the participant would not naturally lead to MMP following the direct and meta-perspective questions, and if an answer did not come to them immediately without much reflection. Therefore, out of the 54 interviews, there were only 6 statements of MMPs, although both organisations and its members often operate at this level. It is important to note that in many instances, it is difficult to distinguish between MP and MMPs. Therefore, there may be some statements that could have been interpreted as MMP and vice versa.

Meta-perspectives allow individuals or groups to take action upon the direct perspective of other individuals or groups and MMPs allow for taking actions upon the MP of the others. For instance, in discussing the intersubjective dynamics of trust and distrust, Gillespie (2007) refers to the example of the souvenir shopkeepers who act upon the meta-perspectives of the tourists as they are aware of it, by having family members work at their shops to gain shoppers' trust. Furthermore, it is at the level of meta-metaperspectives that misunderstandings are corrected (Gillespie and Cornish, 2009). And, this happens when the individual directly voices an utterance at this level, or can be observed and inferred implicitly.

The following illustrates examples of explicit MMPs, the implicit interpretations and the possible attempts at correcting any misunderstandings. Although there were two utterances from expatriates at Invest Co., those from Insurance Inc. belonged only to the national employees.

- *Case 1*

In the first example of an MMP, an expatriate employee at Invest Co. states:

“I would not know but at least here we are not finding much of a challenge on this issue because we need people” (P3, Expatriate, Invest Co.)

The statement suggests that perhaps other organisations face problems when implementing the policy. And, it is implicitly inferred that the challenge the expatriate participant is referring to in such organisations is that they do not need the national workforce, and yet are taking them on board only as complying with the policy. Given the notion of addressivity, it can be suspected that the expatriate employee thinks his Emirati colleagues believe expatriates think they are employed at Invest Co. due to the policy and not necessarily needed. Therefore, he tries to clear such misunderstanding at the MMP level.

- **Case 2**

An expatriate employee who has been in UAE for more than ten years expresses a meta-meta perspective:

‘The expats basically work... I mean the expats accept it. Because it is their country and they need to be there in the field. Other than that, sometimes there is a clash because you know it is a matter of job. And, other than that I feel... I think it feels good. I mean they all accept it. Expats know that this is their country and they need to do well in this. But at the same time, you know it has to go in the proper way. Not just OK, the Emirati comes and you need to go out, no’ (P8, Expatriate, Invest Co.)

The participant is voicing other expats’ perspective in her utterance, in an attempt to clear misunderstandings that the expats are not accommodating the policy. Although, it explicitly indicates that there are some who may not be happy with it. The participant portrays the possible clashes as the natural part of work environment, trying to clear any misunderstandings that may be shared amongst nationals thinking at the meta-perspective level that the expats do not support the policy. However, it gives no indication that they do not see it as a threat. Rather, the emphasis is on ‘acceptance’ of the policy- once again highlighting their possible feeling of being disempowered and impacting their voice.

- **Case 3**

While the previous utterance exemplified an expat’s meta-metaperspective; the

following illustrates one of a national employee. This case follows from the latter, in terms of exploring to what extent the expatriate colleagues have bought into the policy:

‘How the expat line manager thinks depends from one person to another. But, I think a lot of them are supported. They are being incentivised by the human resources itself’ (P4, National, Invest Co.)

The national does not provide a cohesive projection on the meta-perspective of the expatriates. The utterance can be implicitly interpreted as the national employee believes HR has to incentivise some of the expatriates as they will not otherwise support the Emirati newcomers. Underlining their possible fear of being replaced by the nationals, the participant attempts to correct a possible misunderstanding that the expatriates are uncritical of the policy and have wholeheartedly accepted it.

- **Case 4**

Furthermore, the following example illustrates national’s awareness of the most common expatriates’ meta-perspectives:

‘To them, I think they believe that it is a free ride. I mean people not really working hard to achieve you know where they want to go or want to be’ (P1, N, Insurance)

The participant is a national newcomer with less than one year of experience at insurance Inc. This is what the national thinks the expat believes he thinks of the policy. Hence, his perspective is that they think Emiratis perceive the policy as a ‘free ride’, i.e. receiving the employment opportunity and benefits without many efforts, and/or at the expense of the expatriate colleagues. The participant was introduced as one of the brightest Emirati newcomers and during the observation it was evident that his efforts at work were implicitly enacting the meta-perspectives of the expatriates- i.e. attempts at correcting such misunderstandings. National’s undertaking of a job can be interpreted as a response to expatriates’ implicit meta-perspective of seeing nationals as lazy and not motivated and therefore, correcting this at a meta-meta perspective.

- **Case 5**

Finally, experienced national addresses many of her compatriot’s perspective of the policy, and what she thinks the expatriates think of it:

‘I think, not I think, there are many Emiratis like they are taking this policy

as ok, it is our right, but they are taking it as a tool that I am Emirati, I will step up everyone else's neck. Some Emiratis are like this and not professional. So, when expats see Emiratis like this, they think all Emiratis are like this. Like I just made a statement like this that all Lebanese are arrogant... So, it is the same thing.' (P9, National, Insurance Inc.)

Once again, misunderstandings can only be cleared at the MMP level. As illustrated in the previous section, at the meta-perspective level (by comparing the direct and meta-perspectives), it was interpreted that there are misunderstandings with regards to the work ethics and of the nationals and their willingness to work. It was also noted previously that questioning nationals' professionalism has been evident amongst not only expatriates but also some Emiratis themselves. Participant in this case is an experienced female employee, who has explicitly made it clear during the interview that monetary needs are her main motivators for her hard work. Commuting on daily basis for three hours, and engaged in various training courses in order to obtain higher certificates, the participant is eager to distinguish herself from her other Emirati colleagues and is urging others to avoid stereotyping all nationals. She is hence attempting to clear misunderstandings with regards to many nationals' work ethics. Her efforts and commitment furthermore can be interpreted as a response to expats' misunderstanding of the nationals' need for employment and correcting it at the meta-metaperspective level.

6.4. Concluding Remarks

As we have seen, in this study, I analyse not only the narratives of representatives of the government and key actors in the public discourse, but also organisational narratives and individual intersubjective exchanges. Chapter 5 focused on understanding the social and cultural context in which the policy and practice of Emiratisation is being developed. On the other hand, this chapter explores organisational discourses- narratives and intersubjective exchanges- to better understand the organisational context and investigate whether some of the public discourses are reproduced at the organisational level.

The first half of this chapter has focused on the stories of implementation agents and actors impacted by policy in both organisations of all time periods. Narratives of

Emiratisation development in two organisations have indicated three phases to policy development: *Antecedents to Emiratisation*- when unemployment crisis were recognised which called for a response; *Emiratisation Implementation*- when policy was launched in organisations and is expressed as social action; and finally *Consequences of Emiratisation*- a rather “current state of affairs” in both organisations. Furthermore, as discussed in the chapter, there were three key tensions underlying narratives of Emiratisation: 1) discrepancies in the perceptions of the nationals- what is their drive: Emiratis in need or Emiratis prosperous? 2) Policy entailing nationals to act as independent employees vs. dependent on their expatriate colleagues 3) Contrasting views of Emiratisation: policy as a threat to the expatriates vs. an opportunity to the nationals.

Organisational narratives are central as they also raise specific questions of perspectives and intersubjectivity, which was then tackled in the next part of this chapter.

The second half of the chapter has highlighted the importance of perspectives and their relations, and created an appreciation for the significance of the three layers of intersubjectivity. Such distinction had been applied in the literature to analyse the Cuban missile crisis (Laing et al., 1966; Gillespie, 2007; Gillespie and Cornish, 2009). However, in the interpretations above I have demonstrated that it is also valuable in new contexts, such as the positive discrimination policy implementation in organisations. Furthermore, identifying the 3 layers of intersubjective (dis)agreements and (mis)understandings will allow me to explain the actions of two groups. Going back to the practice studies, at the core of all practice theories, practices are perceived as “embodied, materially mediated array of human activity, centrally organised around shared practical understanding” (Schatzki, 2001). And, the dialogical analysis provides a language of dis(agreements) and mis(understandings) that allows us to talk about various intersubjective relations, which in turn inform and centrally organise practices.

As the dialogical analysis of intersubjectivity in this chapter has shown, key actual agreements and disagreements have been revealed amongst nationals and expatriates by comparing their direct implicit perspectives. There are agreements on Emiratisation as a normative and patriotic act and the right of nationals, where Emiratis come first, providing them with ‘opportunities’ through government and HR, while in the meantime

all organisational members' rights are being continually negotiated. Furthermore, it is agreed that the policy is a threat to some expatriates. Perceptions of Emiratisation as giving nationals the first choice is reproduced at organisational level. On the contrary, there were disagreements on whether the policy serves only the nationals and if it allows for them to exploit it, and also whether they are taking full advantage of it. A key disagreements, which mirrors the tensions in narratives and the discourses in the public sphere was if the policy is purely an opportunity for national recruitment and development, and/or an expatriate replacement scheme. Accordingly, there are disagreements on the impact of the policy on the future of the organisation and its culture and the 'wellness' of its members. Nationals and expatriates are both expected to 'embrace' (Dale and Burrell, 2014) their careers and demonstrate professionalism in light of the policy while the nationals are also expected to enhance their 'employability' to compete with available workforce at global level. Hence, this can lead to various cases of unwellness amongst organisational members.

Furthermore, comparing meta-perspectives and direct perspectives has allowed for highlighting the key actual (mis)understandings. Nationals and expatriates understand the policy as an act of patriotism, giving ownership back to its citizens and a protection plan for nationals that allows as an 'opportunity' for disparity in benefits and exploitation by some Emiratis. The shifting of power and giving ownership back to Emiratis was also evident in the public discourse in the form of policy as a strategic decision that would lead to UAE become self-sufficient. Furthermore, there are common understandings that Emiratisation is ingrained in the daily organisational life and impacts organisational cultural and working practices. At the same time, the policy interrupts regular organisational activities and creates inevitable feelings of disempowerment, concern, fear and anxiety amongst many expats. Although Emiratis understand expats' insecurity and frustration, they do not appear concerned with the implications of the policy on the lives of their non-national colleagues. A final shared understanding of the policy is an intensifier of competition for jobs amongst nationals and expatriates. Furthermore, there were key misunderstandings, including policy and employment as an attempt to gain status, where Emiratis are in pursue of only prestigious jobs, without willingness to work for the benefits they receive. Emiratis' drive to work and their 'need' to work was also a tension in narratives of Emiratisation in the first section of this chapter. Moreover, there appears to be common

misunderstandings amongst expats with regards to the need for the policy. Finally, there are misunderstandings in terms of what constitutes the psychological contract between expatriates and employers.

The key overarching tension in the public discourses that is reproduced in organisational narratives has also emerged in dialogical analysis: viewing the policy as a threat to the expatriates or merely an opportunity for nationals. The dialogical analysis allows us to make the claim that such misunderstanding actually exists amongst nationals and expatriates. We therefore see how the policy is understood and co-constructed over time in various contexts.

In summary, this chapter has dealt with employees' perception of the policy: narratives on the Emiratisation policy, the main arguments, and the intersubjective (dis)agreements and (mis) understandings. As part of meaning-making of the policy, the next chapter address how all these are enacted in two organisations over time as we define practices through common shared understandings organised around activities (Schatzki, 2001).

7.0. Practices in two organisations

As discussed in chapter two, research on positive discrimination often takes the policy as given, focusing merely on the outputs of its implementation, with little attention to the process through which the policy is understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in organizations and the way it impacts working practices of those involved. The previous chapters illustrated how public discourses on the policy as well as narratives of Emiratisation reveal the common understanding of the policy. And, the dialogical analysis highlights the (dis)agreements and (mis)understandings amongst nationals and expatriates with regards to the policy. Such various perspectives are enacted in specific organisational contexts and inform and shape organisational working practices. Therefore, through a practice-based approach, this chapter focuses on revealing the working practices and the practical and ‘hidden’ knowledge that support them (Gherardi, 2009).

The results in this chapter are based on the thematic analysis conducted across all interviews in order to identify, analyse and report patterns within data (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Gioia and Hamilton, 2013). Viewed as the foundation method for qualitative analysis and known for its flexibility (ibid), thematic analysis was adopted as the preliminary step in data analysis in this study (see Appendices 13, 15, 19, 20, 22, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33 & 36). Furthermore, besides Emiratisation conferences, more than thirty hours was spent in two organisations during the field work in UAE, participating meetings and observing organisational activities, which have in turn informed the analysis in this study.

This chapter will demonstrate the ‘common practices’ (see Appendices 14, 21, 24, 28, 32 & 35 for thematic maps) and discuss them in light of the theoretical framework in terms of how the two organisations have implemented the policy- what are the organisational practices? And, what are their concerns when implementing the practices. The structure of the chapter is as follows: First, the question of how these two organisations implement the policy will be addressed by encapsulating the main themes for both organisations in two times. Next, differences between two organisations will be explored. Finally, differences between time one and two will be highlighted.

7.1. COMMON PRACTICES IN TWO ORGANISATIONS

7.1.1. Emiratising

Through practice lens, this research looks at *how* these two organisations implement the Emiratisation policy in a longitudinal study. The emphasis has been on the activities of the members of these organisations and their experience of Emiratisation as ‘part of the ordinary, everyday nature of work’ (Jarzabkowski et al., 2009, p.289). This has allowed for exploring the working practices of those involved in rolling out the policy, and the ‘hidden’ knowledge that supports them (Gherardi, 2009, p.116). According to Schatzki (2001) ‘practice’ is “embodied, materially mediated array of human activity, centrally organised around shared practical understanding”. ‘General understanding’ refers to the practitioners’ shared view of the appropriateness of particular actions in a certain context (Smets and Jarzabkowski, 2014). Therefore, the following section illustrates what the practice of Emiratisation involves as the practitioners understand it and tell it. Three common re-occurring themes emerge which highlight the commonalities in practice in terms of how the two organizations rolled out the policy and what were they concerned about when implementing the practice. These include, ‘selecting amongst a few’, ‘significance of initial trainings’, ‘continual development’, ‘disparity in wages and treatment’ and ‘the emergent and prominent role of HR’.

Selecting Amongst a Few

The percentage of nationals in Insurance Inc. was 11.6% in 2013 (480 total employees, 56 nationals). New nationals have been joining the organisation to meet the future quota of 15% by the end of 2014. However, a recurrent theme emerging in the interviews have been the question of quality of nationals versus their quantity. Referring to HR’s most recent recruitments efforts, employees believe: “*We see taking more local people who have experience*” (P.10, N, Insurance Inc., T1)³⁹. However, such qualified nationals are rare in the insurance industry:

“It is getting people with the right competencies to learn. I have a lot of issues with the people (nationals I am talking about here) who have breezed through the educational years, without actually possessing the right skill sets. Basic skill sets to learn and to understand, you know...” (P

³⁹ N: Nationals and E: Expatriates

In chapter 5, the public discourses underlined the challenge of employability of nationals due to their low educational level and work ethics, which is reproduced at organisational level as part of the practice of Emiratisation.

Furthermore, nationals employed at Insurance Inc. in the past have all been clustered in the Motor division (Motor Claims and Motor Underwriting department). Not only these two divisions are considered low demanding, but also proficiency in Arabic language is mandatory. Hence, they have attracted more nationals. When inquired, lacking Emirati experts in the insurance field appeared to be the common explanation. In addition, out of the current 56 nationals, there are only 4 male employees at Insurance Inc. This has been explained by many as the men not considering insurance industry because of long working hours and for financial reasons:

“Because the Emirati men they have more responsibility of getting married and have their own families and all... But, for girls, whatever salary we are getting, it is just for us and we don't have to worry about it”
(P. 4, N, Insurance Inc. T2)

Although national recruitment at times is publicized by HR as pursuing ‘talent’, at the core of it lies the challenge of just finding those capable to learn. Major revamp of educational system in K1-K12 has taken place; however, the effect of which is yet to be seen:

“We have flawed education system here although they are working hard to fix it [...] they (nationals) are shoved into the local colleges and limping through” (P2, E, Invest Co., T1)

Given the Emiratisation mandate, the small pool of qualified nationals, and the growing businesses, the doors were open to everyone:

“Our focus is to ensure that there is Emiratisation concentration throughout the organisation from top to bottom... unlike other organisations where they are just focusing on lower grades in financial institutions...” (P3, N, Invest Co. T1).

Although due to their weak educational foundation and lack of experience, the nationals appear to be clustered in low demanding jobs. However, there are some highly specialised positions that were previously occupied only by expatriates and are now being filled by young and educated nationals. An example of this was witnessed in the Markets department as two highly ambitious and educated nationals had taken on the

role of ‘Associate Fixed Income Trader’, a highly demanding and stressful position. As their first jobs upon graduation, one of them states, *“I had my mind locked in, because I wanted some place that was pure Finance”* (P 13, N, Invest Co., T1). Although such instances were not common, they could well be in the near future. But, across both organisations, national newcomers’ lack of commitment has partially been contributing to their skill set, and the dilemma of the small pool of qualified Emiratis:

“You don’t see very top level Emiratis in this organisation. Very few... And they are in fact the old timers. The newcomers are very very slow. They come and go. They join and sometimes they just jump around somewhere else” (P23, E, Invest Co. T2)

Significance of Initial Training

The degree of initial training for each national entering Invest Co. or Insurance Inc. depends on their level of education and previous work experience. Therefore, there are series of options available and a standard program does not apply to everyone. In order to decide on the appropriate training, HR is in close contact with all the senior general managers to keep informed of what they require the newcomers to have in terms of experience and knowledge. This is also facilitated by the use of ‘competency frameworks’, which illustrate the actual educational and behavioural experience requirements for each role. The question of how accurately this demand is met will be explored later in the study. However, both organisations offer various options to the newcomers. For instance, at Insurance Inc., HR arranges for short courses in areas such as, English, general insurance, marine studies, etc. when needed. These are offered during working hours, in classroom environment at colleges or hotels in UAE.

Invest Co. has established its own in-house College, which provides a range of courses, such as general courses in mathematics, English and interpersonal skills, to negotiations, risk management and finance. Furthermore, there are specific streams tailored for the nationals, including *“my local”* programme, that is Invest Co.’s own brand for UAE nationals’ development, underneath which there are at least 150 trainees at any point in time.

It is important to note that nationals (unless experienced and brought in for a specific role), enter the organisations without much knowledge of where they will be placed. Nevertheless, according to HR, after the initial training they themselves play a role in the selection of their department:

“HR used to sit and decide where someone went, which is totally wrong. Now, we give the individuals, even if they don’t have a lot of experience, we give them some skills and knowledge to be able to say this is what I think I am good at, these are the kind of jobs available at the organisation and they can start to make a decision and participate in their careers more than they have been able to do before” (P5, E, Invest Co. T1)

While undergoing in-class training, nationals also rotate for a short (undefined) period of time in different departments to see the complete picture of the organisation, and also for HR to receive feedback from the department managers on their interest and performance. However, the department managers have their own say on the HR approach:

“And I have seen this many times... They (HR) have come to us. And I tell them, don’t just bring people and dump them here. I have seen people who have been in the programme and they know nothing. So, those who are just doing it, and have just taken a number of people and trained them, but is it proper training? Is it effective?” (P14, N, Invest Co. T1)

The same notion has emerged as well in Insurance Inc., as a national newcomer explains:

“They give a lot of training, even in engineering insurance, Port insurance and team building... but these trainings sometimes is not relevant to what we are doing at work” (P16, N, Insurance Inc. T2)

The heavy reliance on the in-class training as a way of acquiring knowledge and competency demanded by the job both in the public discourses and in two organisations, illustrates a rational-cognitive stance on knowledge adopted by HR. Such a naïve perspective undermines the working practices and know-*how* required to carry out the job. The “work-around” and non-canonical practices will be therefore neglected (Brown & Duguid, 1991). For instance, the practice of trading fixed income in the Market department entails not only knowledge of corporate finance and cash flow valuation technics taught in classrooms, but once at the trading desk, how certain clients behave or place orders, how others trade in the market and many other behavioural aspects that together with the valuation approaches constitute what the practice of fixed income trading is. Therefore, fixed income traders have a ‘general understanding’ that refers to their shared view of the appropriateness of particular actions in a certain context (Smets and Jarzabkowski, 2014) and in-class training will not suffice in providing such an understanding.

Continual Development

The first six months to one year in the job, the newcomer is still considered a trainee. After this period, he/she is an employee of the department and subject to appraisals. 'Career Development Plans' at both organisations facilitate the assessment and future development of the employees by bringing together the HR, line manager, and employee to design a specific 'Career Development' Plan. An Emirati who has been with Invest Co. for 6 years explains:

"First they have to identify what is the current job of this person and develop a target and they see where is he standing at this current job and what development is needed in order to reach the target job, and they will put a time-line and all that plan will be also supported by courses. So, there are efforts... Therefore, any gaps are always tackled from both sides" (P16, N, Invest Co. T1)

Thus, further education, specially certificates and diplomas play a key role in the development path. At times merely a token of prestige, nationals at both organisations are encouraged and often informally obliged to pursue such goals. This has been more salient at Insurance Inc. since Insurance as a subject is not being thought in local colleges and universities in UAE. Therefore, to be educated further on this topic, employees must enrol in specific courses on insurance, which are offered through overseas educators. For instance, BIBF (Bahrain Institute for Banking and Finance) offers a certificate through the Financial Institute in UAE, which to obtain employees must attend classes in the weekends for a month:

"I started studying insurance through BIBF... that was after I completed my advance diploma in Bahrain Institute. I went to the London one and I am still completing my insurance studies through distance learning. It is a prestigious certificate that everyone should have regardless of what the actual benefit is" (P9, N, Insurance Inc. T1)

Certificates also constitute a large part of the development at Invest Co. in addition to other part-time qualifications and in-house Master's Degree in Finance, which takes place in collaboration with a prominent local university. In both organisations, 'UAE Talent Management' lies at the core of the Emiratisation efforts, dealing with specific programs, mostly at international level. Secondments are a part of the Talent Management programme, and nationals hope to take part in it:

"They want to reallocate my job to Washington D.C. We have a subsidiary in D.C. and they want to take me off the Corporate department and go work there for at least 8 months to two years to get international overseas experience to be added to my CV. Thanks God I was lucky to be chosen but you have to fit the criteria" (P17, N, Invest Co. T1)

Therefore, the practice of ‘developing’ the nationals once they have become a full-fledged part of the organisation entails activities, such as promoting certificates or degrees attainment and secondments. Furthermore, frequent visits to the College to take newly offered courses have become a regular part of a national employees’ life.

Obtaining certificates and degrees as part of continual development of nationals was also a common practice in the public sphere. As discussed in chapter 5, tailor made programs are designed to enhance Emirati employability with high dependency on in-class training. However, there are variations of practices as the policy is enrolled in various contexts. For instance, the built-in College at Invest Co. is a unique practice, an example of which was not evident in the public sphere. Furthermore, while the public sphere emphasised partnerships and collaborations between public, private and educational institutions, such partnerships were not part of the Emiratisation practices at the two organisations under study.

Disparity in Wages and Treatment

A recurring theme in the interviews was the vast amount of courses for the UAE nationals as part of the Emiratisation policy. The head of Human Resources at Insurance Inc. states that 1% of the annual gross income of the company is paid to the insurance authority. In return, the authority trains UAE nationals for free through courses offered by the institute for banking and finance. These classes are in addition to the ones Insurance Inc. itself provides. Although expatriates are also free to attend the courses Insurance Inc. offers; however, tension arises when all the courses are perceived by the expats as ‘invitation only’ or ‘national only’ training. An expatriate assistant manager explains:

“In the last 3 years, we already sent all the employees: Emiratis and non-Emiratis. From this year, it stopped... Sending only Emiratis... They don’t tell us. They have training that started since last April and they are sending only locals... They are sending emails from the HR to the locals, directly, without going to us. And if a manager says no, they should send an email to HR and say why” (P13, E, Insurance Inc. T1)

However, when enquired about this further in the meeting with the head of Human Resource at Insurance Inc., he clarified:

“The courses are for everybody and the non-UAE nationals used to go for it... With the UAE nationals, I am forcing them down their throats and this does not mean taking them from the non-UAE nationals. They take

them twice and three times and they still don't get it and the non-nationals have already taken it and they have moved on to other courses. But the nationals are still doing introduction to insurance, first time second time, third time... two year in a row, and some still don't pass. And we still send them and send them..." (P2, N, Insurance Inc. T2).

The same applies to Invest Co. as the College is there to serve both nationals and expatriates; however the focus of it appears to be the Emirati employees. Just as invitation to attend classes has been perceived as a difference in treatment between the nationals and expatriates, the recruitment process appears to be in favour of the locals:

"We accept inexperienced candidates only if they are UAE nationals. We don't put experience as a condition for them to be recruited here. If they have the right personality and calibre, then we assess this and then we bring them to the organisation" (P4, N, Invest Co., T1)

Finally, disparity in pay packages of nationals and expatriate was one of the most talked about notions, as Emiratis pay structure includes special 'benefits' across all organisations. These include allowances (such as housing and transport) and pension schemes, in an attempt to make the positions very attractive for the UAE nationals. As an expatriate employee in customer services explains:

"The beginning salary is 25,000 Dirhams for UAE national, including pension... For non-UAE, it will be depending on which category... If a junior position, 7000 to 8000... Yes, there is a huge difference. And now, what is happening is that the non-UAE nationals they are not directly hired, they are going through an agency for hiring, so they will really get 5,000" (P20, E, Invest Co. T2)

Above illustrates some degree of tension and barriers created between individuals in their workplace as a result of the policy. Such tensions were also evident in the organisational narratives- us and them- and intersubjective exchanges, as highlighted in the previous chapter. Emiratis experience how they are categorized in different groups based on the practices of Emiratisation. And, the remaining of this study will illustrate, how others 'see' them based on their ethnicity and how various social categories are 'constructed, positioned and contested' (Howarth, 2004, p.362).

The Emergent and Prominent Role of HR

The previous sections of this chapter illustrate that the role of Human Resources department at these two organisations has evolved from its conventional form. Involved not only in the practices of providing employment opportunities for nationals and placing them within their desired division, they are also responsible for their training

and continual development. This is to not only demonstrate commitment to the policy, but also to ensure retaining the workforce, which the organisation has heavily invested in. Therefore, it can be inferred that the role of HR has been changing from an enforcer to an educator, to educate not only the newcomers, but more importantly the middle managers that must deal with them. For instance, mentoring classes are held at the Invest Co. College to educate the middle managers responsible for the national newcomers. Due to the significance of the role of the middle managers, HR at both organisations aim at eventually placing nationals in these positions, ensuring some degree of independence from expatriate workforce, and increasing support for Emirati newcomers. This illustrate how placement practices are always ‘in the making, becoming and evolving’ (Carlsen, 2006, Bjorkeng et al. 2009, p.147).

Furthermore, in the spirit of Emiratisation, HR at both organisations is demonstrating continual support by improvising and accommodating the nationals. A female national employee who is married to an expatriate and has been encountering difficulties explains:

“When I send direct email to him (head of HR) and say I want to meet with you, he says OK... Because my husband is not local, I could not get medical insurance for my children. But when I went to him, he did it as 1, 2, and 3... so fast.” (P17, N, Insurance Inc. T1)

Although often praised; however, the decisions of HR have not been without criticism, some of which will be explored in the remaining of this study. Overall, HR at the two organisations was more perceived as the heroes. Organisational narratives in the previous chapter emphasises their commitment. While Emiratisation officers at Invest Co. and Insurance were Emirati nationals, in chapter 5, it was illustrated that such practice was not common in the public sphere. HR in the public discourse was under attack for lacking local knowledge as it is heavily weighted towards being expatriates.

7.1.2. Integration and Retention Deterrents

Besides ‘contrasting views of Emiratisation’ and ‘Emiratising’, ‘Integration and Retention Deterrents’ has emerged as global themes during the thematic analysis. This theme has been shared in the data in both organisations across the two time periods. The following section begins with three elements that commonly contribute to the integration problems in the Invest Co. and Insurance Inc. These include: culture, stereotypes, and knowledge sharing. Next, factors that make retention of the Emiratis a

challenge in both organisations, including working hours and salary are discussed.

7.1.2.1. Integration Deterrents

Culture

A key impediment in Emiratisation in the public discourse, culture is also perceived as a challenge in implementation practices in two organisations. When discussing Emiratisation, although the main focus often remains on the training of nationals, several emerging themes imply that national's integration is also a key issue when rolling out the policy. A conservative nation with a 100% Muslim local population, Emirati employees are bound to experience cultural differences in organisations that impact their performance and integration. Therefore, many female national employees and male non-national colleagues express their experience of working together and its challenges:

“When I have problem, I go to Mrs. X, I don't go to Mr. Y and Z. because I want to speak to a woman” (P 16, N, Insurance Inc. T1).

In addition to minimum contact between genders in workplace, in traditional Emirati society women are usually stay at home mothers, or if working, must relocate if the husband is moving:

“There are lots of cultural issues here for women I would say. Like one of the ladies, and that happened last week: I sat with her and I told her listen you are already signed your first letter, do you want to sign the 2nd one and you will go out of the company? And then she started crying saying that her family do not want her to go to work and they are pushing her to submit her resignation” (P19, N, Insurance Inc., T2)

Here once again the role of HR and middle managers, which were discussed in the previous section, becomes salient. Holding historical and cultural knowledge of the local context, national middle managers would be more approachable, more tolerant and understanding of such issues, and better equipped to enact *in situ* in various cases. As in this specific incident, the national HR officer (P2) who is in charge of the Emirati employees in Dubai branches, made it clear that while she acknowledges that the female employee has the right to go out of home and work, she has encouraged her to make a choice, but also to respect what her family are pushing her to do. And such practices are specific to these organisations that have Emirati nationals responsible for local newcomers.

Ad hoc improvisational skills in such culturally sensitive situations, has been one of the

key qualities of the head of Human Resources at both organisations. For instance, due to the significantly high rate of unemployment in the northern Emirates (smaller cities outside Abu Dhabi), and lack of jobs, female employees from these areas have struggling and yet commuting to Abu Dhabi. However, due to HR's immense efforts, many of these employees have now been placed within branches closer to their homes. Another example of it is within the customer service department, which had always been open on Saturdays. However, with the increasing number of nationals (especially female employees), who based on tradition must focus on their family duties; a shift concept was put in place. Regardless of this solution, nationals have still not been able to fully adapt to the idea:

“For example, with the female staff in particular, if their families are off on Saturday and they have plans for activities, it is difficult not to join them because they have to work here on Saturday” (P16, N, Invest Co. T2)

Stereotypes

In addition to the widespread perception on the local culture, stereotypes of Emirati workforce have been developed in the recent years. Contrary to expectations, this study has revealed that such stereotypes are shared both amongst the nationals and expatriates. One of significant stereotypes that have emerged is the perception of the nationals as wealthy, without a need to work. An Emirati manager describes:

“Invest Co. is the best place to learn about business, gave good experience and relations in the society and that is all related to their family business. So, eventually they are going to work for their family, specially the wealthy families...” (P14, N, Invest Co. T2)

Expatriate workforces, the majority of who come from the neighbouring Arab nationals which are currently in turmoil, also perceive the nationals as lucky enough not to need to work:

“She is getting salary from her family and she is getting salary from the company [...] The money is for her for fun [...] if you don't need this job, please go home and let somebody who needs it to take your place and do the same job and take his salary...” (P6, E, Insurance Inc. T1).

Furthermore, work ethics such as absenteeism, capabilities and low motivation of nationals have also been under attack not only from expatriates, but also their own compatriots. Hardworking nationals themselves are critical of those who do not wish to step up to the challenge and get involved in skilled work:

“For example, comparing to here, some are sitting at a desk at the airport and are just watching people entering and leaving the country” (P13, N,

Invest Co., T1).

In financial institutions where precision, accuracy and time management is at the heart of the business, integrating nationals in light of such criticism is a major challenge. An expatriate manager with more than 20 years of experience at Invest Co. explains:

“This woman (Emirati), after one and half months, she said I can handle now. But, she was making a lot of mistakes. She was sitting next to everybody and they teach her well and they give her some small work to do. And, she cannot handle any work, even inside” (P20, E, Invest Co. T2)

The expatriate in this instance is referring to the front (the ‘inside’) vs. the back office. The front office demands interaction with the clients while conducting the job, adding tremendous amount of pressure to national newcomers, majority of who not only lack work experience, but also have had minimal level of interaction with strangers of opposite sex. This mounting stress, together with their knowledge of the commonly held stereotypes about them, has substantial impact on their performance. Referring to the notion of “stereotype threat”, being part of a dissimilar group to the expatriate majority, Emiratis experience distress since they know that they are constantly being observed and judged based on such negative stereotypes (Roberson and Kulik, 2007; Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). Therefore, they increasingly share the fear of possibly making mistakes which would in turn confirm the negative stereotypes (ibid).

Knowledge Sharing

Central to Emiratisation is the training of nationals by other nationals, but more importantly by experienced expatriates. However, as discussed in chapters 5 and 6, Emiratisation as a threat to the expatriate workforce was highlighted as an overarching theme across the public sphere, organisational narratives and intersubjective misunderstanding. Such co-constructed understanding of the policy in turn informs the working practices of training the newcomers and ‘sharing knowledge’. Therefore, the newcomers speak of their encounter with the expats as:

“When I came here, first year someone he didn’t give me everything... little by little. Just take this do that... like that. If I don’t go and say I want to do that, no one gives me” (P1, N, Insurance Inc. T1)

The majority of nationals indicate the underlying distrust and share their frustration:

“You see when you are one, facing I am not sure they were like 20, they will prepare people like them, who are from the same nationality and background... on the phone if I am talking to the broker for example and

they are like you are from where and when I say from UAE, they say Ohhh from UAE. I think he will give me the minimum. Because again he thinks you are local and you are here for the wrong reason... It happened to me... I heard them saying no need to send her anything, submissions, quotation...Because then you would be learning more, you will interacting more with the clients and people will know you” (P4, N, Insurance Inc. T1)

Given all that has been discussed so far, it appears that HR and the management at both organisations have set a utopian objective of the nationals being independent and autonomous, while relying on the experience of the expatriate colleagues for training and development. Such tension was witnessed in a different form in the public discourses as Emiratis being employees or entrepreneurs. As the head of HR at Insurance Inc. explains:

“I tell them your job is to train yourself. You don’t sit down and wait for the training and developing to come to you... if you are serious, you take the initiative. You ask the right questions, you go... you cannot be spoon fed these things” (P2, N, Insurance Inc. T2).

However, due to the contradicting views of the policy, covered earlier in the study, non-nationals appear cautious in assisting and facilitating growth and promotion of Emiratis. Therefore, distrust is one of the key obstacles of policy implementation. Witnessing some of the more advanced nationalisation programmes in the region, such as ‘Saudisation’ in Saudi Arabia, where some of the organisations in the finance industry have reached up to 90% nationalisation rate, the expatriate community may feel at risk. As one of them states:

“I used to work in Oman, but because of their nationalisation policy, now I am here. If tomorrow they ask me to leave, I just have to find something somewhere else” (P5, E, Invest Co. T1)

Even if not having experienced it first-hand, within the expatriate community many have witnessed or heard of such instances. Since trust and cooperation is contextual, in accordance to the situation and the level of the current experience’s reminiscent to those in the past, (Bateson 1998, Luhmann 1988), it can be realised how distrust can occurs amongst the nationals and non-nationals. Such distrust was also shared in discussing knowledge sharing in public discourses where expatriates in fear were referred to often ‘stumbling blocks’.

Furthermore, the practice lens applied in this study emphasises the notion of social learning and active engagement and participation in the community (Lave and Wenger

1991, 2000, Nicolini, 2012). In the case of the two organisations under study, the inherent categorisation of nationals and expatriates and its implications has in turn inhibited participation, socialisation amongst the two categories and therefore learning. In addition, as discussed above, the conservative local culture further does not encourage socialisation within the organisational space, an aspect overlooked in the existing literature on the social theory of learning and communities of practice by the many studies of Lave and Wenger 1991, Wenger, 2000, Swan et al., 2002, Nicolini, 2012, amongst others. More importantly, as Nicolini states, “to learn is both to join and to subvert the existing fabric of power/knowledge” (2012, p. 81) since regardless of how subservient the newcomer is, learning entails conflict and is “a way of subverting the established power/knowledge relations that determine the power of the actors involved” (Foucault, 1966 in Nicolini, 2012). Therefore, the practice of Emiratisation in itself is subverting the existing fabric of power/knowledge that has been dominated by the expatriates in these organisations for decades.

7.1.2.2. Retention Deterrents

Upon returning to Abu Dhabi for the round two of data collection, it immediately became apparent that many of the participants of phase one, had left the organisations. Four of the nationals with promising futures at Invest Co. had moved on to another organisation (P1, P7, P8, and P17). The same applies to Insurance Inc. where three of the female Emirati of Motor claim and underwriting had left (P4, P11, and P17). When enquired about the retention concern, several reoccurring reasons emerged:

Lack of Motivation

One of the leading explanations for the national’s lack of motivation to work hard is the assumption that the basic needs of the young workforce are met through the families and hence they no longer feel the urge to work. This was underlined in the organisational narratives and was identified as a key misunderstanding amongst employees in chapter 6.

An expatriate employee who has spent her entire life in UAE discusses this matter:

“The drawback of Emiratisation is lack of motivation [...] we had a generation of hard working/simple lives. Oil came in the 1950s and the country developed. Economy and population grew and thus an influx of expatriates. The result is a confused society...” (P2, E, Invest Co. T1).

However, the voice of the Emirati employees reveals that they are pointing their fingers at their colleagues and managers, blaming them for their lack of motivation and willingness to move on:

“All I want is appreciation from the manager, from the company and people. Mostly I was getting appreciation from the clients and not from the manager and this is something difficult to deal with” (P4, National)

Reviewing theories of motivation in order to explain what could motivate the Emirati employees is beyond the scope of this study. Although, as discussed in chapter 5, surveys conducted in an Emiratisation summit attempted to answer this question, and concluded that job environment was a key contributor to job motivation for Emirati youth. However, what is apparent is how the previous practices and perceptions, such as selection within the context of Emiratisation, stereotypes and distrust have contributed to the production of a new practice of moving around organisations. Despite the time and monetary investment put towards each newcomer, many Emiratis perceive a move from an organisation to the next still as ‘serving their nation’:

“There is no problem for Emirati to jump from one company to another because at the end we are serving the country... I mean look at it from this perspective... these companies are all operating in UAE and we have the right to take whatever knowledge we have learned in this company and take it to another company, whatever investment the company is doing in this Emirati, this is part of their payback to the community” (P9, N, Insurance Inc. T1)

Although motivational factors serve as the key contributors to the high turnover, the nature of the finance and insurance industry in itself can partially explain lack of interest, or the will to exit. As a young female Emirati (P4) from insurance Inc. explains how she constantly questions whether she is in the right place or not and sees her effort as just ‘a job with a salary at the end’. Similarly, an Emirati who has been with Invest Co. for five years explain:

“Getting experience in finance would definitely make you CV look better. However, unless you really love finance, you won’t spend your entire life here. The same applies to me as well. I am not really planning to spend my entire life in this sector; however I will see how far I can reach and perhaps I will see how it goes later” (P16, N, Invest Co. T2)

The lack of motivation amongst the nationals witnessed in the two organisations and their perception of their industries can also be partially attributed to the other alternatives available to them in the job market, which will be highlighted in the following section.

Alternative Options

As discussed as well in the public discourses, the semi-private and private organisations tend to hire at the international level, with greater competition amongst the candidates, the limited experience and qualification of nationals become obstacles in allowing them to last in organisations. Invest Co. and Insurance Inc. are semi-private institutions, making them interesting case studies as they appear to be compromising at a level between private and public sectors. However, such statements are typical across the data set in illustrating the awareness at organisational level of their competition:

“We try, but don’t forget that we are still a semi-government organisation, or more like a private. We have policies and procedures. We have lots of pressure... In government (public organisations), it is not more comfortable, but its less pressure and the packages are higher and the working hours are less and it is not easy to get rid of a UAE national in government” (P6, N, Invest Co. T2)

Therefore, the gap in wages and working hours between the semi-private and public/government organisations appear to be the main attracting factors for the Emirati workforce. As one expatriate at Invest Co. (P22) puts it, *‘they all want to jump the ladder, rather than go up the ladder’*.

Wages

Competition amongst the private, semi-private and government in terms of salary is high. Despite becoming saturated, governmental institutions are the main attractors of Emiratis due to the packages being offered. Many employees have referred to governmental entities such as Mubadala Petroleum or Tawazon Chemical as examples of the ideal institutions to work for due to the high base salary, benefits such as various club memberships, furniture allowances and bonuses, amongst many others. Aware of the competition, the Emiratisation officer at Insurance Inc. states:

“We cannot say to the government reduce your salaries because this is the order of his highness Sheikh Khalifa, the ruler of UAE. And, we can’t say to the private sector to increase their salaries because at the end of the day they want to make profits” (P19, N, Insurance Inc. T2).

Besides wages, working hours and holidays are contributing factors to the challenge of retention at these organisations.

Working Hours

The discrepancy in working hours has three various constitutes: First, the daily working hour, where the majority of government organisations have a working hour of 7:00 am

to 2:00pm, while the remaining can last up to 6:00 pm. Second, holidays at government organisations can often be up to 90 days a year (including the public holidays); however, semi-private and private organisations offer approximately 25 days, which depending on the institution, holidays can only be taken gradually as they are being ‘earned’. Third, private organisations work 6 days a week, whereas the public has limited it to 5 and many semi-privates such Invest Co. and Insurance Inc. have introduced the shift concept for Saturdays to accommodate the nationals.

Many of the expatriate mentors of nationals who left the organisation confirm such decisions: *“From what I know he did not want to stay. He left Invest Co. to somewhere else for better opportunity and positions”* (P19, E, Invest Co. T2). An example within this study was participant 7, a male Emirati who in the first phase of the study in 2011 was a retail sales officer with one year of experience. With the consent and support of his line manager, he was also engaged in obtaining a bachelors’ degree in computer science at Higher College of Technology on part-time basis. Ambitious and impatient, waiting to be promoted directly to become deputy manager, he had left the organisation in 2013, prior to my arrival for phase two of the study. Unfortunately, access to the exist reports of those who have left was denied. Therefore, interviewing his manager remained the only way of following his trajectory:

“He left to Abu Dhabi police. He said now he goes there at 8 o’clock. My desk is empty. I just sit there and no one bothers to ask me if I am working or not... Here, at least I was working. There, I don’t have anything to do. I am not happy and I am wasting my experience” (P20, E, Invest Co. T2).

As organisations face the above obstacles in implementing the policy, *in situ* solutions are developed and capitalised on, generating standards and best practices explored in the next section.

7.1.3. Developing Organisational Standards

Although there are a range of various practices which have been viewed by organisations as best practices in implementing the policy, the following have been the key themes reoccurring in this research:

Emiratisation Department

A unique practice to the two organisations under study, dedicated to implementing the policy, this division of the Human Resource department consists of 10 employees at

Invest Co. and only 2 at Insurance Inc. The team indicates that it is aggressively supporting Emirati employees and facilitating the process. The key responsibility of the Emiratisation officer is monitoring the target of quota and insuring it has been achieved.

The Emiratisation officers can also be viewed as ‘boundary brokers’ (Wenger, 2000) who encounter others and take on duties such as liaising with various governmental stakeholders, including Abu Dhabi Emiratisation council, central bank or the insurance authority, local universities and colleges and other entities involved in rolling out the policy nationwide. As discussed in chapter 5, often referred to as ‘Talent Managers’ in the public discourses, we saw how they constitute a network of communities-of-practice, where implementations practices are shared through conferences, forums, awards and media.

Furthermore, Emiratisation officers at the two organisations provide TLC for the national employees by listening to their experiences:

“Whenever we meet new staff at the company, not all, but some they just talk about their experience they have had with their line manager and that they are not getting enough knowledge and that there is no care. These things we are aware...” (P 6, N, Invest Co., T1)

As both organisations hold branches in various cities, mainly Dubai and Abu Dhabi, local Emiratisation officers have also been appointed to address the issues of nationals in their region. Although both organisations take great pride in establishing the Emiratisation departments, some employees express their hostility towards their publicized support level:

“They are the same everywhere... in my previous company we were having this new department, which was an Emiratisation unit and it was only an image. And believe or not it was nothing but a department with an extra chair and there were doing nothing for employees or anything... And, the manager they gave her the authority of only employing receptionists” (P4, N, Insurance Inc. T1)

Un-official Ring Fencing

As expatriate insecurity and its implications have been a recurrent theme, managerial improvisation is essential to combat this challenge. One of the strategies, a specific unofficial practice to the two organisations under study is referred to as the ‘ring force position’. According to the head of Human Resources at Invest Co., creating a ring fence position has been a common practice in organisations with established

Emiratisation programmes (although was not evident in the public discourses):

“For ex-pats who were actually very good in developing the nationals, we protected those positions [...] to train for example Mrs. X who is a good UAE national and a professional and she is really now getting to become de-motivated because this guy here, Mr. Y is blocking her and Mr. Y. is an ex-pat [...]. We will him we will protect you for the next 5 years as long as you continue developing Mrs. X and others. We have not reached that stage yet, we are very soon” (P 3, N, Invest Co. T1).

While it was mentioned that the practice does happen unofficially (but not as a structured approach) in both organisations, many employees were not only aware of it, and also seemed reluctant towards its success:

“I have not seen that happening here. Actually expats, I have seen in many cases that they encourage the nationals: if you want to go, I will take care of your business and I will tell them that you are doing some business. They cover for them to maintain their own job. Because they think the national will take their job” (P14, N. Invest Co., T2)

One of the main reasons for practicing it in small scale and unofficially has been attributed by many participants to the increasing pace of change in business and technology and the inability of many of the senior workforce to keep up with this pace.

Absenteeism Tracking Devices

Once again the stereotype of nationals as having high absenteeism, disappearing, or leaving for long breaks in the middle of the work day gave rise to a new practice of ‘finger printing’ or ‘access by card’. Such devices have been installed at both organisations in this study:

“The problem is that it is unfortunate that you to resolve it through such measures to ensure discipline. But, you have to do it. I am sure it is working to some extent. But, sense of responsibility must come from inside. We cannot always put a measure for you to force you to be disciplined. It is here, but what about the branches?” (P16, N, Invest Co. T2)

As the manager at Invest Co. is directing the sense of responsibility to individual Emiratis in the extract above, the head of Human Resource thinks it is someone else’s responsibility:

“Yes, they still do have those... and it is unfortunate, you know. Well, it is the duty of the line manager to ensure that his people are there” (P2, N, Insurance Inc. T2)

Overall, the participants remained sceptical about the effectiveness of these devices while each attributed its failure to a different element. However, as the devices were

installed during the first phase of study, regardless of its effectiveness, this example amongst many others in this study provided an invaluable opportunity to witness the ‘becoming’ of a practice, as opposed to studying established ones (Bjorkeng et al., 2009). The practice is particular to the two organisations under study and did not emerge in the public discourses. Furthermore, this illustrates the importance of the active role of non-human actants in re-presenting practices (Engeström 1987, 2000; Latour 2005, Nicolini, 2012).

Employer of the Choice

As the pool of qualified Emiratis is small and the competition in each industry is intense, claiming to be the ‘employer of choice’ has become one of the most commonly held practices amongst organisations, as discussed as well in chapter 5. Accordingly, Invest Co. and Insurance Inc. attempt to be the ‘number one employer for nationals’, or rather ‘employer of the choice’ and publicises it through various avenues. This includes attending and presenting at Emiratisation conferences and summits across the nation to demonstrate their practices, holding booths at employment exhibitions where applicants and institutions can come together, and using social media to charm Emirati newcomers. In doing so, they illustrate the opportunities provided to the potential employees at the organisation:

“So, believing that the major motivation for any person, Emirati or non-Emirati is telling them what their career ladder is, how they are today and how can we develop them... I think if we do this successfully, we are going to attract more Emiratis” (P2, N, Insurance Inc. Co. T2)

For instance, establishing an in-house College, particular to Invest Co., has served not only as a training facility, but also to draw in Emirati workforce by all that it offers:

“We try to make sure that it is work plus educational experiences that they have because that is also what we want in order to become employer of choice in the market for nationals. And I think we probably cracked that at graduate level, particularly at the finance sector because I don’t think there are any other banks offering in house masters for graduates” (P5, E, Invest Co., T1).

The efforts put in place to parade the organisational practices in the public spheres and to attract new Emirati workforce has also been viewed by many as a way of delighting the government:

“They are doing everything possible to attract UAE nationals. Mainly because to please the government... So they are advertising everywhere... they create programs, they go to schools and universities. They explain to

them in the advertising that if you work in this place, here are the things you are going to get and they are welcoming you and waiting for you, here are the applications.... You will meet from both sides: the applicants and the institutions... in return from the government we get government blessing” (P14, N, Invest Co., T2).

In both organisations the ‘blessings’ have been referred to as examples of opening new branches, getting new permits or contracts, amongst many others. Such incentives were perceived as part of the meanings of Emiratisation in the public discourses- the policy as a ‘strategic decision’, which allows organisations to tap into the local market and enjoy often federally provided perks.

Performance Measurement

Attaining the objectives discussed above will not be possible without the cooperation of the other nationals, but more importantly the expatriate workforce. However, given the common understanding of policy as an expatriate replacement scheme, further measures have had to be put in place to ensure collaboration. Therefore, as part of the performance management systems, Emiratisation efforts of each employee directly affect his/her KPI. As an expatriate employee explains:

“It is a responsibility that if I leave, I should replace myself with an Emirati if possible. Nobody is encouraging me to do that. I am not accountable towards that, but there is a KPI at the end of the day for the division, and do you have for instance 30% Emiratis or not? Points, minus, plus, bonus...our bonus is affected by Emiratisation to a certain level... achievement of Emiratisation target... Our bonuses are tied to these sheets” (P24, E, Invest Co. T2)

Consequently, it is obvious that the expatriate workforce in each department will attempt at reaching the Emiratisation target. One newly recruited and highly experienced expatriate states his view:

“So, my view is that if I have like 3 nationals and one is not interested at work, I can still treat him as a cost centre and work around him and he will grow at his own pace. As a cost centre, rather than a profit centre... We are all supposed to be a profit centre. If somebody is underperforming, let him be a cost centre. Let him grow at his own pace, so you don’t really have to rock the boat every time...” (P18, E, Invest Co. T2)

Insurance Inc. has also gone through great lengths in integrating performance management systems that incorporate Emiratisation. This has been an attempt to illustrate to all the employees at the organisation that ‘*Emiratisation is everybody’s responsibility*’ (P3, E, Insurance Inc. T2). Such measures were also seen as part of Emiratisation practices in the public sphere in chapter 5.

Succession Planning

In the recent years, the retirement age at the organisations under study has been reduced from 65 to 60. The new retirement policy can be seen as ‘succession planning’ since it is an attempt to provide new places for nationals in organisations while letting go of those belonging to old school insurance. A variation of succession planning- later as opposed to upward- was discussed in chapter 5, which did not imply an expatriate replacement attempt. The news of change in retirement age in the two organisations has come as a shock to the retiree expatriates who have spent the majority of their working lives in UAE, alongside with their families:

“But if I go now, I cannot because I need money for my sons who are students in university” (P15, E, Insurance Inc. T1).

Expatriates in UAE remain on a work visa, or a residency that is contingent on their employment status, regardless of the number of the years spent in the country or being born in the Emirates. When asked a senior Emirati if someone who has lived and work in UAE for 50 years is still an expat, he replied: ‘Yes, actually at that time he has to leave’.

There are still expats at ages of 70-75 years old at both organisations as their experiences have so far been irreplaceable. Although Invest Co. did not provide the number of retirees, Insurance Inc. declared that 12 expatriates have been retired since last year at the age of 60.

As an expatriate employee himself, the deputy HR of Insurance Inc. refers to this as a smooth and normal process, providing a six months’ notice for the retirees to prepare themselves and a transition period for the replacement to be trained by them. He explains:

“There is nothing that the labour law specifies, but after the age 60 getting a visa also become difficult [...] And I think for an individual it is also important that at some stage of your life, you will move on and enjoy the next chapter of your life as well...” (P3, E, Insurance Inc. T2)

It has become apparent during the course of this study that Insurance Inc. attempts to re-contextualise the key Emiratisation practices of Invest Co, amongst many others. Deputy HR has indicated that they have studied the practices of some organisations, including Etihad Airways to explore their working operations as it is a success story. In the case of succession planning, the policy was initially put in place at Invest Co. However, due to the critical positions that many of the experienced employees hold in

the field of finance, Invest Co. has not fully implemented the policy. A senior national employee remains cynical of the retirement policy serving as a succession plan for nationals:

“I don’t think their positions are going to be taken by the nationals. For sure we are going to see that... In the time being, we don’t have... For sure we don’t have Emiratis... It will take us some more years to find. I am telling you, those locals who are very dedicated to their jobs are very few and very new. We cannot put them in the high positions; they need time to climb” (P14, N, Invest Co. T2).

In summary, various challenges have led to construction of best practices. Although employees at both organisations share a common understanding of some of these challenges, such as ‘knowledge sharing’ and ‘local integration,’ different working practices have developed, some of which have been transferred as best practices from Invest Co. to Insurance Inc. These include the establishment of an Emiratisation department, as previously discussed, the practice of ‘finger printing’ at Insurance Inc. and succession planning amongst others. However, with a total of only 440 (42 Emiratis) employees at Insurance Inc., initiating full-fledged Emiratisation department remains questionable. This highlights the underlying problem that exists in re-contextualising a best practice, where the function of such a “department”, which serves the specific requirements of more than 1,500 ambitious Emiratis at Invest Co., will have to be adapted to the needs of those at Insurance Inc. Transferring any of the best practices from Invest Co. to Insurance Inc. requires an iterative challenge to re-construct the practice (Winter and Szulanski, 2001; Jensen et al., 2004). It is important to note that the government hopes to capture and transfer the generated best practices across organisations in various departments.

7.2. Implementation Differences: Invest Co. vs. Insurance Inc.

While the previous section focused on the commonalities across the data set, the policy is enacted differently in each organisation, in accordance to the corresponding context. The following section highlights three of the key differences between the two organisations under study, illustrating the importance of multiple case studies. These differences have emerged during the implementation of the policy.

Commitment to the Policy from the Top Management: Although an attempt at interviewing the CEO of Insurance Inc. was unsuccessful during a meeting with him, as

he refused to take part in this research and asked that his specific comments stay off the record, his opinion on the Emiratisation program was pointed out by other participants. Therefore, the initiatives at Insurance Inc. discussed during this chapter have been attributed to the personal efforts of the Head of Human Resource department. As an Emirati newcomer puts it:

“One of the reasons that I want to come to Insurance Inc. was that I haven’t seen an HR person like the head of HR here. He is very supportive and I thought if we have someone like him in insurance, he could change some things” (P9, N, Insurance Inc. T1).

By initiating ad hoc practices based on the needs of specific situations, the head of HR at Insurance Inc. has illustrated his ability to ‘go on’ (Giddens, 1984, p.43) by combining these practices dynamically. Once again, this can be attributed to his local knowledge, being an Emirati national, which HR officers in the public discourses lacked.

On the other hand, Invest Co. has enjoyed immense support from the CEO and the board members in initiating and developing its Emiratisation program:

“Emiratis think I am a UAE national, so the company has to ensure that I am still related to it [...] it is a huge challenge and we are lucky that we have those on board that are supporting all our initiatives. We are spending lots of money into our people and resources, not just UAE nationals but everybody. And, we have an excellent CEO who supports us” (P3, E, Invest Co. T1).

Placement: A further illustration of how different applications of the policy have emerged in the organisations is evident in where they each place the national newcomers. While Invest Co. places newcomers at all levels, through tailored career paths, it envisions them at middle management, or higher in the future. However, at the Insurance Inc. nationals are clustered at Motor Claim and customer service department, requiring the least amount of expertise and training. This is not an indication of HR’s lack of commitment to the policy. But rather the Chief Human Resource Officer’s (CHRO) initiative to provide work, opportunity to gain experience and pursue further education for many national female employees, majority of whom are Emirati single

mothers with no degrees or English proficiency and with minimum family support.⁴⁰ Depending on his insights and perceptions, the CHRO follows Emiratisation by implementing a subjective and improvisational strategy, which could be setting precedent and in time turn into policy (Daft and Weick 1984, Daft 1998).

On the other hand, it can be argued that if every national employee is placed in one department that does not require much expertise (such as the motor claims), where only Arabic language is applied; the development of national employees is restricted. This is a reproduction of a tension that exists in the public sphere in terms of what to do with the ‘average’ Emirati as all efforts are focused on the ‘talented’. In such a multi-lingual work environment with employees from more than 50 nations, not being able to communicate with others at the organisation in itself is an inhibitor of national’s advancement. This was evident by the frustration of many Emiratis who have been in Motor claims for many years. Asking me to walk with her to the Marine department, she points at the employees on the floor while expressing her anger:

“I don’t see any Emiratis here... Only Indians, Palestinians, Egyptians... In our department we are four locals... You come and see... Look at this department now, all like... see... And then, go to HR, one only local” (P16, N, Insurance Inc. T1).

Initial Training Approaches: While Invest Co. relies heavily on its in-house, in-class courses at its ‘College’, it undermines the value of on-the-job training and the non-canonical practices that are key to developing the national novices. Although many of the Emirati newcomers have gone through extensive training at Invest Co. College, once placed at the department, they struggle to get the job done. After six months of in-class training, a national employee explains her experience:

“For the training to make a sale, they just teach us on paper... it took me several months to make a sale over the phone. I sold 14 cards only so far but during the same period, my colleague sold more than 200. I learned that you have to lie a little...” (P8, N, Invest Co. T1)

At the same time, due to Insurance Inc.’s minimal resources, besides some external courses, newcomers are also trained ‘by everyone’ in the department, benefiting from the tacit knowing possessed by the group through practice. Therefore, despite its heavy investments in the programme, knowledgeability of action or knowing in practice

⁴⁰Due to cultural sensitivity, marital status was not asked during the interviews, but this was implied in an informal conversation with the head of HR.

(Orlikowski, 2002) for young Emiratis at Invest Co. is partially overlooked.

7.3. Differences Between Time I and Time II

7.3.1. INSURANCE INC.

New Emiratisation Unit

During the first visit to Insurance Inc., it became apparent that the support the national employees were receiving was merely from the head of Human Resources. Responsible for the workforce of the entire organisations, due to time constraint, although willing, this one individual could not attend the needs of all Emirati employees. As one newcomer expressed her frustration during the first phase of the study:

“No one from HR has asked me, how you feel, what do you think, do you need anything? ... If I am suffering from my manager, to whom I shall complain and say that I am not happy? They should assign someone, a person, a formal thing...” (P 4, National)

Soon after, a female national with previous experience with Emiratisation joined Insurance Inc., in order to facilitate the implementation of the process and support the local workforce. At the second phase of the study, she had at her position for nearly a year. However, the two female nationals (P4 and P9) indicated that they had been no communications between them.

Taking Ownership of the policy across organisations

As discussed earlier, nationals have traditionally been clustered in Motor claims and underwriting divisions. However, in time two, the first phases of a new initiative was discussed. This initiative attempts to emphasise Emiratisation as an important strategic pillar for the organisation and therefore involves all the business managers in Insurance Inc.:

“We have now been communicating about the diversity in the workforce and we have been trying to communicate to the business managers that look, this is an important initiative and trying to build in that buy in. So, rather than HR forcing that you need to have Emiratisation... The business managers are actually taking ownership of Emiratisation as a corporate initiative and I would say that the shift that has started within the number of the recruitment that has happened this year outside the admin function is simply large and we are now looking at hiring people on underwriting side” (P3, E, Insurance Inc. T2)

In search of Excellence

Insurance Inc. must recruit from the very small pool of nationals who hold some knowledge of the insurance and more importantly have interest in the industry. The challenge of finding the right candidates have forced the HR to come up with the practice of ‘bring a buddy’, a practice particular to this organisation, where employees who nominate a qualified Emirati to Insurance Inc. will be rewarded. Such a referral token has already encouraged some of the nationals to introduce their friends and family members; however, it is left to the organisation to attract the candidates. Moreover, in order to retain the national workforce, another unique practice, ‘loyalty reward program’, has been introduced. Based on this notion, Emiratis are financially rewarded upon completion of 1st year of service, 3rd year of service, and 5th.

7.3.2. INVEST CO.

New Emiratisation Officer

In time two at Invest Co., a new Emiratisation officer had replaced the previous employee, although as discussed in the methods chapter, an interview with her was not granted. This appeared as the lack of confidence in her knowledge of Emiratisation practices in her new organisation. However, an interview with the previous officer who has remained at Invest Co. shed light on some of the questions and concerns and revealed that the commonly held Emiratisation perceptions at the organisation have remained the same.

Decline in Emiratisation Rate

Although Invest Co. proudly held an Emiratisation rate of 39% in 2011, however, in 2013, the percentage of nationals had reduced to 33%. This may be a contributing factor to appointing a new Emiratisation officer. However, it is important to note that while there have been turnovers; the number of local workforce in Invest Co. has increased during this period of time. At the same time, there have been more expat recruit than the nationals and hence the overall percentage has lowered:

“It is too early to say what the percentage at the end of the financial year will be. But we see quite a few expats coming in. For the past 6 months, I have seen more new expats than the locals” (P23, E, Invest Co. T2).

A shift of focus on expatriates

The increased number of expatriates at first raised doubts about the continual commitment of the management at Invest Co. to the Emiratisation policy. Although the number of courses tailored for the nationals have exceedingly increased, indicating investment in the local workforce; however, the national percentage has become the bench mark of commitment to and success of the Emiratisation practices. Nevertheless, it became apparent that the strategy of increasing the number of expats is closely tied to undertaking Emiratisation:

“We give priority to nationals always, but our focus is on improving the quality of our expatriate population to develop our UAE nationals. So, if you bring in world class expatriate secured enough and not get 2nd tier or 3rd tier hand me downs, then basically the non-national is professional and secure... he doesn't care about anything and he knows he can get a job anywhere and therefore he will have no reservations to develop the people. So, I think the issue is not to focus on the UAE national because the quality of the UAE national is getting better and better and better. But, to focus on quality expatriates to be recruited” (P3, N, Invest Co. T2)

The above emphasis on ‘secure’ expatriate highlights how narratives and misunderstanding of the policy as expatriate replacement scheme inform working practices.

Emphasis on the Quality of Nationals

The emphasis on the quality of recruit is not limited to the expatriates. Invest Co. has introduced “the performance driven” culture to enhance the quality of Emirati workforce. Based on this culture, your employment, or continuous of your employment is measured by your achievement or your performance. Such a culture had been lacking in the past at Invest Co., which allowed for Emirati underperforms to remain in the organisations. However, the head of customer services explains:

“There has been some improvement in the past two years in this area, where we have been asking UAE nationals to leave; with resistance of course there are a lot of enquiries and justifications which you have to give that why you are releasing [...] It is not enough that you rate him or her low, but they are also put under what we call PIP- performance improvement programme, and if they fail that PIP, usually they have to be terminated. But also you find cases that even if they fail the PIP, there is still request that why you are not giving more chance... It is not a straight forward process... but we have recently released 10-12 UAE nationals due to performance issues” (P4, N, Invest Co. T2)

Development of the performance driven culture and the resulting change in practices can be attributed to the pre-existing stereotypes of Emiratis common amongst all organisational members.

7.4. Concluding Remarks

As previously discussed, extant research on positive discrimination takes the policy as given, emphasising mainly on the outputs of its implementation, while overlooking the process through which the policy is understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in organizations and the way it impacts working practices of those involved. The first two empirical chapters revealed how public discourses on Emiratisation amongst stakeholders, and narratives in two organisations shed light on the common understanding of the policy and the possible tensions. Furthermore, the dialogical analysis (Gillespie and Cornish, 2010) in the previous chapter has provided a language of dis(agreements) and mis(understandings) that allow us to talk about various intersubjective relations between the perspectives of nationals and expatriates on the policy, which in turn inform and centrally organise practices. Going back to the practice studies, at the core of all practice theories, practices are perceived as “embodied, materially mediated array of human activity, centrally organised around shared practical understanding” (Schatzki, 2001, p.2). Therefore, the different relations of perspectives on the policy reflected in practices that become co-constructing knowledge in context. Adopting a pragmatist view of practice, this study is focused on the dynamic and emergent nature of practice (Simpson, 2009). Therefore, it is the ‘how’ of Emiratisation implementation, as opposed to the ‘what’ of practices that the study has focused on, and the temporally unfolding of practices.

As a result, this chapter has first explored the common Emiratisation practices in two organisations across three years. Looking for commonalities across the data set through thematic analysis, it becomes evident that what both organisations share is a description of a process: Emiratisation being implemented by first selecting best available candidates from a small pool of nationals. Next, on-going training and development of the newcomers takes place predominantly through in-class trainings customised for Emiratis, while additionally sponsoring various certificates and diplomas and external

higher education. Finally, as organisations face obstacles in implementing the policy, in situ solutions are developed and capitalised on, generating standards and best practices.

Next, the chapter has highlighted implementation differences between two organisations to reveal the emergent nature of the policy and how it is enacted in each organisation in accordance to the contextual shared practical understandings. Key implementation differences have been seen in the level of commitment to the policy from the top management, placement of national newcomers, and initial training approaches at each organisation. For instance, while Emiratis are placed at various divisions and levels at Invest Co., they have been primarily clustered in low-demanding Arabic speaking departments at Insurance Inc. Finally, differences in practices between two times have been explored. For instance, at Insurance Inc. practices such as ‘bring a buddy’ were developed in order to attract qualified Emiratis from a small available pool. At Invest Co., it took a different turn by time since the concern was shifted to bringing on board higher number of ‘secured’ expatriates, which would in turn facilitate Emiratising.

The longitudinal study of three years has allowed for analysing Emiratisation practices as they unfold, “patterns of interaction developed into predictable arrays of activities, changing and transforming while at the same time continuing to be referred to as ‘the same’” (Bjorkeng et al., 2009, p. 145). Therefore, a rare opportunity to witness the ‘becoming’ of Emiratisation practices.

CHAPTER 8

8.0. Discussion & Conclusion

In this final chapter, first I will review the theoretical discussions covered earlier and highlight the need for a cultural psychological viewpoint and a practice lens to understand implementation of positive discrimination policies in organisations and the contributions of this study. Second, I will bring together the findings outlined in the three empirical chapters. This will illustrate the importance of exploring the micro dynamics of change and development that has been brought upon organisations through external policies. In doing so, I will demonstrate this study explores and presents how Emiratisation is understood, co-constructed and implemented overtime in various contexts. Therefore, I will underline the importance of the dynamic and emergent nature of policy implementation practices. Finally, I will discuss limitations of the study and possibilities for future research.

8.1. Emiratising Through a Cultural Psychology Standpoint

As I have illustrated in this study, workforce nationalisation in the region addresses pressing societal issues and is a topical example of how organisations must cope with external policies in various contexts. Nationalisation of workforce policies has gained importance in UAE, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Oman, and other neighbouring nations due to the urgency of high unemployment amongst the local population. *Emiratisation* has been referred to as a “positive discrimination” or “affirmative action” policy, where markers such as ethnicity are applied (Alhersan, 2013; Forstenlechner et al., 2012; Godwin, 2006). The policy has been discussed in the literature as what “satisfies the employment and career aspirations of its citizens” and opens the doors for the Emiratis in the private sector (Godwin, 2006, p.1). It aims to address the issue of ‘strategic equality’, the level of substantive equality required to avoid crisis (Coleman, 2012, P. 27). UAE nationals constitute only 11% of the total population (900,000), with an unemployment rate of 13%, representing a clear demographic imbalance (World Bank, 2012)⁴¹. While the public sector employs 495,000 Emiratis and is highly saturated, the private sector only takes on about 43,000 nationals despite the 2.2. million jobs, what is referred to as the ‘paradox of plenty’ (Jones and Punshi, 2013; Aon Hewitt, 2012).

⁴¹ <http://data.worldbank.org/country/united-arab-emirates>

However, as illustrated in chapter 2, extant literature on public policy and positive discrimination policies in organisations are focused on the outputs of implementation in terms of assessing effectiveness, influence of such policies on different work attitudes and behaviours, and lately on the impact of their bans (e.g. Antonovics and Sander, 2013; Herring and Henderson, 2011; Holzer and Neumark, 2006). Although some social and organisational approaches have been applied, including research into stereotyping and similarity-attraction paradigms in order to help understand the work-related outcomes of perceived dissimilarity to others in organisations, however, a vast amount of existing studies are based on de-contextualized and often individualised understanding of policy implementations through survey-based or lab-based designs. For instance, one of the most influential literatures in positive discrimination policies on Tokenism by King et al. 2009 attempts to understand the experiences of token women in their work environment through questionnaires. Similarly, Roberson and Kulik (2007) summarised 12 years of studies on “stereotype threat at work”, a fear shared amongst minorities for being judged based on negative stereotypes. He demonstrates how research findings on stereotype threat occurrences are results of experimental studies (see page 28-29 for a summary of study designs).

Therefore, positive discrimination policies as best practices and social change programmes appear to be based on cognitivist models that overlook the wider contexts, such as cultural gaps, power inequality, and other wider contextual factors. Such research often provides a dehumanised and stereotyped account of the target group of the policy, without taking into account understandings and activities in the daily practices of social actors and how they participate and interact in public sphere. Therefore, they take the policy as a given, looking only at the outputs of its implementation, rarely considering the process through which the policy is understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in organizations and how it impacts the working practices of those involved.

In sum, congested with models and frameworks that aim to enhance policy design, top-down and bottom-up implementation studies are populated with variables. With more than 300 key explanatory variables (O’Toole, 2004, 1986), literature on policy implementation has been heavily criticised (O’Toole, 1986, 2004; Matland, 1995, Meier, 1999). With an emphasis on improvement of policy effectiveness, such studies

assume that knowledge of implementation ‘best practices’ can be obtained a priori. Hence, they disregard the dynamic social, historical and cultural context that impacts policy implementation in situ and demands for adaptation in novel situations and the emergent change processes in the daily working practices.

In this study I have addressed this gap by bringing forward the importance of context and adopting a cultural psychological standpoint to implementation practices. A cultural psychological perspective emphasises that “thinking, meaning-making, and concepts, must be understood not as attributes solely of the individual but contextualized with the social and cultural environment” (Haste, 2012, p.2). Therefore, this study has taken a “real world” cultural psychological standpoint, interested in concrete human activities in context as its key material (Howarth et al., 2013). This is in accordance to a pragmatic approach that believes in grounding scientific undertakings in concrete practical human activity (Cornish & Gillespie, 2009; Cornish, 2004; Tolman, 1999). For pragmatism, “it is *practical activity* that is the bedrock and the test of knowledge. Knowledge is judged according to its consequences in action” (Cornish and Gillespie, 2009, p.802). Therefore, I have investigated what happens at the point of implementation and explored the micro-dynamics of organisational change and development by looking not only at what people say, but also what people do, to bring together language and practice.

As a result, a more practice-based perspective has been required to explore the working practices and the practical and ‘hidden’ knowledge that supports them (Gherardi, 2009) in understanding policy implementation. Practice is focused on the ‘how and why’ of human activity and “no practice can be understood outside its intersubjectivity created meaning and motive [...] which are socially reinforced, constructed and ascribed” (Bjorkeng, 2009, p. 146; Shutz, 1967; Mills 2002 [1940]; Wittgenstein 1953; Blum and Mc Hugh; 1971). This research study aims to address this gap. More specifically, the study has explored the common practical understandings in regard to the Emiratisation policy developed over time among different stakeholders -employees of two financial organizations in the UAE as well as public actors- and their impact on the ‘mediated array of human activity centrally organised around [them]’ (Schatzki, 2001:2).

Therefore, I have demonstrated how positive discrimination policies are understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in various contexts. Through this longitudinal study of three years, practices were captured in their gradual processes of coming to be, allowing for witnessing what Bjorkeng et al. (2009, p.147) call a ‘rare opportunity’ to be able “to follow organizing as it evolves and morphs from a set of established practice(s) to create something new”.

To explore the ‘how’ of Emiratisation implementation and the working practices, I have therefore analysed not only practices of organisational members (national and expatriate employees and managers), but also the narratives of representatives of the government and the key actors in the public sphere. As Schutz (1967) suggests, all analytical constructs should allow us to back translate them to the lay terms of how members make sense of what they are doing and hence “practices would be grounded ontologically in everyday knowledge and action” (Bjorkeng, 2009, p. 147). Therefore, in this study, I bridge not only language and practices, but also the macro and micro-going from the social to organisational narratives and practices to the individual intersubjective exchanges that demonstrated variety of interests at stake and perspectives, which collectively inform implementation practices. And so, through a multi-method approach of data collection and analysis I have been able to “zoom in and out” and extend the practice toolkit by addressing the challenge of methodologically “re-presenting” practices (Nicolini, 2009a, 2012).

The following section brings together the three empirical chapters to illustrate how Emiratisating is understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in various contexts through a cultural psychological standpoint.

8.2. Bringing it together: *Narratives, intersubjectivity and practices*

The empirical chapters first focused on the analysis of public discourses in order to understand the social and cultural context in which the policy and practice of Emiratisation is being developed. Next, organisational discourses- narratives and intersubjective exchanges- were analysed to better understand the organisational context and study whether public discourses are reproduced at organisational level as well. And, to underline what the (dis)agreements, (mis)understandings or tensions on those

narratives are through a dialogical analysis of intersubjectivity. Chapter 7 has demonstrated how all that is enacted through practices in two concrete organisations.

In the following section, I will compare and contrast the narratives and practices of the public sphere and the two concrete organisations to see how the policy unfolds in various contexts. The aim is to underline what is general and what is particular in implementing Emiratisation both in narratives and practice terms and explore whether there are various forms of policy implementation. This will highlight how a positive discrimination policy is understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in various contexts, and its impact on the working practices of those involved. And, what are the best practices that are particular to concrete organisations.

8.2.1. Beyond policy: Emiratising as a process

Going back to the practice studies, at the core of all practice theories, practices are perceived as “embodied, materially mediated array of human activity, centrally organised around shared practical understanding” (Schatzki, 2001). In exploring the ‘how’ of policy implementations in organisations, I have illustrated that in contrary to studying events frozen in time and established practices, I look into the unfolding of Emiratisation through time and space and study practices as they are ‘becoming’. And as such I have looked into tensions in narratives and the intersubjective process of construction and reconstruction of (dis)agreements and (mis)understandings, as opposed to assuming there is one shared common understanding. Such fluidity and adaptability in understandings and propositional knowledge are necessary for becoming (a) practice (Bjorkeng et al., 2009). Furthermore, the following three sets of activities are fundamental mechanisms in becoming a practice (ibid): *authoring boundaries*- which activities are negotiated as part of practicing or not; *negotiating competencies*- which practicing and practitioners are perceived as competent; *adopting materiality*- the process through which material configurations are enacted and entangled in practicing and constructed as key elements of a practice (p.149). Hence, the three sets of activities (which at times are difficult to separate), are applied to bring together the empirical material and illustrate how Emiratisation becomes a practice and how Emiratising is understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in various contexts through a cultural psychological standpoint.

8.2.1.1. Authoring boundaries through policy implementation

A main Emiratisation narrative common to public discourses and organisations has been the policy as an independence plan. Heavy reliance on foreign workers was perceived as a key motivator for enhancing Emirati capabilities to assure UAE nationals can take an active role in the future of their country. However, the public discourses emphasises the policy as a ‘strategic move’ not only in terms of independence from the expatriate workforce, but also an opportunity to tap into the local market in order to raise cultural awareness, expand customer access and enhance their image to benefit from federal incentives. This explains such organisations’ eagerness on demonstrating their Emiratisation ‘best practices’ in the public sphere. On the other hand, the narratives of the two organisations under study did not perceive the policy for the sake of utilization. Dialogical analysis of intersubjectivity in chapter 6 highlighted a key understanding of policy amongst nationals and expatriates as what shifts power between the two groups. Therefore we see that the discourse of strategic plan for self-sufficiency of UAE has been reproduced at the organisational level as independence and giving ownership back to Emiratis. Such intersubjective understandings inform the working practices, an example of which was observed during the study. At Invest Co., Emiratis were gradually occupying certain sensitive key positions for national security purposes, which again underline the meaning of the policy as an independence plan. Therefore, we see how action agents at Invest Co. are negotiating what it is to be practicing Emiratisation.

However, the public discourse has further questioned how genuine organisations are in rolling out Emiratisation policies. New practices in implementing positive discrimination policies have been heavily criticized by many as organisations are accused of taking these steps in order to protect themselves legally and be viewed as implementing good faith initiatives to avoid inequality (Edelman et al. 2005). Kalev et al. (2006) believe that perhaps organisations are taking antidiscrimination measures as “window dressing to inoculate themselves against liability, or to improve morale to increase managerial diversity” (P.610). Although such narratives were not evident in the two organisations under study, the public discourse referred to it as a key impediment in implementation indicating many organisations are engaged in ‘masked’ employment-overstaffing in public sector or merely fulfilling ratios as names on payroll in private

sector- and ‘mismatch of skills’ without offering any training and development opportunities to Emirati newcomers. All of the above lead to underdevelopment and underemployment of the workforce. In implementation, potential interpretations in situ are interminable, as rules do not entail the rules of their own application (Wittgenstein, 1958). However, as we see, in discussing ‘strategic moves’ or ‘window dressing’ practices, the public discourse is “authoring boundaries”- demonstrating which activities are constructed as legitimate part of practicing Emiratisation and which are not (Bjorkeng, 2009). Hence, as the authors suggest, the boundaries of legitimate action are constantly constructing the practice of Emiratising, while practicing of Emiratisation is at the same time authoring the boundaries of legitimate action.

Despite such practices, as discussed in chapter 1, future economic ‘vision’ of UAE is based on a knowledge economy, relying on nationals to contribute as knowledge workers. However, public discourse has revealed that Emiratis are not the key participants in core knowledge positions. According to TCO consultancy report (2012), only 43% of Emiratis have taken on ‘core’ jobs. And, 1 in 5 core jobs are occupied by an Emirati (one-third of the jobs do not require higher education). And rather 9 in 10 ‘support’ jobs are occupied by an Emirati. Analysis in this study showed that amongst other challenges, the impediment of ‘employability’ of nationals is a common theme across the data set due to stereotypes of Emirati work ethics and limitation of culturally accepted jobs. Although the drive of Emiratis to work is a tension in public and organisational narratives, it is common understanding as well that there are fundamental misconceptions in terms of Emiratis’ skillsets and expectations, which leads to their low presence in core knowledge positions. At the same time, the social prestige of a job as well contributes heavily to the ‘paradox of plenty’ - high levels of youth unemployment, despite the available opportunities in various sectors (Aon Hewitt, 2012; Jones and Punshi, 2013). Therefore, in light of the saturated public sector and private sector’s resistance in taking on board Emiratis, as the study revealed, we see other responses, such as entrepreneurship initiatives for nationals being recently discussed and negotiated as part of Emiratising.

Looking more closely, tensions in the narratives of the public discourses, which reproduced at the two organisations under study revealed that policy has been perceived as an opportunity, a break for Emiratis, or a threat to expatriates as a replacement

scheme. As Chapter 6 illustrated, the notion of intersubjectivity has allowed us to realise the understandings and misunderstandings between nationals and expatriates that have occurred at the meta-perspective level. In line with the discourses of opportunity and threat, many nationals and non-nationals agree and understand each other with regards to the policy as an expatriate replacement programme, although there are underlying tensions that perhaps they misunderstand the principle of the policy as intended as an opportunity by the government. According to the definition of the policy, central to Emiratisation is the training, development and integration of nationals by other nationals, but more importantly experienced expatriates. The expatriate workforce are expected to ‘transfer knowledge and wisdom’ to their Emirati colleagues. However, as discussed in chapters 5 and 6, Emiratisation as a threat to the expatriate workforce was highlighted as an overarching theme across the public sphere, organisational narratives and intersubjective exchanges. Such co-constructed understanding of the policy in turn informs organisational working practices, including those that entail training and integration of Emiratis.

In order to shed light on knowledge sharing and integration of Emiratis, I have also applied organisational studies literature on communities of practice (COP), a concept that is meant to serve as an ‘ideal forum’ for sharing knowledge (Wenger, 1998, 2000) and hence “ideally” suitable for the purpose of Emiratisation. A network of communities practice was studied in the first analytical chapter on public discourses which constitutes key organisational actors and governmental representatives who are the architects of the policy and stakeholders.

Interviews and participant observation have shown that there are already existing COPs amongst expatriates at Invest Co. and Insurance Inc. For instance, there were examples of “insurance underwriters” who would not allow experienced Emiratis newcomers to be integrated. Expatriates were also referred to as possible “stumbling blocks” in the public discourse, once again due to perceiving the policy as a threat. Data has revealed that many non-nationals do not support jobs being nationalized for fear that they will be pushed out. This implementation challenge that is being experienced can be viewed through the three modes of existence for COPS (Wenger, 2000:227-228): 1) “*Engagement*”: doing things collectively and assisting each other. However, data has revealed that not only expats are guarding their knowledge, but also nationals are

perceived as incompetent to participate. 2) “*Imagination*”: building an image of our community. Again, data has shown that there is a culturally and historically existing social boundary (Tilly, 2004) between nationals and expats, which the intersubjective understanding of the policy as a threat has reinforced such boundary. Furthermore, as discussed in the introduction, immigration regulations in the region have given a new meaning to being an expatriate, and hence reduced the feelings of solidarity and a vision of community shared across organisations. 3) “*Alignment*”: A mutual process of coordinating perspectives, interpretations and actions so they realize higher goals. However, in the case of Emiratisation, we have seen that organisational members arrive from various contexts with different goals and interests which shape their intersubjective understanding of the policy and accordingly how they enact in their practices. In sum, the existing social boundaries between nationals and expatriates is activated (Tilly, 2004) as each distinct COP is in the process of defining its own boundary in terms of negotiating separation and integration. On the other hand, stakeholders in the public discourse who constitute a network of community of practices, share engagement, imagination and alignment as their job depends on successful Emiratisation implementation. Instances at the conference were witnessed where an HR manager stated she is studying religion to better facilitate Emiratisation.

Furthermore, literature on COPs (Wenger 1998, 2000, Nicolini, 2012) takes for granted the cultural differences between its members, and also assumes newcomers will not subvert to the existing members and will accept the power difference. This thesis has revealed this in the case of Emiratisation since cultural differences exist amongst national and non-national workforce, which have been identified as implementation challenges at the public and organisational level. In some cases, due to such difference such as cultural constraints and religious believes, members of COPs at times cannot physically be in the same space or attend the same events. This became evident in the participant observation at both organisations and the conferences as there were minimal socialisation and interaction between national female attendees and others. Although HR at both organisations go through great lengths to organise social events to bring together the workforce, cultural barriers often limit female nationals’ presence at such events. Therefore, we see how through policy implementation the social boundary between the nationals and expatriates is re(defined). And, it is being negotiated as part of legitimate Emiratising.

The existence of such boundaries has further impact, some of which were explored in chapter 6. For instance, the distinction made between the three levels of perspectives in chapter 6 allows us to have a closer look at the dynamics of trust and distrust amongst nationals and non-nationals. We have seen that each group is aware of the others' perspective on the policy, and how they each think the other thinks of the policy. And, such awareness allows for orienting to the perspectives of others (Gillespie, 2007). Tensions in the public and organisational narratives and the intersubjective understanding of the policy as a threat therefore enhance the feelings of distrust and reinforce the boundaries. Although none of the expatriate participants in this study had witnessed first-hand replacement of a non-national with an Emirati newcomer, the fear was still felt due to stories of incidents being shared in the community. As trust and cooperation is contextual, based on the situation and the level of the current experience's reminiscent to those in the past (Bateson 1988, Luhmann 1988), it can be seen how distrust can exist amongst the nationals and expatriates and impact Emiratisation working practices, such as those related to training and development of Emiratis. In response to such tensions, for instance, Invest Co. and Insurance Inc. have transferred the 'ring-fence position' practice from an organisation in oil and gas industry, in which this has been an established practice for many years. However, witnessing the adaptation of the practice during the course of the study has illustrated change, while traces of stability exist. What started as an adopted 'best practice' during the first phase of the study became 'unofficial' in its implementation by time in both organisations, perhaps in order to lessen the perceptions of fear and the boundaries. Therefore, over time and through a process of small changes, we have seen a range of working practices in chapter 7, and hence what the two organisations perceive as legitimate Emiratising.

In summary, the nationals have been vulnerable due to their immense dependence on expatriates. However, such vulnerability necessitates trusting others, a tension that cannot be completely removed (Gillespie, 2007). Public and organisational narratives and intersubjective understandings in the data have stressed that the policy is perceived as a reaction and a response that aims to correct such vulnerability. Simultaneously, the expatriates are vulnerable due to their need to sustain their jobs. Therefore, the policy is highlighting such interdependence, which necessitates practices that are built upon perspective taking. While Emiratisation separates the nationals from non-nationals, it

requires relations across the zone between the two, underlining the distinct role of each group and hence activating and making more salient the social boundaries.

8.2.1.2. Negotiating policy competencies

Emiratisation in the public discourse was understood as a corporate social responsibility (McWilliams & Siegel, 2001; Aguinis & Glavas, 2012) activity- organisations going beyond the mandatory quota and giving back to the society through various initiatives, such as investing further in nationals through a range of programs. Multinational enterprises that enjoy the tax free haven were seen responsible for contributing to the host country. As discussed in chapter 5, for instances at the 2014 conference, representative of Holding group explained how they perceive private organisations such as theirs' as platforms to prepare nationals for the public sector or entrepreneurial initiatives.

Although the notion of CSR was not explicitly articulated by the participants in the narratives of two organisations, it is evident in the practices of both Invest Co. and Insurance Inc., since many of their initiatives surpasses their organisational interest in order to benefit the society. Furthermore, such activities highlight the notion of “negotiating competencies”- processes that determine if activities are constructed as competently performed or not when they are ‘becoming’ a practice (Bjorkeng et al., 2009). Therefore, emphasis has been placed on going beyond merely filling in numbers; and rather negotiating how organisations’ excellence are presented through this quota based mandate. As a result, various forms of CSR activities are emerging in different contexts. Numerous improvisational activities exemplified by the head of human resources at Insurance Inc. discussed in chapter 7 shows going beyond complying with the policy. As Weick (1998) discusses, in following rules managers depend on their insights and perceptions. And specific contexts of each implementation site offer opportunities to the action agents to improvise. Hence, Emiratisation practices emerge in situ, for instance just as the head of HR at Insurance Inc. and female national employees (who are married to non-nationals) collectively initiated a novel practice that provides health insurance for the entire family of such female employee.

A noteworthy example of negotiating excellence that has allowed for an Emiratisation practice to emerge, has been the establishment of the state of the art College at Invest Co. Recruiting talent or training to create Emirati 'talent' was an underlying tension in the public discourses with regards to the aim of the policy and the opportunities offered to the 'average' Emirati. Therefore, emphasis is placed on best practices that offer Emiratis opportunities to obtain certificates and degrees in order to be part of the talent pool. Although such tension was not explicitly re-produced in the narratives of Emiratisation at the two organisations under study, they equally placed great importance on continually training Emirati workforce. Providing fully or partially sponsored higher education for nationals has become a practice that validates good Emiratising, or negotiating Emiratisation competencies in two organisations.

However, as we have seen, the policy is enacted differently in each organisation, in accordance to corresponding context. While Invest Co. relies heavily on its in-house, in-classes courses at the College, it tends to overlook the importance of on-the-job training and the non-canonical practices that are crucial to honing Emiratis' skills. In the meantime, as a smaller firm with limited resources, Insurance Inc. draws from few external sources, including long-distance learning and courses offered at various venues. However, newcomers are mainly trained 'by everyone' in the department, valuing the tacit knowing possessed by the group through practice. Hence, regardless of its heavy investment in the College, knowledgeability of action or knowing in practice (Orlikowski, 2002) for Emirati workforce at Invest Co. is partially discounted. Therefore, as we see, the action agents at two organisations are rolling out the policy differently in specific contexts that leads to new practices 'becoming', while judging and reflecting their own competent practicing.

Emphasis on 'knowing in practice'- a standpoint I have taken in this study was underlined in knowledge management literature in chapter 3. This is considered fundamental to Emiratisation policy implementation, which is in part reliant on the 'transfer of knowledge and wisdom' from expatriates to nationals. As we have seen in this study, given the various intersubjective understandings of the policy and the obstacles the data has revealed, such 'transfer' is not as smooth as envisioned. At the same time, various practices that demand collaboration with expatriate workforce, including coaching and mentoring has become a core part of Emiratising in the public

sphere. At Invest Co., coaching and mentoring was being tested. As such, I attended a mentoring session at the College, where trainers were flown in from top consultancy firms in the UK, illustrating how the action agents at this organisation negotiated competent coaching and mentoring.

Despite managerial efforts, as we have seen, due to the existing boundary and the perspectives on the policy, nationals are often at the peripheries. A common understanding of Emiratisation as a patriotic act that has emerged in the public discourses, organisational narratives and intersubjective exchanges has hence led to specific practices that facilitate nationals' integrations into organisations. Such initiatives have often been taken by Emirati employees themselves who believe in providing opportunities for nationals. An instance of witnessing the emergence of such a working practice specific to Invest co. has been the 'big brother' practice, an ad hoc initiative by a senior Emirati in order to provide unofficial coaching and mentoring to his compatriots and regularly assessing the advancement of their fellow Emiratis within the company. An emerging practice, it has been socially constructed through situatedness of knowing and hence illustrating not only his competence in Emiratising, but also negotiating what competence Emiratisation practices can be. At the same time, other senior employees at Invest Co. who perceived the policy as an 'opportunity', as one that could be taken advantage of, declined retaining incompetent Emiratis in their department. This consequently has produced a practice of "recycling" these novices throughout the organisation, lowering their moral and motivation and further hindering the socially constructed definition of their competence.

8.2.1.3. Creating material best practices

Referring back to the literature, at the core of all practice theories, practices are perceived as "embodied, materially mediated array of human activity, centrally organised around shared practical understanding" (Schatzki, 2001, p.2). Therefore, material feature of practices are vital to understanding them. In studying emerging practices, we see how the practice is becoming in relation to material activity and materialising through 'appropriating other's immediate materiality' (Bjorkeng et al., p.155). In the case of practicing Emiratisation, various 'best practices', such as continual development of nationals through certificates and degrees, succession

planning, absenteeism monitoring devices and linked performance measures (KPIs) have been adapted for the policy in situ.

As mentioned in the previous section, by establishing the College at Invest Co., a new practice had emerged and it was witnessed that the scope of activities of the College and the services and trainings it offers has extensively increased during the course of this study. Emiratisation is ‘becoming’ through tangible artefacts such as courses, certificates, and at Invest Co., a training “College”. Prior to visiting the organisation, in an email I had outlined to the head of HR at Invest Co. that I was exploring Emiratisation policy in my study. In response, the first appointment was set at the College premises, which places the practice of nationalisation outside the premises of work, and highlights the materiality aspect of practices (Schatzki, 2001; Latour, 2005; Bjorkeng et al., 2009, Nicolini, 2012).

Another key example of Emiratisation becoming in relation to material activity is the application of ‘succession planning’. Following the argument above and the policy as a patriotic act, both public and organisational narratives have also emphasised Emiratisation as a national development program. In line with such understandings, we have witnessed contextual practices emerging during the study. For instance, succession planning has become an acceptable common Emiratisation practice. At Insurance Inc., the Chief Human Resource Officer (CHRO) has expressed a direct, explicit perspective on policy as “it comes with being an Emirati”, which was analysed in depth in chapter 6. Being a national, committed to the policy, who has demonstrated great sympathy to national employees, the implicit interpretation can be inferred as “nationals’ come first”. This is further evident when participant 9 (a national, experienced, female newcomer) talks about being aware of the succession planning and the CHRO placing her as the second person in the company (in her division), but the expatriate who must report to her has a higher grade than her. Such emergence of succession planning is authorising boundaries as what counts as legitimate Emiratisation in the context of Insurance Inc. Furthermore, we see the way “material configurations are enacted and entangled in practicing” and constructed as crucial components of a practice (Bjorkeng et al. 2009, p. 149).

Similarly, at Invest Co., head of all customer service divisions were Emiratised, positions that are not the immediate point of interaction with clients. While ‘upward’ succession planning appears to have become one of the legitimate practices of Emiratisation at two organisations, we have seen the public discourse suggesting ‘lateral’ succession planning in line with their narratives of Emiratisation as development plan, but as well as pacing the progress of Emiratis and accepting that they need time to gain the skill set needed. Therefore, we see various forms of succession planning being adapted and practiced based on the intersubjective understandings of policy and Emirati capabilities in various contexts, highlighting the emergent nature of implementation practices.

Furthermore, as the research illustrated, there are key Emiratisation practices that are specific to the two organisations under study. For instance, perceptions of the policy as an opportunity and hence a ‘protection plan’ has given rise to the increasing number of national absenteeism. Participant observation at Invest Co. allowed for witnessing installation of absenteeism control devices, an access by card machine, to monitor all employees. This illustrates how management is acting upon the direct perspective of nationals, who take the policy as a protection plan. Also, aware of expatriate’s meta-perspective, human resources and management are attempting to demonstrate fairness to non-nationals at the meta-meta perspective. Such monitoring of employees, which adopts materiality in terms of choosing an artefact, shows how “the practice is becoming in relation to very tangible material activity” (Bjorkeng et al., 2009, p.155).

The monitoring of employees has become a standard or best practice, which was transferred from Invest Co. (use electronic cards) to Insurance Inc. (finger-printing machine). It has become apparent during the course of this study that Insurance Inc. attempts to re-contextualise the key Emiratisation practices of Invest Co, amongst many others. Deputy HR has indicated that they have studied the practices of some organisations, including Etihad Airways to explore their working operations as it is a success story. Identifying, codifying and disseminating working practices objectify them to having a universal meaning and value, and also suggests a universal relation of perspectives. Nevertheless, in various contexts, combination of goals, tools and settings create the context of behaviour (Cole, 1998) and the perspective. Hence, the relationship between perspectives and therefore the intersubjective understanding of practices will

differ, resulting in a wide range of adaption and interpretations of working practices at local situations in everyday practices.

8.2.2. Summing up

As discussed above, I have illustrated ‘how’ organisations implement Emiratisation, and hence how positive discrimination policies are understood, co-constructed and implemented over time in various contexts. Through this longitudinal study of three years, practices were captured in their gradual processes of coming to be, allowing for witnessing what Bjorkeng et al. (2009) call a ‘rare opportunity’ to be able “to follow organizing as it evolves and morphs from a set of established practice(s) to create something new”. For instance, we have witnessed Insurance Inc. establish an “Emiratisation department”, re-contextualising what is considered as a best practice in Invest Co., but yet changing and re-interpreting the practice while adopting it.

Therefore, the non-linear and emergent nature of Emiratisation as a change programme has become evident. And as such we have seen the challenge of generating enduring shared meanings, narratives and identities (Howarth et al., 2013; Garcia-Lorenzo, 2010, 2008a, 2008b, 2007a) that underpin implementation practices. Implementing the policy has entailed not only changing boundaries and working practices as discussed above, but also shifting social identities of organisations and its members. Public and organisational narratives have illustrated how such identities are continually reshaping: “always producing itself through the combined processes of being and becoming, belonging and longing to belong” (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.202). For instance, the expatriate workforce are the migrant workers, guests and the builders of the nation, heroes while simultaneously the educators of nationals, and yet at times perceived as the victims in the process of Emiratisation and the competitors for jobs. Likewise, the nationals are shifting identities from finding it difficult to survive and in need of job, the victims in Emiratisation as the unemployed or underemployed workforce, while being the minority who is taking back the ownership of their country and becoming active participants in its future. Moving in between private and public organisations and taking part in entrepreneurship initiatives, their identities are continually being negotiated from being marginalised and those in need of jobs, to job providers.

Through a cultural psychological perspective to implementation practices, that sees change as an on-going process (Ball & Garcia-Lorenzo, 2012; Cornish et al., in press), this study has underlined the emergent and collectively developed processes that happen in organisational practices as the policy unfolds in various contexts. Grounding Emiratisation in everyday knowledge and action, I have bridged not only language and practices, but also the macro and micro- moving from the social to organisational narratives and practices to the individual intersubjective exchanges that illustrate different interests at stake and perspectives, which together shape implementation practices. In summary, through a pragmatic viewpoint and a multi-method approach of data collection and analysis I have had the opportunity to “zoom in and out” and therefore contribute methodologically to the practice toolkit by “re-presenting” practices (Nicolini, 2009a, 2012). Finally, I have made an empirical contribution to the current emerging debate on human resource nationalisation in the region by investigating the implementation of the policy through cultural psychology and a practice lens.

8.3. Limitations & Possibilities for Future Research

8.3.1. Limitations

The current study is limited by the following factors:

First, due to the vast amount of information available online, studying Emiratisation in public discourses was narrowed to few online resources, in addition to the forums, conferences and consultancy reports. However, the online resources that were chosen have been the platforms where dialogues and events on Emiratisation take place.

Second, access to policy makers was limited. Three interviews were granted to speak directly to governmental officials. Further data was collected during forums and conferences and online.

Third, conducting a dialogical analysis across the dataset on all the statements was not possible given the time and space limitation of this project. Therefore, selections of key examples were presented based on their relevance to the unit of analysis.

Fourth, in this longitudinal study, the core data set has been the interviews. Although numerous hours were spent at both organisations and the public sphere; however, field notes were only used to inform analysis.

Fifth, reliance on practice theory may have screened out various interesting findings and therefore limit the application of this study to practitioners.

Finally, word count has limited the level of detail to which the data could have been analysed and presented.

8.3.2. Recommendations for Future Research

First, this study has focused on the insurance and finance industries; however, broadening the research to include a wider range of industries will offer further opportunities for comparing practices. While adding the oil and gas industry will provide more established best practices as they have been pioneers in implementing the policy, industries such as hospitality and retail will offer opportunities for studying best practices being transferred and novel practices becoming.

Second, with the increasing number of nationals at organisations, it will be fundamental to study how organisational culture is changing. The public discourses in this study revealed that many organisations have begun incorporating Emirati culture into the organisational culture, such as embedding religion in organisational vision and mission.

Finally, this study briefly discusses the notions of trust and distrust in the context of expatriates and nationals not sharing knowledge. However, future research that will take an in-depth look into the intersubjective dynamics of trust and distrust in organisations in light of workforce nationalisation policies will shed further light on the connection between organisational narratives, intersubjective understandings and practices.

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1: Research Design

Data Corpus	N	Analysis Conducted	RQ Answered
In-depth Interviews	54	1. Thematic 2. Narrative 3. Dialogical	1. Working practices, obstacles, best practices 2. Co-constructed meaning of policy 3. Perspectives of nationals & expats on policy
Observation	30 hours	Supporting 3 analysis	Incorporated in: 1. Working practices, obstacles, best practices 3. Perspectives of nationals & expats on policy
Annual Report	6	Supporting 3 analysis	
Emiratisation Conference	2	Thematic	Policy in public sphere: Meaning, Best Practices
Consultancy Report	4	Thematic	Policy in public sphere: Meaning, Best Practices
Online Resources	More than 10	Thematic	Policy in public sphere: Meaning, Best Practices
Policy Documents	3	Supporting 3 analysis	

APPENDIX 2: Emiratization Laws- Cabinet Resolution in Employment Quotas in Banking Sector

<https://tanmia.ae/English/ResearchandLaborMarket/Pages/EmiritisationLaws.aspx>

**UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS
MINISTER'S OFFICE**

Date: 30.1.2005

**MINISTERIAL RESOLUTION NO 43, FOR 2005,
ON THE QUOTA SYSTEM FOR THE BANKING SECTOR**

The Minister of Labour and Social Affairs;

After having reference to the Federal Law No 1, for 1972, on the functions of the Ministries and the powers of the Ministers, and the amending laws thereof;

And to the Federal Law No 8 for 1980, on regulation of labour relations, the amending laws thereof, and the resolutions and executive bylaws pertaining thereto;

And to the Federal Law No 27, for 1999. On the establishment of the National Human Resource Development and Employment Authority;

And to the Council of Ministers' resolution No 10, for 1998. On increasing the percentage of Nationals in the UAE banks;

And to the Council of Ministers' resolution No 259/1, for 2004. On enhancing UAE Nationals' presence in the private sector;

RESOLVES AS FOLLOWS

ARTICLE ONE

Banks operating in the UAE shall undertake to employ Nationals at an annual rate of 4%, pursuant to the Council of Ministers' Resolution No. 10 for 1998.

ARTICLE TWO

The end of December of each year shall be the time when banks' compliance with Article One hereof shall be determined.

ARTICLE THREE

Banks operating in the UAE shall provide Tanmia with updated data on their status of employment, Nationals' recruitment records (name, recruitment date, grade, etc) and any other information that Tanmia may require. These data shall be filed in special forms and sent to Tanmia in the first half of July and the first half of January of each year.

ARTICLE FOUR

Based on Tanmia's reports, the Ministry of Labour will suspend dealings with banks that have failed to comply with Articles One and Three hereof until they are proven, based on Tanmia's recommendation, to have attained the prescribed Emiratisation percentage.

ARTICLE FIVE

The concerned organs shall apply this Resolution as applicable.

ARTICLE SIX

This resolution shall come into force on the date of issue and shall be published in the official Gazette.

Dr. Ali Abdullah Al Kaabi
Minister of Labour and Social Affairs

APPENDIX 3: Emiratization Laws- Cabinet Resolution in Employment Quotas in Insurance Sector

<https://tanmia.ac/English/ResearchandLaborMarket/Pages/EmiritisationLaws.aspx>

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS
MINISTER'S OFFICE
Date: 30.1.2005

MINISTERIAL RESOLUTION NO 42, FOR 2005,
ON THE QUOTA SYSTEM FOR THE INSURANCE SECTOR

The Minister of Labour and Social Affairs; After having reference to the Federal Law No 1, for 1972, on the functions of the Ministries and the powers of the Ministers, and the amending laws thereof;

And to the Federal Law No 8 for 1980, on regulation of labour relations, the amending laws thereof, and the resolutions and executive bylaws pertaining thereto;

And to the Federal Law No 27, for 1999. on the establishment of the National Human Resource Development and Employment Authority;

And to the Council of Ministers' resolution No 202/2, for 2003. On setting Emiratization quotas in the insurance sector;

And to the Council of Ministers' resolution No 259/1, for 2004. On enhancing UAE Nationals' presence in the private sector;

RESOLVES AS FOLLOWS

ARTICLE ONE

Firms engaged in insurance activities shall undertake to employ Nationals at an annual rate of 5%, pursuant to the Council of Ministers' Resolution No. 202/2 for 2003.

ARTICLE TWO

The end of December of each year shall be the time when firms' compliance with Article One hereof shall be determined.

ARTICLE THREE

The firms engaged in insurance activities shall provide Tanmia with updated data on their status of employment, Nationals' recruitment records (name, recruitment date, grade, etc) and any other information that Tanmia may require. These data shall be filed in special forms and sent to Tanmia in the first half of July and the first half of January of each year.

ARTICLE FOUR

Based on Tanmia's reports, the Ministry of Labour will suspend dealings with insurance firms that have failed to comply with Articles One and Three hereof until they are

proven, based on Tanmia's recommendation, to have attained the prescribed Emiratisation percentage.

ARTICLE FIVE

The concerned organs shall apply this Resolution as applicable.

ARTICLE SIX

This resolution shall come into force on the date of issue and shall be published in the official Gazette.

Dr. Ali Abdullah Al Kaabi
Minister of Labour and Social Affairs

APPENDIX 4: Archival data sources

Sources:	@ Policy Level	@ Organisational Level
Internet Sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The official site of General Secretariat of the Executive Council (http://www.ecouncil.ae) -43 Emiratisation related documents, including: reports, resolutions, announcement on rewards, funds (KHALIFA Fund, under the supervision of TANMIA), Recruitment events, etc. The official site of The National Human Resources Development and Employment Authority (http://www.tanmia.ae) -Emiratisation Laws & Cabinet Resolutions -Emiratisation monitor guidelines The official site of Abdu Dhabi Tawteen Council (http://www.tawteencouncil.ae) -Illustrating the scope of their activity The official site of Emirates National Development Programme (http://www.endp.ae) Up-to-date Emiratisation news across the country & a portal for available jobs (http://emiratisation.org) The official site of Emirates Foundation for Youth Development (http://emiratesfoundation.ae) -List of programmes & Partners Providing over 50,000 pages of news and information on the UAE 	

	www.uaeinteract.com	
Emiratisation Forum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Abu Dhabi Nationalisation Council Form (2010): AD Employment Outlook & Career Prospects Report 	
Emiratisation Congress	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 8th Emiratisation Congress (Dubai, UAE), attended May 2012: ‘Policy Maker’: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Presentation slides by Executive Director of ENDP -12 presentation slides & audio recordings of stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “Emiratisation Directory” booklet (2012) by ershaad.ae. Directory of companies that support it: company profile, application requirements, degree required, salary & benefits Aon Hewitt consultancy report: A pioneer study on Middle East workplace, 2012 TCO Management Consulting report, May 2012 Boyden Middle East, 2012 Hay Group, Saudi Arabia, 2012
Emiratisation Summit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> HR Emiratisation Summit 2014 (Abu Dhabi, UAE) attended February 2014: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Book: ‘Entrepreneurship: An Emirati Perspective’ (2012) by H. El-Sokari et al., sponsored by Khalifa Fund for Enterprise Development - ‘policy maker’: Audio recording of presentation by Advisor to CEO, Khalifa Fund -17 further presentations/round tables on Emiratisation by HR industry leaders and consultancy firms. 	

Invest Co. & Insurance Inc.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Annual Reports of both organisations 2011-2013 • Invest Co. College advertisement booklet & learning schedule for 2011, 2012, 2013 • Invest Co. customer's magazine 2010, 2013 • Invest Co. Human Resource Group Advertisement booklets: 2011, 2012, 2013
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APPENDIX 5: Participant table- Invest Co.

Participant	Title/Department	National/ Expat	Experience @ Invest (Years)*	Time 1	Time 2	Arabic Origin
1	Disputes Officer/Corporate	National	5	✓		✓
2	Assistant/Markets	Expatriate	1.5	✓		✓
3	Head of Department/HR	National	3.5	✓	✓	✓
4	Head of Branches	National	10	✓	✓	✓
5	Head of learning & development/HR	Expatriate	2	✓		
6	Emiratisation Manager/Emiratisation	National	3	✓	✓	✓
7	Retail Sales Officer/Customer Service	National	1	✓		✓
8	Retail Sales Officer/Customer Service	National	>1	✓		✓
9	Credit Officer	National	3	✓		✓
10	Credit Officer/Corporate	National	2	✓		✓
11	Head of Institutional Coverage/Markets	National	4	✓		✓
12	Associate Corporate Coverage/Markets	National	>1	✓		✓
13	Associate Fixed Income Trader/Markets	National	>1	✓		✓
14	GM/Corporate	National	4.5	✓	✓	✓
15	Customer Service/Corporate	Expatriate	2.5	✓		✓
16	Assistant Credit Officer/Corporate	National	1.5	✓	✓	✓
17	Credit Officer/Corporate	National	6	✓		✓
18	Head of oil & gas	Expatriate	1.5		✓	✓
19	Senior Credit Officer	Expatriate	6		✓	
20	Deputy Branch Manager	Expatriate	17		✓	
21	Retail Banking Advisor/Customer Service	Expatriate	16		✓	✓
22	Senior Retail Banking Adviser	Expatriate	7		✓	✓
23	Office Manager	Expatriate	25		✓	
24	Head of Strategy	Expatriate	4		✓	✓
Total No. Of Interviews @ BANK	28 (Time I: 16; Time II: 12) 10 EXPATS, 13 Nationals					

***Yrs. of experience as of 2011 for participants in Time 1, and 2013 for new participants in Time 2**

APPENDIX 6: Participant table- Insurance Inc.

Participant (P)	Title/Department	National/ Expatriate	Experience @ Insurance Inc. (Years)*	Time 1	Time 2	Arabic Origin
1	Senior claim assistant/Motor Claim	National	3	✓		✓
2	CHRO/HR	National	2	✓	✓	✓
3	Deputy CHRO/HR	Expatriate	1	✓	✓	
4	Supervisor/Underwriting	National	>1	✓	✓	✓
5	Officer/HR	National	2	✓		✓
6	Assistant manager/Motor Claims	Expatriate	20	✓		✓
7	Assistant manager/Motor claims	Expatriate	10	✓		✓
8	Senior claim assistant/Motor claims	Expatriate	7	✓	✓	✓
9	Deputy Branch Manager	National	>1	✓	✓	✓
10	Senior claim assistant/Motor claims	National	4	✓		✓
11	Claim assistant	National	2	✓		✓
12	Motor senior assistant/Motor claims	National	7	✓		✓
13	Assistant manager/Underwriting	Expatriate	19	✓		✓
14	Supervisor/Underwriting	Expatriate	10	✓		✓
15	Assistant manager/Underwriting	Expatriate	32	✓		✓
16	Senior customer service assistant/Underwriting	National	6	✓		✓
17	Customer service officer/Operation	National	>1	✓		✓
18	Marketing Officer	National	3	✓		✓
19	Emiratisation Officer	National	>1		✓	✓
Total No. of Int. @Insurance	24 (Time I: 18; Time 2: 6) 7 Expatriates, 12 Nationals					

***Yrs. of experience as of 2012 for participants in Time 1, and 2013 for new participants in Time 2**

APPENDIX 7: Time I- Interview topic guide: Invest Co.

1. Please describe your job and introduce yourself. What are your responsibilities and the particular activities you do? How long have you been working at Invest Co.? And how long have you been at your current position?
2. How would you describe Invest Co.?
3. What are the training and OD initiatives in the organisation and how much have you participated in it?
4. Do you know what the Emiratisation policy is?
5. What are the steps taken to implement Emiratisation at Invest Co.? How do you see the initiatives and training programmes, such as those tailored to the Nationals contribute to the process?
6. Describe to me how you have experienced the Emiratisation process at the Invest Co.? To the newcomers: How has it been like since you have joined X amount of time ago? To the experience Nationals: looking back, what would you have liked to know that no one told you?
7. To the experienced Nationals: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have you been involved in training any of the newcomers? Tell me about the coaching & mentoring programmes at the organisation. How valued is C&M at Invest Co.? Do you participate in them? • How do the social networks work? To the newcomers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who have you been trained with since confirmation at your position? • Who do you go to ask questions? • How do the social networks work?
8. How do you think an effective implementation should look like?
9. What do you perceive the hurdles to be for the Nationals in this process?

APPENDIX 8: Time I- Interview topic guide: Insurance Inc.

<p>1. BACKGROUND: Please describe your job and introduce yourself. What are your responsibilities and the particular activities you do? How long have you been working at this organisation? And how long have you been at your current position?</p>
<p>2. THE ORGANISATION:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do you describe Insurance Inc.? • What is it that the company does? How is it different from any other company you have previously worked for? Can you give me examples? • How would you describe your department and how are 'the way you do things here' are different than other departments? Can you share some of your experiences (stories, examples)? • How many nationals are currently employed at your department? Do you know what is the percentage of national employees at your organisation? And, in which department do you think they are mostly placed and why? • To the HR: What is the percentage and turnover rate of nationals?
<p>3. THE PROCESS OF EMIRATISATION:</p> <p>3.1. The meaning of the policy: Do you know what the Emiratisation means?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To the nationals: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What do you think the non-nationals think of the policy? ○ What do you think the non-nationals think you think of the policy? • To the non-nationals: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What do you think the nationals think of the policy? ○ What do you think the nationals think you think of the policy? <p>3.2. Emiratisation at Insurance Inc.:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How have you experienced the Emiratisation process at Insurance Inc.? • Can you give me specific examples of how it has affected you or someone you know? • What is the process of implementing Emiratisation like at the Insurance Inc.? • 'How do you think the training is going? ' <p>3.3. Experiencing Emiratisation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To the managers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Why do you think training the nationals is important? Is it something you selected to do, or was decided by the organisation? ○ Who selects the trainees and how? ○ Can you describe to me how the national newcomers are trained? Can you tell me of an example of someone that has recently started training? ○ If you had a double to substitute you at your job tomorrow, what are the instructions you will give? ○ Have you been involved in coaching and mentoring any of the national newcomers? If yes, to what extent has it been mandatory or voluntary? • To the National "newcomers": <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Is this your first job? If not: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ How many different companies have you worked for? ➢ How long did you stay at each organisation? ➢ Why did you come to Insurance Inc.? ○ Since when have you been training? ○ What do you do during the training? ○ Tell me of a normal 'training day' or initiative in which you participate? ○ Is there someone specifically responsible for you? ○ Who have you been trained with since your placement? ○ Who do you go to ask questions? ○ What are the challenges of that training? ○ What is it that is working well? ○ What would you change in the training process? ○ What could be improved? ○ What has improved in your job since you started the training? Any concrete examples?
<p>4. THE FUTURE:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you see as the future of this program? • How would it affect your career? Or the organisation? • What do you like about the Emiratisation process? What is working you? What are the positive things of the training? What is it that you would change? • What do you see as the challenges of the policy and training? • What do you think are the benefits?

APPENDIX 9: Time II- Interview topic guide: Invest Co.

1. **BACKGROUND:**

Please describe your job and introduce yourself. What are your responsibilities and the particular activities you do? How long have you been working at this organisation? And how long have you been at your current position?

2. **THE ORGANISATION:**

- How do you describe Invest Co.?
- What is it that the company does? How is it different from any other company you have previously worked for? Can you give me examples?
- How would you describe your department and how are ‘the way you do things here’ are different than other departments? Can you share some of your experiences (stories, examples)?
- How many nationals are currently employed at your department? Do you know what is the percentage of national employees at your organisation? And, in which department do you think they are mostly placed and why?
- To the HR:
 - Please update me with the new number of Emiratis since last visit.
 - Why have the figures changed?
 - Why the previous Emiratisation officer been demoted?
 - What are the new initiatives with regards to Emiratisation that you have taken since?
 - What are the new challenges?
 - Have there been cases of ring-fence/succession planning?
 - Are the KPIs tied to Emiratisation effective?

3. **THE PROCESS OF EMIRATISATION:**

3.1. **The meaning of the policy:**

Do you know what the Emiratisation means?

- To the nationals:
 - What do you think the non-nationals think of the policy?
 - What do you think the non-nationals think you think of the policy?
- To the non-nationals:
 - What do you think the nationals think of the policy?
 - What do you think the nationals think you think of the policy?

3.2. **Emiratisation at Invest Co.:**

- How have you experienced the Emiratisation process at Invest Co.?
- Can you give me specific examples of how it has affected you or someone you know?
- What is the process of implementing Emiratisation like at Invest Co.?
- 'How do you think the training is going?'
- How often are you attending the courses offered at the College?

3.3. **Experiencing Emiratisation:**

- To the managers:
 - Why do you think training the nationals is important? Is it something you selected to do, or was decided by the organisation?
 - Who selects the trainees and how?
 - Can you describe to me how the national newcomers are trained? Can you tell me of an example of someone that has recently started training?
 - Have you been involved in coaching and mentoring any of the national? If yes, to what extent has it been mandatory or voluntary?
 - Have you been involved in any ‘succession planning’?
 - Have the absenteeism control machines placed in Time 1 been effective?
 - Do you enquire about the high turn overs? Do you review the exit interviews?
 - Do you initiate any socialisation between the nationals and non-nationals?

- To the National “newcomers”:
 - Is this your first job? If not:
 - How many different companies have you worked for?
 - How long did you stay at each organisation?
 - Why did you come to Invest Co.?
 - Did you come here through Abu Dhabi Emiratisation Council? Or, did you apply directly to the company?
 - Since when have you been training?
 - What do you do during the training?
 - Tell me of a normal ‘training day’ or initiative in which you participate?
 - Is there someone specifically responsible for you?
 - Who have you been trained with since your placement?

- Who do you go to ask questions?
- What are the challenges of that training?
- What is it that is working well?
- What would you change in the training process?
- Are you required to get any certificates?
- What could be improved?
- What has improved in your job since you started the training? Any concrete examples?
- Who do you go to if you have a complaint to make?
- Do you attend the social events organised by Invest Co.?
- Do you social with your colleagues (national or non-national)

4. THE FUTURE:

- What do you see as the future of this program?
- How would it affect your career? Or the organisation?
- What do you like about the Emiratisation process? What is working you? What is it that you would change?
- What do you see as the challenges of the policy and training?
- What do you think are the benefits?

APPENDIX 10: Time II- Interview topic guide: Insurance Inc.

1. BACKGROUND:

Please describe your job and introduce yourself. What are your responsibilities and the particular activities you do? How long have you been working at this organisation? And how long have you been at your current position?

2. THE ORGANISATION:

- How do you describe Insurance Inc.?
- What is it that the company does? How is it different from any other company you have previously worked for? Can you give me examples?
- How would you describe your department and how are 'the way you do things here' are different than other departments? Can you share some of your experiences (stories, examples)?
- How many nationals are currently employed at your department? Do you know what is the percentage of national employees at your organisation? And, in which department do you think they are mostly placed and why?
- To the HR:
 - Please update me with the new number of Emiratis since last visit.
 - Why have the figures changed?
 - Have you established your Emiratisation department?
 - What are the roles and responsibilities of the newly recruited Emiratisation officer?
 - What are the new initiatives with regards to Emiratisation that you have taken since?
 - What are the new challenges?
 - Have there been cases of ring-fence/succession planning?
 - Are the KPIs tied to Emiratisation effective?

3. THE PROCESS OF EMIRATISATION:

3.1. The meaning of the policy:

Do you know what the Emiratisation means?

- To the nationals:
 - What do you think the non-nationals think of the policy?
 - What do you think the non-nationals think you think of the policy?
- To the non-nationals:
 - What do you think the nationals think of the policy?
 - What do you think the nationals think you think of the policy?

3.2. Emiratisation at Insurance Inc.:

- How have you experienced the Emiratisation process at Insurance Inc.?
- Can you give me specific examples of how it has affected you or someone you know?
- What is the process of implementing Emiratisation like at Insurance Inc.?
- 'How do you think the training is going? '
- Have you been sent to any of the training courses or long-distance ones?
- Have you been nominated or applied to take any Insurance certificates?

3.3. Experiencing Emiratisation:

- **To the managers:**
 - Why do you think training the nationals is important? Is it something you selected to do, or was decided by the organisation?
 - Who selects the trainees and how?
 - Can you describe to me how the national newcomers are trained? Can you tell me of an example of someone that has recently started training?
 - Have you been involved in coaching and mentoring any of the national? If yes, to what extent has it been mandatory or voluntary?
 - Have you been involved in any 'succession planning'?
 - Have the absenteeism control machines placed in Time 1 been effective?
 - Do you enquire about the high turn overs? Do you review the exit interviews?
 - Do you initiate any socialisation between the nationals and non-nationals?

- **To the National “newcomers”:**

- Is this your first job? If not:
 - How many different companies have you worked for?
 - How long did you stay at each organisation?
 - Why did you come to Insurance Inc.?
 - Do you see yourself developing a career in insurance?
 - Did you come here through Abu Dhabi Emiratization Council? Or, did you apply directly to the company?
- Since when have you been training?
- What do you do during the training?
- Tell me of a normal ‘training day’ or initiative in which you participate?
- Is there someone specifically responsible for you?
- Who have you been trained with since your placement?
- Who do you go to ask questions?
- What are the challenges of that training?
- What is it that is working well?
- What would you change in the training process?
- Are you required to get any certificates?
- What could be improved?
- What has improved in your job since you started the training? Any concrete examples?
- Who do you go to if you have a complaint to make?
- Do you attend the social events organised by Insurance Inc.?
- Do you social with your colleagues (national or non-national)?

4. THE FUTURE:

- What do you see as the future of this program?
- How would it affect your career? Or the organisation?
- What do you like about the Emiratization process? What is working for you? What is it that you would change?
- What do you see as the challenges of the policy and training?
- What do you think are the benefits?

APPENDIX 11: Sample correspondence- Letter to the Facilitator at Invest Co. Prior to Arrival

Before starting the interviews an inquiry was sent from the organisation, as two of the participants had requested a “sample” topic guide. The following is the reply:

Dear Sara,

Hope all is well and thank you in advance for arranging the appointments for the week of the 10th.

The discussions in the meeting will be around the following topics (a semi-structured interview):

- Describing their job and responsibilities
- Describing the institution
- Describing training initiatives in the organization
- Emiratisation: Description, activities, implementation, enablers and inhibitors of the process...

Looking forward to meeting you on Sunday.

Thank you,

APPENDIX 12: Consent Form

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

You are invited to participate in a study in Organisational Psychology. The aim of the research is to get a better understanding of the Emiratisation project and its implementation.

PROCEDURE

The interview is expected to take approximately 45 minutes.

PARTICIPANT'S RIGHTS

You should not feel obliged to agree to participate.

There is no estimated benefit for participating in this study, apart from bringing your contribution to organisational psychology knowledge. There are no associated risks in participating in this study.

If you first agree to participate and then you change your mind, you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue your participation at any time and for any reason.

Your identity will be kept confidential. All information collected will be treated with full confidentiality and if published, it will not be identified as yours.

CONTACT INFORMATION

This study has been approved by the Ethics committee from the London School of Economics (Institute of Social Psychology).

Principal Researcher:

Institute of Social Psychology

St. Clements Building

Houghton Street

London WC2A 2AE

Tel:

Email:

If you would like to know more about your rights, you may contact the head of the Department of Ethics Committee at the Institute of Social Psychology:

London School of Economics

St. Clements Building

Houghton Street

London, WC2A 2AE

Tel: +44 (0)20 7955 7712

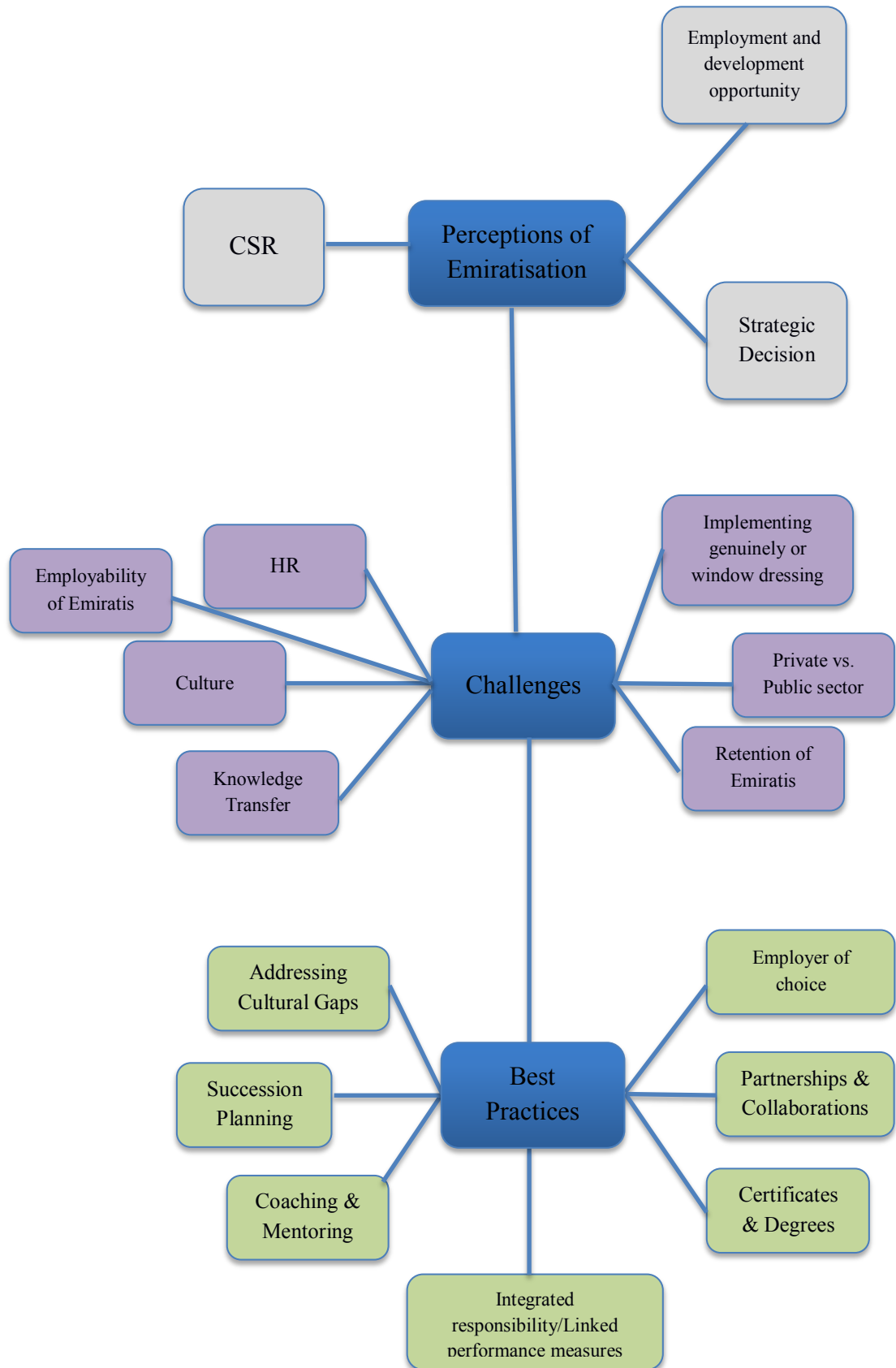
Fax: +44(0)20 7955 7565

APPENDIX 13: Public Discourses- Thematic Analysis, First-Order Codes

<p>Acknowledging stereotypes Emiratis as gold in stones There is potential Must have faith Emiratisation is not a problem Passion for start ups Passion for moving away Emiratis work values Collaboration with educational institutions Volunteer programs Collaboration with private sector Job shadowing Internships Connecting the world of education with private sector What are the growth opportunities? Work environment Culture Mentors Role of the private sector to care Need to change stereotypes Want to be challenged Quality of colleagues Internships to change perceptions Unrealistic about wages Collaboration between private and public sectors New supply of Emiratis Need closer cooperation Overflow of same specialisation Perception of nationals Window dressing Imbalance Mobility and culture Prepare for employability Everyone responsible Emiratisation as CSR Integrated responsibility Cultural influence on career choice How to hire from universities Absorb Emiratis in Entrepreneurship Misconceptions Importance of Khalifa fund How to foster Entrepreneurship? Social media as a platform Importance of ICTs Linkedin Expanding careers on L. Exploring opportunities Caring about Emiratis Cultural impact on workforce composition High female youth unemployment High duration to get a job (28 months average) Emiratis outside labour force have registered</p>	<p>Engaging Culture and environment Importance of Emirati values Aligning vision and values Prefer them to be Entrepreneurs than working for private sector Low quality of education Need close monitoring at work Criticising HR officers Blaming line managers Spread the weight Life coaching Trust Emiratisation & organisational culture Transit launch 4 types of Emirati unemployment Key role of private sector Perceptions and assumptions MNEs not matching global salaries Many private orgs using Emiratisation to benefit Need commitment at all levels Cultural shock Private organisations as isolated islands Emirati expectations vs. what employers offer Gap between private and public sector Saturated public sector Emiratisation not only a recruitment process Need to align strategies with government Collaboration between government and private Emiratis as passive talent rather than active Employers need to brand themselves Need to reach out to locals Need to question why they leave Collaboration as marketing Reward Importance of national identity Emiratisation as reaching a quota Emiratisation as preparing the candidate and developing Need to hire a national who's bounded to his own society Strengthen Emirati values in international firms Int'l org. must give back to society Int'l org. must help brand this country Emiratisation as developing UAE in hands of Emiratis Saturated governmental companies Emirati not given meaningful work Importance of coaching and mentoring Expat dominated private sector High percentage of uae working age</p>
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<p> Emphasis on English and computer skills Importance of education Higher educated new generation Female immobility Low intake of fresh graduates by private sector High salary difference Insufficient information for not hiring Jobs suitable for women Emiratisation as a social responsibility Nationals as future of country Religion Problem of retaining Emiratis Culture of high performance Linking nationalisation to CSR Urgency of Emiratisation Country to be sustain by Emiratis Expats can leave anytime Strategic risk The disengaged Emirati Exit interviews Unfair performance appraisal Unhappy nationals Career development Nationals feeling alienated Must have respect for their culture Some only fulfil ratios Unfair practices Cliché strategies Best practices Emphasis online learning Survey regularly Weak HR sometimes It is about national pride Helping a brother in need Creating new values HR to integrate responsibilities KPIs Majority expatriate HR There is generation gap Raise awareness of the stereotypes Raise awareness of misconceptions Show flexibility Private sector to build Y generation foundation </p>	<p> population Low female participation in workforce Culture and religion Sharing best practices Succession planning Build in Religion in organisation Emiratisation as contributing to the country Challenge of knowledge transfer between nationals and expats Must also rely on technology Importance of Emiratisation awards Expats as stumbling blocks Linking knowledge transfer to KPIs How to change the mind of someone leaving Disconnected Emiratis Reasons behind keeping Emiratis Bring in bright Emiratis Education and employability Urgency or Emiratisation Increasing supply of Emiratis Accountability of managers Every Emirati has some talent Allow nationals to choose positions? What happens to the untalented? Emiratisation as retaining talent Emirati work ethics 100 percent nationalisation in long term Promote culturally undesirable jobs Expats not having exposure to local culture Minimal contact between expat and local HR under stress Accepting Emiratis as they are What do they promise to candidates? Importance of career fairs Emiratisation is beyond just giving a job Emiratis not given the chance Clear coaching instruction needed Lateral succession planning Engagement of Emiratis if given opportunity Train expat managers to be able to train Imp. of knowledge transfer between entities </p>
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APPENDIX 14: Results- Thematic Map- Emiratisation in public Discourses



APPENDIX 15: Public Discourses: Thematic Analysis, Second-Order Codes

Main Theme	Sub-theme	Basic Theme
Perception of Emiratisation	Employment and Development Opportunity	Emiratis as first choice
		Reduce foreign labour
		Training Nationals
	Strategic Decision	UAE to become self-sufficient
		Organisations tapping into the local market
		Organisations enjoying perks
	CSR	MNE give back to society
		As a form of investing in the nationals
		Preparing nationals for public sector and entrepreneurship
		Enjoying media attention
Challenges	Implementing genuinely vs. Window dressing	Fulfilling ratio
		Lack of training & development
		Underemployment of nationals
	Private vs. Public Sector	Private & Emiratis not attracted to each other
		Acknowledging the gap in pay & other factors
		It is a 'misconception'
	Employability of Emiratis	Education
		Work ethics
		Social prestige of job
		Emiratis boxed in a category
	Retention of Emiratis	HR not enquiring 'why' they leave
		Management to blame for not engaging nationals
		Lack of collaborative culture between Emiratis & others
	Knowledge or Wisdom Transfer	Emiratis not taking core jobs
		Expats as stumbling blocks
		No trust, knowledge guarded
	Culture	local culture & organisational culture
		Lack of mobility
		Religion
	HR	Under pressure to answer everyone
		Lack of communication with new Emiratis
		Mostly expats
Best Practices	Employer of Choice	Receiving rewards
		Developing career growth programs
		Sponsoring events
		Using ICTs & Social media
	Partnerships & Collaborations	between: government, public, private, educational

		institutions
		Internships
		Introducing Emirati workforce & work environment
		Aligning education with skills
	Certificates & Degrees as part of continual development	To enhance Emirati employability
		Tailor made programmes
		High dependency on in-class training
	Integrated Responsibility/Linked Performance Measurements	Tool to monitor compliance level
		KPIs
		Making managers accountable
	Coaching & Mentoring	Building managers' coaching & mentoring capacity
		Ideal: Emirati managers as coaches & mentors
		Mentoring through job shadowing
	Succession Planning	To facilitate 'transfer of knowledge'
		'lateral' succession planning
		Not clear if expat replacement
	Addressing Cultural Gaps	Accounting for conservative local culture
		Facilitating female integration
		Cross-cultural awareness activities & initiatives
		Religion as part of organisational culture

APPENDIX 16: Public Discourses- Additional Sample Quote

Main Theme	Sub-theme	Basic Theme	Additional Sample Quotes
Perception of Emiratisation	Employment and Development Opportunity	Emiratis as first choice	"If I have an Emirati and an expatriate applying for the same job and the national is as qualified as the other candidate, for sure I will give the Emirati the chance" (HR officer, National, panel discussion, Forum 2014)
		Reduce foreign labour	<p>"The UAE needs to intensify its drive to bridge the massive gap in its expatriate-dominated demographic structure and replace foreign labour with nationals as part of a strategic policy, according to a prominent UAE social official and researcher."</p> <p>"The dynamics of demography in the Arab region have created some of the most intense pressures on labour markets observed anywhere in the post-World War II period" (World Bank in Aon Hewitt, 2012)</p>
		Training nationals	<p>"It is about training and being more flexible. So, we said it is about development" (Forum 2014)</p> <p>"Abu Dhabi National Exhibitions Company announced that it has achieved 50 percent Emiratisation in its total workforce...'We also understand that in order to develop the best talent we must invest in their progress and we continue to create unique learning opportunities for both established and new employees'" (Emirates News agency, WAM, 27/11/2014)</p>
	Strategic Decision	UAE to become self-sufficient	"Look at what happened in Kuwait. It is about strategy. The entire expat population fled. So, it is about national pride and I am talking about going to the frontiers to fight but my Saudi friends were telling me that those days even the lorry trucks were done by Saudis" (HR officer, Forum 2014)
		Organisations tapping into the local market	<p>"It is a win-win for this country and people themselves and the company. The company can get to promote itself by this and learn about the opportunities" (Forum, 2014, Debate)</p> <p>"Why to hire nationals: for instance, to reduce training costs related to language barrier and governmental communications, to penetrate and gain higher percentage of local community clients, to take advantage of a large talent pool..." (congress 2012)</p>
		Organisations enjoying perks	"You will be amazed by how many services are there for free for you and your employees to go and enjoy..." (HR officer, 2014 Forum)
	CSR	MNE give back to society	<p>"We have a duty to support and ensure that social and regional development is balanced so that the benefits of economic growth and wellbeing are delivered to the population of this emirate... These show that Dolphin continues to decrease flaring at its onshore facilities, exceeded last year's revenue targets, achieved 40% Emiratisation" (2010, UAE interact)</p> <p>"It is CSR. This might be part of CSR, we are helping this society, this country, and giving back to this country by employing this people and branding this country" (Chief Human Capital Officer, 2014 Forum).</p>

		As a form of investing in nationals	“You want to run your business based on PSP: people, service, profit. So, the corporate entity has the responsibility to take care of the people and invest in the people” (MD, Forum, 2014)
		Preparing nationals for public sector and entrepreneurship	<p>“We must empower young Emiratis to go out and explore not just the public and private sector, but also consider working in charities, NGO’s or as Entrepreneurs” (Boyden, 2012).</p> <p>"It is great to know that so many young graduates who are trying to find a job are also considering embarking on the entrepreneurial route in the future. Today, entrepreneurship plays a pivotal role in a country's economic development; it can spur growth, innovation, and, of course, job creation. And this can, in turn, help shape the future of employment here in the UAE." (YouGov MENA, Khaleej Times, July 2015)</p>
Challenges	Implementing genuinely vs. Window dressing	Fulfilling Ratios	“The majority of private sector companies misinterpret Emiratisation, treating it as a percentage-based performance target...” (TCO consulting, 2012)
		Lack of training & development	“There are so many ways, sponsoring students and counting them as actual head counts and this is really damaging because you are counting them as number but not giving them the learning and experience” (Debate, Forum, 2014).
		Underemployment of nationals	“‘masked employment’- the nationalisation of the labour force in the private sector has often resulted in nationals who are added to payrolls but not deployed productively” (congress 2012).
	Private vs. Public Sector	Private & Emirati not attracted to each other	<p>“It is recommended to incentivize the private sector to revamp their talent strategies as the core issues are that Emiratisation is lost in translation, the private sector job market is smaller than it appears and there are false expectations” (TCO, 2012).</p> <p>“Incentivise the private sectors in partnership to train and develop young Emiratis in employment” (Boyden, 2012)</p>
		Acknowledging the gap in pay & other factors	<p>“The point is that even through the crisis, good and talented associates manage to get jobs and in UAE is the only country where the government sector pays more than the private sector. So, of course you could have your best resources approached by the government sector. “(HR, Forum 2014)</p> <p>“The Federal National Council (FNC) has called on the Ministry of Labour to take all necessary measures, in coordination with all concerned parties, to adopt mechanisms that accelerate the process of Emiratisation 'tawteen' rate in private enterprises, and adopt plans and programmes to narrow the gap between public and private sector in terms of privileges and wages.” (Emirates News Agency, 04/02/2015)</p>
		It is a ‘misconception’	“They need this engagement and I see a lot of them coming from the private sector. A lot of applicants today, they want to do the private sector, they don’t want to do the government. They see an opportunity and the market value that comes and they don’t mind doing the long hours and I think these are the stereotypes that we keep sticking ourselves to saying they don’t want to work in long hours but see people working in airports and customs and different

			<p>places, different organisations in UAE. UAE nationals, they do shift work and they do long hours” (Panel discussion, Emiratisation manager, Forum 2014)</p> <p>“A poll conducted by the Emirates Centre for Strategic Studies and Research (ECSSR) has shown that: although majority of job-seekers preferred government jobs, 23.4 per cent of respondents would accept private sector jobs. 'This group should be spurred to join the private sector,' the poll said.” (Emirates News agency, 17/09/2013)</p>
	Employability of Emiratis	Education	<p>“Due diligence starts with prioritizing public funding in the education sector, improve school’s quality and management” (Congress 2012)</p> <p>“For the future of Emiratisation: does the current education system deliver the hard and soft skills required for the roles of the future”? (Boyden, 2012)</p>
		Work Ethics	<p>“If I am working here, it is Ok if I am here early morning... So, it is not OK to have UAE nationals that come and leave anytime... These patterns of behaviours are not OK and also not Ok to see the same behaviour of them also in other organisations”. (Emirati Female Emiratisation manager, Panel, Forum 2014)</p>
		Social prestige of job	<p>“The private sector job market is smaller than it appears. The job market in the UAE accommodates for 2.2 Million jobs. However, our analysis shows that most jobs are off limits to Emirati due to social prestige and cultural sensitivities” (TCO Consulting, 2012)</p> <p>"In Emirates Post, then you have our smaller jobs, such as drivers ... we look at them as executives on the ground, but very few Emiratis there, about 15 per cent.” (Gulf News, 04/11.2013)</p>
		Emiratis boxed in a category	<p>“There is the stereotype that the Emirati guy will sit and do paper work in public sector. We need to change this idea...” (P3, Emirati student at panel 1, Em. Forum, 2014).</p>
	Retention of Emiratis	HR not enquiring ‘why’ they leave	<p>“I always wonder with all the talks on high turn overs why the exit interviews are not being reviewed carefully” (HR officer, panel, Forum 2014)</p>
		Management to blame for not engaging nationals	<p>“local retention happens when they feel engaged and important, realising that money is not the key issue; relationship, and recognition are” (congress, 2012)</p>
		Lack of collaborative culture between Emiratis & others	<p>“The 2010 ADU conference highlight the following key UAE national employee engagement and retention challenge: potential competition rather than collaboration between UAE nationals and non-national colleagues- this impacts effective teamwork” (congress 2012)</p>
	Knowledge or Wisdom Transfer	Emiratis not taking core jobs	<p>“The government plans to boost spending on research and development through 2021 to increase "knowledge economy" employment from 22 per cent of the workforce to 40 per cent, Sheikh Mohammed said” (The National,</p>

Best Practices			22/06/2015) “Emiratis have missed the opportunity to participate in KBE, knowledge created in UAE is in the hands of expats” (TCO consultants, 2012) “What would we gain if we do not provide our youth with the best knowledge and expertise suitable for these jobs” (HH Sheikh Muhammad, vice president and prime minister of UAE)
		Expats as stumbling blocks	“In Saudi, only 32 percent of expatriates support Saudisation and are keen to coach colleagues and hand over after a long period of knowledge transfer” (Hay Group, 2012) “In terms of execution: we plan to attract, but how do we retain, how do you plan to build up their knowledge and experience?” (Panel discussion, Forum 2014)
		No trust, knowledge guarded	“If the expatriate worker feels insecure, he will be reluctant to help the nationals and this is only natural” (panel, forum 2014)
	Culture	local culture & organisational culture	“Emiratis in organisations will participate in achieving the aim of the country and promoting the country and culture in organisation and enhancing national identity within the society and that is a positive marketing approach for some organisations.” (forum 2014)
		Lack of mobility	“Gender balance and Emiratisation: Women today represent the biggest talent opportunity- 65% of GCC university graduates are females... Women have multi-dimensional challenges, including marriage after graduation, family, parents and husband... “(Congress 2012). “If we go more deep into the data and we talk about more educated employed. Most of them first of all are females located in Al-Ain. Now, that is important. There are not enough job opportunities in Al-Ain in comparison to Dubai or AD. Al-Ain is traditional society. They cannot move and commute every day in AD to work. In RK, in Northern Emirates I did a study on youth, 75% of them work in AD and Dubai because there are not enough jobs there and they can commute. But, females cannot commute every day and they cannot go and live by themselves. She needs to be married and near her family” (Forum 2014)
		Religion	“Religion is ingrained in UAE culture and requires expatriate sensitivity and respect to it” (panel discussion, forum 2014)
	HR	Lack of communication with new Emiratis	“One size does not fit all: organisations to speak the appropriate language to different constituencies- national youth, women and expats” (Aon Hewitt, 2012)
		Mostly expats	“As we see in this gathering today, majority of the HR officers are expatriates” (Forum, 2014)
	Employer of Choice	Receiving rewards	“Benefits of the reward, how to meet your needs: earn the prestige and recognition associated with the Award, benefits from the extensive media coverage given to winners, and their logo and other information will be displayed on the award’s website. Absorbing highly qualified nationals who will maximise the organisations’ growth potential...” (congress 2012)
		Developing career	“when we go and talk to them about the career

		growth programs	development options, how you could join and if you prove your credentials, how you could join the talent pool and how you can be trained and you will be given opportunities to be make decisions and be empowered and within 3 years, if you prove yourself, you could be in a much higher position. 80-90 percent of them say that we are ready to come and work for that position.” (forum 2014)
		Sponsoring events	<p>“At Etihad Airways, attracting UAE nationals has been through branding Etihad Airways as Best Employer [...] sponsoring universities career fairs and provide presentation to the students about Etihad Airways opportunities, and participating in UAE national gathering abroad to increase awareness” (Congress 2012).</p> <p>“What I also think can be done differently the recruitment process, instead of being reactive as a recruiter, I think should be a market engagement because most of the Emiratis are a passive talent and I always say this. They are not active talent, they are passive talent. You have to brand yourself. You have to go out there and reach out to them.” (Forum 2014)</p>
		Using ICTs & Social media	<p>“In a move designed to accelerate the pace of Emiratisation in line the latest trends in online recruitment, Careers UAE Exhibition has launched a user-friendly job portal as an all-in-one hub where the needs of job seekers and recruiters intersect.” (Emirates News Agency, 24/04/2013)</p> <p>“through Linkedin, not only to become an employee choice, but also support your Emiratisation initiative” (Forum, 2014)</p>
	Partnerships & Collaborations	Between government, public, private, educational institutions	“The government can use the private sector’s expertise, capacity and drive to achieve some of its goals...Cross-sector development and workplace ?: Was proposed 3 years back but fizzled out, where Dubai government was looking at: can we work with multi-nationals where we take our own existing employees who actually work with Deloitte and whatever company and we pay the salary or we create a fund where we pay 50-50 of the salary. This was an amazing idea. So, can we revisit that?” (Forum 2014)
		Internships	“We (a renewable energy company) reach out to students in colleges and universities and even schools. We offer intern opportunities for students and every year we take around 20 to 40 students - mainly UAE nationals” (The National, 2012)
		Introducing Emirati workforce & work environment	“In Boeing I had the chance to learn about the other cultures and became the ambassador of my country and it really changed my perspective about the private sector and enjoyed working at the private sector” (P1, Emirati female college student, panel 1, Em. Forum, 2014)
		Aligning education with skills	“We started recently with HCT and Zayed University. Tamkin programme with Z. University and R&D with HCT. TAMkin: how we enable UAE nationals to have a different kind information and tools and practices so they can be entrepreneurs... We forced integration with HCT and said you have some graduates and you

			<p>should ask them to present to you some case studies as a final graduation project” (head of Emiratisation, Forum 2014)</p> <p>MOUs and agreements in partnering with educational institutions have played a vital role to ‘maintain mutual effective cooperation to support Emiratisation strategies and provide rewarding job opportunities for all UAE nationals’ (VP HR, 2Em. Congress, 2012). Partnering educational institutions include: Abu Dhabi University, Higher College of Technology, Al-Ain International Aviation Academy, ACTIVET, Institute of Applied Technology, and Emirates Academy.</p>
	Certificates & Degrees as part of continual development	To enhance Emirati employability	“If you categorise in UAE, you can identify the top 5 industry: hospitality, logistics, construction, technology and then if you can map what is going to come 3 years down the line, can colleges and universities can capitalise on the opportunities that will mushroom in three years?” (Expatriate HR manager, Panel discussion, Forum 2014)
		Tailor made programmes	“Dubai Electricity and Water Authority (DEWA), in cooperation with the UK’s Business and Technology Education Council (BTEC), has launched the DEWA Academy to train and qualify young Emiratis both academically and practically in various technical and professional areas covering production, transmission and distribution of energy and water.” (Emirates News Agency, WAM, 03/08/2014)
		High dependency on in-class training	“As a trainer, I see so many Emiratis being in training classes. And the approach is first to train but you see them saying I don’t want training, I want a meaningful job, I want a task that makes sense to me” (Expatriate HR officer, panel, forum 2014)
	Integrated Responsibility/Linked Performance Measurements	Tool to monitor compliance	AbuDhabi Executive Council has approved new development projects, which will be monitored through KPIs, one of which is encouraging Emiratisation (Emirates News Agency WAM, 14/01/2013)
		KPIs	“Talented resources were leaving. And if I connect that directly to my revenue for employee. Take the balance score card. Unfortunately, HR doesn’t have a voice for strategic planning positions across. So, we need to make sure that these KPIs are linked together. It may take 1 or 2 years until we can show them the impacts, that when our talents are leaving us as for the rate of 10%, our profits are actually being affected”(HR, Forum 2014)
		Making managers accountable	“Growth, retention and development can only take place if you know you have well-defined KPIs and you are reading your well-defined KPIs and you are reading your well-defined performance appraisals” (Forum, 2014)
	Coaching & Mentoring	Building managers’ coaching and mentoring capacity	“Educating the business and embedding business ownership of Emirati talent is critical for success. Building coaching capabilities from the top is necessary for the process to work” (Congress 2012).
		Mentoring through job shadowing	“As part of Absher initiative, <i>YES to Work</i> program aims to: Build the capacity of skilled Emirati youth; Encourage young Emiratis to

			work in the private sector; Empower young Emiratis by providing them with specific knowledge, skills and best practice through job shadowing, training and apprenticeship programs; Include national talents in the private sector's market place; Inform nationals of the range of opportunities available outside the public sector and the government" (Emirates News Agency, WAM, 10/08/2014)
	Succession Planning	To facilitate 'transfer of knowledge'	"Succession planning is a critical process to identify and develop our leaders of tomorrow. A sustainable talent pool is the key source for successful long-term succession planning" (congress 2012).
		'lateral' succession planning	"The current programme poses real challenge to business which are tackling knowledge transfer and succession planning within their organisations" (Hay Group, 2012)
	Addressing Cultural Gaps	Accounting for conservative local culture	"To facilitate the transition to a true state of Emiratisation, goal should be to make more jobs socially acceptable for Emiratis by building sector and job awareness and by showcasing Emirati role models" (TCO consulting, 2012)
		Facilitating female integration	"Breaking free from gender stereotypes is an Emirati woman employed as an ambulance driver with Dubai Police...The ambulance she drives is a special vehicle which caters to women only. It is an Ambulance for Maternity and Childhood, a service which was established in 2009, to cater to pregnancy related emergencies... It is important for women to drive this ambulance in order to protect the privacy of the women," she explained." (Gulf News, 12/04/2012)
		Cross-cultural awareness activities & initiatives	Work environment and culture came as important factors in a survey conducted amongst the Y generations: sensitivity to local culture can be addressed by for example including prayer room (Host, forum 2014)
		Religion as part of organisational culture	"We went on field work and did charity project and charity is huge in Islam and it is something that I build into company as much as possible because it is inspiring and they enjoy it. And, suddenly they work in a team and they are managing the project and they realise that oh my god, I am a manager." (Emiratisation Manager, Forum 2014)

APPENDIX 17: Emiratisation Narratives- Organisation of codes based on three phases

Three Phases of Emiratisation	Sub-Themes	Basic Themes
Recognition of a crisis	High National Unemployment	Minimal Emiratis representations at private and semi-private organisations
		Emiratis engaged in family business
	High Expat Dependency	Non-nationals as the builders of the nation
		Non-nationals as the temporary visitors of UAE
		Geo-political risks
Introduction of policy in organisations	Opening the door for Emiratis	Emiratising the public sector
		Emiratising the culturally accepted positions
		Emiratis come first
	Genuine development initiatives expected	Sponsoring education
		Tailor-made programs
		Unofficial mentoring
	Commitment at all levels	Top management
		HR
		Expatriate colleagues
	Stereotypes of Emiratis	Lacking the drive
Low skillset		
High expectations		
The Current State	Private vs. Semi-Private vs. Public	Saturated public sector
		Semi-private attempting to match some expectations
		Resilient private sector
	Diversified Economy	Emerging industries
		Mismatch of expectations
		Cultural restrictions
	Assurances offered by policy to novices	Job security for
		Discrepancy in treatment
Discrepancy in wages		

APPENDIX 18: Coding frame for a dialogical analysis of Intersubjectivity- Mapping of national and non-national perspectives on the policy

Examples from Insurance Inc.:

Level	National/ Explicit	National/Implicit	Non-national/ Explicit	Non-national/ Implicit
<p>Direct Perspective:</p> <p>•National's perspective on Policy</p> <p>And</p> <p>•Non-national's perspective on policy</p>	<p>-I think they are working towards decreasing expats because they want to create job opportunities for the locals since we have high unemployment (P5)</p> <p>-I don't think it means anything. I think it comes with being an Emirati (P2)</p> <p>-It is for UAE nationality. It must be UAE doing for the country. Not other people from another country doing something for UAE (P10)</p> <p>-They try to help local people find jobs (P11)</p> <p>-Emiratisation is just to replace the expat with Emirati people who can do the work (P9)</p> <p>-The government wants the locals to go to the insurance company and the company to get experience (P12)</p> <p>-There should be a time like we need to reply on ourselves (P4)</p> <p>-It is helping the nationals not only to get jobs but to develop them in their work and help them and support them (P5)</p>	<p>-Uhhh, yes, this is a problem because in some years here they made this company and just like this (snap of a finger) bye? (i.e. this is a national replacement programme) (P17)</p> <p>-I don't think it means anything. I think it comes with being an Emirati. (i.e. nationals come first) (P2)</p> <p>-They try to help local people find jobs (i.e. not necessarily a national replacement programme) (P11)</p> <p>-The government wants the locals to go to the insurance company and Invest Co. to get experience (i.e. policy opens the doors in this sector, otherwise impossible) (P12)</p> <p>-There should be a time like we need to rely on ourselves (i.e. over dependant on national , must decrease their numbers) (P4)</p> <p>-It is helping the nationals not only to get jobs but to develop them in their work and help them and support them (i.e. not much opportunity for nationals without the policy; HR officer's commitment) (P5)</p>	<p>-That means that they want to bring local people. Before only one person in the organisation. But now there is many (P6)</p> <p>-Well, this is the country for the Emirates. So they will join this job and we cannot say anything (P6)</p> <p>-Because in our department we need Arabic, we need locals (P7)</p> <p>-What can I say... we should be positive... if you join anyone to Insurance Inc., they have to work. Not just bringing anyone (P8)</p> <p>-They are trying to give it the available jobs here, or replace non-local by local. But they cannot take this way. It has to be step by step (P14)</p> <p>-they will have a chance to work. So, nobody can stay at home and say I cannot work because I didn't find a job. This is the main thing (P13)</p>	<p>-That means that they want to bring local people. Before only one person in the organisation. But now there is many (i.e. they are here only because of the policy) (p6)</p> <p>-Well, this is the country for the Emirates. So they will join this job and we cannot say anything (i.e. they should not be here) (P6)</p> <p>-Because in our department we need Arabic, we need locals (underestimating local's capability to work in other departments) (P7)</p> <p>-What can I say... we should be positive... if you join anyone to Insurance Inc., they have to work. Not just bringing anyone (i.e. poor selection of under-qualified nationals) (P8)</p> <p>-They are trying to give it the available jobs here, or replace non-local by</p>

			<p>-The policy now is for UAE for locals, Emiratisation for the country. If any place is available, they will send a local. Ladies or men (P13)</p>	<p>local. But they cannot take this way. It has to be step by step (i.e. policy undermining importance of experience) (P14)</p> <p>-they will have a chance to work. So, nobody can stay at home and say I cannot work because I didn't find a job. This is the main thing (i.e. nationals may not be motivated to work) (P13)</p> <p>-The policy now is for UAE for locals, Emiratisation for the country. If any place is available, they will send a local. Ladies or men (i.e. challenging rights) (P13)</p>
<p>Metaperspective</p> <p>•Nationals' perspective on non-national's perspective on policy</p> <p>And</p> <p>•Non-national's perspective on national's perspective on policy</p>	<p>National/Explicit</p> <p>- He thinks the Emirati maybe here to take his position (P1)</p> <p>-To them, I think they associate it as a threat, which is wrong to be honest. Emiratisation is a fact of life that people need to live with (P2)</p> <p>-Why are you here? So they were like thinking that I am taking someone else's place (P4)</p> <p>-They feel it is unfair for them and they feel it is an extra bonus for the local (P4)</p> <p>-Maybe they are not happy but they are</p>	<p>National/Implicit</p> <p>-He thinks the Emirati maybe here to take his position (i.e. he is not going to genuinely collaborate in implementing the policy and help me)</p> <p>-To them, I think they associate it as a threat, which is wrong to be honest. Emiratisation is a fact of life that people need to live with (i.e. as the head of HR, I think it is my national employee's right) (P2)</p> <p>-They feel it is unfair for them and they feel it is an extra bonus for the local (i.e.</p>	<p>Non-national/Explicit</p> <p>-They are satisfied... they are happy because if they are not Emiratis, they will not get this chance (P13)</p> <p>-for them this is the country, where I will go, they will take care of me... Some of them, they feel there is no need to work to get this job... I will work as much as I can (i.e. policy as a protection plan) (P6)</p> <p>--Because everything for him is easy. It should provide them you know... If everything is OK from my</p> <p>-It is urgent (P7)</p>	<p>Non-national/Implicit</p> <p>-for them this is the country, where I will go, they will take care of me... Some of them, they feel there is no need to work to get this job... I will work as much as I can (i.e. policy as a protection plan) (P6)</p> <p>--Because everything for him is easy. It should provide them you know... If everything is OK from my</p>

	<p>trying to show that they are happy, like they don't like it but they can't do anything about it. They are aware of it and they know everything and that is why they are panicking (P5)</p> <p>-It is really frustrating for them. If I have been working for a company for many years and I would think an Emirati will come and take my position just because he is an Emirati, I would be frustrated (P9)</p>	<p>expat thinking they will lose their job or nationals exploiting it) (P4)</p> <p>-Maybe they are not happy but they are trying to show that they are happy, like they don't like it but they can't do anything about it. They are aware of it and they know everything and that is why they are panicking (i.e. implying expatriate replacement is a fact) (P5)</p> <p>-It is really frustrating for them. If I have been working for a company for many years and I would think an Emirati will come and take my position just because he is an Emirati, I would be frustrated (i.e. as an Emirati newcomer she is assuming she will soon replace her manager's position)(P9)</p>	<p>-Because everything for him is easy. It should provide them you know... If everything is OK from my government, then I should work hard, why? (P8)</p>	<p>government, then I should work hard, why? (i.e. Nationals are not working hard) (P8)</p>
<p>Meta-meta Perspective:</p> <p>National's perspective on Non-national's perspective on National's perspective on the policy</p> <p>And</p> <p>Non-national's perspective on National's perspective on Non-national's perspective on the policy</p>	<p>-You see Emirati he works in a company and bank, after that, if I have offer from government, directly I will go. Maybe, he is thinking like that (P1)</p> <p>-they believe that it is a free ride. I mean people not really working hard to achieve you know where they want to go or want to be (P2)</p> <p>-They will always say this comment, which I really hate: like why you have to worry, of course this thing will not affect you. (P4)</p>	<p>-You see Emirati he works in a company and bank, after that, if I have offer from government, directly I will go. Maybe, he is thinking like that (i.e. we have been stereotyped for going after easier work and higher salary) (P1)</p> <p>-They will always say this comment, which I really hate: like why you have to worry, of course this thing will not affect you (i.e. the policy works as a protection plan for you and you are free to do as you wish) (P4)</p>		

Coding frame for a dialogical analysis of Intersubjectivity- Perspectives on the Policy

Examples from Invest Co.

Level	National/ Explicit	National/Implicit	Non-national/ Explicit	Non-national/ Implicit
Direct Perspective: •National's perspective on Policy And •Non-national's perspective on policy	<p>-Our focus is actual numbers, not an organisation that plays with numbers (P3)</p> <p>-Our focus should be continuous development, continuous investment in our UAE nationals, to ensure that one day god willing, it is 100% managed by UAE nationals (P3)</p> <p>-To recruit or to place UAE national and to find them job posting within certain fields (P6)</p> <p>-It is a way to motivate people or locals to work, to motivate themselves to start working, moving ahead in their career... (P12)</p> <p>-We import foreign capabilities, workers, expats. At the end of the day, UAE is not a very old country, so we don't have many Emirati expertise in all fields and this is kind of a way to motivate Emiratis to give (P13)</p>	<p>- Our focus is actual numbers, not an organisation that plays with numbers (i.e. hiring Emiratis to fill the quota is common in some organisations) (P3)</p> <p>- Our focus should be continuous development, continuous investment in our UAE nationals, to ensure that one day god willing, it is 100% managed by UAE nationals (i.e. all expatriate employees will be replaced by nationals eventually) (P3)</p> <p>-To recruit or to place UAE national and to find them job posting within certain fields (i.e. it opens doors for nationals but not necessarily replacing expats) (P6)</p> <p>-It is a way to motivate people or locals to work, to motivate themselves to start working, moving ahead in their career... (i.e. without the policy, locals would not explore the existing job opportunities) (P12)</p>	<p>-When the law comes to Emiratis an industry, we develop more training programmes... free education for Emiratis but a lack of motivation (P2)</p> <p>-Obviously, there is an underlying priority to focus on nationals (P5)</p>	<p>-When the law comes to Emiratis an industry, we develop more training programmes... free education for Emiratis but a lack of motivation (i.e. Emiratisation as an opportunity nationals) (P2)</p> <p>- Obviously, there is an underlying priority to focus on nationals (i.e. the policy is not necessarily an expatriate replacement scheme) (P5)</p>

Metaperspective	National/Explicit	National/Implicit	Non-national/Explicit	Non-national/Implicit
<p>•Nationals' perspective on non-national's perspective on policy</p> <p>And</p> <p>•Non-national's perspective on national's perspective on policy</p>	<p>-There is some people who are trying to frustrate the UAE nationals to make them feel that uncomfortable so that they can protect their own career (P3)</p> <p>-I think our biggest challenge is to ensure that the middle management who take the responsibility of integrating UAE nationals usually into the organisations do not fear Emiratisation (P3)</p> <p>-... as a new UAE national employee, there are some people who feel like worried having a UAE national... I try to break the ice, make them feel safe... (P6)</p> <p>-I never use the word, "I am local" or "I am a UAE national". No, I am a "staff". You know, it is like we are on the same level, we all need to work. I need to build myself also and to work and to feed myself (P6)</p>	<p>-There is some people who are trying to frustrate the UAE nationals to make them feel that uncomfortable so that they can protect their own career (i.e. expatriates believe that the policy will allow nationals to replace them) (P3)</p> <p>- I think our biggest challenge is to ensure that the middle management who take the responsibility of integrating UAE nationals usually into the organisations do not fear Emiratisation (i.e. there is already distrust and problem of knowledge sharing in training) (P3)</p> <p>-... as a new UAE national employee, there are some people who feel like worried having a UAE national... I try to break the ice, make them feel safe... (i.e. we all need to work together) (P6)</p> <p>-I never use the word, "I am local" or "I am a UAE national". No, I am a "staff". You know, it is like we are on the same level, we all need to work. I need to build myself also and to</p>	<p>-They come from flawed education system and they expect education and managerial positions (P2)</p>	<p>- They come from flawed education system and they expect education and managerial positions (i.e. Nationals perceive the policy as a right; Emiratisation is an opportunity for nationals) (P2)</p>

		work and to feed myself (i.e. there is a misunderstanding that UAE nationals do not need to work) (P6)		
<p>Meta-meta Perspective :</p> <p>National's perspective on Non-national's perspective on National's perspective on the policy</p> <p>And</p> <p>Non-national's perspective on National's perspective on Non-national's perspective on the policy</p>	<p>-To be a UAE national, it is a benefit but we should not take as an advantage against our weaknesses and our colleagues (P6)</p>	<p>-To be a UAE national, it is a benefit but we should not take as an advantage (i.e. others believe that is how nationals perceive it: as an opportunity and a protection plan) (P6)</p>		

APPENDIX 19: Insurance Inc. Time I: Thematic Analysis, First-Order Codes

<p> Appraisals Appraisals – HR practicing is failing Branch vs. the head office Nationals wanting new experiences Competition amongst nationals HR does not have enough knowledge of business structure Not training non-nationals Lack of good training program Nationals are absent a lot Nationals move with their families Nationals prefer shorter working hours No roles defined for new nationals Not enough nationals interested in insurance Not enough qualified local candidates Not enough support for nationals Organisational structure Others making nationals feel stupid Retirement Selection Local culture Education background Managerial commitment Nationals not wanting to work a lot View of the industry Salary Religion Changes in appraisal systems Higher expectations of employees now Increased the salary More social activities for nationals Technology systems implemented Working hours CHRO commitment Conflict between underwriters and BDs Commitment of a local HR manager Confident national Courses only nationals Describing Insurance Inc. Diplomas Not trusting each other Emiratization as a right Emiratization as a threat Emiratization as a protection plan Emiratization department </p>	<p> Higher education for locals Mentoring vs. favouring Giving opportunities to women To replace expats Employee aware of being part of the policy Employees in motor claims department Employee moving around as saving the nation Expat middle manager supporting Expat refusing to discuss the impact of policy on them Expat retirement and issue of back up Expatriate managers commitment to the policy Expat with old ways vs. new educated nationals Feared expatriate middle managers Firing nationals Future of policy Government support Government vs. semi-government: support Hard working nationals High expectations of locals HR commitment to implementation If quota not met Impact of Emiratisation on bottom line Distressed expats Expats may lose job Frustrated locals Absenteeism What expat think of the policy and nationals Insurance Inc. described Interview to double Helping and teaching each other (nationals and expat) Local promotion vs. expat Local women at the counter Local socialising with others Management trying new things Manager not allowing locals to go to training Emiratization meaning for nationals Mentoring Mentoring unofficial More locals in claims department More women </p>
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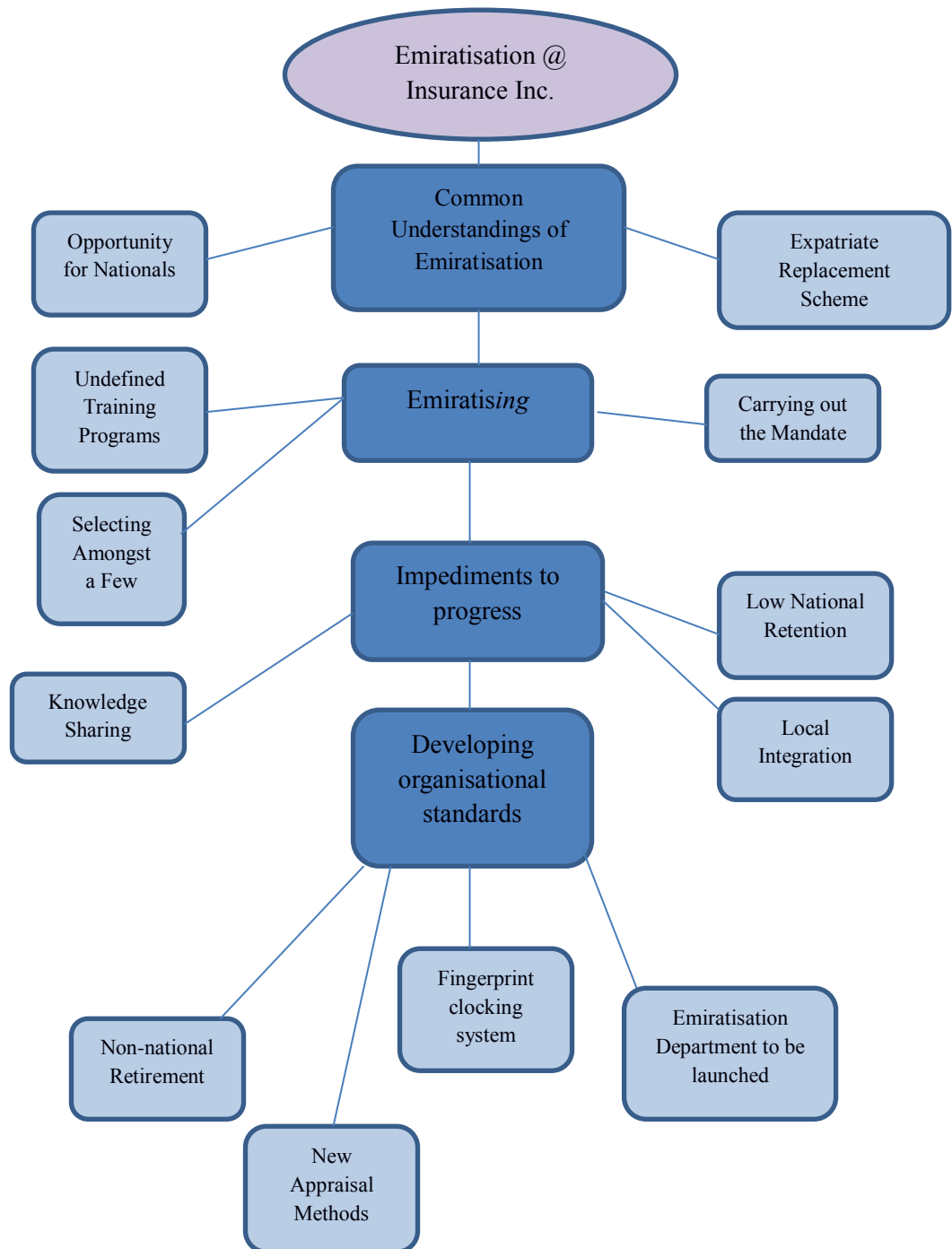
<p> Motivation to stay – National Motor claim department Motor claim department duties Motor claim department structure Motor claim vs. underwriting What nationals think of expats How much national knows about retirement? National newcomer not mixing National newcomer’s reaction to expat’s behaviour Nationals’ view on policy implementation National placement National saying expat gets paid more National selection in motor department Certificates for nationals National training National working hard National’s background National’s understanding of expats’ view National’s continual courses National’s knowledge of pay difference National’s moving between organisations Nationals’ view on nationals Nationals’ view on Emiratisation National’s reason for joining Needed changes to training – National New CEO New insurance approach No challenges Non-nationals’ background Nationals’ background Expats knowledge of pay difference Expats’ view on policy Expats’ view on nationals Number of national employees Obeying rules Old insurance approach On the job training Organisational changes – HR Perceived different goals- nationals vs. expats Perception of organisational changes Perspective of old vs. new management Purpose of Emiratisation – National Quota Reason for change in organisation Recovery section </p>	<p> Reason for changing jobs- salary Reasons for changing jobs – working hours Role of Indians Selected as part of Emiratisation Selecting new nationals over promoting in house Selection at Insurance Inc. Settlement department vs. Recovery Skills sets and nationalisation Socialising- national female Sponsoring higher education Stereotypes of nationals Time and reason for change Total number of employees Two types of claims Underwriting structure Years of industry experience </p>
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APPENDIX 20: Invest Co. Time I: Thematic Analysis, First-Order Codes

College in the company	Expatriate view of local's expectations
College creating a network that is holding	Expatriates' knowledge of Emiratisation policy
Adherence to rules	Expectation of the College
ADTC	Feeling towards the organisation
Advice of senior locals	Fewer locals in speciality department
Alternative selection methods; mapping into the existing networks	Flawed overall system
Ambivalence towards the organisations intention in implementing the policy	General competition
Attractiveness of the public sector vs. private	Genuity of the system
Avoid talking about work outside work hours	Has the revision been done or not
Branch training	Higher aspiration for locals
Career paths: what they are	HR role: matching capabilities and interests
Change: introducing the sale culture to locals	HR talking about formal coaching and mentoring
Collaboration amongst agencies and organisations	HR talking about the coaching programme
Comparing successful implementations	HR formal social event
Competency frameworks	HR's Emiratisation department
Contradictions: appraisals and removal of locals	communication level with local employees
Contradiction: selling culture but no selling courses	Implementation
Criticism of the HR in selection	Informal coaching and mentoring
Culture and gender	Informal socialising
Demographics, females favour private sector	Insecurity and teaching and helping others
Dig for information	Interpersonal skill development needed
Disappointment; expatriate	Is it better for company to hire expats or locals
Distrust: community	Lack of commitment, local
Distrust: Expatriate	Lack of coordination, fragmentation
Distrust: local	Lack of motivation, local
Distrust: mutual	Learning as a continual process
Educational enhancement for Emiratisation	Local employee's commitment to Emiratisation
Educational system of Abu Dhabi	Local's expectations
Emiratisation and the need for expats	Local's lack of accountability
Emiratisation and sustainability	Local's view of the expats' expectations
Emiratisation department: role	Local placement
Emiratisation department: training programs offered	Local ties
Emiratisation: meaning	Local's view of locals' capabilities
Educational encouragement and reform	Locals taking advantage of Emiratisation policy
Enabler: prestige	Management commitment to Emiratisation
International education	Mismatching capabilities
Engagement opportunity for locals	Misunderstanding the policy
Examples at branches	Must allow for easier exit; tension
Existing need for expatriates	Nationalisation and pride
	Negative attitude towards the success of quotas and Emiratisation at local private institutions

<p> Expatriate collaboration Expatriate insecurity Expatriate view of local's capabilities New hiring strategies Newcomer criteria No time to attend training On the job training Overcoming obstacles Overt limitation for growth Pace of implementation Perception of communities or networks Policy informers Real work different than what they were teaching us Religion Removal of locals Replacing expats Safe organisation; no accountability Small of nationals in this industry Secondment example Social learning Space for socialisation Stable organisation and feeling of safety for both expats and nationals Tension and politics; a global issue Tension between locals Tension between locals and expats Tension between social responsibility and stricter entry criteria Training at Corporate department Training at Markets department Transfer of experience UAE education system Where will the new locals be placed Why locals did not want to join financial sector </p>	
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APPENDIX 21: Results: Thematic Map – Insurance Inc. TIME I



APPENDIX 22: Insurance Inc. - TIME I: Thematic Analysis, Second-Order Codes

Main Theme	Sub-theme	Basic Theme
Common Understanding of Emiratisation	Expatriate Replacement Scheme	Increase national employment
		Threat to Non-nationals
		National Independence
	Opportunity for Nationals	Openings @ semi-private and private organisations
		Employment as a right
Emiratising	Carrying out the mandate	Merely meeting the quota
		HR commitment
	Selecting amongst a few	Quality vs. Quantity
		Female attraction to Insurance
	Undefined training programme	Trained by anyone
		“by invitation only” courses
		Significance of diplomas
Impediments to Progress	Low national retention	Working Hours
		Salary
	Local Integration	Stereotypes
		Culture
	Knowledge Sharing	Distrust
		Role of expatriates
Developing Organisational Standards	Emiratisation Department To be launched	National support needed
		In search of an experienced local
	New Appraisal Methods	No more biases
		Uncomfortable managers
	Non-national retirement	More places for nationals
		New school of insurance
		Distressed Expatriates

APPENDIX 23: Insurance Inc. – TIME I: Additional Sample Quote

Main Theme	Sub-theme	Basic Theme	Additional Sample Quotes
Common Understanding of Emiratisation	Expatriate Replacement Scheme	Increase national employment	<p>I think they are working towards decreasing expats because they want to create job for the locals since we have a high number of unemployment amongst the local people (P4)</p> <p>I think that is the process. Because we have a lot of locals, girls and guys and they are very very educated and very hard working ... but we have a lot of expatriates taking places (P5)</p> <p>They are trying to give them the available jobs here, or replace non-local by local... step by step ... today you are 5% only and maybe next year, you are 10%... (P14)</p>
		Threat to Non-nationals	<p>To them, I think they associate it as a threat. A lot of people look at it as a threat, which is wrong to be honest. Emiratisation is not about threatening anybody... It is a fact of life that people have to live with (P2)</p> <p>... I am not from here. If I go out of UAE, I have to take this degree and work where I will go (P6)</p>
		National Independence	<p>Must work and must take salary... He gives it to me? (P15)</p> <p>We have to help these people, even if they are not educated. We have to help them because it is their future.... This is the country's future. If we don't help them, there is no future for the country. We are not staying yaani forever in this country. We will come, 6, 7, 10 years and we will go back to our country. But, they will stay (P13)</p>
	Opportunity for Nationals	Openings @semi-private and private organisations	To join all the business or everything in the country, to be involved in this business. This is the main idea. And, of course they will have a chance to work [...]“it is their country, it is their right to have the job, to work (P13)
		Employment as a right	I understand their frustration, but they should understand also that Emirati people have a right if they are good, no one should take that right from them (P9)
Emiratising	Carrying out the mandate	Merely meeting the quota	<p>In my previous company we were having this new department, which was an Emiratisation unit and it was only an image. And believe it or not it was nothing but a department with an extra chair and they were doing nothing for employees or anything... And, the manager they gave her the authority of only employing receptionists... that is it and they were happy with that (P4)</p> <p>If they are saying 10%, we have to reach that 10% and if they are saying 30%, we</p>

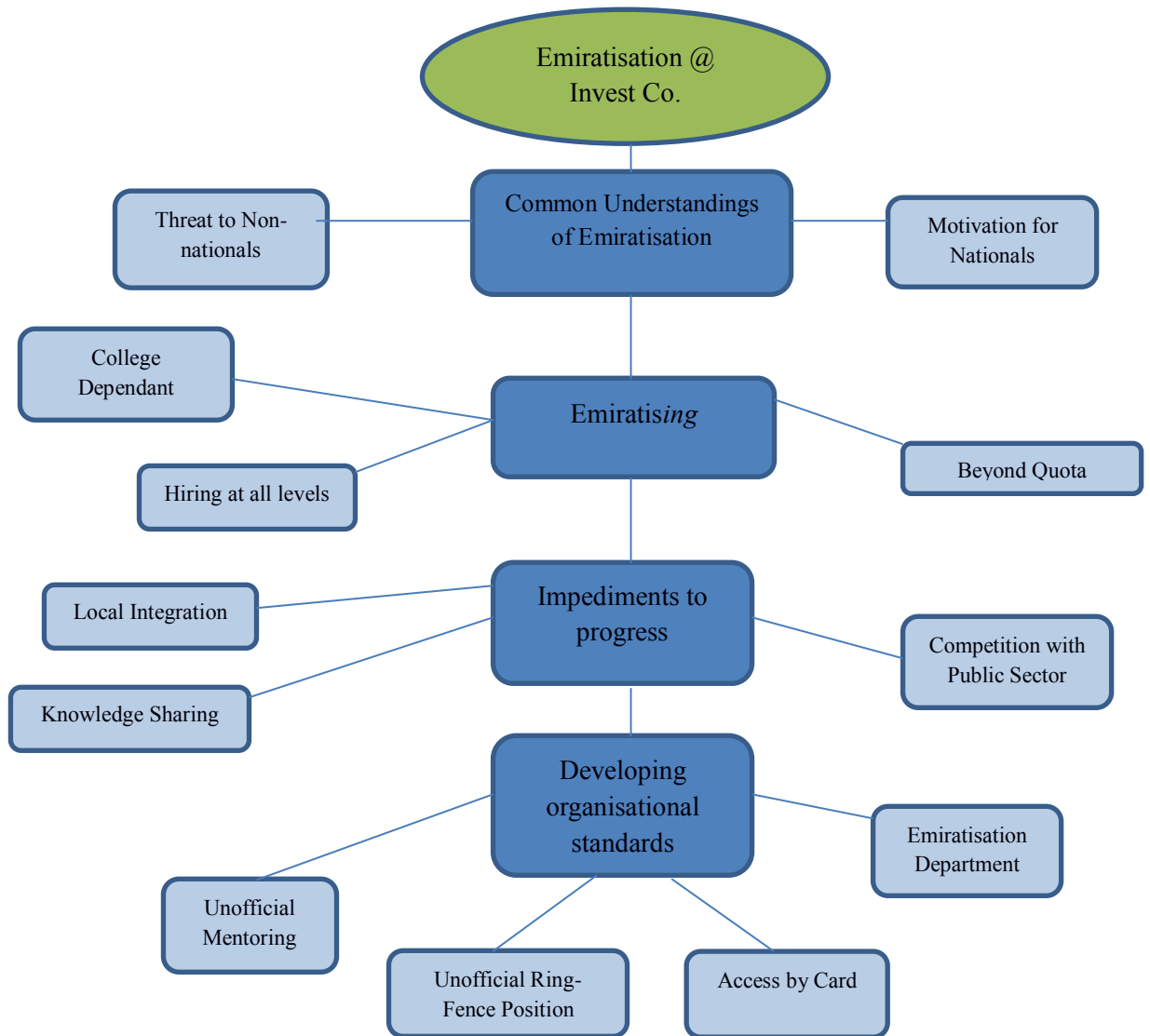
			have to reach that 30%... because we have to follow the rules, especially when you are living in the same country making the rules (P13)
		HR commitment	If there are Emiratis in one company, you don't expect any help from them. One of the reasons that I want to come to X was that I haven't seen an HR person like the head of HR here. He is very supportive and I thought if we have someone like him in insurance, he could change some things (P9)
	Selecting amongst a few	Quality vs. Quantity	They approached me and they offered me this job. It was not clear what exactly they wanted me to do. The management of the organisation wanted good Emirati people [...] Most of Emiratis they work in either Motor Claims or Motor Underwriting. They do not work in other lines of insurance businesses (P9) They are in Motor department because we are asking Arabic. It is easy for local to join the Motor claim department if there are... In other departments, they will go but it depends what is his university degree (P6)
		Female attraction to Insurance	Boys go to government or petroleum companies (P7)
	Undefined training programme	Trained by anyone	In the settlement I was teaching. In here, the other 2 local girls teach me. Anybody in the section, new or old, everybody teaches. But, the weight is on managers (P10) I was learning in group for Motors but the whole department was teaching. Not just someone (P17) The supervisor was teaching me when I started... there was training for 2 or 3 days (P1) Actually I asked for a one week induction programme but here because people want to do the very minimum, they put me in the same training that was for business development managers... It was three weeks and I cut it to one week (P9) This one, she has been here for 6 months and had experience for 4 years in insurance from somewhere else. She will take a few courses. But for now, nothing... Because after 6 months, she has to prove to us that she is a good employee and she can continue with us, then we have to offer for her the training [...]Anybody can teach her... You know we are in Motor and we are dealing directly with the customers. So, all the time we are crowded. If free, we will teach her some things (P13)
		"by invitation only courses"	Sometimes they send email just for local. I don't know why (P11) Every end of the month the HR sends all over to the locals email regarding all the courses in the new month, then I choose,

			<p>then my manager signs. That email is not only for the Emiratis. It is for all the company but specially the Emiratis. The HR is specially asking the Emiratis that if you want, please go ahead (P10)</p> <p>Part of Emiratisation... and ministry pays for it (P1)</p> <p>Emiratis and non-Emiratis. From this year, it stopped... sending only Emiratis. No, they don't tell us... because we have training that started since last April and they are sending only locals (P13)</p> <p>They send for the local only. Before they send me also for courses. But, the schedule now is for locals only... if they think, some of them go one time, two times, every month (P14)</p>
		Significance of diplomas	<p>I obtained mine from Bahrain Institute for Banking and Finance (BIBF) but it was organised through a financial institution here. We attended classes in the weekends and after one month we wrote an exam (P4)</p> <p>After completing my advance diploma in Bahrain Institute, I went to the London one (long-distance learning) and I am still completing my insurance studies... it is a prestigious certificate that everyone should have, regardless of what is the actual benefit (P9)</p> <p>Now any insurance company, for locals, yes, they must pay. This is the law now. You must pay for diploma for the local [...] you need to pass that course and then the company will pay you back (P7)</p>
Impediments to Progress	Low national retention	Working hours	<p>Timing is more important than salary (P16)</p> <p>We had two local girls; they worked with us I think one of them for 2 days and one of them working for less than one month... Left the company... One said she was sick... (P14)</p> <p>For the government, timing for work is comfortable for them... I think 8:00-2:00 or 2:30 (P6)</p> <p>All of them that left Insurance Inc. go to government work, like the ministries (P8)</p>
		Salary	<p>Inshallah (God willing) I will go because government is good... because more money and time is good... Insurance Inc. is not good for salary for locals. Now, me, I have been here for 6 years, salary 15K (UAE Dirhams) and Ms. X coming now and has same salary as me (P16)</p> <p>Problem is with salary. In Abu Dhabi exactly... if you work with government and you have high school degree, you take 19K, but in semi-government if you have bachelors' it is 14-15K (P1)</p>

			<p>The population of local is not like the foreign people. It is very small. So, those who work are few people. So, it is easy for them to go from one company to another, if they have good offer (P8)</p> <p>I am betting on the fact that the government and the semi-government are taking so much nationals that someday nationals will find all the doors blocked because they filled up all their quotas; they are then forced to look at private sector and they will be willing to take that reduction in pay (P2)</p>
	Local Integration	Stereotypes	<p>They think of them as a waste of time, they think of them as incompetence... and this is not me. I am basically quoting here from things I have read in newspapers very recently (P2)</p> <p>That they do not work, they don't have experience... Actually it is wrong. We have many people unfortunately like this, and these are negative Emirati people that affect the image of other Emiratis... They don't look at my professional career, they look at me as an Emirati.... As an incompetent Emirati, no matter what I do, which is frustrating for Emiratis as well (P9)</p> <p>Some of them running for the experience and they need to understand everything in a short time. But, some of them only sit and talking on the phone (P14)</p>
		Culture	<p>The local women are usually not working in insurance... In head office yes, but not in branches or traffic because the traffic branch is same as Bazaar...if you look at customer or contact by eyes, the customer may think bad (P17)</p> <p>For me, it is difficult; I cannot go and have lunch with them or anything. I like the outdoor activities. But, if they go bowling or something like that, I will not go... I would not fit (P4)</p> <p>I feel the girls are a bit shy. Even the simplest thing- If they want to apply for a leave, they come to me and I say, OK, go and talk to your manager and they say, no, you talk to him (P5)</p> <p>For shy I have another arrangement. Because we have the front desk, and for the shy girl, we cannot put her at the front desk... We put her at a separate desk... she does not interact with customer (P13)</p> <p>We are not usually sitting together, because the local girls not too near me (P8)</p>
	Knowledge sharing	Distrust	<p>She has to go and ask... If you want something, you have to fight for it. Maybe he is not giving her on purpose (P5)</p>

			He will not be on my side. I have to grab everything from him. He has been there for 30 years and I need to take not the knowledge, not the experience, because myself I have the knowledge and experience but the relationships that he has with his current clients. These are the most important. There are few clients that he is not willing to introduce me to those clients as his deputy (P9)
		Role of Expatriates	Locals think insurance is a very difficult field and they cannot come. This is not because they are stupid but because people surrounding them trying to make sure to make them feel stupid (P9)
Developing Organisational Standards	Emiratization Department To be launched	National support needed	I feel the girls are a bit shy. And, this is what I think that they are just shy. Even the simplest thing: If they want to apply for a leave, they come to me and I say, OK, go and talk to your manager and they say, no, you talk to him. And, because of that I feel like I need to support them in every way I can (P5)
		In search of experienced local	We have a lot of Emiratization initiatives that are going to be implemented in the upcoming year. So, we need someone who has had experience with the policy (P3)
	New Appraisal Methods	No more biases	The reporting matrix now, there is someone in the middle now. So, my boss felt bad as if he has been degraded. They do not take it that this is good for the company; they take everything personal (P4)
		Uncomfortable managers	It is hard because if you put any degree for any colleague, later it will not be easy to work with them comfortably... They will know. And it has happened. Anyone with low percentage, they say why, it is not fair, I am working hard. But they are not seeing that they are not coming daily and they are not taking their job hard (P14)
	Non-national retirement	More places for nationals	I came in a very bad time for the company because this year the company decided to retire people who are approaching or are more than 61 or 63, but I think until the age of 65 they can work, but if they feel like they want to retire people before that they can do it (P9)
		New School of Insurance	He does not understand the scientific way of insurance... I asked him have you calculated a rate including all the expenses or giving the rate because you know the person and because of relations... He does not understand these things and he will not. He is there because he has been there for a long time... I can find many Emiratis in Motor department that can replace this manager (P4)
		Distressed Non-nationals	You know in UAE, about resident visa, after 60 years old, we don't renew. This is for staff and everyone (P1)

APPENDIX 24: Results- Thematic Map – Invest Co. TIME I



APPENDIX 25: Invest Co.: TIME I - Thematic Analysis, Second-Order Codes

Main Theme	Sub-theme	Basic Theme
Common Understanding of Emiratisation	Incentive for Nationals	Motivational Tool
		Be a good citizen
		Emiratis in the industry
	Threat to non-nationals	The insecure expat
		Old school expatriate
		Expatriate Expectations
Emiratising	Going beyond Quota	More than required Emiratis
		Investing in developing the nationals
	Hiring at all Levels	Nationals @ Highly specialised positions
		Offering opportunity for all nationals
	College Dependant	Pride in its initiatives
		An all-around solution
Impediments to Progress	Competition with public sector	National's capabilities
		Working Hours
		Salary
	Local integration	Stereotypes of Nationals
		Expatriate Middle manager
	Sharing knowledge	Distrust
		Timing
	Lack of Motivation to work	Other sources of income
		Staying away from skilled work
Developing Organisational Standards	Emiratisation Department	Monitoring Emiratisation Target
		Placement & TLC
	Ring-fence Position	Security for expats
		Managerial improvisation
	Unofficial mentoring	Lack of HR support for mentoring
		'big brother' scheme
	Access by card	Controlling absenteeism
		Pessimistic about its effectiveness

APPENDIX 26: Invest Co.: Additional Sample Quotes; TIME I

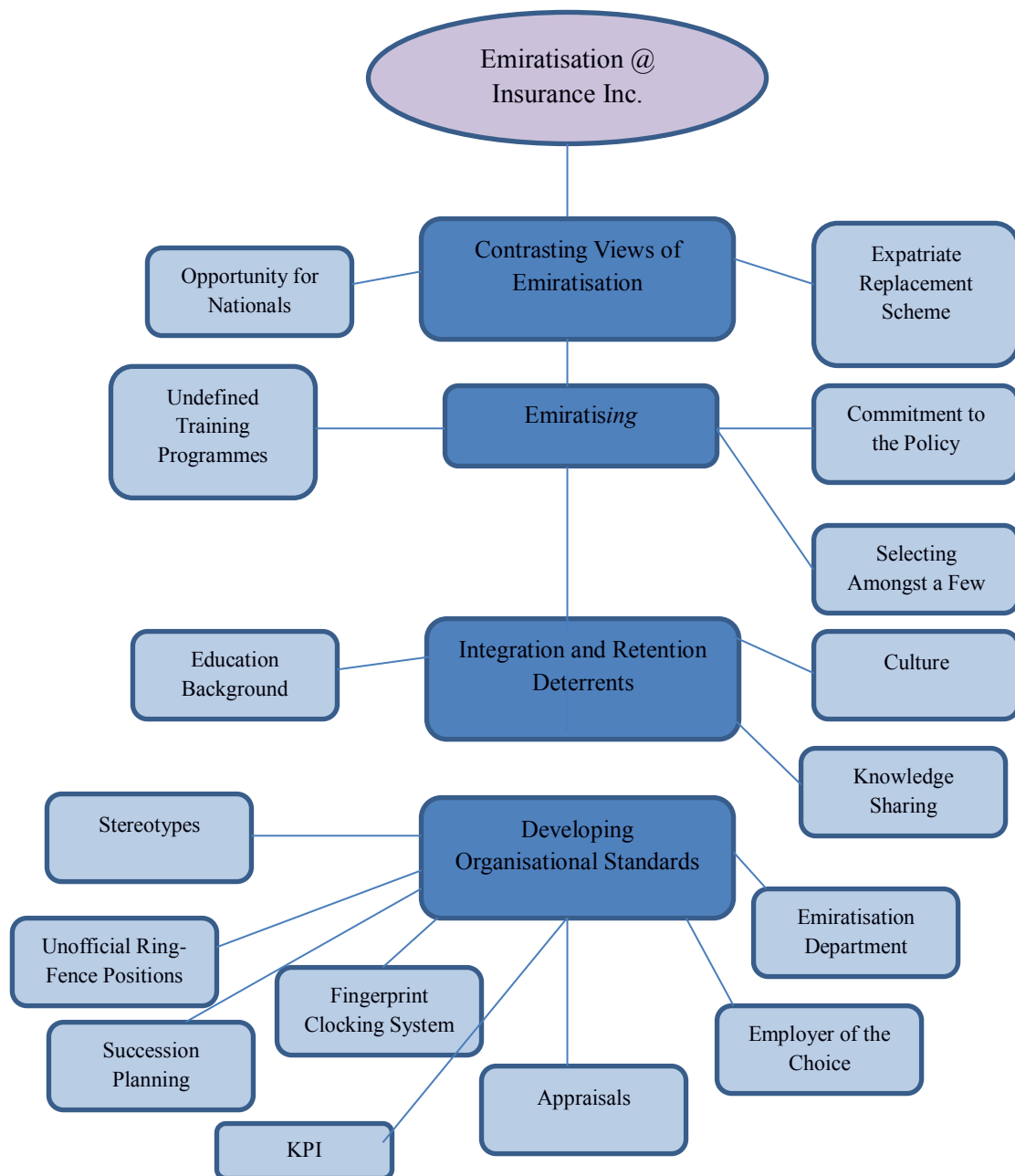
Main Theme	Sub-theme	Basic Theme	Additional Sample Quotes
Common Understanding of Emiratisation	Incentive for Nationals	Motivational Tool	You had free education for Emiratis, but a lack of motivation... No commitment, no motivation (P2). Now, obviously, there is an underlying priority to focus on nationals (P5)
		Be a good citizen	Whether I work in a here, whether I work in another organisation, either public, or private, I want to be part of the vision (P16).
		Emiratis in the industry	Now organisations like Invest Co. are giving opportunity to people to grow here (P12)
	Threat to non-nationals	The insecure expat	I am not worried about that because I think I am capable enough to be able to do that. But, I think it is definitely less capable managers who this is threatening them (P5) When they started the Emiratisation programme... that is when I realised I was not going to get anywhere at the banks (P2)
		Old school expatriate	I had never worked in organisations with expats with 30 years of service. That is OK, but not really healthy because I think in some cases, our Emiratis are more capable than some of the expats we got here (P5).
		Expatriate Expectations	Despite all economic crisis that went all around the world, Invest Co. was standing in a very strong way... and thanks God not affected... We did not feel pressure... we did not feel like there is no wok (P15)
Emiratising	Going beyond Quota	More than required Emiratis	From this perspective we are pretty good [...] God willing someday it is hundred per cent managed by Emirati nationals (P3)
		Investing in developing the nationals	I had the choice to choose another programme which is about Banking and International Finance... But I want to my Masters degree. When I asked Mr x. for recommendation for Masters, they did not question and said yes (P16)
	Hiring at all Levels	Highly specialised positions	We have lots of UAE nationals that are becoming at world-class level (P3) Invest Co. gave me the opportunity to be in the department I want to be in, the job I want to do (P12)
		Offering opportunity for all nationals	When I joined Invest Co., I was 18. I just finished high school and came straight. But, I like working and getting experience. I feel it is very important to get experience at Invest Co. (P7)
	College Dependant	Pride in its initiatives	We had 5 modules at the College: Islamic Banking, Finance, Marketing, Consumer Needs, and Lending Principles. The basic 5 modules helped us a lot in the finance experience and were provided by IFS through London (P12)
		An all-around solution	We are actually attacking the training handles from all sides... tackling it from all aspects with various training programmes (P3)
Impediments to Progress	Competition with public sector	National's capabilities	We are competing with talent on an international basis, particularly with the crisis because there are so many people that are now available... nationals just don't have the experience (P5) There are a lot Emiratis who like to work at the government entities because it is one of those places you don't need the expat capabilities to do (P13).
		Working Hours	I see that Invest Co. is not considered a private sector, and neither is a public sector. It is a sector of its own. So, I see Invest Co. as somewhere in

			between. They have official working hours, which is 7:45-4:00 here in this department and most of the departments here. But, lots of people stay after 4:00 even though they don't have to (P16)	
		Salary	Even the salaries, there are somewhere between the public and private sector. In here, you can say they have matched the public sector to a certain extent (P15)	
	Local integration	Stereotypes of Nationals	Our supply that is coming out of our UAE nationals is much higher than before because of our education... Many educated in private sector now or universities associated with international institutions. So, the quality of the product which is the UAE nationals is much higher now than the ex-pats that we have. Things have changed (P3)	
		Expatriate Middle manager	I think the biggest challenge is to ensure that the middle management who take the responsibility of integrating UAE nationals usually into the organisation don't fear Emiratisation (P 12) Once the UAE Nationals is employed, nobody cares about him. His programme, or just to see the good one is. It creates some kind of conflict between them and their managers, which is run by the expats. Sometime they don't hide it and it is very clear and you see it (P14).	
	Sharing knowledge	Distrust	They should not fear that their job will be lost because of Emiratisation. And, they should be competent enough to educate the nationals (P3)	
		Timing	It is not only in doing the job. So, this country still requires expats for a long time. (P12)	
	Lack of Motivation to work	Other sources of income	Unfortunately, it is the system. The system is not helping at all... An employee who is wealthy and responsible and does not need a job is an exception... (P14)	
		Staying away from skilled work	We have senior UAE Nationals on the trading floor, but they are people who worked overseas first... not your typical nationals... very different (P5)	
	Developing Organisational Standards	Emiratisation Department	Monitoring Emiratisation Target	Our focus is quality, not quantity. Our focus is actual numbers, not an organisation that plays with numbers (P3)
			Placement & TLC	The Emiratisation department had organised a "career day", where all the heads and managers of departments were there and we had an interview there... Almost 3 months before finishing out course, they informed that this department accepted us (P 13).
Unofficial Ring-fence Position		Managerial Improvisations	"This is something that is common in oil and gas sector, and not official yet here" (P2)	
Unofficial mentoring		Lack of HR support for mentoring	We do career coaching and career mentoring as part of graduate and high potential programme... This scheme provides guidance on career management (P 6).	
		'big brother' scheme	Rather than having us just sit and read, they give us tasks... and come back and have Q&A and put us on the spot. That was one way to learn... (P12)	
Access by Card		Controlling absenteeism	It was put because when you go out you see them standing in groups, hundreds of them (P13)	
		Pessimistic about its effectiveness	They will find a way to get out. The question is: what is the punishment? Nothing. He will have his job, his grade, his bonus (P11)	

APPENDIX 27: Insurance Inc. Time II: Thematic Analysis, First-Order Codes

<p>Tawzeen Industry Initiative</p> <p>Suggestion to increase privatisation</p> <p>Suggestion for government intervention</p> <p>Saudisation examples</p> <p>Policy is good for the stability of the country</p> <p>Emiratisation increases opportunities for locals</p> <p>Emiratisation makes Emiratis get into hard jobs</p> <p>First choice is for nationals</p> <p>Expats will always be needed</p> <p>UAE is diversifying its economy</p> <p>Have to give training to locals so to retain them</p> <p>Lots of technology is coming</p> <p>We need strong people to lead</p> <p>Impact of events in region on policy</p> <p>Not every Emirati is wealthy</p> <p>Emiratis don't care about their career</p> <p>Many need to make End's means</p> <p>Khailfa Fund</p> <p>High financial expectations of nationals</p> <p>Getting rid of expats</p> <p>Nationals and expats comparing themselves</p> <p>Financial discrepancy</p> <p>Expats threatened by good UAE nationals</p> <p>UAE MBAs coming in</p> <p>Female national brought in because of policy</p> <p>Expat manager not able to hire his friend</p> <p>Two people in the same position, expat and national</p> <p>National not getting enough responsibilities by expatriate manager</p> <p>Limited communication between national employee and new Emiratisation officer</p> <p>No career path given to the national employee</p> <p>National sharing training information</p> <p>National creating responsibilities for herself</p> <p>Not everyone can be sent to training</p> <p>Presentations on team building</p> <p>National attending meeting when they need an Arabic speaking</p> <p>Complaints are taken to branch manager</p> <p>Give nationals task that is relevant</p> <p>Khalifa Enterprise offering funds</p> <p>Year of Emiratisation</p> <p>Absher programme enrolment</p> <p>Very caring and supportive board</p> <p>Semi-private vs. Private</p> <p>Warnings to Emiratis</p> <p>Pay packages for nationals</p>	<p>Overlap of responsibilities</p> <p>No expatriate replacement scheme</p> <p>National female dominated at Insurance Inc.</p> <p>Men not attracted to Insurance</p> <p>Image of Insurance industry</p> <p>Nationals and non-nationals not mixing</p> <p>Mostly on the job training</p> <p>Firing of the nationals</p> <p>Different treatment of the nationals</p> <p>Courses offered</p> <p>Importance of insurance certificates</p> <p>Culture</p> <p>Leave time for nationals</p> <p>CHRM taking initiatives himself</p> <p>Promoting receptionists</p> <p>Number of nationals increased</p> <p>New Emiratisation unit</p> <p>High turn over</p> <p>Shift concept and nationals</p> <p>Religion</p> <p>Scarce skilled Emiratis for private sector</p> <p>Pay differences</p> <p>Less educated male nationals</p> <p>Private vs. Government</p> <p>Insurance Inc. as semi-private</p> <p>Nationals wanting prestigious roles</p> <p>Low education level amongst Emiratis</p> <p>Cultural issues with female employees</p> <p>Importance of family influence</p> <p>Female mobility</p> <p>Emirati is committed if stays for five years</p> <p>Transformations in Insurance Inc.</p> <p>Road map set for Emiratis</p> <p>Building infrastructure for development</p> <p>Changes in HR processes</p> <p>Business managers taking responsibility</p> <p>KPIs</p> <p>Challenge in finding experienced Emiratis</p> <p>Emiratisation is not just numbers</p> <p>Bring in a buddy</p> <p>Many initiatives to be formalised</p> <p>Job mapping</p> <p>Salary benchmarking</p> <p>Developing competency frameworks</p> <p>Retirement plans</p> <p>Difficult to find Emiratis for certain positions</p> <p>Retention as a challenge</p> <p>Looking for best practices</p>
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APPENDIX 28: Results- Thematic Map – Insurance Inc. Time II



APPENDIX 29: Insurance Inc. - TIME II: Thematic Analysis, Second-Order Codes

Main Theme	Sub-theme	Basic Theme
Contrasting Views of Emiratisation	Expatriate Replacement Scheme	Increase National Employment
		Threat to Non-nationals
		Stability of the Country
	Opportunity for Nationals	Getting UAE Nationals in Hard Jobs
		First Choice for Nationals
		Expats Always Needed
		Diversified Economy
Emiratising	Commitment to the Policy	At CEO Level?
		CHRM Commitment
		Newly hired Emiratisation officer
	Selecting Amongst a Few	Targeting Educated & Experienced Nationals
		Female Dominated
	Undefined Training Programme	On-the-job Training
		Trained by Anyone
		“by invitation only” courses
Integration & Retention Deterrents	Culture	Significance of Diplomas in Insurance
		Nationals not mixing with locals
		Perception of a future in insurance industry
		Religion
	Knowledge Sharing	Shift Concept
		Distrust
		Expatriates: us vs. them
	Education System	Lack of Insurance program at universities
		Poor English
	Stereotypes	High financial expectations of nationals
		National's low commitment
		Lack of expertise
Developing Organisational Standards	Emiratisation Department	Officer for both nationals and expats
	Employer of Choice	Emphasis on placing an Emirati in charge
		Tight Competition
	Appraisals	Continual advertising
		No more biases
	KPI	Uncomfortable expat managers
		Emiratisation is everyone's responsibility
	Fingerprint Clocking system	Incentivising Expatriates
		Effectiveness Unclear
	Unofficial Ring Fencing	Managers are accountable
		Not structured
	Succession Planning	Some Mature expats not up to date
		Will only target retiring expats
		New mind set

APPENDIX 30: Insurance Inc. – TIME II: Additional Sample Quote

Main Theme	Sub-theme	Basic Theme	Additional Sample Quotes
Contrasting Views of Emiratisation	Expatriate Replacement Scheme	Increase National Employment	“To give training for locals to try to retain them... The people they have they need to retain them and give them retaining and see places for development and look after them I think” (P3, National)
		Threat to Non-nationals	“Now, talking about the nature of the human, nobody will allow like, if I tell somebody, listen, after 5 years, you will be replaced by this Emirati. The human nature, you will feel like they want to get rid of me after 5 years... You served and have been committed to this company. So, it is not easy to tell somebody after 5 years you will just go.” (P2, National)
		Stability of the Country	“I think now the issue of what is happening in the region plays a very important role now. The stability of any country is maintained by its people and when you have people not working, it is a trouble area. We are not a huge country. I will entire work force I assume will be not more than 350 and I think 350 could fill 3 football stadiums in America. So, we are not talking about millions here.” (P1, National)
	Opportunity for Nationals	Getting UAE Nationals in Hard Jobs	“It means getting them into job that Emiratis are spoiled enough and will not take it: like the bus driver, do you see any Emirati bus driver, no we don’t see.” (P2, National)
		First Choice for Nationals	“And as I said, we are a minority in our own country, which is a fact... the figures speak for themselves. Cultural, environmental issues are totally different... What UAE nationals face and what they consider as acceptable or not acceptable. But then, it is their country and I think they should get the first choice in things like that “ (P1, National) “Emiratis will have priority... but in certain positions we don’t find Emiratis available” (P4, Expatriate)
		Expats Always Needed	“We have a lot of young talented Emiratis entering the job market, but the truth it our country is growing fast and we don’t have the number or experience” (P5, National) “I showed you my calculations? You have got 6 million jobs and it doesn’t make sense... or let’s say your got 3 million jobs and you have a workforce of 350,000, out of which I would assume 70% have jobs, so you are talking about 30% (90,000)” (P1, National)
		Diversified Economy	“And the economy is being diversified. And lots of technology is coming in. People are opening up industries... So it is there... and it is all about educating these young individuals who think that they start up their professional careers at mid-level.” (P1, National)
Emiratising	Commitment to the Policy	At CEO Level?	CEO withdrew from the study
		CHRM Commitment	“So, it was supposed to be the year of Emiratisation. The number of unemployment among the UAE nationals is considerably high, compared to the number of workforce that we have. So, we are trying to do our part here in recruiting UAE nationals and being involved in initiatives by the president’s office by encouraging people to go to the private sector. ABSHAR is one of them and we are a very very important player in that.” (P1, National)
		Newly hired Emiratisation officer	“I will have specific programmes just for the Emiratis. In addition to the development and recruitment, I will take care of issues with the Emiratis let’s say in the semi-government company. Because this company is semi-government, meaning it is partially owned by the government and mostly by the special, or private

			owners” (P2,National).
	Selecting Amongst a Few	Targeting Educated & Experienced Nationals	<p>“I am trying to attract people with strong educational background that I can move and teach and mentor and to educate to become professional insurance people.” (P1, National)</p> <p>“Now, as we go down, the next initiative that comes up is recruitment. Now, shift that has started is that we were earlier having more and more Emiratis coming in as admin assistant or reception jobs, but now we are consciously getting them into other core jobs, finance, underwriting where we are also looking at now.” (P4, Expatriate)</p>
		Female Dominated	“There are double the men and the ladies are more educated with higher diploma, masters...” (P1, National)
	Undefined Training Programme	On-the-job Training	<p>“We are getting our certificates, but we are being trained mainly on the job” (P5, National)</p> <p>“As I said, it depends from one situation to the other. Some jobs, the nature of them requires for you on top of certain skills set but in our case it is all about doing your work right and you do that on the job, learning from the motivational people next to you. It is good and it is working for us” (P1, National)</p>
		Trained by Anyone	<p>“I went through two weeks of rotation when I joined and was getting help from everyone in different departments” (P5, National)</p> <p>Everybody has their own views on how to do things, but from 28 years of experience in the HR, I think that is the most feasible. (P1, National)</p>
		“by invitation only” courses	“I think the training part, yes. Many of these trainings are going on and they are sending the schedules and reminders so it is good... It is for everybody actually”. (P3, National)
		Significance of Diplomas in Insurance	“Because finding really experienced people is a big challenge. I think whoever they are hiring, I don’t think they are experienced... there isn’t enough experienced locals” (P3, National)
Integration & Retention Deterrents	Culture	Nationals not mixing with locals	<p>“And the cultural thing, “I prefer to speak to a woman when I have a problem”. ...That is why it was very important to me so when 95% of your local employees are women, to get a talent manager who is a lady. I had very good national guys. They would not be able to help out at all.” (P1, National)</p> <p>“Yeah, from everybody... We have more than 200 nationalities. I wonder what most people are not learning from them. We are lucky to have all these people in one country... They will not see it in other countries like this, but they don’t get benefit and the strange thing is that they split themselves and they don’t merge with others. We merge, we learn from each other’s’ experiences. It is the culture I guess. I think gradually it will change but time hopefully.” (P2, National)</p>
		Perception of a future in insurance industry	“Insurance is not so popular here. Emiratis don’t see it as a long term job and a career” (P5, National)
		Religion	“And mind you that insurance is a new field. We mentioned before the religious aspect of insurance. People look at banks and financial institutions from Haram/Halal concept. But yet, it is mandated that we should have insurance. Their first priority is not insurance industry, is government and things like that.” (P1, National)

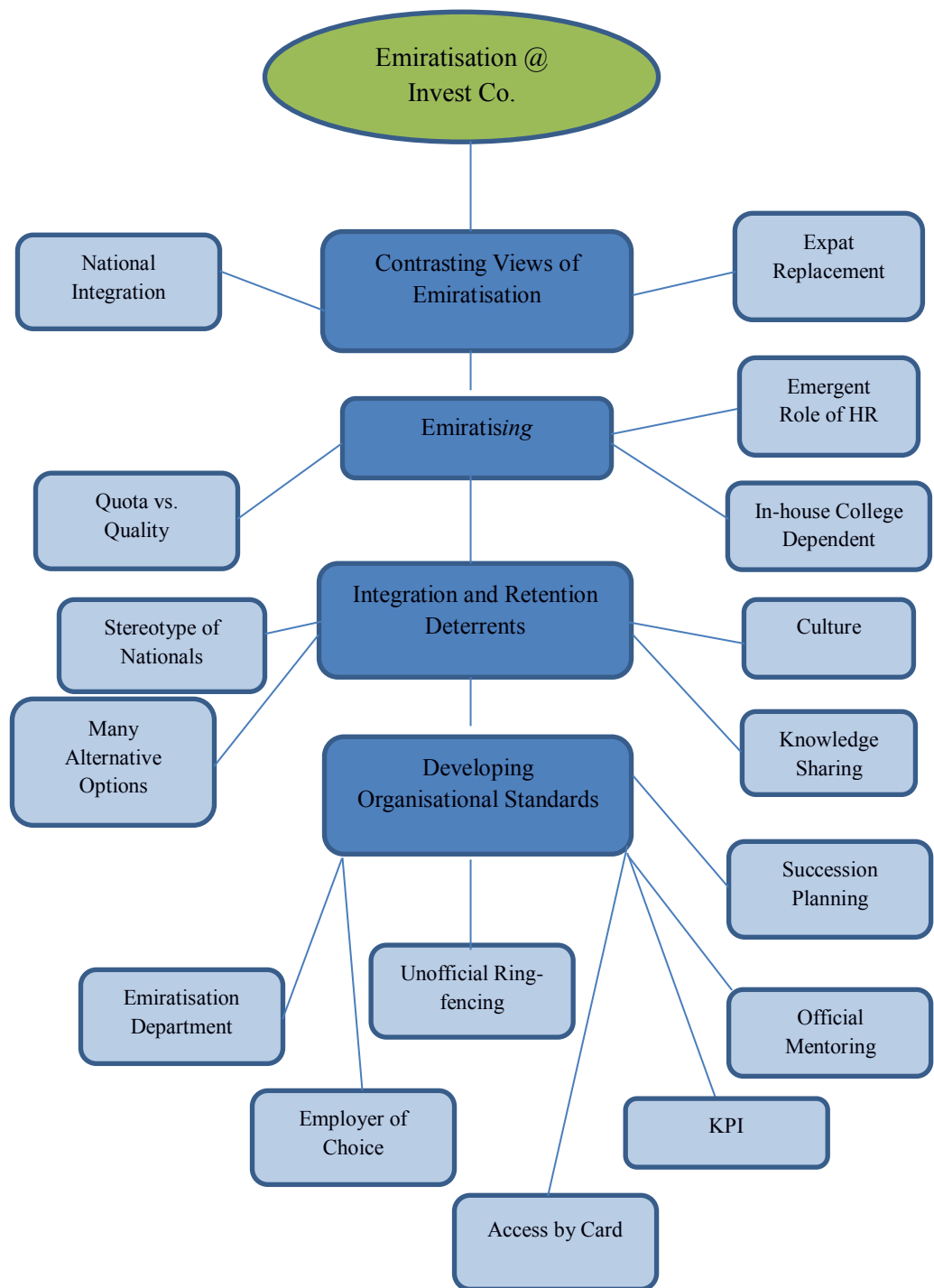
		Shift Concept	“It is one thing to recruit 20 secretarial... You know UAE nationals attending customer service or receptionist or secretary or whatever. I reach my target then very easily if that is where I really want them. Call centre was a very big issue for us because the shift concept does not go well, especially with the ladies” (P1, National)
	Knowledge Sharing	Distrust	“The insecure expats are scared they will lost their job. And I understand how they must feel. They don’t want to risk their job. They think I am here to take his job” (P5, National)
		Expatriates: us vs. them	“You know what I tell them over here, this guy came out of my office; I don’t expect any comment like that. His job is not to train you... Your job is to train yourself. You don’t sit down and wait for the training to come to you and the developing to come to you.” (P1, National)
	Education System	Lack of Insurance program at universities	“I am trying to get my certificate now through long distance learning because we don’t have the courses I want here in UAE” (P5, National) “I can’t see anything talking about the insurance company. There is nothing here in the education system called insurance or life insurance major in universities. The concept is very new even in school, primary, secondary and high school. So, this is the first reason.” (P1, National)
		Poor English	“We have many of the Emiratis in the Arabic speaking departments because English of many of them is not sufficient for work” (P5, N)
	Stereotypes	High financial expectations of nationals	“Salary is much higher in government sector and very low in private and semi-private. So, if I was a fresh graduate, and let’s say I was in Mobadala or Tawazon industry, I will get something like 20,000 to 25,000 plus the other benefits. The other benefits including like club membership, which is like 10,000 at the beginning of the year or something for furniture like 30,000 at the beginning of the year. And you will get bonuses and other benefits... So, why would I go to the private sector who will offer me something like 10,000-13,000 maximum, where I can get better salary and more prestigious image in the government” (P2, National)
		National’s low commitment	“They vanish to something better... well, I don’t blame her”(P1, National) “An Emirati has to be really committed and staying in this company for 5 years. So, I need to identify other resources to let this Emirati stay in this company for 5 years” (P2, National)
		Lack of expertise	“We have to take more time and effort in terms of grooming someone to take that role, rather than getting someone ready to run for that role.” (P5, Expatriate)
Developing Organisational Standards	Emiratisation Department	Officer for both nationals and expats	“What I am doing here in this company is taking care of the recruitment in general, including Emirati people and non-Emirati and training and then Emiratisation. Now, I would say that in my recruitment role, I would work in Emiratisation in my training and development I will work in that as well, plus the usual.” (P2, National)
		Emphasis on placing an Emirati in charge	“And we were very selective in choosing the person because we want to have a talent person driving the Emiratisation initiative as well and being an Emirati there it sets a good example, it helps us” (P5, Expatriate)
	Employer of Choice	Tight Competition	“Number of insurance companies in UAE is increasing and there are very few Emiratis interested or skilled to go into insurance” (P5, National)

			“We have the challenge of pay difference between private and government. We cannot say to the government to reduce your salaries... and we can't say to the private sector to increase their salaries because at the end of the day they want to make profits” (P2, National)
		Continual advertising	“Through ‘salary benchmarking’, we aligned ourselves with the market. We have a market position in place” (P4, Expatriate)
	Appraisals	No more biases	Appraisals conducted by 2 or more people: “This is to ensure a fair process” (P1, National) “Through the appraisals, we will find out where are the gaps... after we can put the career ladder and the career path” (P4, Expatriate)
		Uncomfortable expat managers	“I think some of my colleagues don't like it because they don't want to be judging me” (P5, National)
	KPI	Emiratisation is everyone's responsibility	“You can associate it with tangible issues like bonus and rating and things like that.” (P1, National) “Aligning the corporate initiatives, the business requirement and the HR requirement is going to be for Emiratisation.” (P4, Expatriate)
		Incentivising Expatriates	“If their bonuses are tied to Emiratisation, it will definitely help facilitate it. And, I am sure it is a good motivation for them” (P5, National)
	Fingerprint Devices	Effectiveness Unclear	“I personally don't think you can discipline or control your employees with those. I don't have access to know if it is working or not. But, low performers will stay low performers and high performers will stay high performers” (P5, National)
		Managers are accountable	“I started giving warnings. Like showing them that you are responsible... When you sign a contract with a company, you have to come for 8 hours.” (P1, National)
	Unofficial Ring Fencing	Not structured	“I have not heard of it happening here” (P3, National)
		Some Mature expats not up to date	“But the problem is there are many expatriates who have been in this company for more than 20 years and are not familiar with the new school of insurance” (P5, Nationals)
	Succession Planning	Will only target retiring expats	“Probably 2 years back, if you talked about retirement or creating a succession plan, there would be a lot of eyebrows that would go up... Would people take it as a positive way, no. But a lot of communication has gone and a lot of action has gone into place. So people now have realised that yes, it is a part of our working in this company. So, people today do recognise the fact that you do retire at the age of 60” (P4, Expatriate) “Yes, we still have people 68 or 70 years old and still they are working hard and giving a lot to their company. So, I need to have a proper analysis for people who are already going to their home country. They will be few to be honest, but there will not be more than 5 in the whole company. We have around 500 employees so maybe I need to work on very few positions at the time, until we know the right thing to do.” (P2, National)
		New mind sets	“There is a cultural shift happening... They recognize today that Emiratisation is important and everyone should contribute... people today do appreciate the need for a successor” (P4, Expatriate)

APPENDINX 31: Invest Co. Time II: Thematic Analysis, First-Order Codes

Trust Rewards Many players in the scene Supportive top management, National Performance driven culture Not letting UAE nationals leave easily Not enough top level Emiratis Knowledge sharing Expat Replacement Dilemma Different tolerant level for nationals A stable company A friendly company Difference in pay between nationals and expats Not just about recruiting Not possible to provide expats with same opportunities Placement in private sector Not about filling gaps Creating future leaders Changing Emirati mind-sets Expats don't have a choice Differences in promotions Expat replacement Expat resisting Expat not as important as nationals in the process Emotional or sad Nationals complaining about knowledge sharing Different horses for courses Expats thought on future of the policy Expat will return home someday Secured and supportive expat Minimal socialisation of nationals and expats Emiratisation to balance presence at workplace They cannot handle it Reluctant to comment Mandate and percentage Integration into institution Always need for expats Training nationals Summer internships Ring-fencing Quota system Recycling within the organisation Quality not quantity Placement at operations and branches Performance appraisals Percentage of nationals Difficult jobs, nationals can't handle Training course offered at the College Some underqualified teachers at College An opportunity for expats Studying linked to promotion Success depends on individual College classes as a break	Pay structure National promotion National branch manager Moving the deadwood KPI Incentives for expat managers Handling complaints on nationals Giving second chance to nationals Access by card Fast track for high potential Emiratis Employing from Northern Emirate Emiratisation department and officer Communication between branches and Emiratisation department Cluster of nationals Career paths Attracting locals Tailor made programs for nationals Educations system of UAE Comparing this organisation to others Private sector mentality Not enough incentives No integrated solution Nature of the industry National's mentality Private sector work as embarrassing High financial expectations of nationals Nationals complaining More Emirati men at org Lack of responsibility Lack of practical knowledge and interaction Lack of attention from the business unit or manager itself HR placement without interview High turnover Newcomers jumping around Alternative options Experience of Emiratis who left This organisation viewed as private This job is not for life Religion Peer pressure Difficult for nationals to serve expatriate clients Collective culture Family ties Number of employees The front liners at customer service Limited room for promotion
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APPENDIX 32: Results- Thematic Map- Invest Co. –Time II



APPENDIX 33: Invest Co.- TIME II - Thematic Analysis, Second-Order Codes

Main Theme	Sub-theme	Basic Theme
Contrasting Views of Emiratisation	Expatriate Replacement Scheme	Eventually becoming majority Emirati workforce
		Should not be for the sake of being national
		A mandate
	National Integration	Always a need for expats
		Only to infuse nationals into the system
		Diversifying the economy
		Just giving nationals a chance
Emiratising	Emergent role of HR	Ongoing development of new initiatives
		Mis-placement
	In-house College Dependent	Courses as a luxury/relaxing day out
		Continually expanding number of mandatory programs and courses
	Quota vs. Quality	Comprehending the role of expatriates
		Increasing percentage of secured expatriates
Integration and Retention Deterrents	Culture	Religion
		Collective Culture
		Peer Pressure/Social norms
		Image of the industry
		Distrust
	Knowledge Sharing	Lack of contact
		Lack of responsibility & accountability
	Stereotype of Nationals	Not after a career
		High expectations
		Have no driving force
		Can make mistakes
		Cannot work under pressure
		Prefers to be spoon fed
		Lack of experience
		Public sector wages
	Many Alternative Options	Public sector working hours
		Monitoring Emiratisation target
Developing Organisational Standards	Emiratisation Department	Placement & TLC
		Facing Competition
	Employer of Choice	Attracting from a small pool
		Unofficial & Experimental phase
	Succession Planning	
		Effectiveness unclear
	Access by Card	Managerial improvisation
	Unofficial Ring-fencing	Security for expats
		Unclear purpose
	Unofficial Mentoring	Undefined to the Nationals
		Quota driven only
		Incentive for expats
	KPI	Quota driven only
		Incentive for expats

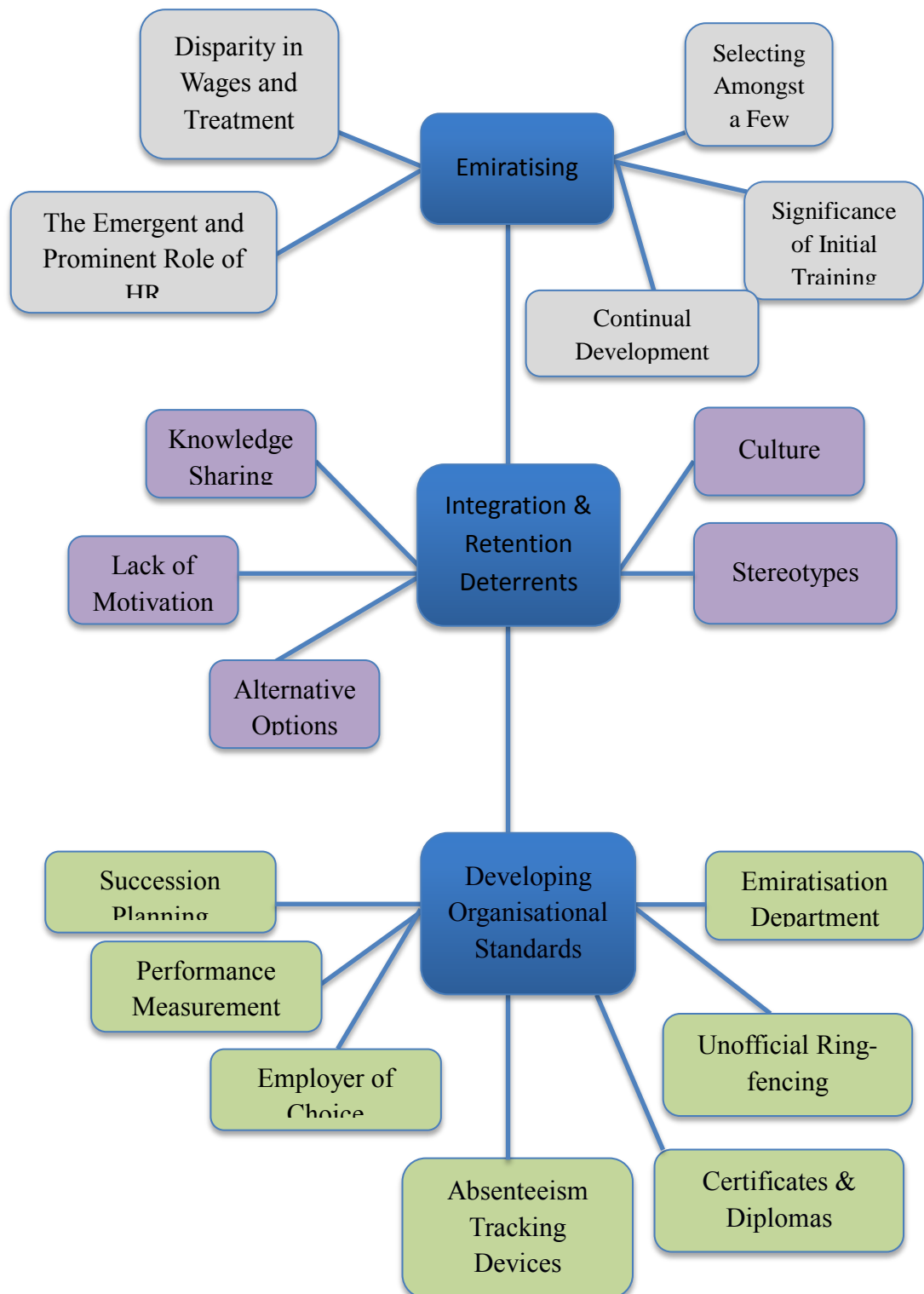
APPENDIX 34: Invest Co. – TIME II: Additional Sample Quote

Main Theme	Sub-theme	Basic Theme	Additional Sample Quotes
Contrasting Views of Emiratisation	Expatriate Replacement Scheme	Eventually becoming majority Emirati workforce	“So, we are giving opportunities for the Emiratis to lead the company in the future. Of course, it goes through steps, the government is doing the steps that we increase our Emiratisation ratio by 4% every year, and have to reach 40% group wide (organisation wide)... So, each organisation in the country has to retain an Emiratisation rate of 40% and then increase by 4%. “ (P11, National)
		Should not be for the sake of being national	“It is not only that you are local; we will put you in the fast track, just because you are local. It is not like this in here or anywhere else. And, Emiratisation strategy is not about this. Because it destroys what you believe in Emiratisation. It will not work. You have to do the right way for it to succeed” (P4, National)
		A mandate	“Well, they are trying their best to get and to reply to the order of the government. They are trying to recruit. The HR are making separate department only for this purpose. This is what I see only, but I don’t have an idea exactly... But they are trying their best “(P7, Expatriate)
	National Integration	Always a need for expats	“At least in my view there will always be a need for expats. In my time, it still feels so. Because see, ultimately, the chief, the top management is always expats. There are top management who are Emiratis. But, at the same time, they have for globalisation, for what they are looking for at the moment now, they need expats. They cannot depend totally on the Emiratis at the moment because there are not enough competent people” (P8, Expatriate)
		Only to infuse nationals into the system	“Emiratisation is just getting of UAE national workforce integrated into the institution” (P3, Expatriate)
		Diversifying the economy	“Emiratis are the future... oil reserves won’t last forever, so you have to create a service industry of a lot other sectors like service and hospitality...” (P4, National)
		Just giving nationals a chance	“Populations wise, our country is expat dominated so far. So, versus one application for UAE national, you will find 5 application for expats. So, if you pay attention only to applications submitted by expats, Emiratis will get no chance for recruitment. So, you have to balance.” (P11, National)
Emiratising	Emergent role of HR	Ongoing development of new initiatives	“As part of that induction, they send a lot of UAE nationals here for training. So, we get a request to get on the job training, but here we are told to prefer UAE nationals, for ex we go to American university in Dubai, and it is part of their course to do summer internship” (P3, Expatriate)
		Mis-placement	“Well, we report of course. And, it does not mean if he failed in customer service, he is bad... He may succeed in other departments. And that is what happens exactly. We send them to a different department because he is good” (P7, Expatriate)
	In-house College Dependent	Continually expanding no. of courses	“But, may be it is not the right time for all these things. Courses of on-going, every year 2 or 3 but there are things that are more specific for the Emiratis but I think I need more experience to take advantage of that” (P4, National)
		Courses as a luxury/relaxing day out	“College is a little bit of a luxury for me. I have always felt that a course that has been running for 2 days, could be closed in one day. And there is a lot of food and drink, breakfast, lunch and lunch afterwards and lots of coffee breaks. Half of those courses, if I could log in from my phone and listen, and that could be just it.” (P2, Expatriate)
	Quota vs.	Comprehending the role of	“There are lots of ways of resisting... Not showing any support, or not giving the right job or amount of job to

Integration & Retention Deterrents	Quality	expatriates	UAE national or keep them in a corner doing a certain job, without developing. I am not saying everyone is doing that again. But, there are still people with this concept that they want to keep their job and they don't want to be taken" (P12, National)
		Increasing percentage of secured expatriates	"I don't think we should worry about the ratio and numbers .I think we should focus on quality" (P9, National)
	Culture	Religion	"Some of them (nationals) think that finance it is not in accordance to Islam and they say this is Haram" (P7, Expatriate)
		Collective culture	"For example, with the female staff in particular, if their families are off on Saturday and they have plans for activities, they cannot join them because they have to work here on Saturday" (P11, National)
		Peer Pressure/Social norms	"They give them 70,000 AED or 135,000 AED and their loan more than a million. Because they know that they bought a car, took a loan for nothing and they don't have anything" (P6, Expatriate)
		Image of the industry	"There are certain requirements or jobs in some industries that are not so popular within the nationals. For example, the UAE nationals don't like to work in shifts. And, of course of 10 you will see that 2 accept it but 8 say no. So, we have to recruit expats for jobs that require working in shifts or evening shift" (P11, National)
	Knowledge Sharing	Distrust	"I would say the nationals are complaining sometimes. But, these sort of complaints do come across, but it depends on individual cases I would say, but luckily here we get a lot of UAE nationals and we are very open." (P3, Expatriate)
		Lack of contact	Participant Observation
	Stereotype of Nationals	Lack of responsibility & accountability	"Well, they see their peers, they perform bad and the management's response towards them is very slow and very weak. So, they think that OK, I am strong at this company as a UAE national. So, I have to be allowed." (P11, National)
		Not after a career	"There was a local lady. I don't think she chose this place as a career. That is what I said... To be in here, you need to have the long hours to put in. Unless the candidate is prepared to accept this... 60 to 70 per cent joined here. But the lady I mentored chose not to." (P3, Expatriate)
		High expectations	Not their cultures to grow step by step. They don't want this. They want to be managers directly. They want to be ministers. They don't like to start from the beginning. This is very difficult because they should try from the beginning. When I came here about one and half year. (P6, Expatriate)
		Have no driving force	"They have to give them some other sort of incentives. If it is not just the money, then a lump sum. What happens is that they are given so many privileges..." (P8, Expatriate)
		Cannot work under pressure	"You have UAE nationals who are tellers, but this particular function is dominated by expats due to cultural barriers or perception that if you are teller, your career will always be a teller and will not grow. Also, it has to do with the associated risks of being a teller because they are dealing with cash... So, the function itself is not popular amongst UAE nationals." (P11, National)
		Prefers to be spoon fed	"The thing is that they are not independent. They are always dependant on someone" (P8, Expatriate)
		Lack of experience	"I will tell you something: the new graduates they just come in hyper, they come and they are excited and they expect they will be on the job immediately and have the responsibility to do lots of things, but it is not... they have to be trained." (P12, National)
	Many Alternative	Public sector wages	"Some of them, they don't accept much pressure. While there is other places for example in the government, where

Developing Organisational Standards	Options		they got high salary and not much pressure... There is like a competition in their work side as employers, the ministries, the oil companies..." (P7, Expatriate)
		Public sector working hours	"Government. It is more easy and they have 2 days off and here only 3 offices in UAE have 2 days and we sit until 4 and our day off is based on rotation." (P6, Expatriate)
	Emiratization Department	Monitoring Emiratization target	"They do the strategic part of Emiratization by making sure that our vision of Emiratization is linked to our country vision of Emiratization and the company vision, which is to be the best Arab financial organisation in the world. And this they have to work on it by having objectives and having things that will make us reach this vision successfully. I think we have a 3 years plan or a 1 year plan: we have to recruit this many nationals, we have to do this for them, what is the reason for them leaving- OK, it is 1,2,3, OK we have to improve this you know... It is address it to the management with a solution" (P12, National)
		Placement & TLC	"The first 2 years they are with us, if they enter the x programme through our own college, there is a lot of hand holding and care" (P9, National)
	Employer of Choice	Strategic Initiatives	"We have a team which is in charge of this strategic part of Emiratization... trying to get new blood to join our organisation" (P12, National)
		Attracting Qualified Emiratis	"You see it is a responsibility and task for Invest Co.... Now, they are trying to attract them in from other financial institutions. They used to bring them from the universities. Raw people..." (P5, Expatriate)
	Succession Planning	Unofficial & Experimental phase	"We do not have yet enough experienced nationals to be trained" (P4, Nationals)
	Access by Card	Effectiveness Unclear	"The problem is that it is unfortunate that you to resolve it through such measures to ensure discipline. But, you have to do it. I am sure it is working to some extent. But, sense of responsibility must come from inside. We cannot always put a measure for you to force you to be disciplined." (P11, National)
	Unofficial Ring-fencing	Managerial Improvisation	"We have done ring fencing, but unofficially. We have started to some extent. But not as an structured approach like the oil and gas industry because they have the competency based management system, which we are still trying to implement now as we speak. So, we will get there." (P9, National)
		Security for Expatriates	"It will assure the identified employee that their job is protected for let's say 4 or 5 years" (P4, National)
	Unofficial Mentoring	Unclear purpose	"Yes, we had it before many years ago for a year and it was not supported then by the top, but this time it is supported" (P9, National)
		Undefined to the Nationals	"I would say that the main problem is depending on the candidate themselves. So, if they have the right attitude and know about it and all that, it becomes a lot easier." (P3, Expatriate)
	KPI	Quota driven only	"So their bonus is tied to how many nationals they have I think" (P12, National)
		Incentive for expats	"In the balance score card and KPI there are items... It is an item and has certain weightage in the balance score card. I will not say that your bonus depends on that, but your performance in general will be evaluated on how you go about UAE national in your department" (P11, National)

APPENDIX 35: Results- Thematic Map- Common practices in two organisations in two times



APPENDIX 36: Common practices in 2 organisations- Thematic Analysis, Second-Order Codes

Main Theme	Sub-theme	Basic Theme
Emiratising	Selecting Amongst a Few	Quality vs. Quantity
		Scarce skillset & education
		Majority fit for low-demanding jobs
	Significance of Initial Training	Various programmes to choose from
		Competency frameworks
		In-house or outsourced
		Heavy reliance on in-class training
	Continual Development	‘Career Development Plans’
		Requires continual communication between managers and HR
		Continual education & various initiatives such as secondments for nationals
	Disparity in wages & treatment between nationals & expats	‘invitation only’/‘nationals only’ courses
		Recruitment Process
		Pay structure & ‘special’ benefits for nationals
	The Emergent and Prominent Role of HR	Unconventional
		From enforcer to educator
		Focused on Emiratis and Expats equally who are trainers
		Continually evolving
		Improvising to facilitate Emiratis
Integration & Retention Deterrents	Culture	Religion
		Minimal contact between female & male
		Female mobility
		Family responsibilities & Shift work
	Stereotypes	Shared between N and E
		Wealthy
		Work ethics
		Make mistakes
	Knowledge Sharing	Expat insecurity
		Distrust between expats & nationals
		Frustrated nationals
		Demanding Emiratis to be more independent
		Limited socialisation between expats and nationals (po)
	Lack of Motivation	Family financial support
		Lack of expat appreciation
		Moving around departments & organisations
		Nature of finance and insurance industry

	Alternative Options	Higher wages in public sector
		Flexible working hours in public sector
Developing Organisational Standards	Emiratisation Department	Dedicated to implementing policy monitoring
		Emiratisation officers as boundary brokers
		Emiratis sceptical & expect more
	Certificates & Diplomas	Begin from initial training
		Measure of investment in nationals
	Unofficial Ring-fencing	Expat protection plan
		Majority unaware of ring-fencing
	Absenteeism Tracking Devices	Measuring Emirati discipline
		Managers are responsible as well
		Sceptical about effectiveness
	Employer of Choice	Showcasing opportunities they offer
		Attending & Presenting @ Emiratisation conferences
		Displays at employment exhibitions
		Social media
		Delighting the government
	Performance Measurement	Making Emiratisation everyone's responsibility
		KPIs- Performance & bonus tied to Emiratisation targets
	Succession Planning	Change in the retirement age
		Upward succession planning
		Preparation within 6 months' notice
		Scarce experienced Emiratis