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Noora Alghatam

*Information Systems and Innovation Group*, n.h.alghatam@lse.ac.uk

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# The Appropriation and Enactment of E-government Projects by ICT Professionals: A Case Study of Dubai

Noora Alghatam

Information Systems and Innovation Group

LSE, UK

n.h.alghatam@lse.ac.uk

## ABSTRACT

This paper reports ongoing research on the ways in which ICT professionals encounter and appropriate e-government projects as they engage in process of planning, developing and supporting e-government systems. The empirical case study is a public sector organization in the City of Dubai. The concept of sense making and enactment are used for data analysis. This study highlights the process of sense making that ICT professionals in a government department engage in and how this is conditioned by their experiences and emergent identities.

## Keywords

e-government, sense making, enactment, ICT Professionals

## INTRODUCTION

The adoption and implementation of e-government projects has gained momentum in many countries around the world in the last decade. This is particularly the case in the Middle East where several e-government projects have been implemented over the past decade in countries like Jordan (Ciborra & Navarra), Lebanon (Saidi and Yared, 2002) and Gulf countries (Kostopoulos, 2004). Many academic studies perceive these e-government projects as an extension to an established tradition of new public management reform, evident in the public sector since at least the 1980s (Fountain 2001; Heeks 1999). New public management is often linked to admiration and emulation of the private sector's management and organizational practices, including models and techniques related to the use of information systems. For instance, a study of Brazil by Barzelay and Shvets (2006) describes how in 1996 a management information system was set up to support project management activities employed within the Federal Government. There are some, however, who are critical of a simple account of e-government as a natural progression from established ideas of new public management. Such authors rather propose that these initiatives are based on a different set of principles altogether (Dunleavy et. al 2001).

The case study in this research takes place in an era marked by efforts to draw together approaches to e-government adoption and planning. There are several factors that play a role in this process. First, as Dunleavy et. al (2001) point out, Government IT policies are becoming increasingly similar as the 'best practice' approach from NPM is adopted, applied not to best business practice, but to perceived best public sector practice. In such cases policy innovations that work successfully are extracted from the local context of one country and turned into "formulaic blueprint manuals" for others to apply. Second, there is an increasingly influential role played by dis-embedded mediating institutions, which include international organizations, Business Schools and management consultants (Avgerou, 2002). Third, technological innovations condition the capabilities and functions available for the enactment of policy responses and innovations- for example, the availability of CRM (Customer relationship Management) systems from the late 1990s. Fourth, IT service providers to whom e-government operations have been increasingly outsourced, play a strong role in shaping processes of adoption, acting as intermediaries that transfer innovations that they work on in one country to the next (Dunleavy et. al 2001).

While discourse and policies related to the use of ICT in the public sector may converge, there are still differences in the means of implementation and results achieved. There have been several studies emphasizing that outcomes vary given the socio-cultural nature of the context of use (Walsham 1993; Heeks 1999; Heeks 1999; Avgerou 2002; Avgerou and Madon

2002; Heeks 2005). Both empirical evidence and existing literature therefore suggest that a focus on emergence is an appropriate thematic priority for e-government research. The emphasis on emergence has been suggested and applied in different ways in the literature. Some studies have focused on the role of institutional structures in shaping the situated actions of organizational members that interpret, use and design the technological artifacts (Avgerou 2002; Lawrence 2005). Others have accounted for emergence by capturing a recursive relationship that exists between technology and structures, through the application of structuration theory (Devadoss, Pan et al. 2002). The policy domain too has engaged with the conceptual lens of Technology Enactment developed by Fountain (2001). Fountain (2001) discusses the enactment of technology based on an the ongoing interaction between institutions, technology and organizational forms.

The aim in this work is to explore emergence of outcomes of e-government activities by a focus on situated enactment of e-government by ICT professionals working on the planning, development and support of e-government systems. The approach in the study is to explore how organizational actors appropriate global e-government models. The research explores the uncertainty that actors encounter as they work on a new e-government project, what action is taken in response to this, and what influences actors to take such action. The research question guiding the study is thus:

How do ICT professionals in the public sector encounter and appropriate the ideas of e-government projects and enact them in their work?

This framing of the question connects with and advances prior art in this area. The proposed contributions from exploring this question are twofold. First, to highlight and explore the sense making and learning that supports the processes of organizing e-government projects in the local context. Second, to reveal to what extent these projects, while conceived and initiated from a global image of ‘good’ government, are also the result of an organizing process of appropriation that results in unique local outcomes.

## **THEORY**

As described above, the work reported here is based on an analysis of the ways in which ICT professionals make sense of the tasks they are engaged in. This section presents some of the key concepts of sense making, based on Weick’s (1995) work on sense making in organizations. According to Weick (1995, p. 15) sense making is based on a view of reality “as an ongoing accomplishment that takes form when people make retrospective sense of the situations in which they find themselves.” This usually involves a change in the flow of events, in the form of a surprise or something that does not fit. Cues that highlight these disruptions are usually identified only in retrospect. Then, to structure the unknown, sensible events are constructed. Research that explores sense making attempts to understand what it is that is being constructed, why and with what effects ().

### **Sensemaking and Enactment**

The process of sensemaking is relevant to organizing when we consider how ICT professionals’ sense making supports the larger organizing process in public sector organizations. Organizing and sense making are considered by Weick (1995, p.) come from the same cloth since they involve similar activities such as imposing order, counteracting deviations and simplifying. Weick (1995) explains the process of sense making by drawing upon Wiley’s (1998) concept of 3 levels of sense making above the individual level. This includes the inter-subjective, generic subjective, extra subjective. Sense making at the inter-subjective level includes processes that emerge as interchange and synthesis occurs between 2 or more communicating people (Wiley 1988). The generic subjective represents social structures and this implies a generic self. Weick (1995) positions organizations atop the movement between the inter-subjective and the generic subjective, where organizing represents a mixture of unique inter-subjective understandings that are sustained and enlarged by actors who were not part of the original inter-subjective construction.

According to Weick (1993) enactment represents the making of what is sensed. Weick (1988, p. 307) described enactment as involving people who act and bring events and structures into existence, setting them into motion to produce two things, a process, which is the enactment, and a product, which is the enacted environment. The process of enactment involves bracketing a portion of the field of experience and then acting within those brackets under the guidance of preconceptions. The enacted environment represents an orderly material, and social construction that is subject to multiple interpretations. This environment is summarized internally as maps that shape expectations and future experiences and interpretations. This is relevant to the study of ICT professionals’ appropriation of e-government projects, since their actions involve the construction of an enacted environment that shapes future experiences and interpretations.

## CASE STUDY AND METHODOLOGY

The case study for this research is of a government department in the City of Dubai, which has engaged in the implementation of an e-government project for a number of years. First it is useful to consider how this particular project was initiated at a national level and in this way to set the scene for presenting the case. In the year 2000, Dubai's government announced the launch of an electronic government initiative. The aim was to have all of the City's government departments set up transactional information systems to offer services through the Internet. The initiative was considered a means to achieve two related goals: to serve the convenience of all who interact with the government; citizens, non-national workers (which is approximately 70% of the labour force), and businesses, and in this way support the status of Dubai as the principal economic hub for the region.

There were two (later 3) main milestones proposed, to be reached in the course of 8 years. First, the set up of the institutional infrastructure needed for the functioning of e-government information systems within a time frame of 18 months, i.e. by the end of 2001. Second, ensuring that 70% of existing governmental services are offered through the Internet by 2004. This target was later modified to 90% of all existing governmental services offered online by 2007.

The initial planning of the national e-government initiative was undertaken with the assistance of a team of international consultants who proposed the establishment of three institutional structures to plan and monitor progress. These structures then replaced the consultancy team in planning the launch and ensuring the progress of the project. Of primary importance is the Executive Office, which represents a steering committee comprised of 14 members. The committee's members come from key governmental departments and some private sector organizations such as the national telecommunication company, Itisalat. Many have IT backgrounds and experience of managing technology projects. The objective was that this team would devise a national strategy for developing and monitoring the progress of the e-government initiative and to facilitate cooperation among different government departments. At the outset of the initiative, members from the executive committee visited several countries around the world including the USA, Canada, Singapore and Malaysia to learn from their experiences with e-government.

Under the Executive Office come two institutional structures concerned with delivery: Dubai E-government (DeG) concerned with serves and the wider community and the Government Information Resource Unit (GIR) to build and manage the infrastructure and support individual technical development efforts. DeG is responsible for overseeing the development of online services in different government departments. The unit provides standards and quality frameworks for services and web sites, as well as offering centralized applications that are used by all government departments. The GIR unit is responsible for setting up the technical infrastructure for use by government departments.

### Case Study Organization

The focus of the empirical elements of this research is on the e-government project of one public sector organization in Dubai, referred to here as The Public Office (TPO). TPO offers a number of services to citizens, temporary residents and to business organizations. TPO has been engaged in the development of an e-government system under the current national plan since 2001. The organization began utilizing Internet based technology in 1998 before the national initiative was launched. First, with a simple static website using Microsoft FrontPage software applications. This was used mainly to publish information and news related to the organization and the city as a whole. Second, there was also a web-based application that enables users to download and upload forms related to revenue information. This early website was developed by an external company since the organization's IT staff were not at all familiar with web-based technologies at the time. One interviewee explained that at the time, they were 'like babies' when it came to developing Internet based technologies since no one had adequate technical expertise.

With the launch of the national initiative, the simple web-based applications were scrapped. A team of management and IT consultants were hired by TPO in 2001 to plan the rollout of the new large-scale web based transactional information systems. The team of consultants produced a conceptualization of how the new information infrastructure was to be set up, a new organizational structure within the IT department, and new specifications of the roles of those involved. Finally, they analyzed all of the public services offered by the organizations to specify which could be launched over the Internet and in what order. The TPO project was thus divided into phases.

A new section was created in 2001 in the IT department of TPO called the e-government section, which was made responsible for the planning and development of the front-end system. (The back-end system and technical infrastructure was the responsibility of other sections in the IT department). The e-government section consisted of three units: Strategic

Planning, Development and Support. These units at first existed without actually being staffed and the section was manned with about 7 people at first. With time they developed into 3 full-fledged units with between 30 and 40 staff work there now.

The three units were supported in their work by contracted staff from various service providers. They had to learn to work in a complementary way with analysts and developers from the main service provider (a large international service provider), and these people were located in-house. The plan was that the main service provider would develop applications, based on requirements jointly collected with members of the e-government section who were more aware of public services and the nature of the organization. The developed applications would be signed off by the Development unit who would check that the developed service application was in line with what was specified by the user departments in TPO – labeled as service's custodians.

The monitoring of progress since then has been through quarterly reports to DeG, the central unit that coordinates e-government initiative, to update them on the development of the project. The managers within the e-government section understood the project's progress based on this feedback. TPO also took part in competitions, which were set up by international organizations (e.g. United Nations). Indeed the criteria proposed by such international bodies became a source of guidelines for what was expected from these projects. Taking part in such competitions was also a channel to obtain international recognition for their efforts of developing the e-government system.

The system for TPO was planned and implemented in 4 phases as outlined by the original consultants. The work went on the same way for two phases of the project up to 2004, and a number of services were launched on the web site. However, there were problems in the quality of applications that were constantly revealing bugs in the system and required more support effort with the limited number of human resources. Furthermore, there were problems in the documentation of these applications, which were developed by the service provider. In phase three, which was commenced in 2004, a new and common software development template and framework was developed by the TPO Development staff to help ensure that services were developed in accordance to what is required, to save time and to simplify the process of support. The result was that thereafter there were fewer bugs in the developed applications, and support activities undertaken by TMO became easier. This was indeed the point where power shifted towards the e-government section in controlling the actions of the service provider's team, and they began to have a bigger role in the development process. By 2007 the objective of converting 90% of public services online by the deadline was achieved and surpassed.

Objectives have thus been met and most services have been converted to the web-based transactional system. But of course there is now a new project on the way, one that involves a new infrastructure and software platform, a new operating system and new application software. This means that applications have to be developed again and staff needed to be re-skilled to do this work. As some staff reported in interviews, it was as if the project was to be worked on all over again.

## **Research Methodology**

To explore these issues the single case study research method has been employed (Yin, 1989). As Benbasat et. al (1987) explain, the case study is a research method used to study a phenomenon in its natural setting using a number of data collection techniques to examine entities such as individuals, groups or organizations. The case study for this research is mainly the e-government unit, with the IT division of TPO. The study focuses on the processes of planning, developing and maintenance of the e-government system during the period of 2000-2008. This is achieved by exploring actors' recollections of the progression of the project, changing roles and tasks and perceptions of the project and the information system developed.

The unit of analysis is the e-government project in TPO, with a focus on ICT professionals that work on planning, developing and supporting the e-government system. TPO was selected as a case study since it was one of the pioneers in e-government implementation and was considered to be a success story given that it has surpassed the deadline set up for e-government implementation before other departments. 23 interviews were conducted with ICT professionals within the e-government unit and with IT service providers that work in-house. 12 interviews were conducted with members of the central government unit, other divisions within TPO, management and IT consultancies and other government departments. The second group of interviews, although not the central focus of this paper, provided significant data about the project's inception and progress, institutional structures in the city, and the interdependence between TPO's information systems and systems that are part of other government departments. Data was also collected through direct observation, technical documents, web sites and publicity materials. An additional 15 interviews were also conducted with members of other government departments, the central e-government unit, consultancies, IT service providers and an academic institution. Secondary sources were also consulted such as technical documents such as system requirements and specifications, system architecture and quality standards. Table one includes a sample of interviewees and their roles. A review of conference proceedings related to e-government in the region by international organizations has also been conducted.

The interview length was usually 1 to 1.5 hours long. The interviews were in Arabic or English depending on the interviewee's nationality. The data recording method shifted between extensive note taking during interviews or tape-recording, depending on the interviewee's preference. Most interviews that were not tape-recorded were insightful since the interviewee would often share personal reflections on his/her role and experience of working on the project.

The data from interviews was transcribed and analyzed in two ways. First, tables were created to identify data about the history of the e-government project, institutional structures project time lines and TPO's organizational structures. The tables were also used to classify roles, tasks and themes such as identity, learning, perceptions of e-government and the information system. First, to obtain basic factual information related to the city's institutional structures that were set up for e-government, the organization's e-government objectives, implementation phases, IT department's structure, roles and tasks. Second, to explore perceptions actors have about themselves, their roles and the e-government project. Third, to explore themes such as power relations, shifting ownership of the system and aspects they try to reveal and others that they mask.

The interview data was analyzed using ATLAS-ti to assist in narrative analysis. The software helped in examining the interview transcripts for stories, relationships and ideas that were accentuated or ignored. Moreover, the software was used to identify constructs related to Weick's (1979, 1995, 2001) concepts of sense making and enactment such as expectation, breakdown, retrospection and action taken to reduce uncertainty, and development of identity. Table two includes a sample of quotations from interviews that reflect these themes.

<b>Interviewee</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>
W. A.	Head of Planning	Planning Unit, E-government Section, TPO
A. S.	Business Analyst	Planning Unit, E-government Section TPO
A.A.	Head of Development	Development Unit, E-government Section, TPO
M. A.	System Analyst	Development Unit, E-government Section, TPO
J. D.	Head of Support	Support Unit, E-government Section, TPO
S.	Developer	Development Unit, E-government Section, TPO
M. L.	Support Officer	Support Unit, E-government Section, TPO

**Table 1: A Sample of Interviewee Roles**

Interviewee	Comments
W. A.	“...Guidelines, more into quality guidelines, for example participate in the competition for the best web site, they say criteria for the best web site is 1,2,3,4... So, I take these into things [...]I tell the group in development take care of these things [...]..by the way there may be conflicts, there may be a priority...”
A. A.	A: We introduced a coded template that the service provider fills in when they develop online applications this is to control the quality of code and to make it easier / faster to support later on. One of the developers in the team came up with the idea based on his previous work in India
A. A.	“...Now if we don't have, for example we started in 2002, at the time DM had no idea how to start it, the vendor should have (led the way)...”
O.T.	Academic literature did not provide useful guidance on E-government. The situation is uncharted territory for governments. Models like stages of growth offer categories to describe what is happening but not guidelines on how to improve system's quality.
A.A.	We don't really have solid, how (do I explain this)... certain things to go back to... to know... what we are supposed to do, and how we are supposed to do it. We don't have that as standards I mean, we are just making it up.”

**Table 2: A Sample of Interviewee Quotations**

## DISCUSSION

The e-government project in Dubai was one of the earliest in the region (Kostopoulos, 2004), which meant that there were no local models of e-government implementation to be emulated or learned from. TPO rather at the outset organized the project based on the expertise and knowledge of international management and IT consultants with experience in running similar initiatives in other countries around the world. In the beginning, TPO's ICT professionals that were involved in the planning, development and support of the e-government system encountered a situation that introduced elements of uncertainty, given that there were several changes occurring within the organization. This section begins by describing some of the ambiguity associated with the e-government project, changes to the organizations that represented uncertainty, and actions taken in response to this.

To, begin the e-government project, as a whole was somewhat ambiguous to some of the stakeholders involved. For instance, the ICT professionals at the outset of this did not find enough information about e-government systems and what they involve. One interviewee discussed how there was no model to emulate, prescriptive books to follow or guidelines that could be implemented. They were learning what e-government systems were as they worked on the project. Even the IT service provider's team, from a major international IT service supplier, and who were expected to lead the way, were actually learning along with them as the project progressed. The e-government project also introduced a set of changes to the organizations that the ICT professionals encountered during the project.

First, the e-government project introduced new work arrangements and new organizational actors in the different phases of the project. TPO's ICT professionals were working under the guidance of a number of consultants from the private sector who introduced new tasks and work guidelines. The consultants also brought in their team of developers and system analysts to take over the development and support of the system. The ICT professionals were also now expected to work under the guidance of a central government institution to monitor and assess the progress of the project (and it was understood, the performance of the ICT professionals). In the process of planning the e-government services, requirements were collected from several stakeholders within the organization. This meant interacting far more than in the past with members of different departments in TPO, (termed as the service custodians), who often had little knowledge about the nature of the e-government system development process, or the capabilities of the technology. Some of the ICT professionals were now also working closely with businessmen in the private sector that TPO offers services to, to ensure that services are designed according to their needs and to assist them in using these services if problems arise.

Second, the e-government project also introduced a new set of concepts and institutions that the ICT professionals now had to adapt to. Partly since the project tapped into and was directly influenced by international models of e-government implementation. For example, the idea of customers and customer-orientation were quite new to those who had worked before in the public service. International organizations and private sector firms that were working on the project with TPO mainly introduced these ideas during their presentations and approaches in the planning of the e-government project. Moreover, it was evident that the institution of transparency in operations was now strongly present in the e-government unit. For instance, the ICT professionals in TPO started to understand new ways of seeking legitimacy for their actions, and recognition for performance, and had to accommodate new norms of transparency in reporting the progress of the project.

Finally, the project also introduced new instruments in the form of applications and reporting tools to ensure efficiency in operations of the ICT professionals in their tasks, and at the same time support monitoring of progress as this was used as a source for reports sent to DeG, a central government institution. The tools acquired a new significance in this context, where they began to represent instruments that monitor and control the activities of the ICT professionals. Another tool with a large set of associated concepts to absorb is the web portal itself. For example, as described below, this is now being used as a means to display advertising banners, and make some revenue for the organization. Thus, the web portal gained a new significance as a tool that reinforces managerial.

As discussed in an earlier section, the process of sense making is triggered by a situation where questions of “ what is the story here?” and “...now what?” emerge. The action taken to answer these questions represents enactment and determines the story afterwards. The changes that were introduced to TPO highlight the uncertainty that actors in the organization faced as they worked on the project. In this brief paper we focus in more detail on just three examples of enactment and sense making revealed in the data as actors attempt to reduce equivocality (Weick, 2001).

The first example is of the ICT professionals involved in the planning and management of the e-government project. It was the first time that any of them was involved in such a high profile project, which received a lot of publicity in the media with its progress being monitored by top officials. The ICT professionals were unsure how to plan the project since they did not find enough information about e-government systems and what they involve. One interviewee discussed how there was no model to emulate, prescriptive books or guidelines that could be implemented. Even the IT service provider’s team, from a major international IT service supplier, and who were expected to lead the way, were actually learning along with them.

The ICT professionals in the management level enacted a “sensible environment” as they scanned the environment for information that can help reduce the uncertainty. They were looking up guidelines from web sites of international organizations to use as guides and cues of what was expected from them, and that reassures them that they were on the right track. They also participated in competitions organized by international organizations where their assessed standing could offer a means of establishing legitimacy, and could also be used to inform future planning and implementation activities. This enacted environment was the basis for future action taken by ICT professionals. Planning based on guidelines from international organizations and online sources was not part of the strategy at the outset of this project. These actions fed into an enacted environment where seeking legitimacy from external sources has become part of the activities and accepted norm in the organization as they work on the e-government system.

The second example of enactment is by ICT professionals that work on development and support of applications. These actors were confronted with a new situation when consultants introduced a team of developers and system analysts into the organization that had more control over the development process. Moreover, the actors were finding it problematic to cope with poorly developed applications, and were in search for a means to alter this situation. For example, one of the developers who had worked as a developed in India came up with a template and framework for the specification of future applications to be developed to particular standards. The template was tested and negotiations with management took place so that it could become a pre-condition for any development activity. This enactment process followed by negotiations and production of templates came to constitute a new enacted environment. The enacted environment included the application template, which now acquired a new meaning since it represented control and a means to regain ownership of the project.

The third example of enactment is illustrated in the ways in which ICT professionals have begun living newer roles. The ICT professionals in TPO were facing newer managerial institutions and newer work arrangements that include working with the private sector. This is illustrated in an interview with one of the ICT professionals in TPO who explained how they used to hate discussing their jobs as IT staff with other people, and found it boring, whereas now, it is always a topic for discussion. They also noted how they were interacting with businessmen as they specified and developed systems, something that was never part of their old jobs. The enactment of these new roles is evident in discussion with ICT professionals who noted that they now dress and behave differently as they start to interact more with the business community, who they claim to be like extended family. Another instance that illustrates the enactment of these roles is when ICT professionals suggested advertising banners on the web portal to generate some income. This idea is now accepted when in the past it had been



unthinkable. These enactments fed into an enacted environment that includes newer managerial institutions and a new meaning for the web portal.

As Weick explains the process of enactment is related to identity and preconceptions (Weick, 2001). Based on the empirical data it is apparent that the ICT professionals' enactments during the implementation of the e-government system were conditioned by their identities and experiences. TPO's ICT professionals were of different nationalities, educational and professional backgrounds. Nonetheless, these ICT professionals shared an identity as members of a government department that had a strategic role in the development of the city. In a sense the ICT professionals were committed to make the e-government system work to contribute to the development of the city by constructing an image of modernity and efficiency. This is evident in the way they were dedicated to make the system run smoothly. For instance, several employees noted that they the team couldn't afford to have bugs in the system since that would affect the clients who need to use the portal's services. Several of them discussed how businessmen would incur losses if public services were delayed. Therefore, identities influenced by institutions of modernity play a role in the enactments discussed earlier on.

The ICT professionals' also shared an identity as members of a government department that interacts with the private sector, which is constituted of multinational firms, and this shapes the action taken during the course of the e-government project. This made them focus on following guidance from international organizations and online sources to ensure that they conform to global standards and meet the needs of their international clients. This aspect of identity is somewhat influenced by institutions of new public management.

Finally, the enactments presented in this paper were also shaped by the experiences of these ICT professionals. Several of these employees noted that they had boring jobs in the past and this made them value their current jobs more. Also, the fact that some had experiences with private sector firms when they worked in other organizations shaped how they viewed the team of consultants that were working with them on the project. They realized the risk involved if the consultants were ever to leave, and thus they came up with a template to control quality of code and ensure that they are easy to support afterwards.

## CONCLUSION

This paper's objective is to advance understanding of how e-government projects are appropriated in the local context through situated dynamics. This is achieved by introducing the concepts of enactment and sense making to the analysis of e-government projects. The empirical findings presented here illustrate several instances where ICT professionals in TPO encounter new situations and enact a sensible environment. These enactments represent an ongoing process of organizing as ICT professionals work on implementing the e-government system.

This study offers a theoretical contribution to the concept of sense making and enactment as links are made between the micro interactions and broader institutions of modernity and new public management that play a role in shaping people's identities and action as they face uncertainty. This coincides with Weick's (2005) discussion of sensemaking and institutions where he states "Sensemaking can provide micromechanisms that link macrostates across time through explication of cognitive structures" (Weick, 2005; p. 417). The study also presents two contributions to practice. First, by highlighting that e-government projects based on global models of best practice can drift and take a different shape based on the actions of ICT professionals that respond to new situations related to e-government. Second, by presenting a case that exhibits fluctuations between the adoption of a global model to implement e-government, then at one point moving towards local improvisations and innovations, then back to conforming to the global model. This is illustrated as the development process starts off with the control of the service provider's team, which then shifts towards TPO's ICT professionals that introduce new template. Interestingly, the development process then shifts back to the service provider as a new infrastructure is built. It is useful for practitioners to consider these fluctuations between conformity to global models and local improvisations and to consider the role of action, identities and institutions.

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