ETHICAL ICT RESEARCH PRACTICE FOR COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT IN RURAL SOUTH AFRICA

by

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The research reported here evolved from the researcher's ethnographic immersion in an ICT for Development (ICT4D) project in a deep rural part of South Africa. During ethnographic immersion, three key issues emerged from fieldwork. Firstly, the researcher realised his limited understanding of the worldview of research participants. Secondly, he realised his inability to appropriately and ethically do community entry and implement the ICT4D artefact (e.g. ICT4D training and policy), especially because of his limited understanding of the cultural context, underlying values, emancipatory concepts and interests, as well as incomplete insight into the oppressive circumstances that the people in the research setting find themselves in. The third issue relates to an inability to interpret and explain the collisions and conflicts that emerged from introducing, aligning, and implementing the ICT4D artefact. Through critical ethnographic methods and a critical orientation to knowledge, the researcher shows how these inabilities, collisions, and false consciousnesses emerged to be the result of cultural entrapment and ethnocentricity that he and the research participants suffered from.

A key argument throughout this thesis is that the emancipation of the researcher is a precursor for the emancipation of the researched. The researcher thus asks: In what ways should ICT4D researchers and practitioners achieve self-emancipation, in order to ensure the ongoing emancipation and empowerment of the deep rural developing community in South Africa? The study subsequently argues the link between the topic of this thesis, namely the issue of ethical research practice, and the primary research question. A unique perspective on these problems is

presented as the study looks at emancipatory ICT4D research and practice in context of a deep rural Zulu community in South Africa, and specifically the journey of social transformation that the researcher himself embarked on.

The study retrospectively applies Bourdieu's critical lineage to reflect on the research contribution and how the researcher was eventually able to construct adequate knowledge of the ICT4D social situation. Building onto the idea of critical reflexivity, the researcher argues that critical introspection should also be part of critical ICT4D research in South African contexts. Through confessional writing, the researcher describes experiential knowledge of the worldview collisions that emerged from ICT4D research and practice. In particular, manifestations of the collisions between the typical task-orientated or performance-orientated value system of Western-minded societies and the traditional loyalty-based value system or people-orientated culture of the Zulu people are described.

The research contributes by challenging dominant ICT4D discourses and by arguing for an end to a line of ICT4D research and practice where outsiders with a Western task-orientated worldview, like the researcher himself, make unqualified and inadequate assumptions about their own position in ICT4D practice, and about their own understanding of how to "develop" traditional communities in South Africa through ICTs. Following Bourdieu, the researcher argues that one can only build an adequate understanding of the social situation through critical reflexivity, by making the necessary knowledge breaks, and by allowing oneself to be carried away by the game of ICT4D practice.

KEYWORDS: Critical social theory, Critical ethnography, Critical reflexivity, ICT for Development, Bourdieu, ICT4D collisions, South Africa

Declaration

I declare that the thesis entitled, **Ethical ICT research practice for community engagement in rural South Africa**, which I hereby submit for the degree, PhD (Informatics) at the University of Pretoria, is my own work. I also declare that this thesis has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

KEM Krauss

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Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν‡

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CHAPTER 1
Introduction and project overview

1.1 Introduction and background

The role of ICTs in social development and community empowerment has been studied for a number of years (Du Plooy and Roode, 1993; Avgerou and Walsham, 2000; Krishna and Madon, 2003; Avgerou, 2009; Chigona, Beukes, Vally and Tanner, 2009; Fong, 2009; Madon, Reinhard, Roode and Walsham, 2009; Thompson and Walsham, 2010). Generally the contention is that ICT has the potential to contribute to socio-economic development and improved quality of life. However, several issues and concerns associated with social exclusion, the digital divide, poverty and lack of access for sustaining basic human needs are raised in literature. While foregrounding the opportunities that ICT can afford, literature also shows that ICT failures in developing countries continue to outnumber success stories (Avgerou and Walsham, 2000; Lunat, 2008; Zheng, 2009). ICT alone cannot guarantee development (Lewis, 1994; Chigona et al., 2009; Madon et al., 2009; Zheng, 2009) while neo-liberal thinking and standardised modernist approaches to ICT introduction and implementation may in fact contribute to the continued trend of ICT failures in developing contexts (Du Plooy and Roode, 1993; Heeks, 2005; Lee et al., 2008; Nyamnjoh, 2010). Moreover, in the context of rural developing communities specifically, poverty, social development, health and education, recognition of the importance of socio-cultural context, intercultural communication, and community empowerment are noted as some of the most pressing concerns in ICT4D research (Asante, 1983; Lewis, 1994; Avgerou and Walsham, 2000; Krishna and Madon, 2003; Phahlamohlaka and Lotriet, 2003; Heeks, 2005; Mukerji, 2008; Madon et al., 2009; Prinsloo, 2009).

In addressing ICT4D difficulties and concerns, literature consistently highlight the need to establish guidelines for ICT4D practice that are both viable and have a sound theoretical basis (e.g. De Vos et al., 2007; Thompson, 2008; Thompson and Walsham, 2010). The difficulty, however, is that IS theories, strategies, and technologies established in developed countries cannot necessarily be transferred to developing contexts and the assumptions about their applicability and associated approaches should be questioned (Avgerou and Walsham, 2000; Heeks, 2005; Lee et al., 2008; Thompson, 2008; Avgerou, 2009; Zheng, 2009). This implies a need to contextualise ICT4D and to test the impact of ICT implementation in the specific cultural-context of individual communities (Asante, 1983; Heeks, 2005; De Vos et al., 2007; Avgerou, 2009). According to Avgerou (2009) this is ultimately about a “social embeddedness perspective” that questions the idea of “transfer and diffusion” of ICT into developing contexts. The social embeddedness perspective according to

Avgerou (2009) takes the view that IS innovation in developing countries is about "constructing new techno-organizational structures within a given local social context" (p. 5) and appropriating ICT for the specific context under investigation.

Deepening the debate, literature also express doubts about the value of ICT and ICT4D implementation in the first place (Du Plooy and Roode, 1993; Roode, 1993; Avgerou, 2009). Avgerou and Walsham (2000) and Lewis (1994), for example, show that new technologies can cause damage to the fabric of local communities outweighing any economic advantages to be gained. Roode (1993) suggests that the detrimental consequences of the introduction of ICTs in societies should be anticipated to avoid further dehumanisation of people. "Not all societies can absorb information technology without harmful side-effects such as loss of privacy, unemployment, computer crimes, technostress and similar woes." (Roode, 1993: 2).

Avgerou (2009) names this the "disruptive transformation perspective" which considers the idea of development, including ICT-enabled development, a "contested endeavour or as involving action that affects differently different populations" (p. 9). This criticism challenges the assumption that ICT knowledge and implementing the ICT4D artefact imply that communities are now developing or have access to development opportunities and empowerment. Ongoing ICT failures in developing contexts have highlighted this concern (Avgerou and Walsham, 2000; Zheng, 2009).

Although this study does not intend to portray ICT4D as categorically all bad, it is important to note that a central concern in most ICT4D discourses is the need to critique the assumptions about ICT and what ICT can do in developing situations (Avgerou, 2005; Thompson, 2008; Avgerou, 2009). Emerging and ongoing ICT4D discourses compel the ICT4D researcher to take a position of inquiry where he or she can question the underlying assumptions, expectations, motives, beliefs, and values that drive the ICT4D artefact, including those that developing communities have among themselves (Du Plooy and Roode, 1993). Myers and Avison (2002) for example show that in ICT4D discourses people are potentially constrained by various forms of social, cultural, and political domination, which implies that one should not only strive for mutual understanding in development discourses but also the emancipation from "false and unwarranted beliefs, assumptions and constraints" (Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997: 151) both within "developed" (or often more powerful) and "developing" (less powerful) groups (Lewis, 1994; Myers and Avison, 2002; Stahl, 2008). In support, Thompson (2008) argues that people in developing country context "are often least positioned to complain when the benefits associated with ICT do not materialise." (p. 822).

ICT4D discourses, of which some have been put forward above, appear to emerge from, as well as sensitises one to, a potential non-understanding of the situation and the manner in which ICT is supposed to enable development (Ali and Bailur, 2007). These discourses also draw attention to a non-understanding of and a non-enlightenment regarding the motives, assumptions, and expectations that drive the implementation of developmental ICT. It sensitises one to potential contradictions, collisions or conflicts between the different assumptions, values, views and cultural systems of the "developed" and "developing", i.e. collisions between different views on how the ICT4D artefact should be introduced, valued, and understood (Kimmel, 1988; Jackson, 2002; Avgerou, 2009). In essence therefore, false expectations, assumptions, and views regarding development and doing development work as well as resultant development concepts and practices equate to false consciousness that keeps people (both the "have's" and "have not's") in a state of non-emancipation and non-enlightenment.

From ICT4D literature and developmental discourses, one can find several discourses on such false ideologies or consciousnesses regarding the ICT4D artefact, i.e. false consciousness embedded in the assumptions, motives, views, and expectations of researchers, practitioners, and receivers of developmental ICTs. Zheng (2009), for example, questions the assumption that there is a link between ICT and economic growth, or that there is a connection between ICT and human well-being (Section 6.3.2 elaborates on this link). Heeks (2005) highlights concerns associated with technocratic assumptions and universal modernist development criteria. Thompson (2008) argues for the need to critique "unqualified 'technological optimism'" (p. 822), mentioning international players such as Cisco and Microsoft, who may see developmental ICT as an potential for market expansion, and who may exert untested motives. Thompson continues by highlighting conflicts of interests between the different role-players involved in policy formulation and practical implementation of ICT4D and the need to question the relevance of "hard" or Western approaches (and its embedded assumptions and values) to developmental ICT. Wilson (2004) also questions the automatic assumptions about the universal benefits associated with technology diffusion and suggests that developmental ICT is potentially deeply embedded within social structures, which should be recognised.

All of these false consciousnesses and ideologies are in some way deeply entrenched in, and thus resultant from, the worldviews of both the "developed" and "developing". It is consequently a problem in need of critique. Those promoting or believing such views are essentially in need of emancipation, enlightenment or social transformation (Thompson, 2008; Zheng, 2009; Thompson and Walsham, 2010). One may even argue that the term "development" is a discriminatory concept or an oppressive ideology enforced onto developing countries by developed countries (Escobar,

1992; Lewis, 1994; Heeks, 2005). In such cases a false consciousness on the side of those who consider themselves to be developed and "better off", may manifest in the belief that, one assumes that you are "developed" and that those you are "helping" or researching are in need of development, that it is inherently better to be "developed" and that you *know* how to develop the others (Heeks, 2005). It is an oppressive ideology, that keeps people in a state of non-emancipation and which needs to be challenged. Lewis' (1994) asserts that "o[O]nce the West was won, those who were a part of the grand adventure naturally concluded that what they had been able to accomplish should be a possibility for others. They looked with compassion, mixed with a good degree of superiority, at their neighbors in less 'developed' countries and set about to help them develop." (p. 10-20).

Highlighting an emancipatory approach to understanding development, using the Capability Approach as a theoretical lens, Zheng (2009) sensitises her readers to the meaning of development concepts, which include different meanings attributed to concepts such as development, poverty, emancipation, achievement, freedom, deprivation, participation, sustainability, compatibility of ICT, and so forth. In the South African developing context, issues of meaning may also include the need to understand differences and collisions between the African and Western worldviews and associated value systems (Asante, 1983; Kimmel, 1988; Ndegwa, 1992; Myers and Avison, 2002; Thompson, 2004; Flyvbjerg, 1998 in McGrath, 2005; Lee et al., 2008; Zheng, 2009; Nyamnjoh, 2010), assumptions about power relations and position in intercultural communication and development discourses (Asante, 1983; Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997; Čečez-Kecmanović, 2001; Thompson, 2008; Stahl, 2008), tension caused by sickness, poverty, and hopelessness (Lewis, 1994), the cultural-context or lifeworld (Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997) of developing communities, and the ways in which developing communities innovate and function (Ali and Bailur, 2007; Avgerou, 2009; Mthoko and Pade-Khene, 2013). Openness to alternate and contradictory meanings attributed to development and development concepts will assist in sensitising the researcher and practitioner to understand conflicts and collisions associated with ethical conduct in implementing and researching the ICT4D artefact.

This study thus depicts ICT4D stakeholders, on both sides of the "development divide", as in need of enlightenment, emancipation, and ultimately social transformation, and in need of delivery from the false expectations, assumptions, and motives that might underline the way in which ICT4D is viewed, practiced, and researched. In addition, seeking out meaning from others and inferring meaning in the light of conflicting values and value systems are further needs to be addressed (Kimmel, 1988) through doing and researching ICT4D.

1.2 Critical Social Theory

In the previous section attention has been drawn to disparities or conflicts between what ICT and ICT theory are perceived to do or enable (often associated with the perspective of the "developed", those "doing" ICT4D or researching the ICT4D situation) and the unique realities and perspectives associated with the situation in which ICT is supposed to enable development and emancipation. The consequent need for enlightenment and emancipation in ICT4D work has been highlighted. In this section, the researcher will reflect on critical social theory as a research paradigm for investigating ICT4D discourses and practice, and for pursuing emancipatory ICT4D work that is also ethical.

Critical social theory takes a critical stance on what is observed about social phenomena (Hammersley, 1992; Neuman, 1997; Myers, 2009). It questions assumptions and ideologies underlying social phenomena in order to address the emancipatory interests of research subjects (Adam, 2001). Critical social theorists believe that they cannot merely be observers of social phenomena. Instead, they believe that, by their presence in social interaction, they influence and are influenced by the social and technological systems that they are studying (Hammersley, 1992; Thomas, 1993; Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997; Klein and Myers, 1999) and that social reality is produced and reproduced by people (Myers and Avison, 2002). This implies that inquiry into social activity focuses on understanding of meaning "from within the social context and lifeworld of actors" (Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997: 151).

Critical social theorists extend the responsibility of the researcher beyond the development of explanations and understandings of social phenomena which is the mandate of interpretivism and conventional social research (Thomas, 1993; Neuman, 1997; Klein and Myers, 1999) "to a critique of unjust and inequitable conditions of the situation from which people require emancipation" (Nqwenyama and Lee, 1997: 151) such as deprivation, oppressive ideologies, false consciousness or poverty sustaining circumstances (Hammersley, 1992; Walsham, 2006). Critical researchers recognise the need for social research to affect change and social transformation (Hammersley, 1992; Thomas, 1993; Myers and Klein, 2011), and that their ability to affect change is "constrained by various forms of social, cultural and political domination" (Myers and Avison, 2002: 7). The critical perspective requires the researcher not only to strive for mutual understanding (or intercultural communication) but also the emancipation from "false and unwarranted beliefs, assumptions and constraints" (Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997: 151) within both "developed" (or often more powerful) and "developing" (less powerful) groups (Lewis, 1994; Myers and Avison, 2002).

A critical approach draws attention to assumed power relations in intercultural communication (Čečez-Kecmanović, 2001; Stahl, 2008; Myers and Klein, 2011), as well as assumed power relations in development discourses, since people in developing situations are often least positioned to participate in development discourses and planning (Thompson, 2008). According to a critical epistemology, research is not a mere cognitive process of associating empirically discovered facts to theory. It also involves value-laden preconceptions, and emotionally loaded political and moral stances as well as conflict, oppositions, and contradictions in the social phenomena and within the researcher (Myers, 1997; Myers and Avison, 2002; Avgerou, 2005; Avgerou, 2009). The researcher, therefore, becomes a research participant who together with the research subjects, pursue social transformation (Thomas, 1993; Avgerou, 2005; McGrath, 2005).

Moreover, literature on critical ethnography (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990; Hammersley, 1992; Thomas, 1993) puts forward the idea of cultural entrapment or social entrapment which points to the variety of mechanisms, emanating from one's own worldview, that are applied to assure "social harmony and conformity to interactional norms, organizational rules, institutional patterns, and ideological concepts" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967 in Thomas, 1993: 3) and which may affect assumptions about development and development discourses. Cultural entrapment may be accompanied by ethnocentrism which refers to the tendency of most people to think of their own culture as the best or most sensible (Harvey and Myers, 2002). This study, thus argues that false consciousness regarding ICT4D research and practice is potentially rooted in a conscious or subconscious cultural entrapment on the part of people on both sides of the "development divide". False consciousness may ultimately lead to ICT4D failures. The implications of cultural entrapment, ethnocentricity, and false consciousness embedded in ICT4D research and practice, therefore, needs to be challenged and exposed (Thompson, 2008; Zheng, 2009; Thompson and Walsham, 2010).

To understand oppression and emancipatory interests, one needs to acknowledge the contradictions in what people say about their own and each other's needs and interests, what desires are genuine and whether a person's desires are possibly against their own interests and inherent "good life" (Hammersley, 1992: 110). There might therefore, be a conflict between needs and interests (Myers and Avison, 2002), with several reconstructions of reality, such as that participants might regurgitate what they have been told by outsiders about the "good life", about what well-being, enlightenment, deprivation, and oppression means (Bourdieu, 1977), or that their honest emancipatory interests might work against their personal well-being (Zheng, 2009). Conflicting values may also give rise to ethical problems (Kimmel, 1988). As a critical social theorist one should, therefore, be open to the

possibility that one might define the "real interests" of the oppressed group (and possibly yourself) incorrectly (Hammersley, 1992: 110).

When considering this, the idea of emancipation is problematic. The meaning of emancipation, enlightenment, and improvement might always present some disagreement (Hammersley, 1992). Emancipation or the improvement of a situation should therefore always be viewed in the light of the values that one has accepted, while recognising that our understanding of them might continually change or be challenged through self-reflexivity which also should be on-going. Interpretation, analysis, and deciphering meaning in critical ethnographic work should be able to answer questions such as; "How do we smooth out contradictions in what people say and do about their needs? How do we decide what are genuine desires, and what desires are against a person's own interests (or against those of others)" (Hammersley, 1992: 110, 112), and how do we negotiate value conflicts in ethical research (Kimmel, 1988; Hammersley, 1992)?

1.2.1 The ethical question in critical research

Stahl (2006; 2008) argues that critical research should pay special attention to the ethical question if it wants to become more successful. He, subsequently, puts forward a definition that makes an explicit link between critical research and ethics. He holds that critical research is "characterized by an intention to change the status quo, overcome injustice and alienation, and promote emancipation" (Stahl, 2008: 139). Moreover, ethical research, which is the intention of this study, should address those power structures that may disallow people to live emancipated lives according to the criteria that they choose and value (Hammersley, 1992; Stahl, 2008; Krauss, 2013; Mthoko and Pade-Khene, 2013).

Critical research that has an ethical intention is about initiating and promoting change and social transformation (Stahl, 2006; Stahl, 2008; Myers and Klein, 2011), about practical relevance (Ngwenyama, 1991; Stahl, 2008; Krauss, 2013), and about critical reflexivity in the sense that; "critical researchers are willing to be critical about their own assumptions, beliefs and ideologies, and render these open to debate. If the intention is to promote emancipation, then the researcher needs to allow a critique of her own viewpoint that may preclude successful emancipation from the research subject's point of view." (Stahl, 2008: 140). One can, therefore, also make the link between the emancipation of the researcher (from cultural entrapment for example) and the emancipation of the researched, and between the emancipation of the researcher and ethical research and practice (Bourdieu, 1977, 1998; Lee, 1999; Čečez-Kecmanović, Klein and Brooke, 2008; Stahl, Tremblay and LeRouge, 2011; Krauss and Turpin, 2013).

In this study critical social theory emerged to be the most appropriate paradigm or position of enquiry for addressing the underlying assumptions, expectations, motives, and values that drive the ICT4D artefact within developing situations (Myers and Klein, 2011). Critical theory also allowed the researcher to assume a position of enquiry that could address the disparities, conflicts, and collisions that emerge from ICT4D research and practice, and ultimately the social transformation of all research participants (Myers and Klein, 2011).

1.3 The research context

The research reported here evolved from the researcher's ethnographic immersion in a community engagement and ICT training project, entitled *The Happy Valley Project*[1], in a deep rural part of South Africa. As ICT4D practitioner, the researcher's role was (until December 2011) that of the primary driver and "outsider" champion of the Happy Valley Project. Since 2008 the researcher, in partnership with several key community members and development agents, has been involved in many aspects of community engagement and ICT4D that have evolved since the inception of the project. This involvement includes being part of how the Happy Valley Project started and gained momentum, how relationships with teachers and key community members developed and matured, how key community members were empowered through ICT and train-the-trainer initiatives, how the ICT training slowly progressed towards becoming sustainable and community owned, how project stakeholders (the researcher included) were empowered and delivered from false consciousness and cultural entrapment, how the researcher himself was inspired through relationships with the community and lessons learned from living among the people for periods of time, and how the researcher learned how to approach ICT4D research and practice ethically.

From an ICT4D project management point of view, the researcher presided over activities such as preparing project proposals, acquiring international funding, implementing the ICT4D artefact, empowering development agents through ICT training initiatives, project reporting and feedback on ICT policy, and after-implementation service and support of community gatekeepers and development agents. The researcher's role in the project evolved from being a doer of ICT work and training to someone who was consulted for guidance, quality control and certification. As a result, relationships in the project were strongly focussed on those participants who play a caregiving, agency, visionary or entrepreneurial role in the community.

Ethnographically the researcher's role evolved from initial community entry, to becoming a member and to being recognised as a member of a community of development agents and caregivers in

[1] Pseudonyms have been used throughout the thesis to protect the identities of the people involved.

Happy Valley. Throughout this process, the researcher was deeply embedded in the social phenomena that were being investigated, i.e. he became the data, lived the data (Whyte, 1996) and was collaboratively part of data collection, interpretation, and analysis.

Although the project involves various forms of engagement and social phenomena, this study focuses on two specific aspects of community engagement. The first aspect deals with the issue of community entry and specifically how one should, as outsider, approach ICT4D research and practice in deep rural Zulu communities. The second aspect deals with the difficulties and realities of introducing, interpreting, and aligning the ICT4D artefact (such as ICT4D policy and training) to the unique context and development realities of deep rural communities in South Africa. In addition to describing the interaction dynamics in the social phenomena and their social meanings, the researcher also sought to understand, describe, and participate in emancipation and collisions as they emerged from the social phenomena and the researcher's embedment in the social phenomena. Throughout the project, the researcher sought to understand the process of deciphering meaning, both in terms of understanding and articulating emancipatory concepts as well as gaining access to the worldview of research participants, and that which underpin their worldview, such as value systems and local emancipatory practices.

1.3.1 A brief synopsis of the Happy Valley community

The Happy Valley community is typified by strong Zulu and African traditions that in many ways still reflect ancient cultural practices and mannerisms, similar to those described in Willoughby (1928) and Giliomee and Mbenga (2007). A Zulu king and traditional leadership is, up to this day, the ultimate authority in Happy Valley regardless of efforts by the apartheid and post-apartheid governments to lessen the influence of its traditional leaders. Even the acquisition of land is confirmed by a Zulu king only. Happy Valley is the heartland of the Zulu people in South Africa.

Happy Valley town is the administrative and business centre of a small rural district in South Africa. Although the Zulu language is the primary means of communicating, there are a few of people are able to speak English. English was consequently also the primary form of communication in the Happy Valley Project. The people practice three kinds of religions, namely, Christianity, Shembe (a religious tradition which is a mix between ancestral worship and Christianity), and Ancestral worship. Herding animals is the primary economic activity. The area is mostly unsuitable for crop farming, except for some plots along the Happy Valley River. Government social grants and pensions are the only source of a regular, cash-based income for many families. As it is the centre of the local district, Happy Valley town enjoys a moderate basic infrastructure. The town has a tarred road which

connects it to the national road network. Very few houses have access to electricity and running water and there is limited access to fixed-line and mobile connectivity. The Happy Valley district is one of the most economically disadvantaged communities in South Africa as measured by per capita income and unemployment statistics and according to some, the home of the worst run municipality in South Africa (Beeld, 2009).

In the Happy Valley district, several issues and difficulties complicate community development initiatives. These include high rates of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) infections, a high occurrence of Tuberculosis (TB) including the emergence of Extreme Drug Resistant Tuberculosis (XDR-TB), high unemployment, poverty, many child-headed households, illiteracy and other complicating factors. The impact of these factors has been profound, and is intensifying. Large numbers of children are left orphaned and destitute while malnutrition, sickness, and death result in a general feeling of hopelessness, which impacts negatively on programs aimed at empowerment, social development and improving health. According to key community members most people are either infected or affected by HIV. Happy Valley is a community in tension due mainly to deteriorating health and extreme poverty. Consequently the realities of hopelessness and being a community in tension emerged to be key factors to negotiate while doing ICT4D work.

Happy Valley is a community of extremes. In contrast with the difficulties described above, a number of very successful, community-owned initiatives have been established since the early 1990's. These include Happy Valley Private School, a child hospice for orphans and vulnerable children, several home-based and day-care projects, a local hospice that delivers humanitarian support where the South African Department of Health's mandate ends, and a number of employment initiatives. Happy Valley School, where the project started, was founded by Christian missionaries from the Rock of Ages Church in 1994. Due to the realities that face the impoverished community of Happy Valley, the school cannot afford to pay market related salaries to teachers. As a result, the school's teachers are mostly volunteers or ex-learners mentored by senior staff. Despite these difficulties, Happy Valley School has, since its first Matric class in 2001, maintained a 100% pass rate and is considered to be one of the best schools in the region. Although the school's staff is hard-strained to function in a difficult context, they are a highly motivated and disciplined group of individuals with good leadership. They do, however, experience an ongoing need for mentoring and support as qualified teachers understandably leave for better-paying opportunities.

During the process of befriending several people at the Rock of Ages Mission and learning from a number of associated development initiatives in the region, the caregiving nature of the people of Happy Valley emerged to be a defining and emancipatory feature of the community. This community

of caregivers (teachers, nurses, community leaders, and other agents of development) therefore became the primary informants and project partners with whom the researcher collaborated throughout the entire ethnography and who guided the researcher with regard to understanding and aligning with the local worldview, values, and emancipatory practices. Ethnographically the researcher became part of a community of development agents in the greater community of Happy Valley.

1.3.2 A brief overview of the Happy Valley Project

The Happy Valley project started in August 2008. The first ten months of the project primarily involved topic discovery, enculturation and community entry (see Chapter 4). More engaged ICT4D activities and teacher training, however, started with a UNESCO funded teacher training project in June 2009 (see Krauss, Turpin, Asmelash, Jere and Gebregziabher, 2009; Krauss, 2013). The UNESCO project gave the researcher and his colleagues enough momentum to pursue various community empowerment initiatives, of which some were unrelated to ICT. Practical hands-on ICT4D activities included the training of nurses, teachers, and local community members and train-the-trainer workshops. Other project activities included the testing and critiquing of UNESCO's Information Communication Technology Competency Standards for Teachers (ICT-CST) policy framework (UNESCO, 2008; Krauss et al., 2009; Krauss, 2013). Initially the ICT training courses were facilitated by the researcher himself, while further activities developed as a result of a partnership between the researcher and community members. Because of the ongoing training and the continued visits from the researcher and his colleagues to the community, a group of local visionaries was inspired and guided to start an ICT training business for the broader community. Some of the non-ICT activities that developed from the project include an annual campus trip for grade 11 learners to the University of Pretoria. The purpose of the campus trip was to inspire learners from the Happy Valley community to continue with tertiary studies. The campus trip has also been instrumental in building and strengthening relationships and for learning about reciprocity and cultural exchange rates (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999; Wolcott, 1995 in Myers, 2009). As a result of lessons learnt, further ICT training was implemented in another rural community closer to the university (see Krauss and Fourie, 2011; Fourie and Krauss, 2011). Although the Happy Valley project developed slowly, mostly with very small steps and a limited budget, it has been able to maintain momentum and gain acceptance by the community and its leaders. Several reasons for the acceptance, success and some of the failures are reflected upon throughout this study.

1.4 The nature of the research problem in ethnographies

According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1983), the research problem in ethnographies develops or is transformed over time and "eventually its scope is clarified and delimited and its internal structure explored" (p. 175). It is only over the course of the research when the researcher discovers what the research is about that he or she is able to articulate the research problem and put forward the research questions (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). In this study, it was only during ethnographic fieldwork, reflection, and when the researcher started to grapple with the data (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001; Leedy and Ormrod, 2005; De Vos et al., 2007; Myers, 2009) that the key issues that the study aims to understand developed and were articulated.

Roode (1993) holds that research projects always start with a problem or issue, which is usually expressed as a question. These questions typically enquire about the ontological, phenomenological, epistemological, and normative nature of the problem or issue under investigation. Roode (1993) furthermore presents a framework with four generic research questions for allowing the researcher to explore different aspects of the problem or situation at hand (see Figure 1.1). "T[t]he uniqueness of each problem situation will dictate which questions would be relevant, and the order in which they should be posed." (Roode, 1993: 6).

	What is?	
How does?	The research problem or main research question	**Why is?**
	How should?	

Figure 1-1: A framework with generic research questions (from Roode, 1993: 7)

The following paragraph explains the meaning of each generic research question according to Roode (1993: 7-8):

- **What is? questions**: "These questions explore the fundamental nature or essence of the research problem, exposing the structure of the problem or the meaning of underlying concepts or ideas."
- **Why is? questions**: "The purpose of these questions are to explain the real-life behaviour or characteristics of the phenomenon, determining the relationships between elements thereof."
- **How does? questions**: "These questions are answered by direct observation of the problem or phenomenon under study, and describe its reality."
- **How should? questions**: "These questions focus on normative aspects of the problem and try to determine guidelines for recommendations based on the results of the study."

Following Roode's (1993) guidelines the researcher explored all concepts and themes related to the research problem. He used Roode's (1993) framework in Figure 1.1 to formulate many questions which he eventually clustered and grouped together (massaged) to form a consolidated set of elementary research questions. Roode's "bottom-up" approach towards generating the overall research question and suitable sub-questions aligned well with the way in which the research problem typically develops in ethnographies (see Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983).

1.5 The research problem

During ethnographic immersion, three key issues emerge from fieldwork. Firstly, the researcher realised his (and some of the project partners') inability with regard to intercultural matters and understanding the worldview of research participants. Secondly, he realised his inability to do community entry appropriately and ethically and implement the ICT4D artefact, especially because of his non-understanding of the cultural context, underlying values, emancipatory concepts and interests, and the oppressive circumstances that the people of Happy Valley find themselves in. The third issue relates to an inability to interpret and explain the collisions that emerged from introducing, aligning or implementing the ICT4D artefact. This issue manifested in many ways, but was especially noticeable from collisions, contradictions and conflicts that manifested during ongoing community engagement.

In order to address these issues, the researcher and research participants had to collaboratively finds ways to do ICT4D work appropriately and ethically, i.e. to introduce, align, and implement the ICT4D artefact so as not to create or reinforce oppressive circumstances or ideologies, or disrupt the unique social fabric of the Happy Valley people (Du Plooy and Roode, 1993; Mthoko and Pade-Khene, 2013). The collisions that emanated from the social phenomena affected the way in the ICT4D artefact was researched and implemented. This emerged as the result of false consciousness and cultural entrapment within project stakeholders – such as misunderstandings, conflicting assumptions, and untested motives, views, and approaches with regard to ICT4D work. It led to the realisation that there is a need to understand ethical conduct and an ethical position in the context of worldview collisions and value conflicts (Kimmel, 1988; Hammersley, 1992; Stahl, 2008).

A key issue that also emerged within the researcher himself is how false consciousness affected assumptions about power, position, and roles in development discourses. Through the ethnographic methods and critical hermeneutic principles described in the chapters that follow, the researcher shows how awareness of these inabilities, collisions, and false consciousnesses emerged and was seen to be the result of cultural entrapment and ethnocentrism that he and the research participants suffered from.

Therefore, key to understanding the problem lies in the starting assumption that all stakeholders and participants involved in the ICT4D artefact potentially suffer from various types of inabilities and false consciousness with regard to emancipatory ICT4D research and practice. These false consciousnesses may lead to false expectations, assumptions, non-emancipatory practices, and ongoing ICT4D failures if not addressed correctly. All stakeholders and participators in ICT4D are therefore in need of empowerment, enlightenment and emancipation with regard to ICT4D and assumed power relations and position in development discourses. Associated with false consciousness and ICT4D collisions, is the issue of contradictory meanings attributed to emancipation and emancipatory concepts and the questioning of power relations in establishing consensus on the meaning of emancipatory concepts. These need to be discovered and critiqued through critical ICT4D work.

A unique perspective on these problems is presented as this study it looks at emancipatory ICT4D research and practice in context of a deep rural Zulu community in South Africa, and specifically the journey of social transformation that the researcher himself embarked on.

Four interrelated sub-problems are put forward:

1) In context of ICT4D work (research and practice) in deep rural communities in South Africa, there are contradictions and collisions embedded in *the way* the meaning of emancipation and associated emancipatory concepts are constructed and understood by the researcher and project stakeholders. These contradictions and collisions emanate from the different worldviews and value systems (see Kimmel, 1988; Hammersley, 1992) that underlie the way in which people make sense of life and reality, and specifically result from the cultural entrapment and ethnocentrism of ICT4D participators.
2) Different worldviews and contradictory meanings attributed to emancipatory concepts, therefore, affect the way in which the ICT4D artefact is introduced, valued, and perceived to contribute to social transformation and the development of rural communities in South Africa.
3) Because of the differences and collisions highlighted above, it becomes evident that there is an inability among ICT4D stakeholders to introduce and implement the ICT4D artefact (e.g. ICT policy and training) appropriately and ethically. As a result, a central aspect of ICT4D research and practice is the need for the outsider researcher-practitioner to appropriately and ethically do community entry in deep rural communities in South Africa.
4) Finally, the collisions, conflicts, and difficulties that emerge from doing ICT4D work in deep rural South Africa may be the result of false consciousness and false ideologies as well as the prejudice and historicity of project stakeholders (i.e. researcher and research participants).

These need to be understood and negotiated in ICT4D work. Moreover, false consciousness, suffering, deprivation, cultural entrapment, and ethnocentrism may have a non-emancipatory effect on the worldviews, beliefs, and practices of socially oppressed and deprived parties – and the researcher explicitly does not portray himself as fully emancipated in this regard.

1.6 The research questions

This section puts forward the research questions that this study will answer, starting with the main research question.

A key argument throughout this thesis is that the emancipation of the researcher is a precursor for the emancipation of the researched. In a critical discussion of MIS research, Lee (1999: 25) poses the question: "In what ways do MIS researchers themselves require emancipation?" Similarly therefore, the researcher also asks: **In what ways should ICT4D researchers and practitioners achieve self-emancipation, in order to ensure the ongoing emancipation and empowerment of the deep rural developing community in South Africa?** This research question addresses normative aspects of the problem situation and tries to establish guidelines for recommendations based on the results of the study (Roode, 1993). It tries to understand how things ought to be, how to value them (Kimmel, 1988; Hammersley, 1992), which things are good or bad (emancipatory or non-emancipatory), and which actions are right or wrong (i.e. ethical conduct) (Kimmel, 1988). The question makes the connection between ethical research and the need for self-reflexivity on the part of the researcher (Čečez-Kecmanović, Klein and Brooke, 2008; Stahl, 2008; Stahl, Tremblay and LeRouge, 2011). It may also result in "an evaluation of the results or new insights obtained during the research" (Roode, 1993: 8) and an enhanced understanding of the problem domain. By direct observation of the problem or phenomenon the reality of how emancipation evolved is described. The realities and difficulties of doing ICT4D work in a deep rural community in South Africa are put forward as the context in which the research questions are answered.

Four interrelated sub-questions are put forward:

1. **In the context of doing ICT4D work in a deep rural community in South Africa, how do different worldviews affect the way in which the meaning of emancipation, oppression and other emancipatory concepts, is constructed?** The purpose of this research question is to reflect on and critique the way in which the meaning of emancipation (and emancipatory concepts) are constructed according to the worldviews and values accepted by research participants. By answering this question the researcher will be able to gauge how to participate in emancipatory ICT4D work so that false consciousness and oppressive

circumstances are not created or reinforced from the outside. By understanding emancipation and how it is constructed from the point of view of the local community, the researcher will then be able to also decipher meaning from contradictions in how people express their needs, interests, and values and possibly how it affects emancipatory ICT4D work.

2. **What are the oppressive ideologies, false consciousnesses, and difficulties associated with doing ICT4D in deep rural communities, and what are the associated beliefs and values?** This question will attempt to open to scrutiny "hidden agendas, power centres, and assumptions that inhibit, repress, and constrain" (Thomas, 1993: 3), and that which keep research participants, in particular the researcher, from fully achieving emancipatory research. This question will also critique underlying assumptions, values, motives, and expectations embedded in ICT4D discourses and practice, from the point of view of the outsider researcher.
3. **Given the issues highlighted above, how should one do community entry and introduce the ICT4D artefact in deep rural communities in South Africa ethically, and what is the role of development agents and cultural interpreters?** Against the backdrop of the previous questions, this question will focus on normative aspects of the problem and determine researcher-practitioner guidelines for recommendations based on the results of embedded ICT4D practice. Specifically, this question will present guidelines and principles for doing community entry and introducing the ICT4D artefact in deep rural communities in South Africa, that are ethical.
4. **What are the collisions that emerge from doing ICT4D work and collaborating with project partners in the process of answering the above issues – how do these affect the way in which ICT4D research should be done?** The focus of this question is on how the different worldviews and values that ICT4D project stakeholders accept and live by, affect the way ICT4D work (research and practice) is done.

1.7 Reasons for the study

Harvey and Myers (2002) and Twinomurinzi (2010) highlight the tension between IS practitioners and IS researchers, showing that it revolves around approaches to generating knowledge that are both rigorous and relevant. Supporting this notion, De Vos et al. (2007) hold that little success has been achieved in combining the role of practitioners (e.g. those helping clients, patients, and learners) with the researcher's role of producing new knowledge. They also suggest that the purpose or contribution of practice-orientated research in the caring profession is not only to solve practical problems in a specific social setting but also to forge genuinely practical and locally orientated

guidelines for research, practice, and policy, that respect and reflect local practice, knowledge, and protocol (also see Hammersley, 1992). A topic should be selected for study because it interrogates information needed to guide policy, planning or practice decisions (Gordon, Holland & Lahelma, 2001; De Vos et al., 2007). Moreover, the need for research to inform ICT policy in Africa rather than only focusing on the point of implementation is highlighted by Thompson and Walsham (2010). Against this background, the author argues that the process of forging and establishing genuinely practical and locally orientated guidelines, in turn, also leads to the emancipation and empowerment of the ICT4D researcher-practitioner and to ethical research practice.

Rubin and Babbie (1989) in De Vos et al. (2007) further suggest that for the caring profession (e.g. teachers, nurses, and social workers), the motivation for selecting a topic should come from decisions that confront social service agencies or the information that is needed to solve practical problems. This advice could also be extended to those introducing ICT into developing situations, because ultimately, in ICT4D research and practice, the critical researcher takes a caring position as he or she aims to: pursue the emancipatory interests of research participants; focus on understanding meaning "from within the social context and lifeworld of actors" (Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997: 151); and "uncover the real structures in the material world to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves" (Neuman, 1997: 74) (also see Adam, 2001; Walsham, 2005; Kvasny and Richardson, 2006).

Ngwenyama (1991) suggests that the theory of critical social theory cannot be separated from practice, because it is against the philosophy of critical social theory. Authors on critical research in Information Systems (IS) often scrutinize the relationship between the theory and practice of critical work (e.g. Ngwenyama, 1991; Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005; McGrath, 2005; Walsham, 2005; Stahl, Tremblay and LeRough, 2011; Krauss, 2013). Čečez-Kecmanović (2005), for example, holds that "t[T]he validity test for a critical IS theory is … in IS practice" (p. 37). McGrath (2005), however, argues that the theory and practice of doing critical research often do not adequately inform each other and that critical work in IS is mostly conceptual in nature. Stahl, Tremblay, and LeRough (2011) hold that there is a lack of empirical research in the critical tradition and that this is mostly because of a lack of agreement on what constitutes the methodology of critical research. With respect to IS research in developing countries, Walsham and Sahay (2006) conclude that there is a need for more studies that are explicitly critical in nature. This study contributes by addressing these concerns and by offering a special case of how the theory and practice of critical research in an ICT4D situation informed each other.

The study, its critical philosophy, and choice of topic therefore evolved from the researcher's and the research participants' desire to make a practical and emancipatory contribution to the development of the people of the Happy Valley community as well as to generate locally orientated theory and guidelines. In fact, as it will be shown in the confessional chapters, the research problem and questions ultimately emerged as a result of a dialogue between the researcher and people in the research setting. As a result of the practical nature of the community work that the researcher was involved in even before the research started, participant-observation and critical ethnography emerged as the most appropriate methodological approach (Hammersley, 1992; Harvey and Myers, 2002; De Vos et al., 2007; Myers, 2009). Ethnographic approaches alleviated the tension between research and practice by providing empirical evidence that is both relevant (practice orientated) and rigorous (Twinomurinzi, 2010).

1.8 Thesis structure

This thesis is organised into eight chapters. This chapter presented an overview of the research project, the research context, and the research questions. Chapter 2 explains the study's philosophical grounding and choice of methodological approaches. The chapter thus presents an overview of critical ethnography, critical hermeneutics, and participant-observation, including practical aspects related to fieldwork, fieldnotes, and ethics in ethnography. The researcher also clarifies the reasons for using a confessional style of writing in Chapters 3 to 8.

Chapter 3 presents Bourdieu's critical lineage, its practical and theoretical relevance to ICT4D research, as well as its role in constructing adequate knowledge of the ICT4D social situation. In the chapters that follow the researcher retrospectively refers to Bourdieu's critical lineage where his views confirmed research findings and where it made sense to do so.

Chapter 4 demonstrates how the methodological approach put forward in Chapter 2 is implemented during the community entry and topic discovery phases of the research. The chapter explains the researcher's historicity and prejudice, and shows how it informed fieldwork and the critical themes that emerged from the social phenomena. The chapter also presents the beginnings of critical reflexivity, and how the researcher recognised his own inabilities, social entrapment, and need for emancipation in ICT4D work. Chapter 5 follows from Chapter 4 as it presents a culmination of lessons learnt during community entry. Chapter 5 is practice-orientated in that it demonstrates the beginnings of criticality and how lessons learnt during community entry were implemented in the Happy Valley project.

Chapter 6 and 7 reflect on and describe the key collisions that emerged from the ICT4D phenomena. The primary data emphasis therefore is on how learnings and emancipation evolved as opposed to how the Happy Valley project developed. Essentially the researcher theorises the social situation as an embedded insider and as someone who has been carried away by the game of ICT4D social interaction. Critical reflexivity and worldview collisions are therefore prominent themes throughout these two chapters.

Chapter 8 argues the contribution of the research in terms of context, method, and adequate understanding. It thus also summarises the thesis, showing how the research questions were addressed and how key concepts from Bourdieu assisted in understanding and critical reflexivity. The researcher concludes by presenting himself as the emancipated researcher and by challenging those participating in ICT4D work and discourses in South Africa to seek a more adequate and emancipatory approach to ICT4D research and practice.

CHAPTER 2
Philosophical perspectives and methodological approach

2.1 Preamble

Klein and Myers (1999), McGrath (2005), Walsham (2005, 2006), Myers (2009) and Myers and Klein (2011) are adamant that the researcher should make explicit the fundamental philosophical assumptions of interpretive and critical work. This chapter, therefore, commences with a discussion of interpretivism, and how it supports critical research and the process of making sense during (gaining insight into) fieldwork and data collection. Critical social theory as a research paradigm is then discussed. The researcher thus shows how its ontological and epistemological assumptions (orientations to knowledge) assist in applying a methodology. Critical ethnography and critical hermeneutics as primary methodological approaches are then discussed including how it aligns with the philosophical perspectives of critical social theory. Following this, practical aspects associated with fieldwork, fieldnotes, and ethics in ethnography are explained. Confessional writing is then discussed including how it enables and demonstrates the self-reflexivity needed for critical ethnographic work. The chapter concludes by discussing the value of ethnography and why it is well-suited for this study. In the chapters that follow, the research approach will be carried out and demonstrated.

2.2 Introduction

According to Myers (2009), the research design involves deciding on the researcher's philosophical assumptions, the research method, collection and treatment of data, and approach for writing up and presenting results. Denzin and Lincoln (2005: 376) argue that qualitative research should answer five basic questions:

1. How will the design connect to the paradigm or perspective being used? I.e. how will the chosen methodology align with the ontology and epistemology of the research paradigm?
2. How will the methodology allow the researcher to address the problems of praxis (putting theory into practice) and change?
3. Who or what will be studied?
4. What strategies of enquiry will be used?
5. What methods and research tools for collecting and analysing empirical data will be utilised?

However, although one should attempt to provide a road map for the whole research project, the reality of doing critical ethnographic work is that the research problem and research questions develop as the research evolves and as the researcher develops as a person (or research instrument) through his immersion in the specific research situation (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Thomas, 1993; Myers, 2009).

The combination of a critical epistemology and ethnography and the need to acknowledge prejudice (Klein and Myers, 1999; Myers, 2009), necessitates the researcher to not allow himself to be boxed in by a firm research design up front or a conceptual lens that might possibly distort what is observed from the social phenomena under investigation (Thomas, 1993; Whyte, 1996; De Vos, et al., 2007). In critical ethnography, it is only during the process of research, as the researcher develops and discovers the research problem, that its scope is clarified and defined, and its internal structure explored (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Thomas, 1993). Therefore, although the research problem and research questions are presented early on in Chapter 1, the reality is that they evolved and became clear during fieldwork, analysis, and reflection (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Thomas, 1993; De Vos et al., 2007; Myers, 2009;). The review of literature, therefore, occurred in response to or in parallel with lessons learnt from doing fieldwork (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Thomas, 1993; Lareau and Shultz, 1996; Rock, 2001). This allowed the researcher to approach the social phenomena mostly inductively and with openness rather than trying to identify an appropriate theoretical lens or "stepping stones" from literature before doing fieldwork.

However, having said that, literature also warns that there is a difference between an open mind and an empty head and that one should not approach reality *tabula rasa* (Van Niekerk and Roode, 2009; Seidel and Kelle, 1995, cited in Tan, 2010; Glaser and Strauss, 1967, cited in Urquhart, Lehmann, and Myers, 2010). The researcher, therefore, approached the field with openness, but acknowledging prejudice (Myers, 1997; Klein and Myers, 1999) and keeping in mind literature that could help interpret social phenomena and critical issues as they emerged from fieldwork (Thomas, 1993; Lareau and Shultz, 1996).

Schultze (2000) argues that the researcher cannot deny that his theoretical and personal biases play a central role in the emergence of themes from data. She holds that "t[T]he ethnographer acts as translator, ferrying information between the field and the academic community and thereby developing coherence between the data and theory. Analysis thus entails a juggling of induction, i.e., interpreting the data using situated and subjective knowledge, and deduction, i.e., applying objectified methods, frameworks, and theories to the data." (Schultze, 2000: 25). There is therefore a good degree of informed subjectivity necessary for fieldwork and analysis.

2.3 Interpretivism

Interpretivist research focuses on the complexities of human sense making (Klein and Myers, 1999). It occurs when "our knowledge of reality is gained only through social constructions such as language, consciousness, shared meanings, documents, tools, and other artefacts" (Klein and Myers, 1999: 69). Interpretivism involves "the systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds" (Neuman, 1997: 68). Interpretive research is a social science underpinned by the philosophy of hermeneutics (Neuman, 1997; Myers and Avison, 2002; Myers, 2009). Interpretivist researchers such as ethnographers often use participant observation or techniques where the researcher is required to spend many hours in direct and personal contact with the research participants in order to gain access to deeper meaning (Van Maanen, 1988; Whyte, 1996; Myers, 1997; Neuman, 1997).

The epistemology of interpretivism implies that data and context cannot be separated, subjective interpretations are necessary to understand and describe social phenomena, knowledge is constructed socially and in context, and common sense thinking is a vital source of data for understanding people and social interaction and for constructing knowledge (Corbin and Strauss, 1990; Nandhakumar and Jones, 1997; Neuman, 1997; Weber, 2004; Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005). The processes of data collection, analysis and the interpretation of research findings overlap while the researcher's personal subjectivity influences the type of inferences made (Baskerville and Pries-Heje, 1999; Leedy and Ormrod, 2005). The interpretivist believes that the assumptions with regard to the theories of knowledge enable the researcher to gain totality of understanding of social phenomena. It also provides in-depth analysis that enables understanding of context and social interaction (Neuman, 1997; Nandhakumar and Jones, 1997; Baskerville and Wood-Harper, 1998; Klein and Myers, 1999; Chen and Hirschheim, 2004).

Interpretivism, as a conceptual framework, allows for the empathetic understanding of people in their everyday lives as it relates to the study of meaning (Neuman, 1997; De Vos et al., 2007). The underlying ontological assumptions of interpretivism include that social realities are subjective, that the relationship between the researcher and the phenomena is central to enquiry, and that understanding context is central to inquiry (Walsham, 1993). This implies that the researcher is subjectively involved in data collection and analysis (Shanks and Parr, 2003; Nandhakumar and Jones, 1997; Weber, 2004). For the Interpretivist, the goal of research is "to develop an understanding of social life and to discover how people construct meaning in natural settings" (Neuman, 1997:67). Interpretivism is applied to understand complex, real-world multivariate social

phenomena (Baskerville and Pries-Heje, 1999). Interpretivism is concerned with the characteristics of human communication and the essential establishment of mutual understanding. Conventional ethnography generally conforms to this approach (Hammersley, 1992: 99). Klein and Myers (1999) note that there are different forms of interpretivism. This study follows that of the hermeneutic tradition (see Section 2.11).

As indicated earlier, a key aspect of doing this research is to understand a critical position of inquiry. In addition to the brief overview of critical social theory in Chapter 1, the next section explains how critical theory as paradigm informs methodological practice; i.e. how critical theory acts as the ontological "rudder" that guides all other aspects of the research, including interpretation and how to be self-reflexive throughout.

2.4 Critical ontology and epistemology

The critical paradigm, agrees with Interpretivism with regard to many of the criticisms of positivism (Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997; Neuman, 1997; Adam, 2001; Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005; McGrath, 2005), but also questions assumptions and theories in order to address the emancipatory interests of research subjects and change (Adam, 2001; Hammersley, 1992). Critical social theory is grounded in "an emancipatory interest in overcoming social oppression" (Hammersley, 1992: 99). Contrary to interpretivism, the ontological assumptions of critical social theorists include the belief that they cannot merely be observers of social phenomena. They believe that by their presence in a social interaction, they influence and are influenced by the social and technological systems that they are studying (Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997). This implies that inquiry into social activity should focus on understanding of meaning "from within the social context and lifeworld of actors" (Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997: 151). Critical social theorists extend the responsibility of the researcher beyond the development of explanations and understandings of social phenomena, which is the mandate of interpretivism, to a critique of "unjust and inequitable conditions of the situation from which people require emancipation" (p. 151). A critical perspective requires the researcher to not only address mutual understanding but also the emancipation from "false and unwarranted beliefs, assumptions and constraints" (Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997: 151) in both the researcher and research participants.

According to Avgerou (2005), "[T]the epistemology of critical theory – its way of developing knowledge – needs approaches that question the ends that IS innovation serves, sense objectors' concerns, juxtapose the interests of different social groups and seek to foresee long-term consequences on the social fabric" (p. 108). Critical work should transform "asymmetrical relations of power and privilege that constrict human life and limit human possibility" (McClaren 1987 in Hammersley, 1992: 96). The epistemology of critical social theory assumes the use of feminist

theories, post-colonial theories, and other critical social theories as foundations for social research (Hammersley, 1992; Kvasny and Richardson, 2006). Critical social theory should draw inspiration from critical traditions such as Marxism, ethnography and symbolism, post-structuralism, hermeneutics, postmodernism and environmentalism (Hammersley, 1992; McGrath, 2005). A feminist epistemology in critical social theory challenges the traditional epistemology of ignoring the knowing subject (that is, the "subject" of research who may well know more about the realities of the topic than the researcher) and emphasises pluralism in epistemology (Adam, 2001). It allows for a fine-grained explanation and questioning of emancipation in critical studies.

Applying a critical epistemology when conducting fieldwork, requires that the researcher, in addition to eliciting participants' subjective view of phenomena as is typical to the interpretive paradigm, also encourages reflexive accounts in both the researcher and research subjects (Hammersley, 1992; Thomas, 1993; Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005; McGrath, 2005; Walsham, 2005; Kvasny and Richardson, 2006) in order to go "beyond surface illusions to uncover the real structures in the material world to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves." (Neuman, 1997: 74). Critical reflexivity is a central theme in applying a critical epistemology (Avgerou, 2005; Čečez-Kecmanović, 2001, 2005; Howcroft and Trauth, 2005; McGrath, 2005).

> "Research in the critical tradition is characterised by reflexivity, involving forms of self-conscious criticism as part of a strategy to conduct critical empirical research. Researchers explore their own ontological and epistemological assumptions and preferences that inform their research and influence their engagement with a study. By intentionally expressing, questioning, and reflecting upon their subjective experiences, beliefs, and values, critical researchers expose their ideological and political agendas." (Čečez-Kecmanović, 2001: 147).

Discussing the relation between critical social theory and interpretivism, McGrath (2005) highlights the lack of methodologies for supporting a critical perspective (also see Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005). There is, however, a strong link between critical social theory and the Interpretivist paradigm. Interpretivist methodologies are used in critical social theory, methods relate and are informed by Interpretivist approaches (Neuman, 1997; Myers, 1997; Klein and Myers, 1999; Myers and Klein, 2011), while results are problematized, producing questions and conceptual outcomes about critical work (McGrath, 2005). In critical studies, interpretive approaches may be used during fieldwork and treatment of data (Hammersley, 1992). Čečez-Kecmanović (2001, 2005), however, holds that self-reflexivity and a dialectic relationship between research and practice is that which distinguishes a critical methodology from other approaches.

Moreover, McGrath (2005) argues for "more explicit reflections about our sustained long-term efforts in the field" and for the IS field to reach a position "where the theory and practice of doing critical research are informing each other" (p. 85). Avgerou (2005), however, warns that an over-emphasis on methodological accountability may inhibit criticality. She argues for the need "to recognize that researchers bring into their investigation tacit knowledge, emotions, and moral and political convictions that cannot be rationalized in methodological descriptions" (p. 103). There is therefore a balance to be found between methodological rigour and critical relevance.

2.5 Critical discourses and ICT4D

When one assesses ICT4D literature, one finds that authors writing on critical social theory often also work in the ICT4D context. Examples are, Avgerou (2005), Adam (2001), and Čečez-Kecmanović (2001) and those contributing to the *International Federation for Information Processing Working Group on Social Implications of Computers in Developing Countries* (IFIP WG 9.4). Many of these authors are doing pioneering work in critical social theory (Avison, Fitzgerald and Powell, 2005). Both Avgerou (2005) and Walsham (2005) suggest that the unequal power evident in the discourse between industrialised and developing parts of the world is one of the most critical issues of contemporary society. Lewis (1994) states that in developing situations, there is a need to question the preconceived ideas of both those considered to be impoverished and the rich which makes a critical approach to community engagement in ICT4D essential.

Walsham (2005) argues that the critical researcher should focus on what is wrong in the world, rather than on what is right. Like Walsham, the researcher in this study will also look at what is wrong in ICT4D discourses and practice, and critically reflect on his own experiences in the field and his own cultural entrapment and ethnocentrism, and consequently his own need for emancipation, empowerment (to truly do emancipatory ICT4D work), and non-enlightenment. As a critical theorist the researcher holds that all ICT4D artefacts and development discourses potentially have some form of false consciousness or oppressive ideology embedded within them, which may have the purpose (intentionally or unintentionally) of keeping people on both sides of the development divide in a state of non-emancipation or non-enlightenment.

Therefore, in order to examine the researcher's own assumptions and prejudice for false consciousness, and to sensitise him for taking up a critical position of inquiry, a number of ICT4D discourses will be briefly reflected upon in the following sections. Further critical discourses will be highlighted in the confessional chapters as they emerged during fieldwork.

2.5.1 Critique of Western values and assumptions in power relations

It is often the case that authors working in ICT4D critique Western (or "developed country") value-driven approaches, where Western industrial life, consumerist logic, capitalist motives, and higher-standards-of-living dominated assumptions tend to guide development efforts and thinking (e.g. in Asante, 1983; Heeks, 2005; Laughlin, 1987 in McGrath, 2005; Lee et al., 2008; Zheng, 2009). Others seem to pursue a more practical approach to ICT4D where they critically address the role of language and meaning in societal development rather than a critique of Western values per se. An example is the use of Habermas' theory of communicative action (Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997; Čečez-Kecmanović, 2001, Laughlin, 1987 in McGrath, 2005). Contributing further to the Habermasian debate, are those authors who advocate addressing assumed power relations in intercultural communication (e.g. Asante, 1983; Flyvbjerg, 1998 in McGrath, 2005) as well as the effects that poverty, hopelessness, suffering, tension, and oppression may have on power relations and position in development discourses (Lewis, 1994; Thompson, 2008).

In this study these sensitising discourses assisted the researcher in understanding how assumptions and position may affect power relations and how assumed power and position might dominate others' construction of meaning and reality (Van Maanen, 1988; Myers, 1997; Klein and Myers, 1999). Reading about such discourses assisted the researcher to examine his own prejudice, motives, and values during intercultural community engagement as well as the assumptions afforded to him through growing up and working in a mostly Western value-driven middle-class context.

2.5.2 Sustainability and innovation

Sustainability has always been a key issue in ICT4D discourses. Debating the concept of sustainability, Ali and Bailur (2007) highlight the need to focus on assumptions about the expected outcomes of ICT4D implementation and research. Discussing sustainability as a central concern in ICT4D initiatives, Ali and Bailur (2007) highlight five types of sustainability, namely financial, social, institutional, technological and environmental. They argue that sustainability may be difficult to attain if processes and outcomes are evaluated against an assumed set of "known" (such as Western value-driven) benefits, best practice or expected success factors. A different worldview may imply a different expectations and meaning associated to sustainability.

Ali and Bailur (2007) offer *bricolage* as a potential answer to the sustainability challenge and suggest that unexpected consequences should be taken as the norm, while resultant improvisations should be embraced as bricolage and "tinkering" rather than as a threat to sustainability. They suggest that

less emphasis should be placed on sustainability as a measure of success for ICT4D projects but rather that an openness to bricolage as a form of justification of unexpected ICT4D project outcomes should be adopted.

Supporting an openness to unexpected outcomes, Avgerou (2009) holds that, in the developing context, ICT implementation always implies novelty of experiences. She puts forward the concept of "IS innovation". Her contention is that although ICT may be common elsewhere, the local experience of ICT implementation implies innovation for those doing the implementation. Allowing for local people to innovate according to their own values, worldview, and local views on ethics may be an important aspect of transferring ownership and assuring sustainable and ongoing developing through ICTs.

2.5.3 Avgerou's four discourses

Relating to the previous discussion, Avgerou (2009) presents four distinctive discourses in ICT4D literature. Avgerou contends that every study of ICT in developing context makes assumptions about how ICT should be implemented and about the notion and process of development to which ICT should contribute. The United Nations' Millennium Goals are put forward as an example of assumptions about how ICT should contribute to poverty eradication and development (also see Heeks, 2005 and Weber, 2009). Avgerou (2009) explains the assumptions of each of the four discourses as follows:

Transfer and diffusion perspective: This perspective assumes that the material/cognitive entities that comprise technology and practices are independent of social situation and this makes it possible to transfer them. This perspective endeavours to show the relevance of general IS knowledge to developing contexts and tries to work out adaptations to appropriate them. This perspective would typically view cultural differences or non-western cultural practice as obstacles to development and success (Avgerou, 2009).

Social embeddedness perspective: This perspective is critical of the transfer and diffusion perspective in that it views it as oversimplifying and misleading. This perspective has elaborate ways of explaining the interplay between actors and social contexts and views the application of ICTs as socially constructed, emerging from local social dynamics. This perspective nurtures the cognitive, emotional and political realities of individuals in their social context (Avgerou, 2009).

Progressive transformation perspective: This perspective assumes that ICT enables transformations in developing contexts. It sees ICT as an instrument for socio-economic gains and assumes that ICT

investments are important for economic development and progress (Mann, 2004 cited in Avgerou, 2009). This perspective does not test the assumption that ICT contributes to economic growth and that ICT investments ensure empowerment and improved services in organisations (Avgerou, 2009).

Disruptive transformation perspective: This perspective is critical of the progressive transformation perspective in that it sees "ICT-enabled development, as a contested endeavour or as involving action that affects differently different populations, and thus [is] laden with conflict" (Avgerou, 2009: 9). This perspective questions the intentions and assumptions of international development policies. In this perspective the researcher is not a neutral observer, but takes the position of a group of people or a culture which assumes a critical emancipatory stance. This perspective is critical in that it aims to uncover hidden intentions and power dynamics that might disadvantage the groups sided with (Avgerou, 2009).

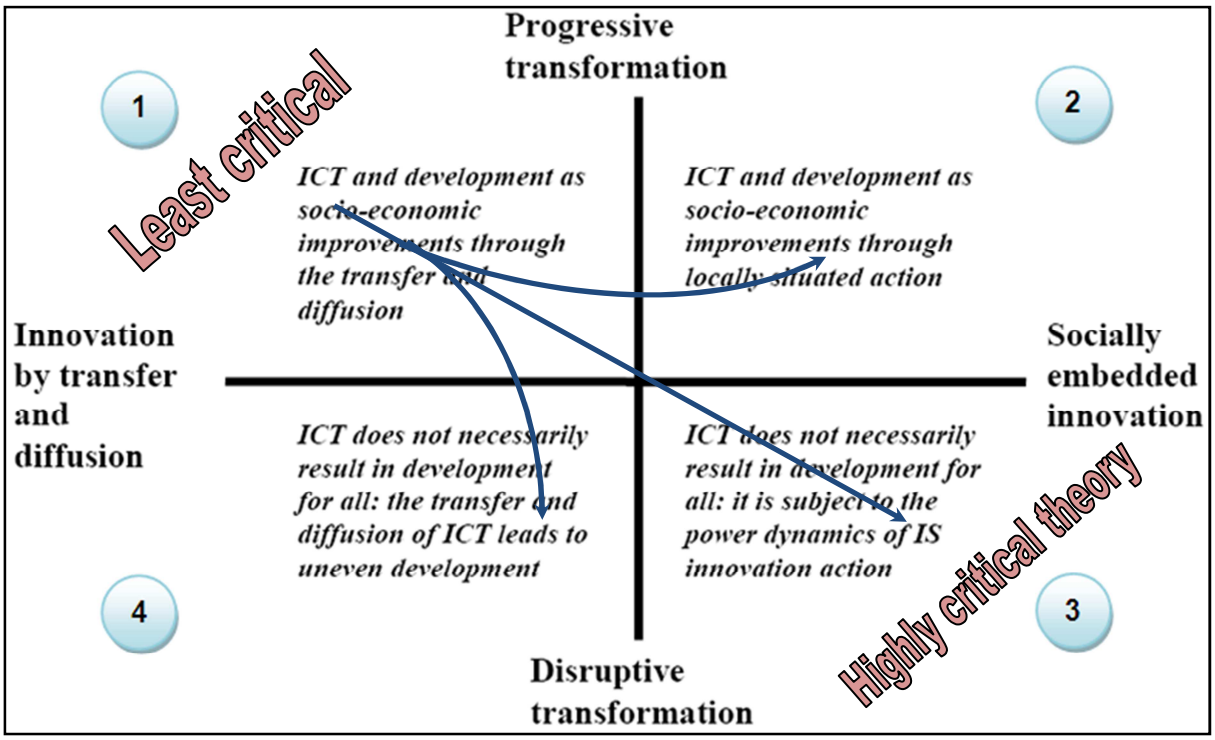


Figure 2-1: Four distinctive discourses on ICTs and development (from Avgerou, 2009)

Based on these explanations, one may conclude that Avgerou's (2009) first discourse (quadrant 1 in Figure 2.1) is the least critical about underlying assumptions embedded in the ICT4D artefact and that a critical position in ICT4D research becomes more prominent as one moves away from quadrant 1 to the other three discourses. Discourses in quadrant 2 and 4 will be critical of different aspects of ICT4D discourses while research falling in quadrant 3 will be strongly identified by its critical stance and practical emancipatory possibilities. Figure 2.1 reproduces the four paradigms from Avgerou (2009) showing the degree of critique.

The four discourses put forward by Avgerou (2009) provide a valuable framework to help one examine one's own position with regard to understanding assumptions embedded in ICT4D policy, research and implementation. One should, however, not assume that thinking within any specific one of the four quadrants in Figure 2.1 should take precedence. Avgerou (2009) also did not suggest a preference. There should, however, be an awareness of all the types of assumptions put forward by Avgerou (2009) and others, as it is still not entirely clear how emerging communities in South Africa innovate and adopt ICT in their social fabric, as can be seen in Madon et al.'s (2009) description of ICT4D successes and failures in the South African context. A needs, situation, and event analysis should take place during ongoing community entry phases and the guidance provided by cultural interpreters should reveal how one should pursue and think about the implementation of ICT (Phahlamohlaka and Lotriet, 2003; De Vos et al., 2007; Madon et al., 2009).

2.5.4 The Capability Approach

Zheng (2009) highlights several difficulties associated with ICT4D. These include the need to understand the meaning of development and the role of ICT, the difficulties of standardised modernist approaches, the difficulties of importing Western values and advice wholesale in developing contexts, the need for local innovation with ICT, and so forth. Zheng (2009) proposes the Capability Approach (CA) developed by Amartya Sen as a mode of thinking or a conceptual foundation for understanding the real "effective opportunities people have to achieve what they consider to be valuable in life" (Zheng, 2009: 68). Investigating the educational context in South Africa, Chigona and Chigona (2010) for example propose the CA for understanding that which may hinder teachers in developing country contexts from effectively using ICT for curriculum delivery.

Zheng (2009) and Sen (1999) explain that the major constituents of the CA are "functionings" and "capabilities". "Functionings are considered constitutive of well-being" while capabilities relate to the ability to achieve or freedom to achieve well-being. The CA is "directly concerned with what people are effectively able to do and to be, taking into account the resources which they have access to. In other words, the approach focuses on individuals' capabilities and freedom" (Chigona and Chigona, 2010: 4). Inability to achieve or non-freedom to achieve is put forward as deprivation of capabilities (Sen, 1999; Zheng, 2009; Chigona and Chigona, 2010).

According to Zheng (2009), a person's capability set represents his freedom to achieve both well-being freedom and agency freedom. Well-being in context of the CA relates specifically to one's personal gratification or personal situation and is different from fulfilling one's commitments and ideals (Chigona and Chigona, 2010). Agency on the other hand relates to pursuing what one values

and that which one attempts to produce (Zheng, 2009). These two types of freedoms are interrelated and may have a causal impact on each other (Zheng, 2009). Zheng (2009) suggests that by putting agency as an explicit component of a person's capability set, any development policy or evaluation method informed by the CA should take into account the aspirations and needs of the people affected. Zheng (2009) continues to explain that most development approaches have focussed on the well-being aspect of the CA, while the agency aspect has been much less appreciated.

De Vos et al. (2007) have highlighted the special role of caregivers (e.g. teachers, nurses, social workers, etc.) in communities as well as their need for knowledge to solve practical problems in social welfare. In this context it is especially important to investigate the interrelatedness of well-being and agency because of the role and position that caregivers as "development agents" have in a community. They have to fulfil the important role of "caring for" or take responsibility for improving the well-being of others. Agency freedom is central to their commitments, responsibilities, and ideals. Therefore, the understanding of both well-being and agency and the interrelatedness thereof is central to understanding and critiquing the underlying assumptions embedded in the worldview of the researcher and research participants.

The CA will be used as one of the points of departure to critically understand the meaning of development concepts from socially constructed meaning. For example, as a starting point for understanding emancipatory needs, one needs to understand concepts such as deprivation, achievement, freedom, well-being, and agency as they relate to the local view of reality.

This study acknowledges human agency as a potential path to pursuing emancipation in communities (Sen, 1999; Gordon, Holland and Lahelma, 2001). Pursuing and understanding agency freedom and empowering development agents (i.e. caregivers, teachers, nurses, and small business owners) in Happy Valley is therefore seen as a central aspect firstly, for affecting the development of the greater community of Happy Valley through ICTs. Secondly it is seen as a way to ensure that the ICT4D artefact is appropriated in a culturally and contextually sensitive manner by those who are familiar with and who deal with deprivation and tension in the community on a regular basis, and who are responsible for empowering or developing others. Development agents are already in a position of empowering others and ICT4D appropriation may therefore directly improve their capabilities to pursue agency, because immediate and articulated needs are addressed (Fourie and Krauss, 2011). Thirdly, pursuing agency freedom is seen as a way of ensuring a level of sustainability in the continuation of ICT4D initiatives.

2.6 Reflecting on the role of literature

It is important to note that although the researcher acknowledges critical discourses in ICT4D, the purpose of the discussion in the previous section is to sensitise the researcher in his quest to understand his own prejudice, rather than pursuing one of these discourses as a conceptual lens. Thomas (1993: 35-36) in relation to reducing a topic and the purpose of literature in critical ethnography explains that, "the best general advice is to begin reading relevant literature and reflecting on how the ideas and concepts gained from the readings relate to the initial field observations". In this study ICT4D discourses are used in a similar fashion. Thomas (1993) also cautions his readers, showing that literature could contaminate or import external ideas into field observations. Existing literature should thus be used as "signposts" rather than a "crutch" (Thomas, 1993: 36). The researcher will continue to apply a critical paradigm and inductive reasoning in order to understand meaning, critique assumptions, and pursue reflexivity – even if it implies critiquing frameworks such as the Capability Approach by Sen (1999), Avgerou's (2009) discourses or the idea of bricolage (Ali and Bailur, 2007).

2.7 The researcher as participator in emancipation

In critical studies, the researcher becomes part of the research situation and therefore has to put himself on par with the research participants, in the sense that he is also examining himself as a research subject (Thomas, 1993; McGrath, 2005; Kvasny and Richardson, 2006; Myers, 2009). Avgerou (2005) advocates the explicit examination of the researcher's emotionally charged preconceptions, political convictions and moral values, and empathy with research subjects in building understanding and knowledge. Moreover, self-reflexivity on the part of the researcher seems to be a central theme in critical IS research (Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005; Howcroft and Trauth, 2005; McGrath, 2005; Walsham, 2005; Kvasny and Richardson, 2006). The limitations of the researcher's worldview cannot be ignored in emancipatory research. In fact, the researcher argues that the researcher's emancipation is recognised as a precursor for the true emancipation of the researched and the deciphering of meaning from social phenomena. The researcher as participant in emancipation, and his own prejudice and historicity (Klein and Myers, 1999) in critical work will briefly be reflected upon below.

It is important to note, though, that the sections below are included in this chapter to argue the case for including the researcher as participator in emancipation. Therefore, although brief reference is made to some fieldwork experiences, the purpose is to argue the case and not to reflect on fieldwork and data as such. The confessional chapters will explore the issue of self-emancipation in more depth.

The researcher's self-emancipation. In this study the researcher takes the stance that he himself is in need of empowerment and enlightenment and that there is potentially a level of well-being in the community of Happy Valley that he is unfamiliar with. Hence the researcher presents himself as deprived or impoverished because of the consequences of cultural entrapment (Thomas, 1993) and the oppressive aspects of his own worldview of which he was initially unaware of.

During the early process of doing ethnography, the researcher, by taking a position of openness afforded by a critical position of inquiry, became aware of the contrasts between his own worldview and those of the people of Happy Valley. The result was that he became aware of an alternate value system and view of reality that highlighted areas where he himself was also deprived to a certain degree. For example, during the enculturation phases of the project the researcher has discovered a strong sense of community living, care, and hospitality among the people of Happy Valley, which some of the cultural interpreters have described as "Ubuntuness" or a people-orientated value system. The researcher's own background and lack of exposure to the riches of community living have made him aware of his inability to fully appreciate the well-being and safety of community living (and its underlying values) and as a result presents himself as deprived in that regard.

Adopting this manner of thinking in critical research may present opportunities to discover the true meaning of emancipation and social transformation. Also, this manner of thinking allowed the researcher to also acknowledge and experience that financial poverty does not necessarily imply deprivation, progress does not imply development, simplicity does not imply poverty, and material wealth does not necessarily mean well-being. It has implications for understanding the meaning of emancipatory concepts.

Achieving self-emancipation. In this study the understanding and questioning of the researcher's own assumptions about reality, self-emancipation, empowerment, truth, etc., which may be underpinned by prior beliefs and/or value judgements about reality, requires careful scrutiny. The researcher is of the view and therefore assumes that no group's ideology, worldview or culture is fully conducive to absolute emancipation, similarly to McLaren's (1998, cited in Gordon, Holland and Lahelma, 2001) view, which is that people are essentially unfree and inhabit a world full of contradictions and asymmetries of power and privilege. The researcher therefore is of the view that his own worldview is limited and may to some degree be limiting to his own freedom, emancipation and view of reality, and consequently also his ability to interpret social phenomena. This is because one can only interpret that which you are able to perceive (Thomas, 1993).

Every community on the other hand has good in it – good that needs to be discovered and preserved by the critical ethnographer. Considering the position that critical social theory allows the researcher to take, he will be able to be open to learning from the community of Happy Valley and their values, "riches" and emancipatory aspects of their worldview so as to firstly, be enlightened, by learning from the contrasts between his own and the community's worldview, and secondly, to adopt it to such an extent that emancipation may be achieved. In other words, the researcher will, by learning from contrasting worldviews (e.g. the values and the resulting ways in which things are done and valued), attempt to internalise the best of both worldviews and therefore grow towards a greater, more fulfilled sense of freedom and emancipation, including a maturing understanding of true emancipatory interests both of the researched and the researcher – keeping in mind that none of this will ever be complete and that the process of emancipation will always be ongoing even after the research has been completed.

Emancipation and power relations. In Chapter 1 the issue of power relations in development discourses have been highlighted. In this study power relations will be addressed in the following ways. Firstly, as a critical theorist, the emancipatory needs and practices of the researcher are put forward as a key element for understanding and addressing the emancipatory interests of the community of Happy Valley. The reason is that the researcher questions, among other things, the assumption that being developed is better and also that being in his position implies being emancipated, enlightened, and empowered. It addresses the mandate of the critical social theorist to not only address mutual understanding but also the emancipation from "false and unwarranted beliefs, assumptions and constraints" (Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997: 151) with regard to understanding emancipation, and subsequently to encourage reflexive accounts in both the researcher and research participants (Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005; McGrath, 2005; Kvasny and Richardson, 2006).

Secondly, coming from an assumed privileged position of being an "educated outsider", used to personal well-being and having opportunities, to one of the poorest communities in South Africa, may initially imply a starting-distance in power and position, which may affect entry and openness in communication (Van Maanen, 1988). Also, the fact that the researcher is an academic, who among other things teaches computer literacy in Happy Valley, may establish a starting position with assumed power and knowledge. This will almost certainly have implications for communication between and assumptions held by the researcher and the research participants. As a critical theorist, special care needs to be taken to question such starting assumptions regarding power and freedom and to be self-reflexive early on in the research (especially during enculturation) so as to establish

rapport and openness in communication and collaboration, as well as to develop such habits of engagement. It is especially important during the enculturation phases to be open for learning about positions of power and leadership (hierarchy) in the community, to learn about the underlying values and practices of power and authority (e.g. recognising elders as guardians of the community), and to align accordingly. It is during enculturation that the researcher has to scrutinise and critique his own assumptions and worldview in order to understand the worldview of others. Being aware of the potential impact of Western value-driven approaches and thinking on power relations, was a key aspect of pursuing a critical position of inquiry.

Using a critical position to gain access. In this research, one of the key issues under investigation was how to gain community entry and subsequently how to gauge whether community entry has been achieved. This includes the issue of gaining access to true and honest opinion and expression of interests of the community (whether explicit or unsaid). Using critical ethnographic approaches the researcher attempted to find ways to empower community members to articulate and educate the researcher about the intricacies of the local worldview.

Furthermore, enculturation in this research is an important phase where the researcher attempts to escape from his own ethnocentrism, which according to Harvey and Myers (2002) refers to the tendency of most people to think of their own culture as the best or most sensible (also see Thomas, 1993). It is a stage where the researcher questions the mechanisms, which emanated from his worldview, that supposedly assure social harmony, conformity to interactional norms, organisational rules, institutional patterns and ideological concepts (Berger and Luckmann, 1967 in Thomas, 1993).

2.8 Ethnography

In his chapter, Myers (1997) had a particular way of structuring a discourse on critical ethnography in information systems. In the following sections the researcher will attempt to use a similar structure, albeit with different and additional sources and content, to explain ethnography, how it aligns with a critical position of enquiry and subsequently how the critical ethnography will be carried out. The researcher will, therefore, firstly reflect on the nature of ethnographic research. Critical ethnography will then be discussed including how it will be appropriated for this study. Principles of hermeneutics as the philosophy of interpretation are then discussed with critical hermeneutics as the underlying philosophy for critical ethnography.

2.8.1 What is ethnography?

Ethnography developed out of the social science of anthropology and represents an approach under which the main body of qualitative techniques in social research falls (Harvey and Myers, 2002;

Myers, 2009). Ethnography refers both to the process and to the textual product of research (Agar, 1996). It is the most in-depth research method possible (Myers, 2009). In ethnography, context is seen as socially constructed while "meaning in context is the most important framework being sought" (Harvey and Myers, 2002: 173). Context is the glue which holds the socially constructed reality together (Myers, 1997; Myers, 2009). The meaning of particular cultural practices for example may only make sense if the researcher understands the context in which they take place (Myers, 2009). Key to ethnography is that multiple perspectives are incorporated in the establishment of meaning as the researcher immerses himself in the life of the people he studies (Myers, 2009). Ethnography "is the only method that enables a researcher to spend long enough in the field such that he or she can start to discern the unwritten rules of how things work and how they are supposed to work. These unwritten rules are seldom verbalized, but can be discovered by patient ethnographic fieldwork" (Myers, 2009: 92).

2.8.2 The purpose of ethnography

The purpose of ethnography is to "improve our understanding of human thought and action through interpretation of human action in context" (Myers, 1997: 276). The outcome of ethnography is to produce a coherent description of a social situation in context of a social or cultural reality (Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte, 1999). Ethnography has achieved its purpose if, after reading it, "actions which were previously seen as absurd, strange or irrational 'made sense'" (Harvey and Myers, 2002: 174). Doing ethnography implies "a long social process of coming to terms with a culture" (Van Maanen, 1988: 117).

In good ethnography the researcher should put aside his or her own socially inherited ethnocentrism and pursue a sensitivity to the values, beliefs and practices of the cultural group being studied (Spradley, 1980; Harvey and Myers, 2002; Myers, 2009). When studying organisational culture for example, ethnography will provide the researcher an opportunity to move beyond explicit values and behaviours to more subtle and taken-for-granted assumptions, that are virtually impossible to discover or discern in a short period of time (Schultze, 2000; Myers, 2009). In ethnography, the researcher gets an opportunity to get close to where the action is. It is, therefore, well-suited to give the researcher rich insights into human, social, and cultural aspects of a group of people (Myers, 2009).

2.8.3 Why is ethnography well-suited for this study?

Ethnography as an anthropological method is well-suited for this study since it relies on first-hand experience and observations made by the researcher immersed over an extended period of time in

the social context of the Happy Valley project, giving the researcher an opportunity to get close to where the action is as well as participate in the action (Schultze, 2000; Hammersley, 1992; Myers, 2009). Ethnography is also well-suited for applying a critical epistemology as it involves intensive scrutiny of various aspects of the social phenomena. For example through participant-observation, it attempts to understand the various roles and relationships, hidden and conflicting agendas, issues of meaning, the researcher and participants' emancipatory interests, change, taken-for-granted assumptions, and so forth, that may not be suitable for methods such as Case Study research. Presenting the ethnography in the form of a confessional account (see Section 2.14), furthermore, gives a self-reflexive and self-revealing account of the research process, including a demonstration of a critical emancipatory position, cultural critique and mistakes that have been made during fieldwork and social interaction (Marcus and Fischer, 1986; Whyte, 1996; Myers, 1997; Schultze, 2000).

2.8.4 Evaluating ethnography

Myers (2009) proposes the use of Klein and Myers' (1999) set of principles for conducting and evaluating interpretive field studies. In addition to the principles for evaluating critical ethnography in Section 2.9, Klein and Myers' principles will be discussed in Section 2.11 in more detail. The researcher will, however, briefly reflect on a summary from Myers (2009) on evaluating ethnographies.

Firstly, Myers (2009) suggests that ethnographies should be judged by the extent to which the author is able to convince his readers that the findings are new and relevant, i.e., is this a contribution to the field? The researcher must be able to convince the readers about the worth of the research. Secondly, the research should offer rich insights into the subject matter, for example to in some way contradict conventional wisdom about social phenomena. Thirdly, a distinguishing feature of ethnographic research is its fieldwork. Therefore a significant amount of materials should be collected, with evidence such as that the subject matter is set in its social and historical context, multiple viewpoints are expressed, that hidden agendas and disagreements are addressed, and so forth (Klein and Myers, 1999; Myers and Young, 1997 in Myers, 2009). Finally, with regard to the research method, Myers (2009) suggest that there should be evidence that the researcher as research instrument is calibrated, that is, the reader should know what the researcher did and how. The most important consideration is that the account of ethnography should be convincing and plausible (Myers, 2009).

2.8.5 Different types of ethnographies

There are a number of different views on ethnography (Myers, 2009). The most important types are the holistic and semiotic schools of ethnography, and critical ethnography (Harvey and Myers, 2002; Myers, 2009). In the **holistic school** the researcher has empathy and identifies with the group being studied. The researcher should go native and live like the local people (Harvey and Myers, 2002; Myers, 2009). In the **semiotic school** it is argued that the researcher describe and analyse another culture without having to empathise with the people (Myers, 2009). **Critical ethnography** is strongly underpinned by a critical philosophy and supported by critical hermeneutics (Harvey and Myers, 2002; Myers, 2009) and is therefore also the methodology of choice for this research.

2.9 Critical ethnography

Literature on critical ethnography (e.g. Hammersley, 1992; Thomas, 1993; Myers, 1997) and the epistemology of critical theory (e.g. Howcroft and Trauth, 2005; Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005, and in Section 2.4) constitutes the primary and guiding sources for understanding the implementation and *doing* of critical work. Moreover, in critical ethnography, critical thinking should occur in "ontology, topic selection, method, data analysis and interpretation, discourse, and reflection" (Thomas, 1993: 33).

2.9.1 What is critical ethnography?

Critical ethnography implies "an 'appropriation' and 'reconstruction' of conventional ethnography so as to transform it into a project concerned with bringing about human emancipation" (Hammersley, 1992: 96). Advocates of critical ethnography criticise conventional ethnography both for "adopting an inappropriate theoretical perspective that neglects oppression and its causes" and for not being closely related to practices designed to bring about emancipation (Hammersley, 1992: 96). For example, conventional ethnography is criticised because it disregards historicity and ignores how human actions and values are situated in historic context (Myers, 1997).

> "Critical ethnography is a type of reflection that examines culture, knowledge, and action. It expands our horizons for choice and widens our experiential capacity to see, hear, and feel. It deepens and sharpens ethical commitments by forcing us to develop and act upon value commitments in the context of political agendas" (Thomas, 1993: 2-3).

> "Critical ethnography sees ethnographic research as an emergent process, in which there is a dialogue between the ethnographer and the people in the research setting." (Myers, 2009: 96).

Essentially critical ethnography is ethnography underpinned by a critical hermeneutic philosophy (Myers, 1997) and performed by the critical social theorist. Critical ethnography is inseparable from critical scholarship. It is the implementation of a critical paradigm in ethnography which includes using as well as challenging established approaches of conventional ethnographic (Myers, 1997). In critical ethnography, the boundaries between ethnography and other critical research are blurred (Thomas, 1993; Gordon, Holland and Lahelma, 2001).

2.9.2 The mandate of critical ethnography

Critical ethnography implies that common sense assumptions are not taken at face value, but questioned in order to gain access to deeper meaning (Thomas, 1993). Critical ethnography does not stand in opposition to conventional ethnography but rather advocates that common sense assumptions about reality be questioned in line with a critical epistemology (Myers, 1997; Thomas, 1993). Conventional ethnography which falls in the realm of interpretive social science is challenged for "the inaccuracy of its theoretical assumptions" (Hammersley, 1992: 99) as it neglects possible constraints operating on the people being studied and does not question people's understandings of the world at face value. The critical ethnographer challenges the conventional social scientist by asking questions such as:

> "'Knowledge for what?' (Lynd, 1939/1970), 'Whose side are we one?', (Becker, 1967), 'Why can't social scientists be partisans?' (Gouldner, 1968), and 'Why should we be content to understand the world instead of trying to change it? (K, Marx, 1846/1974, p. 123)." (cited in Thomas, 1993: 2-3).

Because of cultural entrapment (Thomas, 1993), there is a good chance that the ethnographer may be unable to identify or "see" reality as the local people see it and therefore may be unable to decipher meaning or interpret and describe social phenomena. Critical ethnographers attempt to address this issue – hence the need for the researcher also to be emancipated. They "tend to open to scrutiny otherwise hidden agendas, power centres, and assumptions that inhibit, repress, and constrain" (Thomas, 1993: 3). Critical ethnography aims to produce the emancipation of people through enlightenment and other means (such as seeing their true interests and situation), so that they are able to recognise and pursue their emancipatory interests (Hammersley, 1992; Gordon, Holland and Lahelma, 2001). The construction of social life is seen as constructed in contexts of

power and oppression (Myers, 2009). Critical ethnography does not only attempt to describe people's perspectives and behaviour, but also to explain them (Hammersley, 1992).

Highlighting human agency as path to emancipation, Gordon, Holland, and Lahelma (2001) explain that the aim of critical ethnography is "to theorize social structural constraints and human agency, as well as the interrelationship between structure and agency in order to consider paths towards empowerment of the researched" (p. 193). Understanding human agency and empowering development agents according to the reasoning of Sen (1999) and Gordon, Holland, and Lahelma (2001) may therefore be a path to true empowerment and is therefore considered in this study.

2.9.3 Selecting a topic in critical ethnography

Selecting a topic in critical ethnography can be confusing, complicated and hard work (Thomas, 1993). One may start with a vague idea or broad question in the beginning of the research, that will only be narrowed down well into data collection (Thomas, 1993). The difference between conventional and critical ethnography, with regard to selecting a topic is that the choice begins with a passion to investigate some form of injustice or oppression (Thomas, 1993). Since the aim of critical ethnography is to delve below the surface of apparent meaning (Hammersley, 1992; Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997; Klein and Myers, 1999; Myers, 2009), the focus of the research may be unnoticeable at first glance, especially since data sources may have mechanisms in place to deliberately conceal truth, oppression and conflict (Bourdieu, 1977; Hammersley, 1992; Thomas, 1993). Critical research therefore begins with a general description of the topic or problem domain and during data collection and analysis the research questions may be refined as issues emerge from the research process.

2.9.4 The issue of values in critical ethnography

The critical ethnographer cannot deny the role of values in paradigm and fieldwork (Hammersley, 1992; Murphy and Dingwall, 2001; Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005; Myers and Klein, 2011). The aim of conventional ethnographers, in line with interpretivism, typically is to describe and explain social phenomena, although unsaid, essentially with value-free facts and value-neutral judgements (Hammersley, 1992; Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005). As a result, they potentially simply reproduce the commonsense knowledge or ideology that may be the cause of oppression or non-emancipation (Hammersley, 1992). In critical ethnography, however, the rejection of value neutrality plays a key role (Hammersley, 1992; Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005). The critical social theorist acknowledges that value judgements affect decisions about what should be studied and what is relevant in the

description of social phenomena (Hammersley, 1992) and, therefore, that the critical ethnographer should acknowledge the necessary role that values play in their work (Myers and Klein, 2011).

In addition to values, beliefs should also be accounted for in critical ethnography. Hammersley (1992) explains that beliefs that are true should be seen as "penetrations through to reality" (p. 118), i.e. they may reflect the truth about reality, emancipation, oppression, and so forth – that which the critical researcher wants to understand. False beliefs on the other hand may be the "product of ideological distortion" (Hammersley, 1992: 118) or a result of an ongoing oppressive situation that may be the cause of non-emancipation. False beliefs may relate to a false-consciousness or misunderstanding of reality which may lead to inappropriate assumptions about reality, which in this research relates to the need for emancipation and enlightenment of both the researcher and the researched.

The challenge that the critical researcher has, is to distinguish between false and true beliefs about reality (both in the researcher and the researched) and their effects on emancipation and enlightenment, since false and true beliefs cannot necessarily be explained differently or asymmetrically. Hammersley (1992) explains that "any error in assessments of the validity of beliefs automatically leads to error in their explanation" (p.118).

2.9.5 Assessing critical ethnography

Enlightenment and emancipation are crucial aspects of the assessment of the validity of critical work (Hammersley, 1992; Thomas, 1993; Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005), and subsequently, whether the recognition of enlightenment and emancipation eliminates symptoms of non-emancipation and non-enlightenment and whether there is a self-reflective movement towards personal autonomy and freedom (Hammersley, 1992; Neuman, 1997). This leads to the question of how one can recognise and define emancipation.

Keeping in mind the potential conflict and contradictions related to the understanding of emancipation, oppression, and expressions of real interests, the critical theorist should acknowledge that the recognition of the truth by the deprived or oppressed group themselves, present a possible measure of validity of critical work (Hammersley, 1992; Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005). But then, one should also acknowledge that expressing the recognition of truth by oppressed members might not be explicit (as it may be embedded in tacit expression) and one might have to infer that through critical-interpretive efforts – such as finding ways to gain access to subconscious tacit knowledge about the success or failure of ICT initiatives. Also, the epistemic principles employed by a group to recognise the validity of critical work may be limited, which according to Hammersley (1992), may

leave the recognition of validity by the "oppressed" a weak basis to judge critical work. Ultimately though, the validity of critical work should be judged by whether emancipation and enlightenment have occurred (Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005). The identification of emancipation, however, may be problematic and interpretive efforts are to be employed to assist in this.

2.10 Theorising as a critical social theorist

The purpose of this section is two-fold. Firstly, it describes the purpose of theory and how to present (or visualise) theory, like what is done with Figure 8.1 and in Appendix E. Secondly, it offers guidance on the purpose of theory with a critical agenda, such as Bourdieu's critical lineage discussed in Chapter 3 and on how to theorise about critical ethnographic phenomena. In this study, and in particular in Chapters 4 to 8, the researcher applies the principles of constructing and modelling critical theories as explained in this section, to build explanations of social phenomena, to theorise about how things should be if emancipation is the outcome of ICT4D practice and research, and to explain how to identify and deal with the constraints, contradictions, tensions, and conflicts that may emerge from ethnographic work.

The essence of theory is to describe, explain or predict social phenomena or knowledge about the social world (Hammersley, 1992; Neuman, 1997; Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte, 1999; Gregor, 2006). Theory may enhance the understanding of the world or may be used as basis for future action or intervention (Gregor, 2006). Theory may also assist us in knowing "what to consider and what to leave out of our observations" as well as "what to look for, ask about, and leave out in the process of data collection" and doing fieldwork (Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte, 1999: 12, 13).

Much can be said about theories, their use and presentation (see Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte, (1999) for example on how to visually construct theoretical models (see Chapman and Chapman (2006) on principles of visual communication). However, for the sake of this thesis the researcher will summarise Neuman's (1997: 39-45) explanation of the various parts of a theory:

- The building blocks of theory are **concepts.** Concepts are ideas expressed as symbols or words. In a culture, concepts may be rooted in misconceptions or it may have vague or unclear definitions. "T[t]he values and experiences of people in a culture may limit everyday concepts" (p. 40). Moreover, concepts are created from personal experiences, creative thinking or observations.
- Concepts are mostly interrelated and therefore **clustered** in interconnected groups. "Together, they form a web of meaning" (p. 41) in a theory.

- All concepts have **assumptions** associated with them. These assumptions need to be accepted as a necessary starting point for understanding and applying them. Often in theories, assumptions are unstated, not clarified or hidden. In critical theory, questioning assumptions that underpin theories and concepts is central to their application and use.
- Theories consist of concepts, **relationships** between them and **causal mechanisms** or reasons for the relationships. Theories, therefore, explain whether relationships between concepts exist or not, how concepts and classifications of concepts relate to each other, and causal explanations.
- Concepts may range from simple and concrete to complex, multidimensional and abstract. Concepts are, therefore, classified and **classification** of concepts helps to organise abstract and complex concepts.
- "Some concepts are highly abstract, some are at a middle level of abstraction, and some are at a concrete level. Theories with many abstract concepts apply to a wider range of social phenomena than those with concrete concepts." (p. 44). The **scope** of a theory and its concepts, therefore, depends on the type of concepts and their relationships. The researcher, therefore, needs to explicitly reflect about the type of cases or situations to which a theory applies.

For a critical researcher, theorising should aim at fostering reflexivity, building capacity for change and transformation, and establishing a new basis for praxis in social situations (Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005; Gregor, 2006).

> "A theory in critical social research is neither an abstract, law-like representation of the social world nor a more or less thick description and explanation of it. A theory is rather seen as a map of the social world that helps in investigating and understanding it, sufficient for acting upon it and changing it. A theory in critical social research is a way of being in the world: it is accepted by a social community if it provides interesting and appropriate concepts, models and frameworks for seeing social phenomena that are useful in dealing with these phenomena." (Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005: 36).

Čečez-Kecmanović (2005) argues that a critical theory should "reveal distorted consciousness and hidden forms of domination and oppression achieved through or assisted by the use of information systems" (p. 36), while critical theorists should "aim at enabling the subordinated and the disadvantaged to articulate and realize their values that have been silenced by current practices" (p. 36). Moreover, the validity test for a critical theory lies in practice (Ngwenyama, 1991; McGrath, 2005; Walsham, 2005; Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005; Stahl, Tremblay and LeRough, 2011): i.e. a critical

theory should provide knowledge that motivate, empower, enlighten, and provide tools or capacity to those who struggle against repression, domination, or suffering. A critical theory should inform or assist practice that leads to emancipatory social transformation (Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005).

Arguing the role of theory in critical ethnographic work, Hammersley (1992) explains that "the critical ethnographer seeks to go beyond what the conventional ethnographer attempts. … T[t]he sort of theory that must be developed is much more comprehensive than that typical of other sorts of social research" (Hammersley, 1992: 116). Hammersley (1992) also shows that the "t[T]he description of 'other cultures' … can often serve to challenge our routine assumptions about the nature of social life or about particular groups of people or social situations." (p. 33). For the critical ethnographer, descriptions of social life (or theoretical explanation) imply that preconceptions that are brought into the research situation are therefore also challenged. The process of describing another culture is therefore also an emancipatory exercise. In the confessional chapters and in particular in Chapter 8, the researcher applies these principles as he theorises about the findings and the validity thereof.

In their proposed set of principles for critical research, Myers and Klein (2011) put forward the principle of improvements for social theories. They suggest that "a[A]ll critical theorists believe that our theories are fallible and that improvements in social theories are possible. Critical researchers entertain the possibility of competing truth claims arising from alternative theoretical categories, which can guide critical researchers in their analyses and interventions." (p. 25). Critical work should, therefore, seek to improve the theoretical lenses by which we look at social phenomena. In Section 8.5 the researcher reflects on how Bourdieu's critical lineage, discussed in Chapter 3, can be adapted based on the findings encountered.

Since oppressive and constraining ideologies or ideological distortion is central to what the critical ethnographer aims to uncover (Hammersley, 1992; Thomas, 1993), it is sensible at this stage of the chapter to also look at an ideology as a description of social phenomena. Thomas (1993: 8) holds that "a[A]n ideology is a shared set of fundamental beliefs, attitudes, and assumptions about the world that justify 'what is'". He argues that the purpose of an ideology is to "tame" us by constructing meanings and justifications for our actions, and the actions of others. Neuman (1997) shows that ideologies and theories can explain events in the social world.

> "Social scientific theory and an ideology both contain assumptions about the nature of the social world. They both focus on what is or is not important in it, contain a system of ideas or

concepts, and specify relations among the concepts. Both provide explanations of why things are the way they are and what needs to be changed to alter conditions." (Neuman, 1997: 38).

An ideology, however, lacks some critical elements of a theory. Neuman (1997) summarises the difference between theory and ideology in Table 2.1.

Social Theory and Ideology	
SIMILARITIES	
• Contains a set of assumptions or a starting point • Explains what the social world is like, how/why it changes • Offers a systems of concepts/ideas • Specifies relationships among concepts, tells what causes what • Provides an interconnected system of ideas	
DIFFERENCES	
Ideology	**Social theory**
• Offers absolute certainty • Has all the answers • Fixed, closed, finished • Avoids tests, discrepant findings • Blind to opposing evidence • Locked into specific moral beliefs • Highly partial • Has contradictions, inconsistencies • Rooted in a specific position	• Conditional, negotiated understandings • Incomplete, recognizes uncertainty • Growing, open, unfolding, expanding • Welcomes tests, positive and negative evidence • Changes based on evidence • Detached disconnected, strong moral stand • Neutral, considers all sides • Strongly seeks logical consistency, congruity • Transcends/crosses social positions

Table 2.1: A comparison between an ideology and a social theory (Neuman, 1997: 38)

2.11 Hermeneutics and ethnography

Critical ethnography is both emancipatory and hermeneutic (Gordon, Holland and Lahelma, 2001). Moreover, hermeneutics is both an underlying philosophy to human understanding and a mode of analysis of textual data such as transcribed speech or fieldnotes (Myers and Avison, 2002; Harvey and Myers, 2002). Interpretation in the context of hermeneutics means to make clear or to make sense of qualitative data, especially textual data (Myers, 1997; Tayor 1976, in Myers and Avison, 2002). The purpose of hermeneutics is to decipher hidden meaning in apparent meaning or to understand what people say and do and why (Harvey and Myers, 2002; Myers and Avison, 2002; Myers, 2009). The object of the study should therefore be text or text-analogue which is in some way contradictory, confusing or incomplete (Taylor, 1976 cited in Harvey and Myers, 2002). An advantage of hermeneutics is that it is well-grounded in philosophy and social science, which means that it is well-established and relatively easy to justify its use (Myers, 2009). The role and value of hermeneutics in ethnographic work will be discussed in the following sections.

2.11.1 Types of hermeneutics

Myers (2009) highlights a number of different types of hermeneutics, namely pure hermeneutics, double hermeneutics, critical hermeneutics, post-modern hermeneutics, and depth hermeneutics. The researcher will briefly discuss each one and then show how they are relevant to this study.

Pure hermeneutics is the most objectivist form of hermeneutics as it attempts to investigate the text as "out there" in an objective manner (Harvey and Myers, 2002; Bleicher, 1982 in Myers, 2009). **Post-modern hermeneutic** philosophers are on the subjective extreme from the pure hermeneutics. They believe that there is no such thing as objectivity in the understanding of text or true meaning of text. Text goes beyond the author and every reading is different (Myers, 2009). In **double hermeneutics** the researcher claims that he or she is not someone standing outside the field looking in, but rather that the only way to study people is from the inside (Myers, 2009; Myers and Klein, 2011). The researcher influences the interpretations of people being researched (Walsham, 2002). Double hermeneutics recognises that the researcher is just as much part of the social phenomena being studied and therefore also a "research subject" and interpreter of social situations (Myers, 2004 in Myers, 2009). The researcher is therefore required to understand his own historicity in order to understand his position in the social phenomena under investigation.

All types of hermeneutics are concerned with the textual treatment of social settings but not all are concerned with reflective critique of meaning coming from textual analysis (Myers, 1997). **Critical hermeneutic** philosophers recognise that the act of interpretation is never closed, because there is always an alternate interpretation (Harvey and Myers, 2002; Taylor, 1976 in Myers, 2009). "C[c]ritical hermeneutics recognizes that all human interpretations are shaped by political, economic, and social contexts; this introduces a bias that critical hermeneutics tries to overcome by reflection and discourse." (Myers and Klein, 2011: 23). Critical hermeneutics, subsequently, is the underlying philosophy of critical ethnography (Myers, 1997). A critical theorist questions the underlying assumptions embedded in meaning and therefore also critique the process and result of the interpretive act, i.e. the process of interpretation is self-critically reflected upon (Ricoeur, 1974 in Myers, 2009). "Critical hermeneutics is … aware of the double hermeneutic and acknowledges the reflective critique of the interpretation applied by the researcher" (Myers, 2009: 191). The post-modern hermeneutic views all alternate meanings as equal. The critical hermeneutic disagrees in that it is possible to judge between alternate explanations, although it may not be correct and may change over time (Myers, 2009). Critical hermeneutics requires that the researcher becomes aware of his own historicity (Harvey and Myers, 2002). Critical hermeneutics also acknowledges the possible constraints in which human communication may take place and therefore attempts to

mediate the interpretation and the context in which communication takes place (Myers, 2009; Myers and Klein, 2011).

Depth hermeneutics or hermeneutics of suspicion relates to critical hermeneutics. Hermeneutics of suspicion is influenced by critical thinking (Klein and Myers, 1999) in that consciousness may in certain cases be false consciousness and therefore requires self-reflexivity. Critical social theory aims to question and critique forms of domination, oppression, and situations that maintains non-emancipation and non-enlightenment. This may include that certain interpretations of reality may favour certain interests (Deetz, 1996 in Klein and Myers, 1999). These have to be questioned and critiqued in the hermeneutic process.

The type of hermeneutic process that will be applied in this study will be underpinned by the philosophy of critical social theory. Therefore, the act of interpretation, which in ethnographic work, starts right at the beginning of fieldwork and which takes place all the time (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Schultze, 2000; De Vos et al., 2007; Myers, 2009) will be critically informed. Hence, a combination of critical, double and depth hermeneutics (as all of these views enables critical interpretation), where context and historicity are self-critically reflected upon and the process and results of the interpretive act are critiqued, are most relevant to the way in which interpretation in critical work should take place.

Central to the problem that this research investigates are issues related to repression sustaining false consciousness, power and position, and cultural entrapment in ICT4D discourses and practice; inadequate and misinformed assumptions about ICTs and how ICTs should contribute to emancipation; and ultimate the inability of outsider-researchers to adequately perceive, interpret, and understand (Thomas, 1993) within the context of worldview collisions in ICT4D situations. To address this general non-understanding of social reality requires a sensitivity to critical hermeneutic principles on the part of the researcher. This is needed so that the researcher can ethically pursue understanding of deeper meaning, contradictory and conflicting accounts (or worldview collisions), and the true meaning of emancipation and social transformation within context of the social situation. This study's primary research question puts forward the outsider-researcher's own need for enlightenment and emancipation. The hermeneutic principles discussed in the following sections provide the tools and a position to understand *that* need and how the outsider-researcher should respond. Following a critical hermeneutic approach will thus assist in pursuing the research objectives of this study, and it enables the researcher-practitioner to do their work in a rigorous and informed manner (Harvey and Myers, 2002).

2.11.2 Principles of hermeneutics

Since hermeneutics is the underlying philosophy of interpretivism (Klein and Myers, 1999; Myers and Avison, 2002; Myers, 2009), the principles of interpretation and hermeneutics will be discussed concurrently. Myers (2009) and Klein and Myers (1999) put forward a number of hermeneutic principles or concepts for conducting and evaluating interpretive research. Towards the end of the section and in the following section, the principle of suspicion is discussed to show how to align the principles of interpretation to critical thinking.

Klein and Myers (1999) suggest that the **hermeneutic circle** is the fundamental principle of hermeneutics. The hermeneutic circle refers to the dialectic between the understanding of the whole and the interpretation of its parts. It refers to a constant movement from the parts to a global understanding of the whole (context) back to an improved understanding of the parts (Klein and Myers, 1999; Myers and Avison, 2002). One comes to understand the complexity of context through preconceptions about meanings of parts and their interrelationships. The understanding of parts is seen in context (Myers, 1997; Klein and Myers, 1999; Harvey and Myers, 2002; Myers, 2009), keeping in mind that interpretation is the work of thought that consists of deciphering meaning from hidden meaning (Ricoeur, 1974, in Myers, 2009). For example, the parts can be the researcher's and the participants' initial understandings in the study, while the whole can be seen as the shared meanings that emerge from dialogue between them (Klein and Myers, 1999). The hermeneutic circle is the fundamental principle upon which the other principles of hermeneutics are built (Klein and Myers, 1999), and it thus necessitates a study of context.

The **principle of interaction between the researcher and the research participants** requires that the researcher and the participants are placed into historical perspective (Klein and Myers, 1999). "I[i]nterpretivism suggests that the facts are produced as part and parcel of the social interaction of the researchers with the participants" (Klein and Myers, 1999: 74). Knowledge that is produced is as a result of a relationship and dialogue between the researcher and the participants – the researcher and participants are dialogically embedded in the historical context. The research participants are therefore recognised as interpreters of social phenomena (Klein and Myers, 1999). In this study, cultural interpreters are put forward as key partners for deciphering meaning and interpreting action as well as collaborators in the Happy Valley project (see for example LeCompte and Schensul, 1999).

Against this background, the hermeneutic circle in critical ethnographic fieldwork implies that there is a constant dialogue between the researcher, the fieldnotes (text), and the people in the research setting about meaning and interpretation (Thomas, 1993; Myers, 1997). The hermeneutic circle therefore includes conversations about the text with the people in the research setting in order to

understand context and social phenomena. As will be shown in later chapters, this hermeneutic principle is central to understanding the social realties encountered from ethnographic work (see for example Sections 4.8, 4.9, 5.4, and 7.10, where the researcher shows how the interpretive act is in fact a collaboration between the researcher and research participants).

On the **principle of abstraction and generalisation**, Klein and Myers (1999), Harvey and Myers (2002), and Myers (2009) argue that due to the uniqueness of Interpretivist research such as ethnographies, the research findings may lead to in-depth knowledge only about a particular problem or context. As a result, it is not necessarily possible to generalise findings to other situations. However, it is possible to relate unique instances of social phenomena to ideas and concepts that may apply to other situations. Walsham (1993) in Klein and Myers (1999) explain that inferences from one or more cases do not depend on representivity in the statistical sense, but on the plausibility and cogency of logical reasoning where cases are described and conclusions made based on the cases. This principle therefore allows the researcher to generalise to social theories (Klein and Myers, 1999; Schultze, 2000; Myers, 2009) and to use literature to interpret the research findings (Thomas, 1993; Lareau and Shultz, 1996). This hermeneutic principle will be applied as the researcher uses Bourdieu's theory of practice discussed in Chapter 3, as a theoretical underpinning and criteria for critical research to retrospectively assess the approaches, findings, and contribution of this thesis.

Prejudice in hermeneutics implies that prior knowledge plays an important part in our understanding, such as that prior knowledge is necessary for understanding language or social conventions about what should be said or should not be said in a particular setting (Myers, 1997; Myers, 2009). Prejudice is related to the **principle of dialogical reasoning** put forward by Klein and Myers (1999), who suggest that "the researcher should make the historical intellectual basis of the research (i.e., its fundamental philosophical assumptions) as transparent as possible to the reader and himself or herself." (p. 76). "The intellectual basis of the research design provides the lenses through which field data are construed, documented, and organised." (Klein and Myers, 1999: 76). Acknowledging and becoming critically aware of the researcher's prejudice and assumptions upfront and confronting them (Myers, 1997; Klein and Myers, 1999) may help in approaching the field with an open mind as opposed to having an empty head (Seidel and Kelle, 1995, cited in Tan, 2010; Glaser and Strauss, 1967, cited in Urquhart, Lehmann and Myers, 2010). Prejudice is a necessary starting point of our understanding.

In hermeneutics the saying is that there is no knowledge without foreknowledge (Diesing, 1991 in Myers, 2009) even though prior knowledge may be tacit or taken for granted. The key issue here is

that one should distinguish between true prejudices by which we understand and false prejudices by which we misunderstand (Klein and Myers, 1999; Myers, 2009). True understanding does not mean that we put away our philosophical prejudice but rather that we make them explicit (Myers, 1997), for example that we become aware of how our historicity – i.e. how our own views, cultural biases, assumptions and personal experiences impact on how we view the world (Harvey and Myers, 2002; Myers, 2009) (see Section 4.4 for example).

In ethnography, the researcher is also the research instrument (De Vos et al., 2007; Myers, 2009) and one should know how you are "calibrated". It is therefore important to know how the researcher approached the research (Myers, 2009). Understanding prejudice will assist in "cultural bridging" as the researcher becomes critically aware of cultural differences (or contrasts) between prejudices and data that emerge from fieldwork so that the researcher can firstly learn from it and secondly, articulate meaning and observations through comparing and highlighting the contrasts (Myers, 1997; Harvey and Myers, 2002).

The **principle of historicity** refers to the idea that people are the result of their history and that understanding of people or the interpretation of events cannot be separated from its historical context (Myers, 2009; Myers and Klein, 2011). "One of the key tasks of a critical ethnographer is to be aware of the historical context in which research takes place and to reflect this critically on to the research process itself" (Harvey and Myers, 2002: 176). Understanding ourselves as fieldworkers and others cannot be separated from the reality that we live out our lives in time. Similarly therefore, one may assume that the development of themes and meaning in critical ethnographic work, or the process of emancipation is deeply seated in the historicity of how they unfolded (Harvey and Myers, 2002). The hermeneutic principles of addressing the researcher's prejudice and historicity will remain a central theme in this thesis. It is particularly in Section 4.4 that the researcher initiates these particular hermeneutic principles. This position is then maintained throughout the confessional chapters. In this study, emancipation is ongoing and evolves over time, hence, learning and emancipation as it is argued in this study cannot be separated from the process or the specific events of engagement where learning took place and emancipation matured.

Relating to historicity, Klein and Myers (1999) put forward the **principle of contextualisation**. Contextualisation implies that "the subject matter should be set in its social and historical context so that the intended audience can see how the current situation under investigation emerged" (Klein and Myers, 1999: 73). The Interpretivist argues that relationships between people, technologies and communities are constantly changing and therefore interpretive research attempts to investigate a moving target (Whyte, 1996; Klein and Myers, 1999). It is for this reason that the researcher will also

reflect on how the process of learning developed (and therefore how the data themes emerged) (see Chapter 4 for example) and how emancipation matured from the beginning of the research toward the end. The people in the research setting (researcher and participants) are participators in and producers of history (Whyte, 1996; Klein and Myers, 1999) and will be regarded as such. The principle of contextualisation is, therefore, a central hermeneutic theme in this study as the researcher aims to understand the context of worldview collisions.

The **principle of multiple interpretations** implies that the researcher examines the influences of social context on the actors by seeking out multiple viewpoints as well as reasons for them (Klein and Myers, 1999). "The analysis of reasons may include seeking to understand conflicts related to power, economics, or values. Moreover the researcher should confront the contradictions potentially inherent in the multiple viewpoints with each other, and revise his or her understanding accordingly" (Klein and Myers, 1999: 77). This principle is different from dialogical reasoning in that it is not about a conflict between the researcher's preconceptions and the data, but about conflicting interpretations of the participants in the study (Klein and Myers, 1999). This principle in particular is relevant to critical ethnographic data, as the focus of such data is on conflicting and contradicting accounts in the social phenomena (Thomas, 1993) (the nature of ethnographic data will be explained in Section 2.11.3). Different people in the research setting may have different expectations, views of emancipation (as explained earlier), and values by which they judge the ICT4D artefact. Because of their role and position, some cultural interpreters may, for example, be more exposed and aware of the potential destructiveness of ICT in developing situations and may therefore express their view and desires accordingly. These should be sought out and articulated.

Autonomisation highlights a difference between written text and verbal speech. Ricoeur (1981) in Myers (2009) states that once verbal speech has been inscribed in text, it takes on a life of its own. Text has an autonomous or objective independence from the original author. Distanciation refers closely to autonomisation. **Distanciation** means that there is a distance in time and space between the original author and the text. "Since text takes on a life of its own, it becomes dissociated from the original author, the originally intended audience, and even its original meaning" (Myers, 2009: 188) which has implications for reconstructing meaning. A solution could be that one could return to the original author of the speech to find out what he or she was thinking at the time (Myers, 2009).

This principle has implications for the way fieldnotes are treated and reflected upon during interpretation and also how results are interpreted by the reader. Ethnography implies a prolonged period of time in the field (Myers, 2009) which means that fieldnotes written in the beginning of fieldwork may be understood differently towards the end (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001). Also,

when the researcher produces fieldnotes and thus writes down reflections, stories, events, and learning that take place during ethnographic work, it is ultimately an attempt to reproduce what is observed as reality (both in the field and within the researcher) at that point in time (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001). It is impossible to capture the complete richness of events in words and one needs to rely on headnotes (Schultze, 2000). Headnotes, however, are unlike fieldnotes, subject to constant revision (Schultze, 2000). The reality is that the researcher may have to rely on headnotes to remember what he was thinking when he produced fieldnotes (Schultze, 2000; Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001).

In addition to Klein and Myers, (1999), Myers (2009) proposes two more hermeneutic concepts, namely **appropriation** and **engagement**. Appropriation means that we can only come to understand the meaning of text if "we make it our own" (p. 189). Appropriation, therefore, has to take place. Myers (2009) also suggests that meaning emerges from the reader's engagement with the text, i.e. when engagement takes place in the hermeneutic sense, both the reader and text or its meaning are changed. Schultze (2000) explains the importance of engaging with the ethnographic data by highlighting the primary activity as "reading the fieldnotes over and over again in order to categorize events to inductively construct themes" (p. 25). In Sections 2.12, 2.13, 4.2, and 7.17, the researcher reflects on how these hermeneutic principles guided the way in which fieldnotes and fieldwork are done in this study.

Although most of the principles of interpretation encourage various forms of critical thinking, "they are more concerned with the interpretation of meanings than with the discovery of 'false preconceptions'" (Klein and Myers, 1999: 77). Quoting a number of authors (e.g. Adorno et al. (1950), Fromm (1955) and Riceur (1976)), Klein and Myers (1999) explain that in some cases it is possible to see consciousness as false consciousness. They show that interpretation should also reveal the effects of socially created distortions and psychopathological delusions. Critical social theory is used to recognise and understand false consciousness in interpretive work (Hammersley, 1992; Klein and Myers, 1999). Klein and Myers (1999) name this **the principle of suspicion** (also see depth hermeneutics, Section 2.11.1).

The principle of suspicion aims to be a critical "reality check" for interpretive work, by addressing issues such as the effects of socially created distortions, forms of dominations, asymmetry and distorted communication, alternate constructions of reality, discovering the social world behind apparent meaning and structures, power structures, hidden interest, limited resources, common sense knowledge about reality and ideologies, and ultimately emancipation and change (Hammersley, 1992; Neuman, 1997; Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997; Klein and Myers, 1999; Myers,

2009; Myers and Klein, 2011). Klein and Myers (1999) show that the principle of suspicion in interpretive work has been the least developed among IS researchers. Examples of critique of conventional social research are Hammersley (1992) and Thomas (1993), who criticise inappropriate theoretical perspectives which ignore oppression and its causes.

Klein and Myers (1999) show that the principles of interpretive work should not be considered as mandatory, but rather that it is incumbent that researcher and reviewers should "exercise their judgement and discretion in deciding whether, how, and which of the principles should be applied and appropriated in any given research project" (p. 71). They also warn that it does not mean that the researcher may arbitrarily select certain principles while ignoring others. Ultimately these principles form an interdependent whole and are related.

2.11.3 Using critical hermeneutics in ethnography

Myers and Klein (2011) summarise three elements of critical research, namely, *insight*, *critique* and *transformation*. Insight is concerned with "interpretation and gaining insight" (p. 24). Klein and Myers' (1999) principles are mostly sufficient for addressing this element of critical research (McGrath, 2005; Myers and Klein, 2011). The other two elements, however, need additional guidelines (Myers and Klein, 2011). To address the element of critique, Myers and Klein (2011) suggest that one should draw from literature on critical hermeneutics. The element of transformation, furthermore, is concerned with "suggesting improvements to the conditions of human existence, existing social arrangements, and social theories" (Myers and Klein, 2011: 24). In the following paragraphs, the researcher discusses a number of "practical points" (how) from Myers (1997, 2009) for using hermeneutics in critical ethnography, and subsequently how to respond to data generated from critical ethnographic work.

Firstly, critical hermeneutics is particularly useful when there are disagreements or contradictory interpretations of the same phenomena or event (Myers, 1997). The focus of critical hermeneutics is on absurdities, contradictions, oppositions, tensions, discrepancies, and conflicts in the social situation (Thomas, 1993; Myers, 1997). Consequently, "f[F]or critical ethnographers the limits of relevant data may seem to close in much tighter and sooner, because we are looking at topics for which conventional native accounts may not always be sufficient when answers are pre-patterned rhetoric that reflect learned accounts rather than actual reasons" (Thomas, 1993: 38). Devising ways to gain access to deeper meaning and conflicting and contradicting accounts may present challenges to the ethnographer's creativity, flexibility, and innovation (Thomas, 1993; Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000).

Secondly, prejudice is something that should be critically acknowledged rather than avoided or supressed (Myers, 2009). Gadamer (1976 in Myers, 1997) shows that the task of critical hermeneutics is to distinguish between false prejudice, by which we misunderstand, and true prejudice by which we understand, while one considers the critical act of questioning assumptions during interpretation (Myers and Klein, 2011). In fact, hermeneutics recognise that prejudice is the necessary starting point for understanding. Defending the use of prejudice in interpretive work, Myers (2009) shows that although one may select a research project based on interest, prior experience or background, it does not mean that the researcher has made up his mind about the research problem or social phenomena; and it is still possible to maintain an open mind regarding the research problem. Section 1.4 explains how the research problem typically develops in ethnographies.

Highlighting the close relationship between historicity and prejudice, Myers (1997) argues that instead of avoiding historicity and prejudice, the researcher should rather build upon it. Ignoring historicity implies that ethnographic work is ahistorical and thus neglects *when* activities were instituted. One of the key tasks of a critical ethnographer is "to be aware of the historical context in which the research takes place and to critically reflect this onto the research process itself" (Myers, 1997: 283). In critical ethnography the researcher acknowledges that human actions are always situated in history and time (Myers, 1997; Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000).

Thirdly, Myers (2009) (also see the principle of abstraction and generalisation in Klein and Myers (1999) discussed earlier) suggests that it is important to generalise from the field study to theory. It is for this reason that Bourdieu's theory of practice will be incorporated to assist in discussing and confirming the research findings and to articulate critical themes from data (Thomas, 1993; Klein and Myers, 1999).

Finally, Myers (2009) states that it is not necessary to discuss every hermeneutic concept in the presentation of research, but rather to focus on those concepts that are particularly relevant to the case at hand. In the same spirit Klein and Myers (1999), explain that the principles of conducting and evaluating interpretive-hermeneutic research, should not be seen as "bureaucratic rules of conduct" (p. 71). One should acknowledge that the hermeneutic principles are interdependent and their use should not be seen as mandatory. Klein and Myers (1999) suggest that authors and reviewers should exercise judgement, discretion, and some creative thought in deciding, whether, how, and which of the principles should be appropriated.

Myers (2009) also urges his readers to be familiar with the most important hermeneutic concepts, because of the danger that hermeneutics might be over-simplified or used inappropriately. Although the principles of hermeneutics and a systematic approach to fieldwork and data treatment are fundamental to the rigour of research (Weber, 2009), it is more important to understand the principles of hermeneutics and the underlying assumptions represented by those principles, rather than to get stuck into (such as not questioning) an overly mechanistic treatment of data without being embedded in the underlying principles (Klein and Myers, 1999).

In terms of the treatment of data it implies that data analysis should emerge from an understanding of the underlying philosophy and hermeneutics principles rather than doing things the other way around (also see Avgerou, 2005). A systematic process of data analysis and interpretation, therefore, will only be relevant if the investigator understands the underlying principles of hermeneutics. However, similarly to authors on conventional ethnography (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; De Vos et al., 2007; Myers, 2009), Thomas (1993) exclaims that "d[D]ata are where you find them, and all things are potentially data." (p. 39) and the researcher might have to also apply conventional means to help construct context from data.

Thomas (1993) explains that the interpretation of data in critical ethnography is essentially "the *defamiliarization* process in which we revise what we have seen and translate it into something new" (p.43). It implies that tentative insights should be brought back into the centre of our attention, in order to distance ourselves from the taken-for-granted assumptions, views, beliefs, and other aspects, so that we can view what we have seen more critically and reframe them as something new (Thomas, 1993). "The researcher decodes the ways that the symbols of culture create asymmetrical power relations, constraining ideology, beliefs, norms, and other forces that unequally distribute social rewards, keep some people disadvantaged to the advantage of others, and block fuller participation in our understanding of our social environs" (Thomas, 1993: 43).

According to Thomas (1983) and Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000), in critical ethnography there is no fixed or standardised way of analysing data and critical thinking remains the main guiding factor. "Critical ethnography is especially susceptible to the need for flexibility, because questions that are most interesting may not be revealed until considerable background data emerges" (Thomas, 1993: 35). Therefore, critical thinkers must be open and ready "to modify and change their beliefs and theories if the data requires it" (Thomas, 1983: 35). It is important, though, that there is a reflexive relationship between the processes of data collection, analysis, and research design (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983).

2.11.4 Difficulties of hermeneutics

One of the critiques of hermeneutics is that it may cause the researcher to focus almost entirely on the text rather than the lived experience (Harvey and Myers, 2002; Myers, 2009). However, Myers (1997) has shown how critical hermeneutics as the underlying philosophy of critical ethnography can be used successfully. This is since a key aspect of critical work in ethnography is that the researcher also critically reflects on the research process itself, and thus questions established approaches to conventional ethnography. In this study the researcher will therefore also critically reflect on and appropriate hermeneutics principles to the phenomenon of interpreting social phenomena.

A further critique of hermeneutics is that it is difficult to know when to conclude a study, mainly because of the recursive act of interpretation and creating text upon text (Myers, 2009). It is not easy to know when to stop the hermeneutic circle. Furthermore, critical hermeneutics recognises that the critical-interpretive act is never closed because there is potentially always an alternate interpretation of social phenomena (Myers, 1997). Myers (2009) suggests that the interpretive act can be concluded when most of the apparent contradictions or conflicts have been explained.

The analytical process of treating ethnographic data is a difficult and daunting task which may imply “a great deal of intellectual and emotional capability” (Harvey and Myers, 2002: 179). However, it is a productive research method and substantial results may outweigh the difficulty of doing ethnographic research (Harvey and Myers, 2002).

2.12 Fieldwork

In this section, some practical guidelines for fieldwork or participant-observation are discussed.

Fieldwork is an approach for “empathetic immersion in the daily life and meaning systems of those studied” (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001: 24). It “asks the researcher, as far as possible, to share first-hand the environment, problems, background, language, rituals, and social relations of a more-or-less bounded and specific group of people. The belief is that by means of such sharing, a rich, concrete, complex, and hence truthful account of the social world being studied is possible. Fieldwork is a means to an end.” (Van Maanen, 1988: 3). Fieldwork consists of ongoing interaction with research participants on their own territory and demands the full-time involvement of the researcher over a lengthy period of time (Van Maanen, 1988; De Vos et al., 2007). As a result of their deep involvement in the lives of people, fieldworkers naturally acquire massive amounts of experience and therefore the results are highly instructive (Van Maanen, 1988).

As with other aspects of doing critical ethnography, critical thinking remains a key guiding aspect of fieldwork (Thomas, 1993). However, it is during data collection and fieldwork that flexibility is the most crucial, mainly because of the problem of having to dig below surface appearances (Thomas, 1993). The critical thinker should be alert to informant answers that are contradictory or behaviour and expression that do not align (Hammersley, 1992; Thomas, 1993). One of the greatest skills of the critical ethnographer is the ability to pursue follow-up questions in conversations. The advice from Thomas (1993) is that "ad-libbing subtle follow-up questions can be crucial for digging below surface appearances to search for impression-management performances that may be designed for a public audience" (Thomas, 1993: 40).

Culture is expressed by actions, words and symbols and must be interpreted by the researcher (Van Maanen, 1988). The difficulty of interpreting different cultural practices, however, is that the researcher can only observe and interpret what he or she is able to perceive (Thomas, 1993), while ability to perceive social phenomena only develops as the researcher matures in the situation (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Thomas, 1993).

All fieldwork involves a time of enculturation, where the researcher must learn to become a member of a cultural group (Myers, 2009). Research partners or cultural interpreters may be instrumental in assisting with the enculturation process, the interpretation of social phenomena and articulating conflicts and contrasts in critical work (Whyte, 1996; LeCompte and Schensul, 1999). Moreover, Van Maanen (1988) notes that "a description of culture can never be settled once and for all" (p. 45).

If it is the aim, theory building and data collection (or fieldwork) should be diametrically linked (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). The theoretical position that an author takes (or resists) determines pre-text assumptions which influences what the researcher observes and eventually present (Davis, 1971 and Clifford, 1983 in Van Maanen, 1988). Generating theories and models is therefore important and should not only be an implicit result of the research process (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte, 1999).

Due to the critical nature of this study, it is essential to allocate adequate time for reflexivity, using the guidelines from earlier sections, in order to discover hidden and deeper meaning, possible contradictions, conflicting ideas, and false consciousness as well as to explain them and their relation to emancipation and change. In the reflection process, it is often the case that concepts emerging from the data are used and named by the research participants themselves. Other concepts that emerge from the data are observer-identified, because they are construed by the ethnographer (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). These concepts are not necessarily related to a specific theory

but are "sensitising concepts" as they help the researcher to focus for further data collection (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983).

Van Maanen (1988) suggests that there are real limits to what a particular ethnographer can and cannot learn in the field. A fieldworker may present himself/herself as diligent, rigorous and critically open in doing fieldwork, but the results are always "experientially contingent and highly variable by setting and person" (Van Maanen, 1988: 4). For example, men may find different types of opportunities than women while the personality of the researcher may play an important role in fieldwork (Walsham, 2002).

2.13 Fieldnotes

The actual process of writing fieldnotes is portrayed "as a core activity in ethnography and participant observation" (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001: 353), because they are writings produced in or in close proximity of the social phenomena and represent the just-observed reality. De Vos et al. (2007) suggest that in the beginning of the study it is unlikely that the researcher will know what might be important later on. Therefore, initially fieldnotes may consist of everything that the researcher sees, hears and observes, including reflections on the situation – like "a commentary on what was happening at the time" (Myers, 2009: 146). Initially fieldnotes may, therefore, be fairly general, because of a reluctance to emphasise or seek out particular themes (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). As the research unfolds and progresses and the researcher becomes aware of emergent issues, specific data and themes are then sought out (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Thomas, 1993).

The general guideline is that after engagement in the field, the researcher should take time, at least at the end of each day or event to expand fieldnotes and add personal hunches, attitudes, reflections, interpretations, perceptions, feelings, lessons learnt, and stories told (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001; De Vos, et al. 2007; Myers, 2009), even if the researcher made digital recordings of situations or conversations (Myers, 2009). Atkinson (1992) explains the writing of fieldnotes as "a double process of textual production and reproduction" (p. 5) which suggests that fieldnotes are both about what the ethnographer learns and observes about the activities of others as well as his or her own actions, interpretations, reflections, and theorising.

Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2001) highlight three types of field situations and subsequent ways of jotting down notes during active participation. The first field situation is where the researcher takes the active and open role writing of notes. It is when the ethnographer's role as note-taker has been accepted by participants or when it has the least interference on the scene or situation. The second

field situation is where the researcher is required to take fieldnotes tactically in the presence of participants. For example, during an interview, one should avoid jotting down notes as an immediate response to sensitive information volunteered, as it may upset or embarrass participants. It is when the fieldworker tactfully tries to minimise the effects of and reactions to note taking as far as possible (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001). The third type of note writing is when the researcher actively avoids any writing of fieldnotes in the presence of participants. In this field situation, open writing of notes may remind participants that they are being studied and also, it may distract the ethnographer from fully participating and paying attention to the immediate scene. Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2001) advise that one should consider when and how fieldnotes could possibly "plant seeds of distrust" (p. 357).

With regard to timing and organising fieldnotes, some fieldworkers prefer to elaborate and expand on fieldnotes as soon as possible after engagement in order to generate detailed and complete records of observation. Others produce less detailed records in the field, possibly handwritten and in notebooks, to be elaborated and expanded on when leaving the field. Others leave most of the writing until they start to grapple with the data in order to create a coherent ethnographic account (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001).

According to Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2001), ethnographers vary their approaches to fieldnotes based on their assumptions and understandings of the value of fieldnotes. On the one extreme Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2001) show that some ethnographers place fieldnotes at the core of the research project, essentially to be the foundation and inspiration for writings that follow. These fieldworkers typically participate in such a way in the field that they consciously look for events to record for research purposes (see Schultze (2000) for example). On the other extreme, ethnographers participate in order to maximise immersion in a community or group. These fieldworkers may regard fieldnotes as a preliminary activity which may potentially interfere with fieldwork if too much effort is put into writing them. They rather emphasize the *doing* of the ethnography (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001). This view places primary emphasis on the interaction between the researcher and research participants, in order to generate a "deep, intuitive insight and perception without day-to-day note-taking" (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001: 355), to the point where the emergent culture becomes intrinsically embedded in the researcher's own thinking, values, and behaviour and the researcher draws upon "deeper intuition and understandings to find issues and make connections" (p. 355). In their discourse, Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2001) conclude that in practice, ethnographers implement combinations of these approaches.

2.14 Confessional writing

The results from ethnographic research are often written up akin to writing a novel or narratives of meaning making (Myers, 2009). Van Maanen (1988) explains three types of ethnographic writing, namely, realist tales, confessional tales, and impressionist tales.

The realist style of writing is the most positivist style (Myers, 2009) and also the "most prominent, familiar, prevalent, popular, and recognized form of ethnographic writing" (Van Maanen, 1988: 45). The realist style is typified by a single narrator that tells the story of the culture as through the eyes of the natives in a dispassionate, third person voice (Van Maanen, 1988; Myers, 2009). The role of the researcher is virtually ignored in an attempt to present "an extremely objective, authoritative, and politically neutral account." (Myers, 2009: 231). A critical theorist may find it difficult to follow such an approach.

The impressionist style presents fieldwork in a novelistic way (Myers, 2009). Impressionists are out to "startle their audience" (Van Maanen, 1988: 101) as "they reconstruct in dramatic form those periods that the author regards as especially notable and hence reportable." (p. 102) (also see Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001). The impressionist invites their readers to make their own sense of the tale as they avoid presenting an "all-embracing answer" (Myers, 2009: 231). Interpretation and analysis is therefore mostly up to the reader to do (Van Maanen, 1988; Myers, 2009).

The style of choice for this study is the confessional style as it aligns best with a critical epistemology (Schultze, 2000). The confessional style can also be viewed as the opposite of the realist style (Myers, 2009). A confessional account of ethnography is "an attempt to explicitly demystify fieldwork or participant-observation by showing how the technique is practiced in the field." (Van Maanen, 1988: 73). Confessional writing highlights the ethnographer's experience of doing fieldwork by giving a self-revealing and self-reflexive account of the research process (Whyte, 1996; Van Maanen, 1988; Schultze, 2000; Myers, 2009). It "presents the ethnographer's role as a research instrument and exposes the ethnographer rendering his/her actions, failings, motivations, and assumptions open to public scrutiny and critique" (Schultze, 2000: 8). The strength of confessional writing is that the narrator is able to leverage both the ethnographer's and the readers' experiences (Schultze, 2000) also with regard to criticality and emancipation.

A confessional account is based on the assumption that ethnographic writing is not a straightforward, unproblematic description or interpretive task but that it is based on numerous strategic choices and active constructions (e.g. what details to omit, what voice to use, what to confess, and so forth) (Van Maanen, 1988; Walsham, 2005). Narratives are presented in the first

person in order to establish intimacy with the readers (Van Maanen, 1988; Schultze, 2000). The narrative and rhetoric conventions the authors opts for, shapes the ethnography. Style of representation, such as personal expression, choice of metaphor, semantics, phrasing, and so forth, all play a role in structuring a cultural portrait (Van Maanen, 1988).

Part of the confessional account is that the researcher acknowledges and reflects on his or her sometimes embarrassing ignorance and mistakes in ethnographic practice and how his/her view of reality has changed to where the ethnographer see things differently at the conclusion of the research – almost like a character-building event (Van Maanen, 1988; Whyte, 1996). An important aspect of a confessional account, however, is that towards the conclusion, the researcher and the social phenomena should "find" each other despite the initial mistakes, blunders and misunderstandings (Van Maanen, 1988).

An important aspect of confessionals is that the researcher should reflect on how he or she has been accepted by the culture and how they learnt to behave according to proper cultural standards of respect and protocol (Van Maanen, 1988). The researcher could show involvement and empathy and how they became trusted and respected by the locals, how they came to actually like and connect with certain individuals more than others, and how those individuals assisted in making sense of social phenomena. Van Maanen (1988: 93, 94) suggests that in confessional accounts, ethnographers should discuss:

- their pre-understandings of the studied scenes,
- their own interests in the scene,
- their modes of entry,
- sustainable participation or presence,
- exit procedures,
- the response of others on the scene to their presence (and vice versa),
- the nature of their relationship with various categories of informants, and
- their modes of data collection, storage, retrieval and analysis.

In Appendices B and C, guidance from additional sources on confessional ethnography is summarised. Appendix B presents Schultze's (2000) requirements for high quality ethnography and confessional writing, while in Appendix C an analysis of issues and lessons learnt from Whyte's (1996) confessional ethnography are put forward. Whyte's confessional ethnography especially emerged to be valuable for this study because he particularly reflects "on the biographical, ideological, and other baggage he brought into the field, as well as the impact of the subjects on

Whyte himself" (Thomas, 1993: 26), hence the analysis thereof in Appendix C. These appendices present several finer-grained variations of Van Maanen's (1988) guidelines.

A confessional account of ethnography presents attempts to bring the self-critical process to the fore of research, as well as to reflect on one's own relation to the knowing object (Bourdieu, 1990). A confessional account of the research process is emancipatory for three reasons. Firstly, in line with the epistemology of critical social theory, confessional writing can be used to demonstrate the self-reflexivity and self-critique of the researcher as he or she changes and is challenged in the process of doing fieldwork (Van Maanen, 1988) and discovers and pursues the emancipatory interests of both the research participants and the researcher (Whyte, 1996; Schultze, 2000). The reader then also learns about the researcher's shifting points of view as the story unfolds (Van Maanen, 1988).

Secondly, the researcher puts himself on par with the research participants who may feel exposed or criticised by ethnographic work (Whyte, 1996; Schultze, 2000). This deals with the need for addressing the issue of power relations in fieldwork and discourse, which is necessary according the mandate of the critical theorist (Van Maanen, 1988) and ethicality in research practice. Thirdly, confessional writing attempts "to draw readers into the text so that the assumptions and practices of the 'foreign culture' serve as a mirror in which the reader's own assumptions and practices are reflected" (Schultze, 2000: 4). Confessional writing therefore potentially also has an emancipatory effect on the readers.

One of the problems of an involved researcher is the difficulty of reporting the part that he or she has played in the research situation. "Self-reporting faces the twin dangers of over-modesty and self-aggrandizement, and it is particularly difficult to steer a middle path between these two extremes." (Walsham, 2002: 107). Myers (2009) also notes that confessional writing often ends up as "'vanity' tales" (p. 231) filled with self-indulgence. It is often the case that authors become too concerned with themselves that the account of the culture is overshadowed (Myers, 2009).

2.15 Ethics in ethnographic research

In line with Myers and Klein's (2011) principles for critical research, special care is needed for understanding ethics in social research. In addition, several authors on ethnography address ethics in principle and practice (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999; Murphy and Dingwall, 2001; De Vos et al. 2007; Myers, 2009). LeCompte and Schensul (1999) for example note that researchers are bound by codes of ethics in order to protect the people they study against treatment that could be harmful to them such as physical, financial, emotional or in terms of their reputation. They also suggest that ethical considerations come into play when the researcher seeks approval and consent for doing the

research, then continues as the researcher enters into the field and establish research relationships, until after engagement when practical findings are disseminated or implemented. The more "obvious" and generic ethical concerns addressed by these authors mostly include issues such as getting permission to work in the field, getting access to people, getting informed consent, respecting the privacy and identity of participants, reciprocity, exit strategies, and so forth (e.g. Leedy and Ormrod, 2005; De Vos et al., 2007; Myers, 2009).

"Most controversy about the ethics of ethnography has, however, arisen at the level of practice, rather than principle." (Murphy and Dingwall, 2001: 340). Murphy and Dingwall (2001) also highlight the problem of false consciousness regarding how ethical research practice is perceived by different research stakeholders in ethnography, especially if the researcher's perception of ethics is at odds with the research participants' interests. For example, in Western societies autonomy and self-determination are generally highly valued. This may not necessarily be universal (Murphy and Dingwall, 2001). It highlights the need for pursuing a critical view also in discovering and understanding ethics in ethnography (Myers and Klein, 2011).

Doing critical ethnography in a community that is culturally different from the researcher, therefore requires special care in order to discover and follow the subtle nuances of respect, dignity and ethical engagement that are eminent of the culture and value system (Myers and Klein, 2011). For example, for the outsider to treat the local people ethically, especially when communities have been abused or mistreated by outsiders in the past (Roode, 1993; Zheng, 2009), he or she needs to be empowered to follow and respect community traditions, values, and leadership structures, and so forth.

The researcher contends that ethical treatment of a culturally different community begins with a critical position of inquiry and reflexivity (the researcher elaborates on reflexivity in Section 6.3). It implies that the researcher begins inquiry by questioning his own assumptions about reality and ethics in order to discover how the local people weave the logic of ethics, including how value judgements and the subtle nuances of showing respect should guide ethical engagement. Therefore, being self-critical or pursuing self-emancipation is put forward as a precursor also for understanding false consciousness and possible ethnocentrism on the part of the researcher also in the area of ethics (see Section 2.7). It may well be that because of prior oppressive events and ideologies in a community or perceived positions of power, research participants may feel obligated to participate in the research, but in reality are uncomfortable, unfamiliar or even unable to refuse participation or express their concerns (Thomas, 1993; Murphy and Dingwall, 2001; Thompson, 2008). Myers (2009) highlights that unwritten rules (such as rules of ethical practice) are seldom verbalised and can only

be discovered by the patient ethnography. Murphy and Dingwall (2001) suggest that the values and decisions of participants should be respected and also that people who are equal in relevant respects should be treated equally. This is a discovery process.

LeCompte and Schensul (1999) highlight some of the more subtle issues of ethics in ethnography. Ethnographers may, for example, learn secrets and intimate details of people's lives that cannot be revealed because it may cause harm; or due to the long term presence of the researcher in a community, the boundaries between friendships and professional research conducted may blur and the community may forget that the ethnographer is there to do research. In such cases ethical engagement may have implications for ethical conduct in personal relationships. Ethnographers may also hear stories or observe illegal, dangerous or abusive activities during fieldwork, which may invoke the legal requirements to report it to authorities (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999).

Because of the in-depth and holistic nature of discoveries that may emerge from ethnographic work, the researcher may be faced with embarrassing or revealing discoveries and intimacies about people's lives that cannot be published or disclosed to other people from the same community (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999; Harvey and Myers, 2002), because it may cause harm to the community in some way. In critical research different voices may represent opposing or conflicting views on the subject matter and emancipatory issues. Research reporting may include reflecting on differing views which may cause the researcher to be accused of taking sides (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999). Consequently, presenting the research results of ethnographic work, includes special care in order to follow the subtle nuances of ethical engagement that are eminent of the culture and value system.

Exploitation and reciprocity are further concerns in ethical engagement in fieldwork (Myers, 2009; LeCompte and Schensul, 1999). Researchers may be seen as exploiting participants, especially if he or she benefits from the endeavour and the community does not. However, one needs to identify acceptable ways of showing reciprocity, while acceptable cultural exchange rates may have to be learned by the ethnographer (Wolcott, 1995 in Myers, 2009; LeCompte and Schensul, 1999).

Other concerns of ethics that have been highlighted by LeCompte and Schensul (1999) and De Vos et al. (2007) are that leaving the field may be difficult and "ending" friendships and partner relationships may not be possible. Although literature suggest that fieldwork normally ends when data themes start to repeat themselves or funding dries up (e.g. De Vos et al. 2007; Myers, 2009), the reality of this study is that friendships that have developed may never end, even though the research ends (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999).

2.16 Conclusions

This chapter presented the study's philosophical grounding and methodological approach. The researcher thus explained how critical social theory, ethnography, and hermeneutic principles will be applied to address the research questions and ICT4D context put forward in Chapter 1. Philosophical and methodological issues addressed include the value and nature of critical research, critical ethnography, and the use of hermeneutics in critical ethnography. The researcher also reflects on the self-emancipation of the researcher and the nature of critical theory. The chapter addresses guidelines for fieldwork and fieldnotes, and ethical considerations in ethnography. The chapter concludes by explaining the value of confessional writing in the critical tradition. In the following chapter the researcher will explain Bourdieu's critical lineage and its role in constructing adequate knowledge of the ICT4D situation under investigation.

CHAPTER 3
Bourdieu's critical lineage

3.1 Preamble

Towards the end of my fieldwork and while reflecting on reasons for fieldwork collisions, I was looking for criteria for critical research that I could use to retrospectively assess my work. It was also during this time that I compiled what I present in Section 6.3 and in Appendices A and D. This chapter came about after my reading of Myers and Klein (2011) and specifically their principle on using core concepts and ideas from critical theorists (Appendix D). Therefore, although this chapter is placed before the confessional chapters, it was in fact written towards the end of my grappling with the data and trying to build a coherent account of my findings (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001), i.e. while I was writing Chapters 6 and 7. My knowledge of Bourdieu's ideas was not as eminent during my writing of Chapters 4 and 5 as it was when I wrote Chapters 6 to 8. However, in my confessional chapters I retrospectively referred to my discussion of Bourdieu's critical lineage where I concurred with his views and where it made sense to do so. In the final chapter I will show how Bourdieu helped me to construct adequate knowledge and confirm rigour and criticality in research, and subsequently how I contributed to Bourdieu's views.

Myers and Klein (2011) highlight three critical streams that are most visible in the IS literature, namely, Habermas, Bourdieu, and Foucault. Habermas, who is associated with the Frankfurt school of critical theorists, primarily presents a theory of the capitalist society (Thomas, 1993), addressing concepts such as communicative action, lifeworld, and cognitive interests (Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997; Twinomurinzi, 2010; Myers and Klein, 2011). Habermas' view on critical research is also the most represented in IS research (Myers and Klein, 2011). Many of Habermas' concepts therefore also formed part of my initial understanding of critical social theory. A critique of the Habermasian approach is the assumption that speaker and audience possess equal competency during communicative action (Thomas, 1993), which made its use somewhat limiting in context of my research experiences.

Foucault's work on the other hand, involves the use of archival research and historical records (Foucault in Myers and Klein, 2011) with a focus on the "interdependence of knowledge and power in discursive social practices" (Myers and Klein, 2011: 22). According to Foucault, power is exercised from within the context of power relations (Avgerou and McGrath, 2007). Some of Foucault's

important concepts include panopticon, archaeology of knowledge, genealogy of knowledge, and discourse (Myers and Klein, 2011).

Although I believe it is possible to apply key concepts from other critical theorists to my work, it was Bourdieu's critical lineage that appealed most to my approach and findings. His work developed primarily from ethnographic field studies (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990; Myers and Klein, 2011) and aligns well with the nature of typical ethnographic findings (e.g. Barnard, 1990; Schultze, 2000; Levina, 2005). Also, an explicit aim of Bourdieu's critical lineage is to understand why certain social groups have remained in repression (Kvasny and Keil, 2006; Myers and Klein, 2011). "The Bourdieu lineage gives emphasis to asymmetric distribution of symbolic and social assets in society, which then cause and reproduce (i.e., maintain) discriminatory social stratification between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'" (Myers and Klein, 2011: 21). I found it to align well with the value position I have taken regarding the role of ICTs in development (see Section 6.3). Essentially, though, and as Walsham (2006) also noted, my choice of theory was subjective. Bourdieu "spoke" (Walsham, 2006) to me and the findings I encountered. And I believe that my experiences as ethnographer will be enriched by that of a fellow ethnographer and critical theorist.

3.2 Introduction

Barnard (1990) shows that Bourdieu's work specifically helps the ethnographer address questions around interpretation and representation**,** i.e. "what is the position of the researcher in relation to the objects of the research?", and "w[W]hat questions of power arise out of the constituting discourses that constitute ethnography?" (p. 71). Bourdieu addresses these issues by advocating a theory of scientific practice that challenges (through critical reflexivity) both those that practice social life without reflecting on it, and those that reflect on social life without practicing it (Nice in Bourdieu, 1977; Barnard, 1990). In this thesis Bourdieu's lineage will be used to retrospectively reflect on issues of power and assumptions about power and position in ICT4D discourses.

Pierre Bourdieu has written numerous books and articles since 1958, addressing many issues in sociology and culture. These include writings on education, labour, kinship, economic change, language, symbolic power, philosophy, literature, photography, art, masculine domination, class distinction, religion, science, and so forth. For my work it was impossible to scrutinise all his writings and views. I had to decide on what to focus on and what is most applicable to my work. Two of his critical discourses stood out for me. The first is his critique of the gap between the subjectivist and objectivist views of social phenomena and secondly, his views on the reflexive practice of social science, which includes the concepts of habitus, structures, field, and capital. I subsequently chose to focus on his work which seemed most relevant to my work, namely, "Outline of a Theory of

practice" (Bourdieu, 1977), "The logic of practice" (Bourdieu, 1990), and "Practical reason" (Bourdieu, 1998). These books helped me to understand his critical reasoning most deeply. I could also identify quite well with his many reflections on ethnographic work among the Kabyle people.

Several other sources initially helped me understand Bourdieu and in particular his philosophical grounding from an introductory point of view. These include Barnard (1990), Mahar, Harker and Wilkes (1990), Postone, LiPuma, Calhoun (1993), Kvasny and Yapa, (2005), Richardson (2005), Kvasny and Keil (2006), Levina and Vaast (2008), Myers and Klein (2011), and Tanner and Chigona (2012). In the following sections I will reflect on key concepts from Bourdieu's critical lineage (i.e. Bourdieu, 1977, 1990, 1998). Towards the end of the chapter I will then show how Bourdieu's critical lineage pertains to emancipatory ICT4D work.

3.3 The limits of objectivist and subjectivist understanding

One of the Bourdieu's (1977, 1990, 1998) key criticisms is about the neglect of the social conditions in which social science is possible. In particular, Bourdieu highlights the need for the researcher to reflect on the sense-making relationship he (or she) has with the social phenomena. Bourdieu argues that the outsider social scientist has in reality no place in the social system observed, and consequently as outsider affects what is observed. He critiques the gap between outsider-observers who attempt to construct the social world from an objective, distant, non-participatory position and those that possess knowledge of practical mastery of their social world and who do not objectively reflect on their social world. He argues for the need to reflect on the objectifying relationship.

There are real limits to the outsider-researcher's point of view of the social situation. The outsider observer lacks practical mastery and therefore runs the risk of enforcing an outsider constructed, and predetermined set of rules, discourses, and action onto the social phenomena, thus misrepresenting that social reality (Bourdieu, 1977; 1990). The researcher, if not explicating the social conditions of the relationship with the social phenomena and acknowledging and thus reflecting on the subjective position needed to build adequate knowledge of the social world, lacks the experiential knowledge to construct, create, and innovate in the social space and therefore cannot explain the social reality adequately.

Bourdieu argues that the social world should be understood in ways that do justice to both the objectivist and the subjectivist knowledge of the social world. He argues that the subjectivist viewpoint has at its core, practical mastery (thought, beliefs, desires, emotions, judgements) of agents who not only experience that social world but also construct the social world. The objectivist view is often viewed as superior and more "meaningful" by social scientists. Bourdieu views this as

ethnocentric. Subsequently these people subconsciously consider themselves, in an ethnocentric manner, to be in a more powerful position than agents who possess the subjective and practical mastery of the social world.

Bourdieu argues for two necessary knowledge breaks for an adequate understanding of social phenomena and subsequently explains three modes of knowledge (Bourdieu, 1977). The first break, he argues, is with subjectivist knowledge, i.e. with the "native experience and the native representation of that experience" (p. 2). In the second break one needs to "question presuppositions inherent in the position of an outside observer, who, in his preoccupation with *interpreting* [sic] practices, is inclined to introduce into the object the principles of his relation to the object, as is attested by the special importance he assigns to communicative functions (whether in language, myth, or marriage)." (Bourdieu, 1977: 2). The first mode of knowledge is about "primary experience" and "unquestioning apprehension" of the social world which does not reflect on itself. The second mode of knowledge is objectivist knowledge, which implies a break with primary knowledge, but excludes from its definition the social conditions that make that experience possible. The third mode of knowledge according to Bourdieu, is needed to understand the limits of objectivist knowledge. This mode of knowledge pursues enquiry into the social conditions that make an adequate knowledge of social science possible. It gives access also to the dialectical relations between objective structures which are the result of objectivist knowledge and structured dispositions within which objective structures are possible. This according to Bourdieu (1977), is rigorous science of practice, as it explores the limits of all objective exploration, and thus makes "possible both an objectively intelligible practice and also an objectively enchanted experience of that practice" (Bourdieu, 1977: 4).

Bourdieu (1977, 1990) presents detailed examples of gifts and gift exchange to explain and contrast objectivist and subjectivist knowledge. According to his examples the objectivist model of gift exchange represents a simplified and distant cycle of reciprocity that is reversible and separated from context, meaning, subtle nuances, timing, and the individual mechanisms that social life brings into it. Even the official account of agents in the social situation is limiting as an explanation of a practical sense of gift exchange is missing. However, the subjective experiences of the exchange bring into the explanation issues of meaning embedded in the subtle nuances of the act of gift exchange. These subtle nuances, which may include, for example, the separation in timing (tempo) between gift and response, style of giving, choice of occasion, manipulation of time, social efficacy, and so forth, lies in practice or experiential knowledge. Knowing the game of gift exchange, according to Bourdieu, and how to intuitively and subconsciously apply these subtle operations, may

be used strategically to exert power and improve capital. It is far from the norms, rules and models that objectivist knowledge of gift exchange alone portrays.

3.3.1 Developing a sense of the game of social interaction

In Bourdieu's theory (1977, 1990, 1998) he argues that the outsider-observer, apart from reflecting on his own position, also needs to develop a sense of the game. He explains the limitations of objectivist knowledge, by referring to the difference between having the "benefit" of reflecting on a social situation after time has passed and the outcome is known, as opposed to being in the social situation while time is still going on and while the outcome is yet to be determined (Bourdieu, 1977). When a social situation is completed and time has gone its full cycle (things are in the past), the outsider-observer, who looks at the phenomena, knowing what has happened and how things panned out, is able to model what has occurred. However, being in the moment and knowing how to react to unexpected occurrences in the situation requires a deep sense of the game in order to know how not only to model but also create and innovate according to a sense of the game. He uses the concept of *habitus* to explain the idea of the "sense of the game".

> "The language of rules and models, which seems tolerable when applied to 'alien' practices, ceases to convince as soon as one considers the practical mastery of the symbolism of social interaction – tact, dexterity, or savoir-faire – presupposed by the most everyday games of sociability and accompanied by the application of a spontaneous semiology, i.e. mass of precepts, formulae, and codified cues. This practical knowledge, based on the continuous decoding of the perceived – but not consciously noticed – indices of the welcome given to actions already accomplished, continuously carries out the checks and corrections intended to ensure the adjustment of practices and expressions to the reactions and expectations of other agents." (Bourdieu, 1977: 10).

Bourdieu (1977) compares an experiential understanding of the phenomena to a dog fight and a boxing match, where each action has an intuitive reaction in the opponent, with countless adjustments of movements (reactions) to actions, all according to the rules of the game which are deeply inscribed in the minds and bodies of opponents. Every move or counter move is loaded with meaning and perceived and understood by those participating in the "fight". From an objectivist point of view the fight can be modelled from the position of hindsight and distance. But in the situation, an objectivist approach is limiting as it neglects an explanation of the sense of the game of social interaction.

3.3.2 Ethnocentrism in outsider-observers

Bourdieu relates ethnocentrism of outsiders to the devices that they use to keep their distance and "for making a virtue out of necessity by converting *de facto* [sic] exclusion into a choice of method." (Bourdieu, 1977: 10). Using the example of forced conversation he warns that it may create within the outsider a false sense of the game. People strain themselves to almost artificially keep the conversation going, while they always maintain the position of being able to retreat to the safe ground of exiting the game. Bourdieu also relates this to a mock fight where fighters can always retreat to the safe ground of agreement. It is only when the fighters (outsiders) in the mock fight get carried away by the game and the fight gets the better of them, that they in fact escape from ethnocentrism and truly participate in the game. It is about moving from knowing the objective rules of the game to having a sense of the game – a second break with knowledge. Bourdieu argues that the social situation should not simply be passively observed or recorded (Bourdieu, 1990). He argues that even when the observer brings into the social situation "the principles of his relation to the object", without allowing himself to be carried away by the game, that observation is "taken from high positions in the social structure" (Bourdieu, 1990: 52).

Finally, Bourdieu uses language to illustrate the difference between objectivist and subjectivist knowledge of social phenomena. Objectivist knowledge is portrayed as being able to model and decode language, when it has gone through the full cycle of time. I.e. the message has been concluded, the receiver and sender are known, and the context is known. Subjectivist knowledge is obtained when one has developed a feel for the language beyond decoding and translation, to being able to create with it, to come up with new words and expressions understandable by others who can also feel the language. The speaking subject – the person feeling the language – has the power of innovation and the power of adaptation, to construct language in constant changing situations and to contextualise language and acknowledge its use in a "socially structured interaction" (Bourdieu, 1977: 25). It is not enough to only understand the code of language, but also to innovate with it in the context and situation in which it is used. Similarly, to understand the social situation, it is not sufficient to only objectively (retrospectively) model the situation, but also to elaborate on the situation, context, and timing in which the model manifests. There is a difference in understanding between those inquirers that play the game of social interaction in order to be carried away by the game and those who simply play the game as a game to leave it later to tell stories about it (Bourdieu, 1990).

3.4 Habitus

Bourdieu puts forward field, habitus, and capital as conceptual tools to explain the dynamics of the social space.

Bourdieu uses *habitus* to refer to the organising principle of people's actions in a particular social setting. Habitus is a "system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them." (Bourdieu, 1990: 53). Habitus is the guiding structure and principle for practices and correctness of practice, produced by history and creating history. It is produced by a particular class of conditionings and conditions of existence.

"H[h]abitus tends to generate all the 'reasonable', 'common-sense', behaviours" (Bourdieu, 1990: 55) of people which are possible within the limits of structured structures and structuring structures of habitus, of which some (behaviours) are positively endorsed by society and other are not. Habitus is internalised in agents as "second nature" (Bourdieu, 1990: 56), subconsciously and deeply rooted in us. In a particular worldview, habitus functions spontaneously without will or consciousness. Habitus functions as "intentionless invention or regulated improvisation." (Bourdieu, 1990: 57) and as a practical sense, i.e. a "durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations" (Bourdieu, 1990: 57), embedded in the bodies and minds, and "dispositions, cultural needs, desires and tastes" (Kvasny and Keil, 2006: 31) of agents. The meaning of practice is established when agents have reached consensus on it, i.e. it is considered common sense knowledge.

There are certain ways in which habitus manifests in people, for example everyone is able to reproduce the rules of the system, but not necessarily cite or recite the rules from memory. In his explanation of habitus, Bourdieu highlights the link between habitus, structures, and power (1977, 1990). His concept of field is in fact a field of forces within which agents struggle and strategize (individually or collectively) to keep society in order and ultimately to improve their positions through the currency of symbolic, cultural, or economic capital.

Habitus is communal. A class of people from similar social conditions or a system of the same dispositions belong to the same class habitus. In such a society, common schemes of perceptions, conception, action, and so forth are harmonized in accordance with the structured structures and structuring structures of the class habitus. Individual habitus, although with differences in style, is the result of the same dispositions, and variants of others. Habitus has a defence against change (of

habitus) and ensures consistency (of habitus) (Bourdieu, 1990). However, habitus enables agents to adapt to changing and unforeseen situations, according to structuring structures, schemes, and disposition of the habitus.

One of Bourdieu's key reasons for putting forward the concept of habitus is to explain the limits of objectivist and subjectivist knowledge and the need for reflexivity in research practice. Habitus is used to show how the researcher should, apart from producing objectivist knowledge, also transcend the gap, escape from ethnocentrism, and develop a sense of the social game, be carried away by the game, and ultimately get a sense of practiced habitus. Habitus therefore should be understood against the background of the limits of objectivism and the limits of subjectivist knowledge. Bourdieu argues that modelling or describing the social situation with the "benefit" of hindsight is an illusion of reality, as the urgency of "real-time" habitus action is not there. In this sense the observer views the final outcome of action and how action developed in the light of habitus as something that was known and predetermined from the beginning, and not a product of inventing in the setting of subjective reality and a sense of the social game. Bourdieu (1990) argues that in order to step down from a distant or the foreign viewpoint of objectivist knowledge or "objectivist idealism" (p. 52), that the researcher has to situate himself in the social situation and real social activities, in order to get a sense of practiced habitus of the people.

> "… O[o]ne has to situate oneself within 'real activity as such', that is, in the practical relation to the world, the preoccupied, active presence in the world through which the world imposes its presence, with its urgencies, its things to be done and said, things made to be said, which directly govern words and deeds without ever unfolding as a spectacle." (Bourdieu, 1990: 52).

Bourdieu argues that one has to both escape from the ethnocentricity of objectivist knowledge which models the world outside of practical sense and historic reality, and guard against falling into subjectivist knowledge which is unable to give an adequate account of the social situation.

3.5 Political action, struggles, and strategizing

Political action can be exercised by appealing to that which keeps the group "in order", e.g. a responsible man would not do this or that, or a man with honour will not do so and so (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990). It is a manipulating strategy, designed to keep a group in order, to improve capital, and to maintain and further the self-interests of dominating agents. Political action and strategies are about regulated habitus and regulating habitus. Strategy in this sense is not conscious or calculated.

It is also not mechanically determined. It is the intuitive product of *knowing* the rules of the game (Mahar, Harker and Wilkes, 1990).

Groups sharing a habitus exist through particular functions, association or kinship, "community of dispositions" (Bourdieu, 1977: 35), and interests. Practical kin relationships are about practices that produce and reproduce. "T[t]hey are the product of strategies (conscious or unconscious) oriented towards the satisfaction of material and symbolic interests and organized by reference to a determinate set of economic and social conditions." (Bourdieu, 1977: 36). Symbolic capital may be accumulated through lineage, like the possession of an inherited title. Those in a dominant position (thus possessing capital) have the "right" to structure the habitus that they are part of in order to protect and legitimise their shared interests. Agents associate themselves with others with whom the relationship is practically useful (those who are spatially close and socially influential), and then struggle and strategize to maintain this network of privileged and useful (practical) relationships. Groupings of people with shared interest and position, power, and influence may collectively manipulate (through their collective influence) the social situation and the way in which reality is constructed (such as the collective definition of a situation), and thereby mobilise the group through the capital of authority for example (Bourdieu, 1977). In this way those with influence and the capital to structure and maintain influence, and thus shape the official account of a situation (or the official definition of a situation), are regulating habitus (Bourdieu, 1977). The group may enjoy the advantages of symbolic profits and practical relationships and how they are used to improve capital. Those dominated may remain so because of the appeal to be a "responsible" man, or to be for example, honourable, patriotic, respectful, loyal, and so forth (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990).

Symbolic violence is to "struggle to accumulate symbolic capital in the form of collective recognized *credit* [sic]" (Bourdieu, 1977: 41), without the use physical force or laws (Kvasny and Keil, 2006). In order to increase the capital of those in dominating positions, the habitus is structured to maintain or improve the situation (status quo) and to keep those with less capital, through practical relationships as opposed to official relationships, in a position to support the self-interests and capital of those with more symbolic capital and who has power to structure, manipulate, and shape.

A sense of the game and in particular a sense of the mechanisms used by the group to keep the group in order is a permanent disposition according to Bourdieu, embedded in the minds and bodies of people, manifesting as "schemes of perception and thought" and also "at a deeper level, in the form of bodily postures and stances, ways of standing, sitting, looking, speaking, or walking." (Bourdieu, 1977: 15). Habitus is a "disposition inculcated in the earliest years of life and constantly reinforced by calls to order from the group, that is to say, from the aggregate of the individuals

endowed with the same dispositions, to whom each is linked by his dispositions and interests." (Bourdieu, 1977: 15). It is a cultivated sense of the game and of the ordering and controlling mechanisms of the game that is consistent with the logic of practice in a particular habitus and that allows agents to intuitively participate.

3.5.1 First and second-order strategies

Bourdieu (1977) explains first-order strategies as those that are directly orientated towards the "primary profit of practice" (p. 22). Second-order strategies have the purpose of apparent satisfaction of the rule, where the real, but hidden purpose is self-interest. Second-order strategies are there to portray an image of "ethical impeccability" (Bourdieu, 1977: 22). Bourdieu notes that an inadequate theory of practice (or practiced reality) may only yield contradiction and difficulties, neglecting the political functions that need to be exposed in an adequate account of the social situation. Ultimately, an adequate account of how and why things are should also refer to the political functions of such an account and the self-interest of those with power, position, and control, those who possess the currency of social, symbolic or cultural capital, and who can shape others' meanings and views of reality. Bourdieu aims to expose the inconsistencies between the model of a social situation and actual practice, or the conflicts between first- and second-order strategies.

Bourdieu explains that the holders of authority (guarantors) in a group have the ability to awaken schemes of perception and appreciation that has been deposited in every member of the group – i.e. the dispositions of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977). Those in the group with a superior position, power, or capital and who have developed the skill of playing the game and keeping the group in order are those that can influence others' sense of taste, meaning, judgement, desires, and so forth. A second-order strategy here is to put forward the values of, for example, unity, patriotism, or to create in agents awareness of "what will the others say". An agent, who can play the game well and who by abiding by the explicit rule, falling in line, and honouring the values that the group honours, can establish a position of domination. There is an interest and advantage in aligning or obeying the rule or political governance of the group – when there is much to gain or much to lose. That is, when aligning with the rule of the group, there is more to gain than when not aligning.

3.5.2 The limitations of the informant's discourse about practice

Practice is not an obedience to the rules of a theoretical model of the social situation. An adequate understanding of practice from the outsider's point of view lies rather with gaining access to subconscious understanding of practice, the spirit of practice, or a sense of the game. This

understanding only comes from exposing (bringing to the fore) the social conditions of the relationship within which the observer constructs knowledge of social phenomena, and from escaping from the ethnocentrism of not allowing oneself to be carried away by the game of social interaction, at least to some level. According to Bourdieu, there are "rules" that represents the official and dominating view and discourse on practice, but how to applied, discern, adapt, and align with the "rules" within social practice and hierarchies of power, position, age, wealth, etc. is something you only know if you have a sense of the game, and if you are aware of the social conditions of the objectifying relationship and the limitations of objectivist and subjectivist knowledge.

An official definition of the social situation may be imposed on the ethnographer, by those who consider themselves to be spokespeople of the group, and hence in a position to shape the field of forces, and thus the views, tastes, beliefs, etc. of people of similar habitus. This official, and also explicit, definition/account of the social situation is repression sustaining, as it represses or dominates other practical but implicit definitions/accounts of the social situation. The key reason is to protect power, influence, self-interest, various forms of capital, and the outcomes of first-order strategies. Bourdieu equates this official account put forward by those who consider themselves spokespeople, to an ideology imposed on the outsider-researcher and onto the habitus of a group. Some in the social grouping have the power to manipulate their own social identity. The outsider-observer should not consider the official definition as adequate. The practical functions of association (kinship) may remain hidden if the ethnographer do not expose them through the hermeneutics of suspicion and other means, e.g. seeking meaning behind meaning, practical accounts, and exposing first-order strategies, capital, and so forth.

According to Bourdieu, there are real limits to what the cultural informant can explain, explicate, or articulate about his own worldview. There is a "distance between learned reconstruction of the native world and the native experience of that world, an experience which finds expression only in the silences, ellipses, and lacunae of the language of familiarity." (Bourdieu, 1977: 18). The cultural informant has to bring into a "state of explicitedness, for the purpose of transmission, the unconscious schemes of his practice." (p. 18). The informant, however, in order to portray his mastery of habitus will draw attention to only the most prominent or most remarkable manifestations of the game of social interaction, and not the principle underlying the game or action. These remain in an implicit state. "The explanation agents may provide of their own practice, thanks to a quasi theoretical reflection on their practice, conceals, even from their own eyes, the true nature of their practical mastery … a mode of practical knowledge not comprising knowledge of

its own principles." (Bourdieu, 1977: 19). Bourdieu refers to this as "learned ignorance" and "native theories" (Bourdieu, 1977: 19), which lack objective truth about the informant's own practical mastery. Native theories may produce illusionary explanations of the logic of practice (Bourdieu, 1977).

In short, agents cannot be relied on to explain the reasoning behind their reasoning and there are explicit and probably political explanations (ideologies, superfluous theories) in place that conceal agents from the implicit explanations of their society's logic of practice. It's about the *conflict* between practice and an informant's discourse about practice (Bourdieu, 1990). To come up with a science of practice that adequately explains the social situation, one needs to recognise that representations may be an obstacle to an adequate understanding of practice.

> "Only by constructing the objective structures … is one able to pose the question of the mechanisms through which the relationship is established between the structures and the practices or the representations which accompany them, instead of treating these 'thought objects' as 'reasons' or 'motives' and making them the determining cause of the practices." (Bourdieu, 1977: 21).

This representation can be used in the group to teach "truth" to itself, and also conceal its own truth from itself. It can become binding to the group because representations have been done through public declaration.

3.5.3 Capital and domination

Bourdieu uses the concept of capital in a broader sense than Marxist anthropologists (Bourdieu, 1990; Mahar, Harker and Wilkes, 1990). Bourdieu (1990) argues that economism (short for the Marxist view on economics in society) is a form of ethnocentrism which does not recognise forms of capital and interests other than the economic. Bourdieu, however, extends the concept of capital to also include symbolic capital and symbolic interests. "He defines the 'symbolic' as that which is material but not recognised as being such (dress sense, a good accent, 'style') and which derives its efficacy not simply from its materiality but from this very misrecognition." (Mahar, Harker and Wilkes, 1990: 5). Symbolic capital is the primary reason for unrecognised domination. "Symbolic systems are instruments of knowledge and domination" (Mahar, Harker and Wilkes, 1990: 5). Dominating agents struggle and strategize to accumulate symbolic capital in order to support or maintain their symbolic interests in a society. Symbolic struggles (symbolic violence and domination) are designed to remain hidden as first-order strategies, and it is typically accepted and maintained through unsaid consensus within a community, i.e. regulated habitus.

Bourdieu argues that symbolic capital is both cultural and social. A person's position is defined by the distribution of the appropriate form of capital. Cultural capital, economic capital, and symbolic capital are that which struggles and strategizing are about. People attempt to position themselves in their social space so that they can best play the game of social interaction in order to improve their symbolic capital and improve and maintain their symbolic interests.

Symbolic violence is the self-interest capacity of those in dominant positions to justify the legitimacy of existing social structures. When a holder of symbolic capital uses his power to confer against agents who hold less, and thereby seek to dominate or change their actions or worldview, they exercise symbolic violence. Symbolic violence may be destructive or reductive. The state, for example, has power to ensemble and may legitimising symbolic and physical violence (Bourdieu, 1979 in Mahar, Harker and Wilkes, 1990).

The field of forces is a field of struggles in which agents confront each other with differentiated means and ends according to their position in the field, in order to conserve or transform the field (Bourdieu, 1998).

> "The field of power … is the space of the relation of force between the different kinds of capital or, … between the agents who possess a sufficient amount of one of the different kinds of capital to be in a position to dominate the corresponding field, whose struggles intensify whenever the relative value of the different kinds of capital is questioned …; that is, especially when the established equilibrium in the field … charged with the reproduction of the field of power is threatened" (Bourdieu, 1998: 34).

The aim of struggles and strategies are to conserve or transform and to maintain the equilibrium of power and influence. These are the roles of those who possess sufficient amounts of capital to dominate or conserve for example the exchange rate between cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1998).

3.6 Theoretical reflections

From the readings of Bourdieu one needs to distinguish between his philosophical assumptions, i.e. his orientation to knowledge about the social world, and the concepts that he uses to describe and critique the social world. I.e. it is one thing to used his concepts (e.g. habitus, field, symbolic capital, etc.) at a superficial level to describe a social situation – which one can do from the outside, but it is something else to align with his epistemological assumptions (e.g. to be carried away by the game of social interaction) and subsequently provide evidence from data and practice of such alignment. One

of Bourdieu's key epistemological contributions is his discourse around reflexivity in scientific research practice (Postone, LiPuma and Calhoun, 1990).

> "My entire scientific enterprise is indeed based on the belief that the deepest logic of the social world can be grasped only if one plunges into the particularity of an empirical reality, historically located and dated, but with the objective of constructing it as a 'special case of what is possible,' as Bachelard puts it .... I am convinced that, although it has all the appearance of ethnocentrism, an approach consisting of applying a model constructed according to this logic to another social world is without doubt more respectful of historical realities (and of people) and above all more fruitful in scientific terms than the interest in superficial features of the lover of exoticism who gives priority to picturesque differences." (Bourdieu, 1998: 2).

Regarding reflexivity and the researcher's subjective position, Bourdieu (1990) cites Nietsche (1969):

> " …L[l]et us guard against the dangerous old conceptual fiction that posited a 'pure, will-less, painless, timeless knowing subject'; let us guard against the snares of such contradictory concepts as 'pure reason', absolute spirituality', 'knowledge in itself': these always demand that we should think of an eye that is completely unimaginable, an eye turned in no particular direction, in which the active and interpreting forces, through which alone seeing becomes seeing something, are supposed to be lacking; these always demand of the eye an absurdity and a nonsense. There is only a perspective seeing, only a perspective 'knowing'; and the more affects we allow to speak about one thing, the more eyes, different eyes, we use to observe one thing, the more complete will our 'concept' of this thing, our 'objectivity', be." [sic] (p. 28).

In context of Bourdieu's lineage and reflexivity, I argue that the misrepresentation of social reality by not making the second break with objectivist knowledge and not acknowledging the researcher's own ethnocentrism, and thus enforcing an outsider (objectivist) perspective onto the social situation may equate to a repression-sustaining situation for the research participants and a false consciousness and cultural entrapment on the side of the researcher, especially if the outsider-constructed knowledge is supposed to guide emancipatory efforts. Hammersley (1992) holds that the meaning of emancipation depends on the values that one accepts, and if a different worldview implies an alternate value system, there may be value conflicts and therefore disagreement on what emancipation and other developmental concepts should mean and achieve. The outsider-researcher may construct inadequate knowledge of social reality and through the symbolic capital that he

possesses in the habitus of the research fraternity, may firstly, impose a repression sustaining construction of knowledge onto the social situation (i.e. onto people who can really do without more suffering and oppression), and secondly, sketch an inadequate sense of "truth" and understanding to the research fraternity. Enforcing a particular ethnocentric outsider construction of knowledge onto the social phenomena may end up in a situation where research subjects' meanings, tastes, and desires are continued to be shaped by outsiders in order to subconsciously improve the position and self-interests of the outsider or others that can play the game of ICT4D. Moreover, the idea and concept of development has a sense of "ethical impeccability" (Bourdieu, 1977: 22) entrenched in its use in the ICT4D research fraternity, which according to Bourdieu can be seen as a hidden first-order strategy (i.e. it is about improving the primary profit of practice), thus manifesting as a repression sustaining ideology.

Bourdieu argues that researchers of social phenomena are in a situation where they struggle and strategize to improve their position and capital. Researchers' second-order strategies might be to investigate and critique development initiatives, but their first-order strategies are to publish, to improve their own knowledge (even if it is knowledge only to pursue, manipulate, or recreate an official account of the social situation), to collect data, to complete a degree, and so forth. For the critical ethnographer it implies the need and necessity to reflect on the implications of this position and associated self-interest, and as Bourdieu argues, how it may impact the social situation, the type of data collected, what is perceived and interpreted, and whether in the end the people the ethnographer works with are really emancipated and empowered through development efforts. In context of this study, Bourdieu offers guidance in how to do fieldwork and seek maximum immersion in the social phenomena, how to critique ethnocentrism in fieldwork practices, how to be carried away by the game of emancipatory ICT4D practice, and how to critique power issues in the social space.

Gaining access to deeper meaning implies difficulty and conflict. Bourdieu argues that implicit explanations of a society's practice may be hidden from the consciousness of cultural informants and will only manifest in subtle cultural nuances, silence, and conflict (or "silences, ellipses, and lacunae", (Bourdieu, 1977: 18)). Also, the official account of social reality may be brushed with a political or ideological agenda, where the informants only articulate that which reflects second-order strategies or the most remarkable manifestations of practice. The real and implicit agenda, meaning, motives, beliefs, etc. may remain hidden. There may be a conflict between an informant's discourse and practice. It is something that the outsider needs to expose and bring to the fore, by means of the second break with knowledge, in order to construct an adequate knowledge of social reality. If

the researcher cannot fully explain reasons for conflicts and collisions, he should at least highlight the fact that there are collisions and conflicts as a basis for further emancipatory and enlightened ICT4D work.

3.7 Bourdieu and ICT4D discourses

An ICT4D discourse may be viewed as a social situation or playing field where agents struggle and strategize to improve their position and capital. Different worldviews of people assumed to participate in ICT4D discourses and practice and the accompanying conflict of values translate into a situation where people make inadequate assumptions about their own position, knowledge, and power in ICT4D discourses. A potentially dysfunctional relationship emerges which is based on the assumed ability of people to participate in ICT4D discourses or play the (read developmental) game of social interaction. ICT and assumed, but inadequate knowledge about how to participate in ICT4D discourses and practice, becomes a source of symbolic and social capital that people use to dictate assumptions, enforce worldviews, evaluated development, implement ICT4D, and so forth; which ultimately implies inadequate value judgements and invalid norms for guiding responsible action and open and informed choices (Ngwenyama, 1990) in ICT4D practice.

Cultural entrapment and ethnocentrism may manifest in ICT4D discourses when the outsider-researcher (often Western-minded) may view their own worldview, mind-set, culture, and artefacts (such as ICT) as superior (Escobar, 1992), and when they subconsciously insist on transferring this dominating belief during ICT4D discourse or practice. Thompson (2008) for example, highlights the need to critique "unqualified 'technological optimism'" (p. 822), mentioning international players such as Cisco and Microsoft, who may see developmental ICT as an potential for market expansion, and who may exert untested motives. Thompson (2008) also highlights conflicts of interests between the different role-players involved in policy formulation and practical implementation, and the need to question the relevancy of "hard" or Western approaches (and its embedded assumptions and values) to ICT implementation. In many ICT policies and ICT4D cases, Western values and advice are adopted wholesale without deep reflection (Thompson, 2008; Zheng, 2009; Thompson and Walsham, 2010).

Bourdieu allows us to expose and critique the dominating position of the "developed" and Western worldview in ICT4D discourses and practice, i.e. the worldview, symbolic capital, and dominant strategies of those outsiders who make assumptions about the value and meaningfulness of their own worldview, or who are subconsciously applying unquestioned first-order strategies to improve their own positions, capital, and self-interests. Using Bourdieu's critical lineage, Kvasny and Keil (2006: 31, 32) argue this point as follows:

> "E[e]very society has some form of educational institutions that serve to reproduce and legitimize dominant culture values. This process of cultural reproduction inevitably entails a form of power, which Bourdieu (1993) refers to as symbolic power. This is power exercised through hegemony of norms and techniques for shaping the mind and body without the use of physical force or laws. The 'have nots' are identified and then persuaded to defer to educational institutions that will enable them to partake in the cultural practices such as online banking and electronic commerce that are privileged by more dominant agents. However, social groups have different experiences, histories, dispositions, cultural needs, desires and tastes (i.e. habitus), but these differences are not treated as equal. The dominant agents are better positioned to define their cultural arbitrary as superior to that of the working classes, and thereby to naturalize their superiority through symbolic power. Educational institutions serve as sites that provide everyone with a chance to be co-opted into the groups possessing symbolic power."

Forces in the field may also be the assumptions people make about the meaning of development, based on the evidence they have construed from their own social entrapment. These forces (manifesting as struggles and strategies for gaining various forms of capital) evolve from false consciousness and afford people with more (Western) symbolic and cultural capital to be viewed (consciously or subconsciously) as holding a superior position in development discourses. In this thesis, I argue that these perceptions evolve primarily from different values or "different experiences, histories, dispositions, cultural needs, desires and tastes" that are not treated as equal (Kvasny and Keil, 2006: 32). For example, I may construct the meaning of emancipation, repression, development, and associated concepts in the light of my own ethnocentricity and that which "I" value. Consequently I consider "the others", or "the developing" as deprived, because I see practices and realities that do not align with values which I understand and from the point of view of my own entrapment. This is a repression sustaining consciousness (belief, ideology, etc.) that needs to be exposed, challenged, and critiqued.

In ICT4D discourses this type of false consciousness may ultimately lead to ICT4D failures and continued suffering and oppression. In fact, it may be argued that "development" is a discriminatory concept (Escobar, 1992; Lewis, 1994; Heeks, 2005), subconsciously constructed by the West to keep so-called developing societies in a state of dependence and repression. In such cases a false consciousness may manifest in the repression sustaining assumption that you are "developed" and that those you are "helping" or researching are in need of development, that it is inherently better

to be "developed", and that you know how to develop others. This repression-sustaining belief keeps people in a state of non-emancipation and non-enlightenment.

Following the discussion in Section 3.5.3 on symbolic capital and domination, Bourdieu (1998) showed that the education system contributes to the reproduction of the distribution of symbolic capital and the structure of social space (Bourdieu, 1990). According to Bourdieu (1998), the schooling system in advanced economies (e.g. France, USA, Japan) is geared towards maintaining social dominance. Academic achievement is in fact also a certificate of social competence in society because in such contexts, social and economic capital is closely interchangeable (Bourdieu, 1998). Matric, a degree, or technical competence becomes "evidence" of that which conceals a social function – which is the consecration of the official bearers of social competence and of the right to rule (Bourdieu, 1998). Among the traditional Zulu people social competence and evidence of social capital emerges from a totally different habitus. As a result, children from these communities potentially lack the social capital to participate in a Western schooling system. For them participating in the schooling system or at university implies a cultural transition, a process of learning to function within a different habitus, and learning an alternate value system, which in the South African context means a transition from a people-orientated habitus (worldview) to a task-orientated habitus. It has implications for ICT training in traditional communities.

3.8 Conclusions

My experience of reading Bourdieu's (1977) book in particular makes me concur with Robbins (1991) that reading Bourdieu's arguments only through introductions or condensed summaries by others and not also engaging with his writings and evidence from fieldwork on the Kabyle, equates to a misreading of Bourdieu.

Bourdieu highlights several other examples from his fieldwork experiences, (e.g. the analogy of theft and justice, parallel-cousin marriage, etc.) to illustrate what he means, showing the various possible practical applications and adaptations of his discourse on objectivist and subjectivist knowledge, practical mastery, and the sense of the game. It is only by engaging with these examples that one gets a real practice sense of Bourdieu's theory of practice. I consequently learned from Bourdieu that evidence from fieldwork will illuminate concepts, and make it possible for the reader to also reflect on the contribution. It is something I have to remember when I present my own findings.

Towards the end of this study Bourdieu helped me reflect on my own reflexivity and the strengths and limitations of the knowledge I constructed. I also noted from myself, that a pre-understanding of the ontology and epistemology of critical theory provided a frame of reference for understanding

Bourdieu. Readings of others on Bourdieu may help to set the stage, but reading Bourdieu brings a concert to the fore.

CHAPTER 4
Community entry, topic discovery and enculturation

4.1 Preamble

In this and in Chapter 5 the researcher demonstrates the beginnings of criticality, self-reflexivity, and how he recognised and articulated his own inabilities, social entrapment, and need for emancipation in ICT4D work. The researcher also shows how community entry was established, how ICT4D was introduced in the Happy Valley community, and the role of cultural interpreters and development agents in establishing community entry. Through confessional writing (see Appendices B and C and Section 2.14) the researcher shows how critical reflexivity manifested and how he as a primary research subject evolved as a critical researcher.

4.2 Introduction

For a long time I've been thinking about how and where to start telling the story of the Happy Valley ICT for community development project. In fact, there were times where I consciously avoided writing, simply because I didn't know where and how to approach this mammoth task. It was overwhelming enough just to deal with the huge amount of unstructured "data" that lay before me and within me. I just didn't know how to tell the stories with the best emphases and examples (Van Maanen, 1988) and at the same time remain truthful. Myers (2009) warns that once an event has been inscribed in text, its takes on a life of its own and that it may be dissociated from its original author and meaning (see Section 2.11). I therefore felt that I only had a single opportunity to create a story, before the "new" meaning embedded in the text started to overshadow the original depth and meaning. I was concerned that, during data analysis and reflection, I might create fieldnotes of fieldnotes (or text upon text and interpretations of interpretations) that might distance me and the readers from the original meaning intended. It was a big and important phase to initiate in my research.

Creating a confessional account of critical ethnography that will also draw you, the reader, into the Happy Valley project in an intimate and critical way (Van Maanen, 1988; Schultze, 2000) seemed like a task, for which I did not feel particularly well-qualified. I wanted you to also participate in the empowering and emancipating events and stories that I have witnessed throughout the project, so that you could also experience delivery from the oppressive consequences of cultural entrapment that you might have consciously or subconsciously embedded in your own worldview.

I am now writing the confessional chapters nearly three years after the project started on 27 August 2008. I have the benefit of hindsight and of being able to incorporate the lessons learnt and becoming so part of the Happy Valley project that that which has been explicit, new and unfamiliar in the beginning is now embedded, tacit and in many ways incorporated in my own values and thinking. I now see the world differently, I value many things in life differently and my priorities have changed to a certain degree. I identify with the people of Happy Valley, I have lived their values to a certain degree, and I have changed. I have even been offered a piece of land in Happy Valley. I am now able to live what I believe and be at peace with it, even though life, as with everyone, continues to offer me instances of suffering.

For a while now I've been going through my fieldnotes and reflecting on lessons learnt and on the themes that have emerged from fieldwork. I was following Schultze's (2000) advice of just reading my fieldnotes over and over again (watching the videos, listening to audio, looking at pictures, etc.) and building and testing ideas, reconstructing events, thinking about structure, talking to my informants, reading literature, and so forth. I realised that it was going to take an immense amount of creativity, passion, and immersion in the data (i.e. social phenomena) to be able to start, pursue and finish this confessional account. I had to live the data as Whyte (1996) noted, or live with the data and be the data. I had to live the process and test what I have learnt to be able to present the stories and lessons as truthfully as possible. I needed to provide evidence that I had become part of the field and the fieldnotes, and that emancipation and change occurred (Van Maanen, 1988; Whyte, 1996; Schultze, 2000; Myers and Klein 2011). I had to introduce my project partners and tell their stories and at the same time acknowledge, respect, and protect them, even though I had to reveal some of the conflicts, collisions, and difficulties we had to deal with in the project. Criticality and ethics had to be central to the story.

It is honestly with a sense of fear and trembling that I am now approaching this job. It is one thing to satisfy my examiners and readers of this thesis, but it is something else to be truthful to myself and my project partners (or to be honest about exposing and aligning my own first- and second-order strategies according to the terminology of Bourdieu) as I attempt to recreate the reality of a community project that has even contributed to shaping my own character and identity. Last night (31 July 2011) was a turning point. Up to now I had done most of my reading, I understand what is meant by criticality, ethnography, and participant-observation, I had a good sense of the data, I have tested lessons learnt and I was able to articulate my research problems with clear understanding. Philani, one of the project partners was staying over at my place in Pretoria for a week (Appendix G introduces the key cultural informants and project partners I engaged with and who I mention in the

unfolding ethnography). The conversation reached a climax (around 11 pm) when we spontaneously started to summarise my research. With hindsight and both having scars of struggle and enjoyment, we compiled a list of principles for doing and introducing ICT for community development projects. I was inspired. I had his confirmation, articulation, and support. And we were doing this against the background of a three year friendship and an ICT4D project that has started to show good momentum and sustainability. This morning (1 August 2011) I felt ready to start telling my story.

So let me therefore take you on this journey. Let me introduce you to the people I made friends with in the Happy Valley project, let us reflect on my fieldwork and research and let me present to you what I have learnt, the values I have adopted and the people that I have learnt it from.

4.3 Reflecting on structure

The way I present and structure my data chapters is unique in that I attempt to combine a confessional writing with critical ethnography. Although criticality is a natural part of both ethnography (Klein and Myers, 1999) and confessional account of ethnography (Schultze, 2000), I have so far not been able to find a source that has explicitly combined the two approaches. So, in order to help me structure and write a confessional account of ethnography, I used Whyte (1996), Van Maanen (1988), and Schultze (2000) as the primary sources (also see Appendix B and C). Bourdieu (1977, 1990, 1998), Hammersley (1992), Thomas (1993), Harvey and Myers, (2002), Myers (1997), Neuman (1997), Ngwenyama and Lee (1997), Avgerou (2005), Čečez-Kecmanović (2005), Howcroft and Trauth (2005), McGrath (2005), Walsham (2005), and Myers and Klein (2011) were the key (but not the only) sources that helped me understand how to be critically reflective as an ethnographer (see the lens for criticality that I compiled in Appendix A). Armed therefore with wisdom from these authors and having completed a comprehensive methodology chapter to refer to, I thought it best to present the enculturation phases of the confessional primarily in the form of a timeline. The primary reasons are that community entry and topic discovery is something that happens over time, while emancipation and change is a process, and I have to show how both my project partners and I changed and matured over time. Like in Whyte (1996) I also reflected on time as a theme in order to place the development of the social situation in its proper setting. And as I later discovered from reading Bourdieu, I had to show that learning and social transformation could not be separated from the tempo and urgency of real-time habitus action (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990). I had to put the research in its historical perspective (Klein and Myers, 1999).

I will therefore start by giving a perspective on myself – who I am and where I come from – a background on the Happy Valley project and how the project started and gained momentum. From there I take it further. I will explain how I did the fieldwork, how I interacted and built relationships,

the role of local gatekeepers, entrepreneurs and informants, how I grew from establishing community entry to becoming a member to finally being a member, how I ensured quality and integrity throughout, and the logic I followed (and the struggles) in fieldwork and analysis (Van Maanen, 1988; Schultze, 2000). After each logical section, I will attempt to also summarise lessons learnt, relating it to literature and visualising concepts if necessary (Whyte, 1996).

Hopefully then, you, the reader, can also "participate" in an understanding of the community and who I am. Having the background and the understanding of where I come from and what possibly could inform the assumptions I made and logic I followed, you might even identify themes and lessons from the research that I am unaware of. And, although some might argue this to be a limitation, I believe it to be a strength, because I have then succeeded in drawing you into the text (Van Maanen, 1988; Schultze, 2000) also as participator in interpretation.

4.3.1 Ethnographic immersion

As a critical theorist, my choice of methodological approach was based, firstly on my desire to affect change and emancipation in the community of Happy Valley and secondly, because of the need to make some practically relevant research contribution. I wanted to do something good and meaningful with my research (Walsham, 2005) and at the same time uplift the people I interacted with, but in a way that is also ethical and truly emancipatory. Critical ethnography afforded me that opportunity as it emerged as the most intensive and in-depth type of research possible with outcomes that are useful, productive, and practice orientated (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Van Maanen, 1988; Harvey and Myers, 2002; De Vos et al., 2007; Myers, 1997, 2009). Given the fact that the project I engaged in was quite an intense intercultural endeavour, my choice of paradigm and methodology also allowed me to reflect on contrasts and collisions in the social phenomena. I argued that understanding and describing the implications of different worldviews that were typically eminent in the development artefact in Africa (Willoughby, 1928; Asante, 1983; Thompson, 2008; Madon et al., 2009; Zheng, 2009) would be a valuable research contribution for the international ICT4D research fraternity. This in-depth approach would enable me to be an African voice for ICT4D implementation and research.

It is important to reaffirm at this stage that the research reported here emanates from my ethnographic immersion in an ICT for development project and not so much in the greater Happy Valley community. Moreover, according to Zheng (2009) the agency aspect of human development has been much less appreciated than the well-being aspect. Consequently, I took agency seriously. I took note of the motivations and constraints under which development agents function in Happy

Valley (Zheng, 2009). The people I interacted with and where I did my ethnographic work were primarily the development agents who work and live within the Happy Valley community. Throughout fieldwork I found myself associating well with local development agents, their interests and their work in the community. Since they had the interests and empowerment of the community at heart, they were also able to explain oppressive circumstances in the community of Happy Valley as well as some of the cultural nuances I was interested in. Throughout my ICT4D work, I responded to the expressions of needs and interests of development agents. They became my partners and friends in the project. It was especially after I had established trust and friendship relationships with development agents, that many of them also spontaneously and eagerly educated me about their culture, worldview, needs, and difficulties as they perceived it in Happy Valley. It was rarely the case that I took a caregiving or empowerment role in direct relation with the local people. I always partnered with and in many cases submitted to the leadership of a development agent who also functioned as a cultural interpreter, entrepreneur or visionary.

4.3.2 Methodology chapters

My readings on critical ethnography and confessionals made me aware of its potential complexity and depth of involvement. Therefore, before I started my confessional chapters (in Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7) I did a thorough study on the philosophy of critical theory, ethnography, and interpretation, as well as practical aspects of doing critical ethnography (Chapter 2). The principles that I apply in the confessional chapters are based on what I clarified in Chapter 2.

One of the purposes of a confessional account is to reflect also on the reasoning of the researcher (Van Maanen, 1988; Whyte, 1996; Klein and Myers, 1999; Schultze, 2000). Although it is important to justify and support methodology from literature, I found it quite distracting to the confessional stories to also explain the definitions, summaries and reasoning of the various sources throughout. I therefore did not always include those aspects in the confessional chapters, but rather chose, as far as possible, to refer the readers to the various sections in the methodology chapter, thus using it as a “reference guide”.

4.4 Who I am

In this section I will give some background on who I am, where I come from and what possibly could inform the way I did the research and fieldwork. In this study I became part of the social phenomena. I therefore affected how themes developed and how they were interpreted (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990; Whyte, 1996). I believe that even topic discovery and the selection and implementation of a research paradigm were affected by who I am and where I come from (Walsham, 2005, 2006). I

will therefore discuss aspects about myself that possibly affected the field, fieldwork, and the type of data I got.

I grew up in a relatively average middleclass home in a suburb of Cape Town. My father is a first generation English-speaking Dutch immigrant and my mother a local girl from the Small Karoo in the Western Cape. Growing up half Dutch, half Afrikaner, I was exposed to different cultures in a single home, which was sometimes frustratingly different from the mono-cultural friends and neighbours in our community. In many ways, however, I adopted an Afrikaner culture.

I completed high-school in 1991. My schooling therefore included all the associated privileges and opportunities of white people in apartheid South Africa. I was also exposed to the cultural entrapment that apartheid offered us and the ideologies enforced onto us by the apartheid government, for example, the belief that apartheid was practical and safe. I observed many white people in those days indoctrinated to the point where they deliberately isolated themselves in communities of illusion regarding Africans and African cultures.

As children we were not allowed to mix and learn from each other. The issue of class distinction was quite prominent therefore. My subjective and untested observation was that at that stage white Afrikaner people generally perceived Africans as lower class, underdeveloped, ignorant, and uneducated. In Apartheid South Africa, class segregation was enforced along racial lines. This relates to how Bourdieu describes symbolic violence and how the dominating group perceives the dominated group's lifestyle from a reductive and destructive point of view (Bourdieu, 1998). The dominating group therefore simply avoids learning from or about the dominated group. Bourdieu (1998) confirms my observations, as he explains that because people function in different areas of social space (employers vs. workers, educated vs. unskilled, Afrikaans vs. Xhosa, and so forth), they also have little chance of physically meeting each other. Also, when they accidentally meet each other, they will not get on together, will not really understand each other, and will not appeal to each other. Even now, 20 years into liberation, I still see similar collisions between cultures. Today, however, it is not so much only a racial distinction, but rather a migration to a class distinction and collisions between habitus, lifestyles, and worldviews. Personally, however, I was somewhat shielded in the sense that as students we could form an opinion on apartheid during a time of chance and after it was banished in 1992.

1992 was my first year of university studies. It was two years after Mr Nelson Mandela was released from prison in 1990. I remember quite well how many especially older white people were scared and uncertain of what the future would hold for them. Although they wanted liberty, their comfort zones

were challenged and they seemed to struggle to make peace with the way things unfolded. This influenced many of my peers, to leave our country for “greener pastures” to places like the UK, USA, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. As student I was challenged to seek hope through all of these negative messages I got from the environment I grew up in. I had to make a choice though. South Africa was my birthplace and I wanted to make a success of life. I learnt about forming my own opinion and making positive choices regardless of whatever negative messages I was exposed to.

In some ways my childhood life was quite difficult. I grew up in a dysfunctional family, which embedded considerable distortion in the way I initially viewed and experienced reality. Since a very early age, though, I had the natural tendency to question things that others perceived as acceptable or normal. I’m not entirely sure how and why that developed in me, except maybe that it was a subconscious survival strategy I adopted. Questioning the messages that I grew up with became a necessity for functioning as an individual in the real world. As I grew older I constantly had to negotiate the internal conflicts I experienced, such as that my “common sense logic” is not in line with what I felt inside or that I see successes in others that I could not explain according to my own frame of reference. I observed myself constantly trying to find an ultimate truth in life so that I could adapt accordingly and escape from the spiral of emotional instability and non-closure that I grew up with.

Time, patience, and a stable 15-year marriage, were good things for me. By the time I started my PhD work in 2008 I had found contentment in many ways. As I discovered critical social theory it appealed to me a lot. It offered me a paradigm that not only explained my own struggles to escape from cultural entrapment and false ideologies but also a position to negotiate the development realities I was facing in Happy Valley. Since I wanted to make a difference in Happy Valley, critical social theory became the obvious choice as research paradigm.

One of my primary desires in life was to be happily married and to give my children the stability and freedom that I did not have, without overcompensating or overcorrecting. My family therefore became something I valued highly in life. I married at age 24, and now 15 years and three daughters later I can say with confidence that we are happy. This happiness, however, came through considerable introspection, self-reflection and effort, and obviously a very understanding partner.

Throughout the Happy Valley project my wife and children formed an integral part of the project. I took them on fieldtrips, my children played with the Zulu children on many occasions, and my wife befriended some of the local women. I never realised until much later in the project that my explicit regard for family appealed very much to the traditional Zulu, who also consider family life and family

values highly. As I will explain later, the support and involvement of my wife and children throughout the project created a trust and a type of social status for me in the Happy Valley project that a single or younger person would not have been able to achieve. Because of who I am I could engage with the social phenomena uniquely and with a specific type and depth of involvement.

My undergraduate studies were in Information Technology at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT). Thereafter, I did an honours degree in Higher Education (also at CPUT). While doing my Honours degree I was offered a junior lecturing position at CPUT. From finishing my Honours studies until I started my Masters in 2002/2003 at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, I was not entirely sure about the direction I wanted to pursue in my career. However, when I started a full dissertation Masters degree, it also involved a deliberate choice to pursue a career in academia. I perceived the type of life as stable and good for me in the sense that I will be stimulated in my work and at the same time provide a decent living for my family.

My Masters studies involved a highly interpretive study on the tacit nuances of visual communication, visual aesthetics, and web design, using theories from cognitive psychology. It was especially during the many interviews that I did with web and visual designers that I had to develop strategies for seeking out subconscious and deeper meaning from what they gave me, even to the point where I was able infer from them principles that they were not consciously aware of or able to articulate (see for example Krauss (2005) on tacit design issues). In my study I was trying to prove that web designers and web users mostly subconsciously use certain cognitive principles to make sense of visual communication. This exposure in the field of Human-Computer Interaction, I believe was a preparation for my PhD work in a culturally different community.

At this stage I must also say something about my personality. I can describe myself as an exhorter philanthropist. I have a natural inclination to seek to inspire others to succeed and achieve. I believe it also to be the reason why I find interacting with students and academic life stimulating. My personality also brings along with it some complexities. For example, when I do things I also want to see a response in people, which implies that when I don't see responsiveness or change, I lose interest. Having an exhorter personality I also often find myself to be overly depended on the acknowledgement from others. I find it frustrating to do things that does not have some form of practical relevance, which means among other things that I find it strange that one would debate topics like "the relevance of IS research". For me it is a given and one should not do it if there is no purpose or relevance. I believe these personality traits of mine made me pursue a study area where I could combine theory and practice and where I could see appreciation and response in people. I found the Happy Valley project extremely rewarding in that sense.

In line of my personality, I intuitively sought out opportunities to inspire others in some way while I naturally aligned with a community of development agents in Happy Valley. Because of my background, I also fairly quickly identify that which held people back from fully achieving and finding psychological comfort in life. Being an academic with more than 12 years of lecturing experience made me naturally align with a teaching role among the people of Happy Valley. There were, however, many assumptions to question and lessons to learn from the project.

I believe life has taught me the social skills needed for gaining access and maintaining access to the people of Happy Valley. As Walsham (2006) noted, it is not something that someone could teach me, but life necessitated me to confront my position in this respect, "through self-reflection and with input from others" (Walsham, 2006: 322).

4.5 First encounters – August 2008 to June 2009

My engagement with the people from Happy Valley came as a rather unexpected opportunity in 2008. In July of that year I moved to Pretoria to take on a new lecturing position at the Department of Informatics. There I learnt about their strong ICT4D research stream and the Community Informatics Initiative. In support of the initiative, I suggested that we consider getting involved with the Happy Valley community in the heartland of the Zulu people in rural KwaZulu-Natal, basically only because I knew about them and of someone who could possibly be a gatekeeper to the community. My knowledge of the community and its people, however, was based on stories of suffering and the HIV pandemic, told by my Afrikaner friends working at the Care Centre for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (CCOVC). I had also met some of the orphans who were directly infected and affected by HIV. This initial perspective on the community created in me a level of distant sympathy, which subsequently affected the assumptions I had about myself, my position of power and knowledge in the project, and how I initially thought I could contribute.

I visited Happy Valley a few times prior to 2008, but it was only to see my friends and nothing more. During one of those visits in 2006, I recalled having a somewhat disturbing encounter with two of the local Zulu boys who wanted to throw stones at us. It is the type of story that I can never forget because of the impressions it has made on me. I will relate to that story a bit later.

Research-wise, things started to change for me when I suggested that Martha, the project manager from CCOVC, should come to visit our department to give us some background on the Happy Valley community. The idea was to possibly strengthen our department's ICT4D interests and in some way become involved at Happy Valley. My colleagues and the Head of Department (HoD) immediately

showed interest in the idea. I picked up on it quite quickly myself. Coordinating the Happy Valley ICT4D project, therefore, naturally fell into my hands.

So, on the 27th of August 2008 Martha visited our department to do a presentation on the Happy Valley community and their needs. Although I vaguely considered PhD research in Happy Valley, I mostly only viewed it as part of our university's community engagement mandate. I therefore initially didn't record the data or do fieldwork until our first visit in February 2009. Luckily my HoD suggested that we make a video of Martha's presentation. Our intentions with the video were simply to distribute it to possibly get funding and create awareness and involvement for an ICT4D initiative in Happy Valley. I was fortunate to record this event, as it turned out to be the start of my PhD research and I could use the data later. Similarly to Whyte (1996), the project therefore "came to me" on unscientific grounds and I pursued it even before I knew that it would become my PhD research. There were strong elements of chance, luck, and serendipity (Walsham, 2006). As a result, the Happy Valley project remained the primary reason for my engagement with the people of Happy Valley. My PhD research almost latched onto to the project, rather than the other way around, where ethnographers typically have a research agenda and where some initiative evolves from the research (see Whyte, 1996 and LeCompte and Schensul, 1999 for example).

We tried to visit the community shortly after Martha's presentation in 2008, but things didn't work out. I remember telling my HoD that I didn't want it to be a one-man-show. I wanted colleagues to join me and I therefore postponed our first trip until 2009. My opportunity and a turning point in the project came on the weekend of 19 to 22 February 2009. We planned a fact-finding visit to Happy Valley, with Martha as our gatekeeper and host. Because I had some idea of the people and realised my own limitations, I had the sense to contact, Jacob, an ex-colleague from the University of KwaZulu-Natal and an indigenous African from Zambia to join us. I knew he was busy with his Masters research in ICT4D and thought that he might be able to assist us as cultural interpreter. I believe it was my own subconscious strategic attempt to negotiate the intercultural encounters I expected from the trip. Little did I realise that this was probably one of the best decisions I made during the initial stages of the project when the local people didn't know me yet. Jacob became instrumental in helping me to make sense of the totally different cultural realities that I was going to face during the next three years. Even though he wasn't a Zulu, his background is somewhat similar to those of the Zulu's and he was able to help me with intercultural communication during the first few baby steps that I was taking in Happy Valley.

It was only very much later (6 August 2011) that I learnt that although the local people "read him like a book" culturally, some of the more traditional and older people didn't trust Jacob as easily as they

trusted me. Two explanations were offered to me. The first is that he is unmarried and almost 10 years younger than me. I learnt that according to the Zulu culture a married man portrays a sense of maturity and rootedness associated with leadership and responsibility. The older, more traditional and influential members of the community more easily related to me even though my cultural mannerisms were different. Also, Jacob "has left his tribe" [Fieldnotes: 7 August 2011] in Zambia and was perceived to not respect his own roots and culture. The Zulu people highly regard their cultural roots. It was especially Ndabezitha (the local king) and Philani (member of the royal family) who profiled Jacob as such. I on the other hand, am a South African and my married status and position as older more mature man appealed to them and made my efforts to gain trust after first initial contact easier. However, I was oblivious at the time and my biggest concern was intercultural communication, and Jacob was good at that.

By end February 2009 I was passionate and excited to the point of being almost overzealous about the possibilities of the project. I had a very supportive HoD who sponsored several of our travels and endeavours, even up to 2011. It was during those times that I was constantly looking for opportunities for funding and involvement. I was preparing budgets and proposals for possible outreach initiatives; I was playing with ideas and doing my best to create some interest among colleagues – almost to point of making a nuisance of myself. I participated in public feedback sessions at our department, based on our initial experiences, the expression of needs and the information that mainly Martha as well as some of the other local cultural interpreters gave us.

After the second trip to KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) on 5 March 2009 I started to pursue this project as my PhD work. I remember one day (the date I didn't record) I was in a colleague's office talking about the project. My colleague, Dr Lotriet, listened for a while and then said something like: "You must seriously consider if you should not do your PhD on the Happy Valley project". I took his advice and my PhD officially started for me. I quickly and spontaneously adopted what Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2001) describe as maximum immersion in ethnographic research, a position I maintained right until the end of the research.

At that stage I was learning about participant-observation and although I was doing fieldnotes, I do not believe I was as diligent as I probably should've been. My first fieldnotes mainly consisted of expressed needs and realities at Happy Valley, ideas and planning for further involvement, and reflections on guidelines that mainly Martha suggested we consider when doing an ICT4D community project. I did a lot of writing and reading though, while my first reflections were recorded in presentations and project proposals. I also took many time-stamped pictures, which helped me reconstruct events and timelines afterwards. I believe that striving for maximum

immersion and to become intrinsically part of the social phenomena, made up for some of the gaps I later realised I had in my fieldnotes. Although I didn't identify a research problem or research topic yet, I was just starting to learn about interpretivism and critical social theory as research paradigms while ICT4D literature became a new and interesting reading field. I later learnt from Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) that an advantage of my approach was that I spent I a lot of time on reflection and theory building, using literature to help me interpret critical issues as they emerged from the preliminary data I had. I found myself in a topic discovery and enculturation phase (De Vos et al., 2007; Myers, 2009).

In an effort to capture my first impressions and also relate it to the literature that I was reading, I submitted an abstract for my first conference paper on the Happy Valley project on the 13th of March. This topic was "Ethical research practice for community entry: using ICT4D in a deep rural context" (see Krauss, 2009). I didn't realise it at the time, but the paper was in fact a collection of theoretical reflections and a preliminary literature review that I managed to get peer-reviewed. They were based mainly on my initial observations and conversations with my first gatekeepers and cultural interpreters that assisted me in understanding the research situation I faced. By the time I presented at the conference in October 2009, many of my research themes and perceptions had matured and I could add some of my latest ideas in the presentation I did. In retrospect, I believe the paper wasn't written well, but it was a confirmation of a topic that I pursued right towards the end.

After a very difficult engagement with a gatekeeper on the 6th of March (see Section 4.7) and failing superbly in making progress in gaining access to the Happy Valley people on a more official basis, I went through a stage where I lacked confidence. None of my applications for funding were successful. One funder even accused us of being "too white" to get any funding from them. I also became very much aware of my inabilities to actually do community entry in Happy Valley. One of my biggest frustrations was my inability in the area of intercultural communication. Memories of my 2006 encounter in Happy Valley were still fresh in my mind. As a result, I felt incompetent in many ways especially since Martha told me that I offend people by just being myself. What made things difficult was that I needed to learn new cultural ways, mannerisms, and values. To understand cultural differences theoretically was one thing, but practicing them is something else – and I was new to the situation. Most of the advice I was getting from cultural interpreters addressed "what to do" or "how to do" issues. I didn't understand the *why* reasons of things, and therefore, the principles and values that underpinned the community's worldview still eluded me.

I therefore set out to find "experts" that would understand me, my cultural background and my dilemma and who would be able to guide me on community entry specifically. I had Martha's

guidance, I had Jacob as a partner, but I haven't established any trust or friendship relationship with a real Zulu from the community. I needed more views in order to internalise what Martha meant and I had to understand myself, before I could go about participating in the community and seek out more project partners from the community.

I therefore phoned some people who I thought might be able to assist me. I phoned Bennie, a social worker whom I knew had good experience in community work. I also phoned Professor Alta at Communication Pathology at our university, Gernia a community engagement practitioner at the Department of Marketing, Dr Reineth from the Department of Social Development and Prof Klopper, a retired professor from Communication Science at the University of Zululand. Prof Klopper had done several research projects among the Zulu people, and also supervised research projects. Gernia I knew as a colleague, while I connected with Prof Alta by going through the University's internal telephone list. She pointed me to Dr Reineth who was busy with a paper on community entry. All of these participants were conveniently selected simply because I needed more perspectives to add to Martha's initial guidance. There was really no scientific structure in the way I sought them out. I just wanted to confirm (or refute) some of my emerging ideas on community engagement.

Their inputs were especially useful to articulate theoretically, sometimes in a different way, that which Martha had told me and what I had learnt. I wrote down what they told me and then searched for the various articles they pointed me to. Martha's advice, however, was specifically related to the Zulu culture and she therefore allowed me to also understand some of the *how* and *why* issues of community entry and establishing rapport. Despite her tremendous insight, she never explicitly referred to the idea of "hospitality approaches" or "friendship approaches" to community engagement. Those were concepts that I later came up with myself (i.e. observer-constructed concepts) and as a result of my engagement with the people of Happy Valley after July 2009. My interactions with cultural interpreters gave me useful information for preparing good proposals for funding and support, which I had to do at that stage.

During the first eight months of 2009, there were a couple of key events that necessitated me to reflect on a research topic and also articulate my initial understandings of the research. During that time I was attending a course on the foundations of Information Systems research which helped me understand IS theories and research methods. I completed my first fieldtrips in February and March and had mainly Martha's and Dr Smith's inputs on the Happy Valley community context and background. Mrs Dlamini, headmistress of Happy Valley School, invited us to do computer training at her school, I completed a conceptual paper on ethical research practice and community entry, and UNESCO came on board as project funder. All of these events forced me to reflect on and explicitly

summarise the needs of the Happy Valley community. I also had to sit down and think quite hard about what I wanted to do in Happy Valley and how I had to go about, based on initial engagement guidelines I had from cultural interpreters and what I understood from literature. UNESCO's involvement and development agenda especially compelled me into criticality, since I realised that I could not simply transfer their guidelines without questioning their validity. By the end of April 2009 a group of Grade 11 learners from the community visited our university as part of their annual campus trip. I therefore had time to test some of my initial ideas with a teacher and some learners who stayed over at my house. Table 4.1 lists some of the key events during the first twelve months of the project. Table 5.1 gives key fieldwork events after community entry was established.

Date	Event	Purpose and lessons learnt
Enculturation, community entry and topic discovery		
18 Aug 2008	Letter from Martha	Expression of needs and background to the Happy Valley community
27 Aug 2008	Martha visits the Department of Informatics	Presentation and background on the Happy Valley community, existing community development initiatives, possible ICT4D opportunities
10 Feb 2009	Setting up an appointment with a gatekeeper at the Department of Health	First summary of my initial understandings and ICT4D ideas for the Happy Valley project
19-22 Feb 2009	Four-day fieldtrip and fact-finding visit	First steps to topic discovery and enculturation, building first relationships, implementing first lessons learnt on community entry
6 Mar 2009	Presentation to a gatekeeper from the Department of Health	Learning about community engagement protocol and ethical engagement
9-11 Mar 2009	Telephonic conversations with cultural interpreters	Reading and learning about community entry and community engagement
13 Mar 2009	IDIA 2009 conference abstract	Initial understandings and theoretical reflections on community entry, first conflicts and collisions identified
14 Apr 2009	UNESCO project proposal	Summarising initial understandings of needs and realities, project planning based on expressions and understandings of needs and ICT-CST policy framework, implementation of lessons learnt
Early April 2009	Mrs Dlamini invites us to do computer training for the school teachers during the June/July holiday	First signs of successful community entry, trust and acceptance
30 Apr 2009	Grade 11 Campus trip	Grade 11's visit the University, lessons on hospitality and reciprocity, testing initial ideas with cultural interpreters
16 May 2009	Conversations with UNESCO project funder	First understandings of UNESCO's development agenda, discourse with a project funder, starting to aligning the Happy Valley project planning to UNESCO policy, conflicts and critical perspectives of policy documents

2 Jun 2009	IDIA paper completed and submitted	Preliminary literature review, initial reflections on community entry, ethical research practice, conflicts and collisions
20 Jun 2009	Initial UNESCO work plan completed	Final planning of community engagement activities and ICT training project in June/July 2009, implementation of lessons learnt, ICT4D project planning according to lessons learnt
27 Jun 2009	UNESCO project starts	First steps in active participant-observation, ICT training innovation kicks off

Table 4.1: Key fieldwork events during the community entry and topic discovery phases of the project

In the following sections I will reflect on some of the lessons I learnt in the first six months of topic discover and community entry. The next section though describes my first contact with the people of Happy Valley.

4.6 First contact in 2006

Long before the Happy Valley project started, I had a somewhat disturbing encounter in the Happy Valley community. This event affected much of the poise I had during the first phases of community engagement. In August 2006, shortly after we moved to KZN, my family and I stayed over at the orphanage where Martha and some of our friends (Danie and Suzaan) worked for a weekend. The Saturday evening we had a braai (barbeque) on the front porch. While being there, some local youngsters in their early twenties, possibly a little under the influence, approached us and insisted on having some of the meat we were preparing. Naturally we refused their requests. They were surprisingly persistent though. Initially the conversations seemed insignificant and more like teasing to me. During the "conversation" the two men told us that they would bring us a goat the next morning if we give them something to eat. In an effort to teasingly resolve the situation and in my ignorance, I told them that they were lying about their promise. I honestly believed that I would not see them the next day even if we give them something. Also, I responded in my indigenous language, Afrikaans. Their behaviour immediately turned very hostile as they cursed at us and threatened us if we do not give them food. I was surprised at their reaction, because I didn't mean any harm and was still trying to be sociable, creating conversation in a way. They started to pick up stones, apparently trying to instigate us to a fight or something. They told us that we should leave the town before 5 am the next morning or "there is going to be trouble".

The situation probably would have turned very nasty had we responded in a similar manner. Luckily, we had the sense to remain calm and keep on ignoring their threats and avoiding eye contact. However, I felt my adrenaline pumping while in the situation. Inside I knew that I was on someone else's territory and could not respond in the same way I felt about these two fellows, and I had

heard about many stories of retaliation before. I didn't understand what angered them so much, though.

For me it was a relief when Suzaan called a security guard at the orphanage and the two fellows took off. I had to do a lot of introspection after that first interaction with locals on their territory. Martha later on laughingly said that it is typical of my Afrikaner way of doing things: directly assertive, to the point and straight up honest about what we think, even if we are teasing or polite. Apparently, telling a Zulu that he is lying is a serious insult. Martha further explained that according to the Zulu culture one should never refuse a visitor food. It is customary to share food with whoever comes along invited or uninvited. In retrospect I know that I made two cultural mistakes, and became aware of two important values I should aspire to. Firstly, I was learning about being aware of the Zulu culture, their protocols, practices, ways of showing respect, and their common sense way of doing things, interacting, and sharing. I realised that I had to reflect and think before I talk or respond according to what I take for granted in my own culture. Secondly, I learned something about myself. I did not realise that my apparent assertive way of communicating could potentially create a communication gap in this community. In my mind, assertive honesty is an acceptable way of communicating and a virtue. I had to assume a different frame of mind to be able to function in the community. I also realised the value of a cultural interpreter that could openly assist in deciphering and interpreting meaning from what I observed.

When I visited the community again in February 2009, memories of this first encounter kept coming back to me. It was especially my struggles in intercultural communication that kept me reflecting. I sensed that it was going to take me a while to develop ways of being critically open (i.e. critical reflexivity) about what I observe and the fact that things are not necessarily what they seem or as I perceive them to be. It seemed that even body language could be interpreted differently in the rural Zulu culture. I found it frustrating that I could not "read" people as easily as I used to in my own culture. It led to a sense of insecurity about how I dealt with people. My initial strategy was to keep quiet, observe, and listen as much as I could. It was also primarily because of this event that I invited Jacob to become part of the Happy Valley project.

4.7 Initial mistakes with a gatekeeper

Shortly before our first visit to Happy Valley and shortly after we learnt about the effects of HIV and health issues in Happy Valley, I thought it wise to proactively involve or at least acknowledge the Department of Health (DoH) as a partner in the project. I was honestly trying to establish some involvement from the DoH from a strategic point of view. Little did I know that I was going to step into an intensive fieldwork lesson on gatekeepers, interviewing gatekeepers, and community

engagement protocol. What complicated things for me in this story was that because it was very early in the research, I didn't have a proper understanding of the community yet (i.e. no proper needs analysis was done), I was still in the process of discovering a topic, and I still had certain unchallenged assumptions and beliefs about my position in the project and how I could contribute.

So to involve the DoH, I followed up on some prior contacts of mine at DoH. I knew Mrs Ndlovu (a human resources manager at the DoH) and Kebashnee, and thought it a good idea to approach them again to establish their interest and buy-in into our initiative. I thought that it was going to be easy to connect with them again. I phoned Kebashnee because I knew she has good access to Mrs Ndlovu, her boss and asked her for a meeting appointment. I prepared a brief summary of the preliminary project intentions which I email to them (this was before we visited Happy Valley for the first time on 19 February 2009). This meant that I only had Martha's inputs to base my initial project intentions on and a little bit of what I thought to be "common sense". I prepared a presentation on my ideas which I eventually presented to them after our first visit in February, when I hoped to have a better sense of some of the key issues at Happy Valley and how we could engage.

They were willing to entertain me for an hour on the 6th of March. However, from the moment I walked into the meeting, I could sense a resistance on their side – especially from Mrs Ndlovu. I told them about our involvement at Happy Valley and Njalo (an NGO and local hospice under Dr Smith's management) and some of our intentions. Throughout the presentation there was an awkward silent response. I felt that I was doing something wrong but couldn't pin-point it.

When I finished Mrs Ndlovu told me what bothered her about what she understood we were doing. With the benefit of hindsight and now having learnt many lessons since that engagement, I realised that I made a number of serious mistakes. Two issues seemed to stand out. The first is that my pre-presentation context write-up which I emailed to her on the 10th of February, was pre-mature and that I had very little understanding of the political intricacies associated with health and HIV in South Africa. The second is that I approached Mrs Ndlovu in total ignorance with regard to her position as gatekeeper and human resources manager. Although I started to learn about acknowledging and respecting the position of gatekeepers, I was still unable to practice it. I haven't had the opportunity to make mistakes and I went into this first endeavour blindly and without the guidance of a cultural interpreter.

When looking back at the way I wrote the email (see below), I can clearly see a sense of supercilious arrogance and untested assumptions in my efforts. I was presenting myself and the project ideas without proper acknowledgement of her as owner and gatekeeper. I was asking her for her buy-in

and support, almost as she had to simply give a stamp of approval on our business. Although I was trying to portray a sense of pro-activeness, commitment, and expertise, I was making the mistakes that Willoughby (1928), Lewis (1994), Weyers (2001), Phahlamohlaka and Lotriet (2003), and Zheng (2009) were warning their readers about. I was pushing my own ideas that I thought were good based on my own perspectives while insisting on the DoH's participation as if they had to just approve our efforts.

> "Our department has engaged in a community development initiative in Happy Valley and HVH [Happy Valley Hospital]. We are, amongst other things, researching an Applied Computer literacy course for nurses (at NQF level 5 and certified by the University) that is geared specifically to rural nurses. In collaboration with Njalo, we will incorporate nursing specific computer skills such as creating a culture of record keeping and statistics. …
>
> On 19/2 we will visit Njalo and Happy Valley Hospital [HVH] to iron out some details and to discuss a way forward. Hopefully, depending on the availability of funding and infrastructure, we will be able to present the first course this year as a pilot for further work. Obviously, we haven't worked out all the details and we are still in need of funders and partners. …"

Looking back now, it was especially the next part of my email to Mrs Ndlovu where I noted my own ignorance and arrogance.

> "What I want to propose to you is to become involved in developing such a course so we can incorporate your and especially your nursing fraternity's perspectives. We need the Dept of Health's support in this endeavour. …
>
> I aim to bring along someone from HVH, UKZN as well as some of my colleagues involved in this project. If Mrs Naidoo can be available we can tap her perspectives on nursing training." [Email to Mrs Ndlovu: 10 February 2009]

I didn't ask her for advice and didn't give her the sense that I acknowledge her as the gatekeeper in the initiative, especially with regard to gaining access to the nurses. As human resources manager, it is her responsibility to oversee training in the DoH. Who was I to insist on some community project? I was treading on unknown ground politically. Secondly, since I didn't know the community of Happy Valley very well then, I conflated the mandates of Njalo and Happy Valley Hospital (HVH). HVH is a public hospital under the jurisdiction of the DoH and Njalo is an NGO working in a more private capacity. I was in fact engaging with Njalo, rather than HVH. The message got through to Mrs Ndlovu

differently. In fact, Martha later told me that Dr Smith had to do some "damage control" because I gave the impression that he was making arrangements on behalf of HVH, which was not the case.

Mrs Ndlovu, in no uncertain terms, reprimanded me about being in no position to address health issues. "Don't mention XDR-TB and HIV as the context". "Do not mention things you don't know anything about". I felt stupid. I realised that although HIV and TB might have had an impact on the community, it is not my place to research or present facts and statistics on issues of health as I am not an expert. The best I could do is to present the perceptions of those that deal with it as a starting point for understanding the Happy Valley community. Facts and perceptions are two different points of departure. I will have to focus on the latter. Martha also later told me that the official view of the South African DoH at that stage (2008/2009) was that HIV does not necessarily cause AIDS, and that it might have contributed to Mrs Ndlovu's reaction. I will however, never know what really happened there and what went through Mrs Ndlovu's mind. I walked out of her office only to take along the lessons I learnt on research protocol, and never to engage with the DoH again.

I learnt valuable lessons about the principles of doing interviews with a gatekeeper and community leader. I learnt how to understand my own position in an interview, recognising ownership and leadership, and how to request guidance rather than insisting on buy-in. With Mrs Ndlovu I just barged in with something I thought to be a good idea. I did a weak needs analysis. I also think Mrs Ndlovu probably expected some arrogant attitude or motive from me similar to others (like Willoughby (1928), Lewis (1994), and Zheng (2009) explained) that have done or presented similar initiatives (in retrospect, I could can see it in my own email to her) and therefore she was reluctantly critical of my motives and approaches. I was treading on ground that I didn't know anything about politically and culturally. And she made certain to give me that message. I was overeager and didn't make sure to understand the distinction between HVH and Njalo and how they worked together. Since Dr Smith was involved in both I related to Mrs Ndlovu that Dr Smith is the gatekeeper (which I actually understood as such at that stage) to HVH. It was a political and research mistake. I realised later that HVH is a place to stay away from especially since I'm not in the health profession and politically the area is riddled with issues. I should've followed the lead of Dr Smith and allowed him to guide or "walk in front" (be a chaperone for me).

After many months of introspection I discovered that my being proactive, strategic, and committed in this first contact, is in fact typified by how I and many other white people portray their identity and self-respect. In fact the different and conflicting value systems of the Zulu and Western cultures became a key source of collisions I had to negotiate and reflect upon throughout this study. Similarly to Stefan's attitude (told in Section 4.11), I was trying to convey to Mrs Ndlovu, who is a Zulu, that

we are ready, organised, willing, and positioned to do a good job, or ready to "perform" well, while at the same time I was subconsciously expressing my "good intentions" in a Western way and based on a Western value system. Part of what I was subconsciously doing, was to show Mrs Ndlovu that I had self-respect and could be trusted. However, I was being destructive as Martha explained to me much later. Mrs Ndlovu and my growing ability to be self-reflexive made me stop in my tracks.

Luckily for me, my mistakes were outside of direct contact with the community. I had some very understanding and patient gatekeepers at Happy Valley who seemed to shrug off what had happened. I was therefore fortunate to make my mistakes in a context that didn't affect future efforts. I didn't engage with the DoH anymore after that and considered it more sensible to align with gatekeepers and agents who already had some arrangement with DoH. I was determined to fit in with existing initiatives of development agents, rather than trying to create a new initiative and in the process make the mistakes they made before. I felt embarrassed and humiliated because I realised afterwards that I was doing exactly that which Martha had said one shouldn't do as outsider (see Section 4.9) and what Lewis (1994) and Willoughby (1928) advised their readers about. However, it was a learning experience where I could practice what I learnt also in the context of doing an interview with a gatekeeper.

How did I rectify the interview situation in the heat of the moment? Well, after Mrs Ndlovu's reprimand, I responded something like: "Well, I have to ask you for advice then." That seemed to make Mrs Ndlovu ease up. She then explained some things to me about the context of IT training, nursing and some of the realities at DoH – things I should've asked her about in the first place. She explained the problem of migrant workers and polygamy. She also gave me some contacts of people. However, I did not record much and neither remembered much. For me the meeting felt like a dead-end. I just wanted to leave the meeting to go and ask someone from Happy Valley how to interpret had what just happened.

Now, three years later, I realised the value of making these mistakes in interviewing gatekeepers and understanding my own position. It was early in my research and I was determined not to do anything like this again. Is there any advice to give to prospective researchers wanting to pursue similar situations? Yes, go and make your mistakes. I do not believe there is a better way to learn the tacit nuances of engaging with community gatekeepers and leaders. But, do not overestimate yourself and do not assume that you know what you are doing. Be critically self-reflexive about you own position and role in the project. Start by listening, acknowledging, and asking questions, know your position, remain open, ask for advice and guidance, make sure to know your interviewee's position and acknowledge it, and if possible align with a cultural interpreter or a development agent as

partner - and, I suggest that you also think about the disruptive effects of not being self-reflexive (Howcroft and Trauth, 2005).

My next two letters to a gatekeeper had a totally different composure. I was writing to Mrs Dlamini to make arrangements for the teacher training project for which UNESCO offered us a grant – this was after she had invited us to do computer training with her teachers. I had learned from my mistakes and acknowledged Mrs Dlamini as gatekeeper according to her position establishing myself under her leadership. Moreover, I made the effort to visit Happy Valley School in February and I entertained her Grade 11 learners at our campus. Already there was a process of reciprocity taking place (see Section 2.15). In the email below I underlined the parts where I noted my own change in attitude:

> "Dear Mrs Dlamini
>
> We need your advice and feedback on the teacher training course.
>
> As I indicated earlier, UNESCO has given us a grant to cover the costs of doing a computer training course at Happy Valley School. Part of their requirements for the funding is that we 1) present a detailed workplan what we intend to do, 2) that we do a press release, 3) that we advise them on their IT training policy framework and 4) that we give detailed feedback on the teacher training and possible future projects. We as academics would also like to see if we can generate some research from the teacher training activity and maybe plan future training and activities. UNESCO is keen to also fund further IT projects and we should plan for further funding.
>
> I have attached a draft workplan for your feedback. It is certainly only a draft and we would like to have your inputs and suggestions. We need to know how we can support Happy Valley School with future training and IT projects.
>
> Please look at the proposal. We can discuss it by the end of next week to see how we can support you with future projects and maybe work together with Njalo to support their training needs.
>
> Yours truly
>
> Kirstin Krauss" [Email to Mrs Dlamini: 23 June 2009]

Similarly, in an email to Mrs Dlamini on the 12th of June 2009, I also aligned myself under her position as gatekeeper by explicitly acknowledging her leadership and expertise. I started the email in the following manner:

> "Dear Mrs Dlamini
>
> Here are my thoughts about the train-the-trainer initiative. Please advise if you would like to add something. We really need your ideas here because you know the teachers and community very well:
>
> Our intention with the train-the-trainer initiative is to give teachers and the school an opportunity to carry-on with training even if UP is not available.
>
> …"

I ended the letter as follows:

> "…
>
> Please also advise us on our approach...
>
> Best regards
>
> Kirstin Krauss" [Email to Mrs Dlamini: 12 June 2009]

I did not assume this position in my email only to get things done. Through introspection and knowing my inabilities, I sincerely believed in Mrs Dlamini's leadership and that I needed guidance in the project. I had a growing realisation that I did not know how to do things ethically and culturally correctly in Happy Valley. I was realising my own need for empowerment with regard to the ICT4D artefact in Happy Valley. Moreover, although I had changed, I was also still behaving quite formal since I had not yet become part of the community. For me it was enculturation in practice.

4.8 Discovering criticality in the Happy Valley project

In order to understand the Happy Valley community and to present a background on the project, I had to reflect on the needs and challenges faced by the community. I wanted to understand how their worldview could possibly inform my understanding of existing oppressive situations as well as emancipatory practices in the community. I furthermore had to gauge aspects of their existence and worldview that I could align with in order to engage into new opportunities for upliftment and emancipation through ICTs.

As a critical ethnographer, I felt compelled to identify and describe both emancipatory and oppressive aspects associated with the Happy Valley project context. Through reflexivity, I also had to learn how to question and be critical of the underlying assumptions, beliefs, values, motives, and expectations embedded in my own worldview on emancipation and oppression as well as those of the people I engaged with. I had to identify repressive beliefs and ideologies both within me and my research partners in order to understand self-emancipation and possibly the role of ICT in it. Furthermore, I had to understand the challenges that the community faced in order to analyse their needs and realities and which made them prone to succumb to oppressive beliefs and false consciousness (see Sections 2.4 and 2.9).

A key oppressive consciousness that emerge quite early in the study is that of hopelessness, the challenges, circumstances, and beliefs that informed hopelessness, and the consequent responses of the community to hopelessness. Martha made the following introductory statement at a presentation at our department:

> "We have seen very early on that to make an impact in a community that has been affected in the way that community has, one has to bring hope. It is only people who see that there is something for them tomorrow [who] will make responsible choices today and get out of this downwards spiral" [Martha's presentation: 27 August 2008].

Also, in a written expression of needs and background on the community, Martha wrote the following:

> "Happy Valley is second on the list of most economically disadvantaged communities in South Africa (measured by per capita income and unemployment statistics). Happy Valley also has the highest rate of XDR-TB infections in the country, and is situated in KZN, which has the highest rate of HIV infection in the world. The impact of these factors on the community has been profound, and is intensifying, since all these statistics are still on the rise. Large numbers of children are left orphaned and destitute as the HIV epidemic takes its toll. Malnutrition, sickness and death at this scale have resulted in a general feeling of hopelessness, which impacts negatively on programs aimed at prevention of HIV infection." [Letter from Martha: 18 August 2008].

The feeling of hopelessness seemed to be conscious and explicit in the minds and expression of development agents – and some of the reasons are clearly articulated. Martha, Dr Smith, Mrs Dlamini, Bongani, Philani, and several other informants mentioned the need for ICT training as a way to overcome hopelessness with opportunities for jobs amongst young people. Dr Smith who is

considered an international expert on HIV and TB infections and who discovered XDR and XDR-TB in the Happy Valley region also mentioned several issues related to HIV and TB and how ICTs could assist in addressing the pandemic holistically. During our discussions, he noted the importance of managing Antiretroviral (ARV) therapy and HIV/TB infections. He explained the dire need for ICT support and data management. He also made two statements regarding the responsibility of the nurses who actually work directly with HIV, TB, and ARV treatment that made me realise the importance of addressing holistic and motivational issues when doing ICT4D. He said that the nurses at the clinics "know what is happening, but they don't know what is not happening" [Fieldnotes: 19 February 2009]. He said this to emphasise the important role of data management in treating the pandemic. He also said that "there is a need to create a culture of record-keeping and stats" among the nurses. This helped me to understand how the nurses and other caregivers should be trained, and how to institutionalise ICT knowledge in order to ensure sustainability and ownership (see Madon et al., 2009) while also addressing false consciousness and oppressive beliefs and circumstances. I kept these concerns in mind while preparing for more participatory engagement.

The concerns highlighted by Martha and Dr Smith and knowing who they were in the community made me read literature on the effects of hopelessness and creating hope and what practices and beliefs could possibly reinforce hopelessness. I also reflected on how one could do ICT training so that it not only addresses ICT knowledge, but also hope, ownership, motivation, and the on-going institutionalising of ICT knowledge, especially among those people who are in a caring position in the community. As I became aware of the possible destructive effects of ICT (Du Plooy and Roode, 1993; Roode, 1993; Lewis, 1994; Zheng, 2009), I tried to find ways to introduce ICT training ethically and in an emancipatory manner without reinforcing existing destructive and oppressive beliefs. I became aware of the need to not only transfer IT knowledge, but also to emancipate people through what I did. It was especially Avgerou's (2009) discourses on innovation and development and Ali and Bailur's (2007) paper on sustainability that helped me reflect on emancipatory practices in developing situations. As I learnt about the role of caregivers or development agents (Zheng, 2009), I was determined to align with their emancipatory interests and practices and not to reinforce hopelessness and discouragement through further destructive ICT4D initiatives. Throughout the project this remained a key guiding value I adopted.

Among the literature I read, I especially found Lewis' (1994) missionary view on hopelessness informative. He stated that "y[Y]ou are poor because the rich and powerful have created systems of politics, economics, and laws which are designed to keep you poor and to protect their wealth and power." (p. 10-4). Lewis also noted that it is difficult to address poverty if you do not also address

the poverty sustaining world people live in. Lewis' (1994) views where quite close to how Bourdieu describes the field of power that agents in the field structure and sustain in order to keep people in a state of repression. The Zulu people went through several stages of oppression in the last 200 years, for example British colonisation and apartheid (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2007). Many Zulu men were forced to become migrant workers in big labour centres such as the Witwatersrand (see Willoughby, 1928; Giliomee and Mbenga, 2007). This practice in many ways became part of the Zulu culture according to some informants and consequently had a great impact on social stability among the Zulu people (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2007). It even contributed to the spread of HIV among them. I furthermore learnt from literature and from my interactions with informants that many development and upliftment programmes fail because poverty, alienation, and hopelessness are so deeply rooted that it is impossible for the people to believe in a hopeful future or that anything better is possible.

I sought out sources that could help me reflect on false beliefs and ideologies within my own worldview that could possibly limit my understanding, and affect the way I was attempting to do ICT4D research and practice in Happy Valley. The following statement from Lewis' (1994) especially made me do a lot of introspection and reflection:

> "Once the West was won, those who were a part of the grand adventure naturally concluded that what they had been able to accomplish should be a possibility for others. They looked with compassion, mixed with a good degree of superiority, at their neighbors in less 'developed' countries and set about to help them develop. Failures outnumbered successes at every turn. The American State Department's Agency for International Development finally concluded that there was little hope for replicating the developed West through massive doses of Western technology. It was a sombre, but wise conclusion." (Lewis, 1994: 10-20).

Willoughby (1928) furthermore noted that "European residents in Africa are intolerant of native custom, irritated by native religion, and contemptuous of native law" (p. XXII). Discussing the assumptions and position of Europeans, Willoughby also noted that "since their superciliousness is born of their dislike for the unlike they rapidly destroy the growths of tribal morality, leaving the ground, not only bare, but blighted. … There is nothing in the Bantu religion that appeals to the aesthetics of Europeans." (p. XXII). Although Willoughby wrote his book many years ago, I have observed these intolerances and misunderstandings that Lewis and Willoughby were talking about among many white people in South Africa, and in me. During our first visit in February Martha also said that "what Westerners do not understand is often considered a problem by Westerners"

[Fieldnotes: 19 February 2009]. I started to reflect on what could possibly cause these intolerances I observed in the Western mind-set and whether it could be rooted in conflicts between different value systems. It became a critical theme that I pursued for a very long time in this study.

As a critical theorist I was beginning to learn about being critical, not only about the oppression sustaining realities facing the Happy Valley community, but also about my own misguided assumptions and beliefs on poverty, oppression, and my perceptions of the Zulu people. Martha's discussion of the strengths of the Happy Valley community, my own experiences of their hospitality, people-orientatedness, and support for each other made me aware of some of my own cultural deprivations. One of the first questions I had to ask myself was; why am I attracted to the Happy Valley people? Is it because I felt "sorry" for them, because I perceived myself to be better off than them like Lewis (1994) noted, or was it the emancipatory practices I observed in the community that attracted me, and because I realised my own need for emancipation? Or was it my personality and background? I needed to expose my own self-interests, hidden motives, and real reasons for doing what I was doing. According to the terminology of Bourdieu, I had to critique my own first-order strategies and struggles for improving my own position as researcher. These questions I asked myself had implications for the type of assumptions I made about myself, about the Happy Valley people and why I was venturing there. As I examined my own assumptions for false beliefs and ideologies, I also noted similar misguided and unquestioned assumptions embedded in UNESCO's development agenda and policy documents (UNESCO, 2008), such as their beliefs about increasing the standards of living of developing communities.

While engaging with Martha and some other cultural interpreters, I was on a quest to find literature that could help me understand and articulate the critical themes that emerged from my interactions with informants. By the 24th of April 2009 I had a preliminary literature review as well as a list of some of the key issues, difficulties, and problems associated with ICT4D research (see Table 4.1). I came to think that many of the ICT4D difficulties mentioned in literature were as a result of false consciousness or oppression sustaining beliefs among outsiders and insiders regarding the ICT4D artefact and associated developmental realities.

Although I was not well-acquainted with ethnographic methods, mainly because I was in a topic discovery phase and as a result haven't pinned down a specific research method, I had the natural inclination to use Schultze's (2000) advice of juggling between induction and deduction and Thomas' (1993) and Lareau and Shultz's (1996) advice to keep in mind literature which could help me interpret social phenomena and critical issues as they emerge from fieldwork. I believe this was because I understood the position that critical social theory afforded me and what it required from

the researcher. Critical informing practices (epistemology) were a natural outflow of critical thinking. I used literature to help me understand fieldwork themes while I used emerging themes to search for and confirm literature. I was applying the hermeneutic principles described in Section 2.11.

Difficulties and problems in ICT4D	**Reference**
Difficulty to measure social and economic impacts	Rashid and Elder (2009)
Lack of proper infrastructure	Kamel, Rateb and El-Tawil (2009)
Lack of adoption of ICTs in developing context	Fong (2009)
Limited literature and lack of evidence	Krishna and Madon (2003), Lunat (2008), Rashid and Elder (2009), Kamel, Rateb and El-Tawil (2009)
Lack of context specific, culturally sensitive ICT rollouts	Westrup et al. (2003), Heeks (2005), Lee et al. (2008), Fong (2009)
Affordability	Fong (2009)
Lack awareness and motivation	Krishna and Madon (2003), Rashid and Elder (2009)
ICTs does not guarantee development	Chigona et al. (2009)
The need for education and skills	Krishna and Madon (2003), Fong (2009)
Disadvantages associated with cultural barriers and context complexity	Lunat (2008), Fong (2009), Kamel, Rateb and El-Tawil (2009)
Need for a healthy regulatory environment and policies	Krishna and Madon (2003), Kamel, Rateb and El-Tawil (2009)
Mismatch between technology design and social context, technologically-deterministic assumptions	Lee et al. (2008)
Neo-liberal Eurocentric thinking	Heeks (2005), Lee et al. (2008)
The need for participative development	Avgerou and Walsham (2000), Krishna and Madon (2003), Lee et al. (2008)
The need to focus on education and health	Avgerou and Walsham (2000), Mukerji (2008)
The need to consider cultural, social and cognitive forces, an interdisciplinary approach	Johnstone (2003), Krishna and Madon (2003), Lunat (2008)
Failures in developing countries are more frequent that success stories	Avegrou and Walsham (2000), Krishna and Madon (2003)
The need for an critical/interpretive approach	Avgerou and Walsham (2000), Krishna and Madon (2003)
Standardised modernistic view of ICTs	Avgerou and Walsham (2000), Krishna and Madon (2003), Heeks (2005)
Need for respect of cultural diversity and socio-economic conditions	Avgerou and Walsham (2000), Westrup et al. (2003)
IT transfer may from developed countries may damage the fabric of developing communities	Lewis (1994), Avgerou and Walsham (2000)
Lack of creating ownership and identifying local strengths and capabilities	Krishna and Madon (2003)
The need for theory building	Johnstone (2003)

Table 4.2: Preliminary critical themes from literature

I continued to expand the literature review in order to prepare myself for much more participatory fieldwork that started in June 2009 with a UNESCO funded training project. Some of the key themes

that came through a combination of informant inputs and literature include: 1) understanding poverty and hopelessness, 2) community entry, 3) deep rural community engagement in the traditional South African context, 4) technology in developing contexts, 3) sustainability concerns, and 5) possible methodological approaches for ICT4D research. I presented these themes in my IDIA conference paper (see Krauss, 2009). I will elaborate on these themes in Section 5.3 and as they mature in this study.

Before the UNESCO project started in June 2009 I have not yet had clarity about my methodological approach. Ethnography and participant-observation, however, emerged as favourable options because of the depth of involvement and results it offered (Myers, 2009). I was therefore following guidelines of fieldwork as suggested by authors such as Van Maanen (1988), Hammersley (1992), Whyte (1996), Myers (1997), Neuman (1997), Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte (1999), Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2001), Harvey and Myers (2001), De Vos et al. (2007), and Myers (2009) in order to get a good sense of the context considered central to ethnographic enquiry. I continued to learn about critical social theory from Hammersley (1992), Thomas (1993), Neuman (1997), Ngwenyama and Lee (1997), Adam (2001), McGrath (2005), Avgerou (2009), and so forth.

From my assessment of literature I began to study the value and role of ICTs and how it should be viewed, applied, valued, introduced, and critically questioned in the context of community upliftment. It was a central theme that I sought to understand. I had to establish the value and role of ICT for community upliftment, including how ICT could possibly be overvalued or have destructive effects. For example, false, overvalued or misplaced views on ICT and ICT knowledge equates to a false consciousness, which could lead to people being exploited or abused through ICT4D endeavours. Local informants subconsciously made me aware of this because of what they have been told by and experienced from outsiders and people that have ulterior motives. Furthermore, false beliefs on development, poverty, deprivation, and emancipation, may present further needs for emancipation and it had to be challenged. Through reflection and readings I came up with several such examples of false consciousness. For example that simplicity is viewed as poverty, that things are better if they are developed (see Lewis, 1994), and that progress and modernising is seen as development (Heeks, 2005).

I concluded that the notion of development is a discriminatory concept in that it is a false ideology that keeps both the “developed” and the “developing” in a state of oppression regarding true emancipation, thus hindering “developing” countries to fully achieve freedom and emancipation (see for example Escobar, 1992). Heeks (2005) also claims that development is a hegemonic invention of the “developed”, riddled with neo-liberalist “one-size-fits-all” assumptions and enforced

onto the developing countries. Similarly to Ali and Bailur (2007) he poses the question: "Where is the breathing space and support for countries to construct their own agendas?" (p. 1); and I could add: according to their own values and existing emancipatory practices.

With regard to describing the community of Happy Valley, five themes stood out in the beginning of study. The first is the impact of HIV and TB infections in Happy Valley. The second theme relates to poverty, how poverty and poor health affects the community especially with regard to beliefs pertaining to hopelessness and deprivation. The third theme is associated with the destructive effects of Western value-driven development. The fourth theme relates to Zulu hospitality and the people-orientated value system I was told about and observed. This theme proved throughout the ethnography to be a key emancipatory practice to build upon in future community engagement and ICT4D initiatives. The final theme relates to respect and trust and its role in acknowledging and engaging with cultural interpreters, community gatekeepers, community leaders, understanding and aligning with existing social structures as well as understanding my own position among the people. Showing and gaining respect was something that I had to learn and in many cases earn from the people. What complicated things is that Happy Valley, like most isolated communities have in some way been mistreated in the past by people with ulterior motives (Madon et al., 2009).

By the 13th of March 2009 I had prepared an abstract for the IDIA 2009 conference. This abstract, which I consider part of my fieldnotes, was based on my initial data collection phases and my understandings of ICT4D in deep rural communities. I initially entitled the abstract (the title changed later-on): "Towards a value system for using ICTs for community empowerment: a case study in a deep rural community in SA." My position was more of a non-participating observer and I didn't start doing ICT things yet. From the little fieldwork exposure, such as eating with some local people, visiting Happy Valley School and them visiting me, and reading ICT4D literature I was starting to make sense of some of the needs and realities of ICT4D in Happy Valley. Amongst other things, I highlighted the following aim in the abstract: "… it is necessary to address the values and belief systems of both the haves and the have not's and therefore individuals on both sides of the technology divide" [Abstract for IDIA 2009: 13 March 2009]. In the abstract I also highlighted several contrasts or conflicts that I had identified in the way ICT4D is done; for example, "concepts such as empowerment as opposed to development, loyalty versus integrity, social interaction structures as opposed to project management principles, the realities of sustainability, the effect of afrocentricity on research strategies, the importance of protocol and entry, and community ownership."

Several "contrasts" or collisions were emerging from fieldwork. They also formed the basis for further scrutiny (data analysis). When I finally submitted the paper (1 June 2009), I had matured

some more in the Happy Valley project and had a better understanding of the issues I was confronted with. I had done several unstructured interviews, which I would rather call conversations, with cultural interpreters – many from outside the community and so-called experts in the field of community engagement. While reflecting on fieldwork I would typically come up with some new idea or concept. I would then phone a cultural interpreter to test my perspectives. In that way I was applying the hermeneutic principles from Section 2.11, but especially the principles of *interaction between the researcher and the research participants* and *abstraction and generalisation*. The *principle of suspicion* and critical hermeneutics helped me to reflect on oppression and its causes and possible alternate interpretations and disagreements that emerged from fieldwork.

4.9 Conversations on community entry and introducing a development idea

Our first fact-finding fieldtrip to Happy Valley (19-22 February 2009) was an overwhelming cultural event. We experienced hospitality far beyond what we are accustomed to in my culture. I was also confronted with information overload and as expected, my own inabilities in intercultural communication. As a group of four academics, we spent time with a number of individuals and groups of people in the community. It was, however, especially our time with Martha, Dr Smith, and the teachers from Happy Valley School that helped me formulate my initial understandings of the research situation. I was experiencing topic discovery the way Thomas (1993) explained it. He noted that selecting a topic in critical ethnography can be confusing, complicated and hard work. Thomas also noted that one might start with a vague idea in the beginning of the research that will only be narrowed down well into data collection. After the first six months of topic discovery I captured my "vague idea" in my first paper as "Ethical research practice for community entry: using ICT4D in a deep rural context" (Krauss, 2009). It was only in March 2010 that I had pinned down my three preliminary research objectives, which again changed somewhat towards the end.

Because of the total information overload and because the Happy Valley project had just started, I had difficulty knowing what to incorporate in my fieldnotes. Active engagement in Happy Valley always was an intense and time consuming process – typically a fulltime engagement with five hours of sleep somewhere in between. To a certain degree I was following Myers' (2009) advice of just recording everything as far as possible. However, there were also stages where I didn't record things, sometimes simply because of a social overload or fatigue. Other times I became so emerged in the social situation that my research agenda totally moved to the "back burner".

Social overload especially was an interesting social phenomenon I had to deal with. The Zulu people seem to have an enormous capacity for people, social interaction, and community living. I observed

them to function almost permanently in each other's company. I, on the other hand, found that I needed time to be alone to "recharge" and reflect, especially after a long day in the field. Philani later explained to me that the Zulus do not have any privacy, "except when it involves your wife" [Fieldnotes: 7 August 2011]. Traditionally absolutely everything is shared: time, money, food, resources, friendships, feelings, collective opinion, parenting, etc. In fact, sharing everything seemed like a fundamental need for the traditional Zulu people. For me, however, this appeared like a lack of social boundaries that initially affected the time and mental capacity I had left over at the end of each day to process fieldnotes.

Authors on ethnography have mentioned the difficulty and intensity associated with doing fieldwork and making fieldnotes in ethnography (see Sections 2.12 and 2.13). As a critical theorist I was attempting what Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2001) explained as maximise immersion or participation in a community or group. According to them these fieldworkers regard fieldnotes as a preliminary activity which may potentially interfere with fieldwork if too much effort is put into writing them. Like Whyte (1996) they emphasize the "doing" of the ethnography. Personally I was placing emphasis on the interaction between myself and people I was meeting, so that I could generate a "deep, intuitive insight and perception without day-to-day note-taking" (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001: 355). I wanted the emergent culture and collisions to become intrinsically embedded in my own thinking, values, and behaviour and to draw upon "deeper intuition and understandings to find issues and make connections" (p. 355). My maximum immersion in the field and the people, therefore, allowed me to come to terms with the culture and I could acquaint myself with the underlying values of the Zulu people-orientatedness. Hence, my primary objective was to build up as much as possible experience in what I was doing and to become part of the situation being studied (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001; De Vos et al., 2007; Myers, 2009). I later discovered from reading Bourdieu that allowing myself to be carried away by the game of social interaction (i.e. the ICT4D game) actually gave me a good sense of doing ICT4D. This consequently became a key contribution and key strength of my fieldwork approach.

I also spent much time reflecting and talking to cultural interpreters about my reflections (see Section 2.11), so that I could address theory building as an intricate part of the research process that was developing (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). The culture that I was discovering was that of development agents and their upliftment projects in the community. The Happy Valley project was an alignment with their mandate and emancipatory practices.

During fieldwork and subsequent times of reflecting there were a number of themes that stood out for me. Looking back now, I realised that the first fieldwork themes that emerged to me were based

on impressions Martha and Dr Smith created within me and confirmations from fieldwork at Happy Valley School. Martha's views were based on her experience and being a member of the community for more than 20 years. Her exposure to the Zulu culture include that she stayed with a local Zulu community leader as a "daughter" in his house for a few years. She comes from a similar culture than me and because she is well-educated, she was able to articulate and explain the cultural nuances both as insider and outsider.

Martha has been involved in several successful community upliftment projects in Happy Valley, including Happy Valley School and CCOVC. She therefore also had an intricate knowledge of the concerns and needs of the community, the socio-economic impacts of HIV the pandemic, and the realities of hopelessness. She could confidently talk on topics such as community entry, community engagement, the local value system, and sustainability as well as the difficulties of intercultural engagement. She is fluent in isiZulu, isiXhosa, Afrikaans, and English and because she is embedded in both cultures, she was especially good at articulating and explaining cultural contrasts in a way that is understandable to me. People like Martha and Philani helped me expose the unofficial account of the social situation.

After the first six months, however, I needed additional insights and confirmations of what Martha had highlighted. When more active participatory work started in June 2009, I could engage with several more people from the community. I had the opportunity to confirm and sometimes refute what Martha had told me. She, however, remained a primary gatekeeper, development agent and cultural interpreter in the project.

One of my earliest understandings of the differences between my own and the Zulu cultures came from a statement Martha made regarding orphan and home-based care:

> "The black culture says that the identity of a person is in where he belongs not in what he does. It is different from a performance orientated culture like the Western culture. So removing a child from the place where he was born and the people he was born to is to strip him of everything that he had, that he knew who he was, and where he was going to" [Martha's presentation: 27 August 2008].

I inferred that if a person's identity lies in where he belongs, belonging is what he is going to value and protect as well. Creating a sense of belonging and people-orientatedness should therefore also be an intricate part of community engagement practices. I deduced that performance orientated measures and success factors will therefore only be one small part of ICT4D in the Happy Valley

project. This understanding and Ali and Bailur's (2007) discourse on the sustainability challenge – which I will elaborate on a bit later – provided a basis for further ICT4D work.

During and after our first fieldtrip I identified three themes from the conversations I had with cultural interpreters. The first was about the repressive living realities of the Happy Valley community, i.e. needs and difficulties in the community and the subsequent issue of hopelessness which I touched on earlier. The second theme was about the existing strengths within the Happy Valley community and the third was how to do community entry among the Zulu people. These themes also proved to interrelate with each other.

I didn't really fully understand the importance of what Martha had to say about the strengths of the Happy Valley community until much later. Fortunately I recorded those instances in my fieldnotes according to the guidelines of Myers (2009), i.e. that one should record as much as possible in the fieldnotes, because you might not know what is relevant later-on. Going through my fieldnotes I realised that Martha's discussion on the strengths of the Happy Valley community and specifically those of people involved in upliftment projects, was the beginning of my understanding of existing emancipatory practices in the community [Fieldnotes: 19 February 2009].

In context of the development initiatives, I recorded the following from our conversations, which include a number of remarks on the role of men as guardians and spokes people in development projects.

> "The people of Happy Valley work well together:
>
> - It's a small community,
> - people know each other,
> - they have good relationships,
> - they work well together with the Department of Home affairs, and
> - the traditional leaders support the community.
>
> The community's strongest asset is its human resources … and there are men in leadership positions in community projects. If you change a woman you maintain a situation or a household, but if you change a man you potentially affect an entire community. There is a tendency among international funders to only support projects that address the attitudes of men towards women and sex. … Create an attitude of respect among the people: start with the men." [Fieldnotes: 19 February 2009]

During my times of reflection I realised that supporting and empowering men as development agents my potentially have a more sustainable impact on the community development, since it aligns with existing traditional practices and because their existing collective influence in the community is potentially more significant than those of women. In this Zulu community it may, therefore, be an important emancipatory practice that I could investigate and align with. For example, if I can in some way empower a man to acknowledge female influence and talent, I may affect the emancipation of the community more sustainably, than when I attempt to emancipate a woman to try and convince a man of their "oppressive practices". Such a man might just retaliate if not empowered.

Throughout the entire project I was, initially intuitively, but later-on much more deliberately aligning whatever I attempted with existing efforts of development agents. I reflected on how I could align the Happy Valley ICT4D project with existing community development initiatives and guidance of active development agents. Since I am a man myself, aligning with men in agency positions also became a more natural approach that I could follow. As a critical theorist wanting to bring about change and emancipation (Hammersley, 1992; Thomas, 1993; Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997), I was aiming to empower development agents as drivers of change, taking their constraints and motivations seriously (Zheng, 2009). The first development agents that drew my attention were teachers, nurses, and local visionaries who were already involved with community upliftment projects. Practically however, I engaged with several male and female development agents. I found it easier to build deep friendships with men around my age though, while I noted that men more easily assumed a leadership position in entrepreneurial development initiatives.

During our conversations, Martha made considerable effort to explain community entry and how to introduce a development idea. She made a number of insightful statements that I wrote down and reflected upon very deeply after our conversations. The following is what I recorded in my fieldnotes after our conversations (I placed Martha's exact words in quotes):

> "You cannot do something on their behalf. You can only propose." The community has to take the initiative in a development project. You only "step in when you are invited", otherwise the community will reject what you are attempting. "The community must experience ownership." "You can implement a R1 million project, but if the community does not accept it [and you], no-one will touch it." "People will not trust you on face value or what you can provide." [Fieldnotes: 19 February 2009].

Regarding social structures Martha explained that:

> "Everything must be considered right on a social interaction level – it is more important than doing the thing correctly." "Zulus are courteous. If you 'take over' they will stand back and watch you. They will never snatch something and run with it. Westerners tend to take hold of something and run." "You must hand over the baton." If you make a mistake during these sensitive phases, "they might never trust you again". [Fieldnotes: 19 February 2009].

It seemed that she mentioned these issues firstly, because she realised that we might need these types of guidelines and principles for whatever initiative would come from our engagement, and secondly, because she probably discovered the same guidelines when she did community entry herself more than 20 years ago. She later confirmed this by noting that people such as herself has done community entry before in Happy Valley and therefore could be useful partners in our project because "they are able to articulate contrasts" [Fieldnotes: 7 April 2010]. Gaining access to cultural interpreters that could articulate contrasts became a way of gaining access to the unofficial account of the social situation.

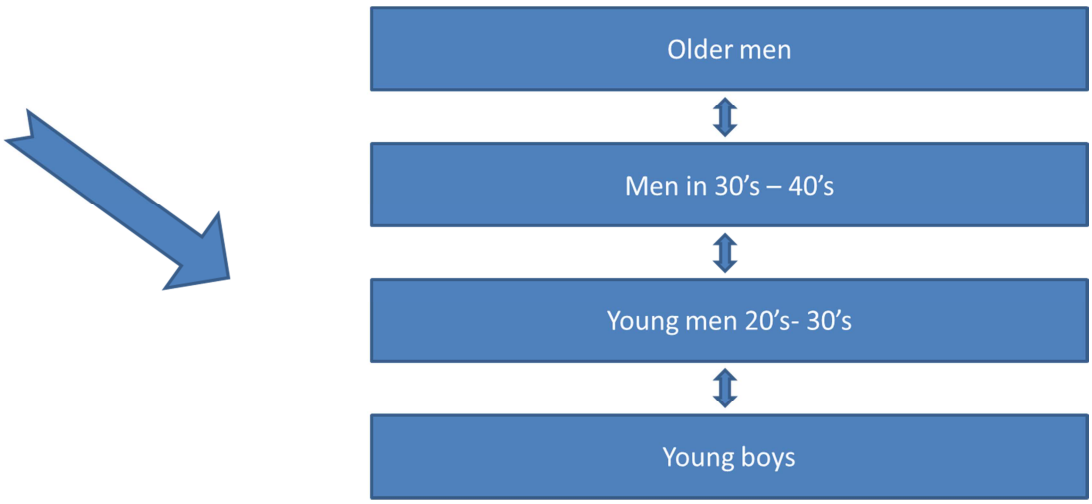


Figure 4-1: The social structure of men visualised

During this engagement, Martha spent some time to explain how it was necessary to allow a development idea, such as from an outsider like myself, to become part of a community's social fibre. She related to the social structure of how men interacted with each other. Figure 4.1 [from Fieldnotes: 19 February 2009] shows how I visualised Martha's explanation. She suggested that when one introduces or proposes a development idea, you need to allow the different groupings of men to "play with" and internalise the idea amongst themselves in the different groupings. At the same time, this idea will then also be discussed up and down the hierarchy. When they are ready, they will invite you to move in. An invitation normally is the first sign of successful community entry.

It is only then when you should step in and live up to the suggestions or promises you made. This process seemed to emanate from a people-orientated or loyalty-based value system. The men in these groupings acknowledged and allowed each other the space and time to grapple with, discuss, reflect, and voice concerns. Time lines and technical correctness did not dictate the process. Something was only considered complete when there is a collective sense of closure, understanding, and trust and when everyone have been acknowledged and respected during the engagement.

The following transcript from my conversations with Philani, explains his view on how to allow a development idea to settle into the minds and structures of the people:

> "Zulu people like to talk a lot about something – you need many gatherings. We are not people that understand things the first time, because we want to make sure and think about it. Gradually you need to learn about something. You need to explain yourself from the beginning. Some people from the government come and they have already been paid, and the people think that the project is not theirs. Our people are not that much ignorant. People want to be educated more than once. They need personal communication, like getting pension and standing in a row. Don't overpower the people. You do something without informing, then you don't respect." [Interview with Mrs Dlamini and teachers: 6 July 2010]

I had to respect this process and allow for it to fully mature. It is not something that I could fast-track or force into maturity. After Martha's making me aware of this, I noticed this social structure several times. I also found myself naturally fit into the 30s to 40s grouping, relating easily to married men in that grouping. I had the added advantage that men in the 30's to 40's grouping were quite influential in the community on a practical level, which I believe made certain things relatively easy for me. Throughout the research no-one explicitly confirmed this social structure to me until much later when I asked Philani about it. He confirmed it and its importance in any decision making or social activity by giving me even more examples of it [Fieldnotes: 7 August 2011].

4.10 Practicing community entry

Since Martha was our gatekeeper we took her guidance on where to further engage with the community. During her presentation in August the previous year and a number of times after that, she suggested three potential areas where we could get involved as a department, namely Happy Valley School with Mrs Dlamini as gatekeeper, Njalo with Dr Smith as gatekeeper, and CCOVC with herself as project manager and gatekeeper. Her foremost choice and suggestion, however, was to engage with the school first. The day after our conversations on community entry, Martha set up an

appointment with Mrs Dlamini the headmistress of Happy Valley School. I knew that this was my opportunity to test and practice what Martha explained to us and implement what I learnt from my engagement with Mrs Ndlovu.

At 7:45 am the next morning (20 February 2009) we were escorted to the school assembly where we were asked to address the children. I believe that it was their way to acknowledge and welcome us. Mrs Dlamini asked us to explain to the children what we were doing at the school. At that stage, I got the idea that she actually also wanted to know why we were there, because we had just met and didn't have time to talk yet. Personally I found myself not being able to connect to the children at all. I was mumbling off something about the mandate of our University – something about teaching, research, and community engagement and why we were here. I was talking over the heads of children. I believe that Mrs Dlamini and the teachers got some idea what I was trying to say though, and maybe that was good. I can't remember what Solomon and Magrieta had to say, but Jacob was the one who was able to connect to the children. He told a story about his father not having shoes as a boy and then later when I had shoes, lending it out to his fellow classmates for money, half-hour at a time. I didn't have stories like that, because of my middle-class upbringing. Martha later told me that because he is an African with similar mannerism "they [the learners] read him like a book" [Fieldnotes: 28 August 2009]. The children understood him quite well and could identify with what he said. I on the other hand, was struggling just to make a basic conversation with anybody. What made things worse was that I was supposed to be the project leader from the university's point of view. I still felt insecure about how to communicate with the Zulus in their context. I was glad, however, to have Jacob on board. He was a good friend of mine and we therefore had the openness to discuss cultural mannerisms amongst ourselves. He was passionate and the perfect cultural interpreter for us. He was the face of the project at that stage.

After the assembly we spent some time Mrs Dlamini in her office to discuss their needs and what we could offer in terms of IT training and support. Having Martha's advice we proposed that we could do computer literacy training for the teachers, but that as headmistress, she had to let us know if and when they are ready and how they suggest that we do it. Trying to implement what Martha had told us, I was acknowledging Mrs Dlamini as community leader while deliberately requesting guidance on how to go about, thus giving her opportunity to explain her ideas according to her needs and understanding. I wanted her to experience ownership. Because I was still learning about my own limitations, I honestly also needed to submit to leadership and guidance. Even in my email to her that I presented much later (see the end of Section 4.7) I continued to recognise her as a gatekeeper and leader in the project.

We never insisted on doing specific things and only proposed. We also didn't discuss logistics, like timelines, dates, funding, and so forth. The *how* of the project was something that we were going to discover through innovation, tinkering, and *bricolage* (Ali and Bailur, 2007; Avgerou, 2009) much later. We proposed and waited. I reminded myself that based on the ICT4D literature I read, the guidance from Martha, and observing Jacob's natural fluency, I am also in need of empowerment, especially with regard to intercultural matters, community entry, and the cultural and practical "hows" of the ICT4D artefact. I was going through an intense community entry experience. Mrs Dlamini just listened and took note of what we suggested. We had little response from her for a long time.

After the meeting Mrs Dlamini asked if we could visit the children in their classes. We agreed. Thabi took us from classroom to classroom, where in each we spent a few minutes talking and engaging. I started to relax and enjoy the process. Still there were awkward moments. One of them was at the Grade 12 group. When we got there the children seemed very excited at the opportunity to interact with us. I believe Mrs Smith, the teacher, wanted to created opportunities for the children to ask questions about tertiary studies. We introduced ourselves and then the questions came, probably about 45 minutes of conversation. One question from a child totally took me off guard. It was something like: "What if I go to university next year and some of the old white lecturers chase us away or shout at us when we ask a question? What should I do?" I was grateful for the openness, but had no answer. Firstly, I was probably perceived as an older white lecturer and secondly: what a frank question! Jacob had an extremely wise yet practical response. I honestly can't remember what he said and how he said it, but I welcomed his understanding of white people and his practical advice. I was sitting back and enjoying the scene that played out in front of me.

After our class visits we greeted Mrs Dlamini and off we went. I never realised it at the time, but the honest time we spent with the school children and the staff was an important part of establishing a relationship and cultural reciprocity. ICT was our forte, but hospitality and relationships became our approach and cultural exchange rate (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999; Wolcott, 1995 in Myers, 2009). The fact that we were also willing to facilitate a campus trip for them in April that year added to the reciprocity that was developing. The teachers wanted us to empower their children. As development agents, it was their passion and concern. We align with their agency interests and requests even though it had nothing to do with ICTs per se. We supported them accordingly and acknowledge their motivations and constraints.

The campus trip later became an annual hospitality gesture from our department's side, with several of my colleagues eagerly participating and wanting to meet the teachers and children. During these

times the learners and teachers from the school stayed with us in our houses in Pretoria, while we made special effort to introduce various study areas and funding opportunities to them. From 2010 onwards, the campus trip became a two-day event, with great impact in terms of hospitality and relationships. Magrieta, one of my project partners and colleague at UP, noted that "we experienced so much hospitality at Happy Valley when we went there the first time, that we can't other than respond in the same manner." The value of the annual campus trip can in a way be summed up in a remark by one of the teachers we came along the first time. The following is a translated email excerpt from Susan, a teacher at Happy Valley School:

> "… This email is simply to thank you and your whole department for the very special effort you made with our children. I think it touched their hearts deeply. When we travelled back the children asked me to explain how it can be that you are willing to make such effort with us. …" [Translated email from Susan: 13 September 2009]

I believe that what we did at Happy Valley School was to implement Martha's advice and also to acknowledge the teachers as development agents according to what they considered to be achievement (Zheng, 2009). The teachers had certain emancipatory interests and practices as a result of their culture and the nature of their caregiving role in the community. Moreover, hospitality was emerging as a key emancipatory practice in the Happy Valley community. Our role as newcomers and outsiders was to simply align with them and to collaborate with them to do their work better. Also, respecting their requests and needs and giving them time to accept us and the ideas we collectively came up with, I believe allowed them to profile us and establish whether we could be trusted. The fact that we spent honest and quality time with the children (i.e. without a task-orientated haste) and respected what was important to them, opened doors for further engagement. The process of allowing a development idea to become part of a community's social dynamics was unfolding in front of me. I just had to respond according to the principles that Martha suggested – I found that we were supporting the teachers' "agency freedom" (Zheng, 2009).

Back home, I started pursuing literature on community engagement and speaking to the cultural interpreters I mentioned in Section 4.5. I came across several statements from authors that helped me articulate and make sense of what was happening in Happy Valley project. A key insight came from Dr Reineth who noted that respect for the way in which a community functions and acknowledging the social structures and protocol is extremely important for successful empowerment initiatives (Prinsloo, 2009). When entering into a community it is important to get to know their customs and to act accordingly (Tlhagale, 2006, cited by Prinsloo, 2009). Dr Reinet pointed me to Weyers (2001) who suggests the "R.E.A.L." approach to community participation:

- R = Respect the people and their customs, protocol, knowledge, values, views and standards
- E = Encourage them to share their knowledge and ideas by using appropriate techniques
- A = Ask questions and give feedback
- L = Listen carefully

According to Prinsloo (2009), "the process for community development as utilised in the field of social work is simple, yet efficient. Development is a social condition and strategies used aim at enhancing the living conditions of a population. The idea that the stimulation of entrepreneurship of individuals will contribute to their own development as well as that of communities is supported" (no page). Weyers (2001) proposes an indirect route for negotiating entry into a community:

- Identify community leaders
- Visit the community leaders and explain the reasons for the involvement in the community
- Use the snowball technique to get new contacts
- Make more informal contact with 'ordinary' community members
- Give community leaders and members the opportunity to express any negative feelings
- Give the community leaders and members hope for a better future
- Help community leaders and members to realize that they should accept responsibility to deal with their own needs and to become involved in the process
- Work towards mutual trust and being accepted by the community
- Encourage and enable community leaders to start working towards a plan for future action

While reflecting on Prinsloo's guidance and the literature she pointed me to, I realised that it is very difficult for a culturally different outsider to judge the specific development needs that a community might have. Development concepts such as poverty, sustainability and empowerment might mean something different in the community (Zheng, 2009; Chigona and Chigona, 2010). The outsider often does not understand the difficulties and social intricacies of the community and its culture. Different cultures and languages imply different worldviews and, therefore, a completely "foreign" or different value system and social fibre. It is, therefore, not fair or ethical towards the community if the outsider assumes that he or she has the understanding or necessary know-how to prescribe how new ICTs should be implemented and also which values the community should aspire to when they use and implement new technologies. Ignoring this reality and enforcing "foreign" technology (foreign because Western culture is embedded in ICT according to Thompson (2004)) onto

"unfamiliar" contexts may, according to some of my informants equate to abuse of that community and may have serious implications for sustainable empowerment. These became critical issues that I continued to reflect on throughout community engagement.

Phahlamohlaka and Lotriet's (2003) chapter on community engagement presented further perspectives: "The development of local people's skills and knowledge in IT, including those of the disadvantaged society, is the only long-term sustainable way to ensure the inclusion of the excluded" (Walsham, 2001 in Phahlamohlaka and Lotriet, 2003). If development projects are grounded in local needs and undertaken with local consent, ownership, and involvement are created for promoting sustainability. From an education and training point of view and based on literature highlighted earlier, sustainability starts with contextually relevant initiatives. In planning a community project, considerable levels of pre-development activities during planning is necessary where community members react to identify educational needs and form various management structures to establish and run the project (Conradie, 1998 cited by Phahlamohlaka and Lotriet, 2003). They proposed several guidelines for community owned development initiatives:

- The need for local pioneers with vision
- Clear objectives
- External organisations involved in supporting roles
- Significant community response to participate and help
- Teachers and community members offering their services as teachers trainers and facilitators
- "Train-the-trainer" types of initiatives financed by external stakeholders
- Abundant evidence of co-operation and collaboration among parties involved
- A community centered management approach followed through creating ownership
- Accountability and transparency and awareness of changing environment
- Processes in place to monitor and evaluate and adjust to changes
- Constant awareness of pitfalls to be avoided such as the project being led by technology instead of community needs or trying to do everything with ICTs

Weyers (2001), Phahlamohlaka and Lotriet (2003), and Prinsloo (2009) present a South African perspective. I, therefore, now had literature that confirmed important aspects of community engagement and I had experienced its workings in Happy Valley.

Early in April 2009 Mrs Dlamini finally phoned me to request the computer training that we proposed and also that we facilitate a campus trip for the Grade 11 children from her school. For me

that was the first sign of successful community entry. We were invited. Now we had to step in, align with Mrs Dlamini's and Martha's guidance and keep the promises we made, while at the same time seek to "hand over the baton". I suggested to Mrs Dlamini that we do a basic course and then an advanced course in the two weeks we had available during the June/July school holidays. She, however, requested that we repeat the basic course for two groups of teachers during this period. I submitted to her guidance and started planning the project. She became the project leader, we became the topic experts, and I became the outsider project guardian also in her eyes.

At that stage funding from UNESCO hadn't been secured yet (see the timelines in Table 4.1). Shortly after Mrs Dlamini's phone call I started to prepare a proposal where I consolidated lessons learnt and my understanding of the ICT4D situation that I faced. I was fortunate to be able to enter into a conversation with the project funder on the outcomes, approach, and scope of the ICT training project. My enculturation lessons and research as well as the project funder's openness, allowed us to tailor to some degree the training project according to lessons learnt and community requests.

Looking back now, I know that Martha was influential in guiding me in the process of community entry and establishing a research topic. I believe her background and exposure made her talk about what she has observed others to fail in. She has seen many projects and good intentions come and go. After our successful first engagement I became aware of a story that turned out to be an analogy for typical Western cultural entrapment and that helped me remember how not to do community entry.

4.11 How Stefan offended the Happy Valley people

Very early in the study, before we participated in our first active ICT training intervention in June 2009, but shortly after we had our first visit, I met Stefan and Adrian, two elderly white men from Gauteng. Gernia, after she learnt about our community initiative in Happy Valley, phoned me one day and suggested that we meet somewhere in Midrand in a restaurant. Adrian is a retired man from Centurion who seemed to have a big interest in the community of Happy Valley where he had been doing things for a number of years. Stefan on the other hand was a successful business man in Gauteng. I never learnt how these two met, but both of them had quite an interest in helping the Happy Valley community. Stefan in particular had this very elaborative idea of helping everyone in Happy Valley to get a bank account and an ATM card. He also wanted the mission community to start a non-profit company to assist with development initiatives in the region and to create business opportunities. I observed Stefan as a man with quite a persistent and choleric personality, with strong ideas and opinions about things – a real salesman.

In our meeting where we were introduced to each other, we shared some of our ideas on how we could possibly collaborate in the Happy Valley community. I personally was giving my very early views on how we could do some ICT training. I was hoping to source some funding through these guys while at the same time gauging their motives and reasons for being involved. It seemed that they had some influence and enough passion. I invited Stefan and Adrian to join us to also share their ideas with our department.

After the meeting, I don't remember why, I got the idea to phone Martha about Stefan and Adrian. I wanted to find out about how the community accepted them. Although I never created fieldnotes on the event, it made quite an impression on me, and I was able to confirm lessons from this story and my observations about Stefan much later also from Philani [Fieldnotes: 31 July 2011]. Martha told me a story that became a benchmark learning event for me. Martha specifically related the story to how community entry should not take place. Apparently during one of Stefan's visits to Happy Valley he initiated a meeting with some of the local community leaders to discuss his ideas on a non-profit company and bank accounts for the people in the community. Although his intentions were probably good, he offended the community severely. Martha highlighted three things that Stefan did wrong in terms of the traditional community setup.

Firstly, during the meeting which Stefan seemed to facilitate, he asked a man to keep quiet in order to give a woman an opportunity to speak. Apparently this was extremely offensive behaviour to both men and women in the meeting. According to the Zulu culture, men are the decision makers, leaders, and guardians in the community and therefore also spokespeople of the community. Traditionally women never participate publically in community matters. Although some might view this as a form of masculine domination, it had implications for community entry and gaining access. Secondly, Stefan was pushing very hard with an idea that he thought was good without giving the people sufficient opportunity to engage with the idea and to let it become part of their discussions and social fibre. He was pushing for deadlines and outcomes. The Zulu people wanted and needed time to play with the idea that Stefan proposed. He, however, was not willing to wait. He was not allowing for a development idea to settle in the community like I had learned to do. Thirdly, Martha told me that Stefan's idea of giving each person a bank account was not going work in Happy Valley. The types of income people earn were too low to justify the added expense of a bank account – Happy Valley mainly has a cash economy. Moreover, a bank card and account is too much of an abstract (and probably Western) phenomenon to deal with. Also, the general trend is that money moves out of the town, rather than into it. For example, people would draw money in Happy Valley and take a taxi to another town to spend it. Stefan's ideas were not feasible, not well thought

through and he had absolutely no idea of the needs and realities that the people deal with on a daily basis. Stefan did no proper research or needs analysis before his engagement and at the same time was following Adrian's lead who himself didn't seem to know much about community entry. He was following the guidance of a misinformed agent.

It was especially Stefan's culturally offence behaviour that totally shut the door for any further community participation, even up to the point where Adrian who introduced Stefan to the locals had to withdraw from the community – and that after visiting for a number of years. The way Stefan did things is socially acceptable in the urban business culture in Gauteng. In fact, if you are not pushy, assertive and to the point you will probably not survive in Gauteng. But it is not the way things are done in Happy Valley. Stefan was ignorantly unable to adapt his ways. Stefan and Adrian both fell silent after that encounter.

During Martha's account of what happened with Stefan, I realised that any possible perceived association between myself and Stefan, might jeopardise the fragile community entry and trust building stages that I was going through in Happy Valley. I was also concerned that Stefan might use the university connection to push his agenda. I told Martha about my suspicions, i.e. that Stefan might use our success so far to gain access of his own. I asked her to clarify to the locals that I am only aware of Stefan, but that we do not collaborate in any way. I wasn't sure how to explain to Stefan his mistakes, neither was I in the position to do so.

So, on the 22nd of April, Stefan joined us at our Happy Valley feedback meeting. I thought that I could still see what could be salvaged from his drive to "help" the people of Happy Valley and maybe see how I could shield the community from his ways. However, his involvement seemed to fall flat because he was pushing his ideas in the form of a sales pitch, and not necessarily objectively or informed as us academics generally claim to do things. After our meeting, one of my colleagues asked him why he was so passionate and interested in the Happy Valley community. His response was something like, "something big happened in my life. I almost died. Now I feel that I need to give something back". It seemed that he had a life changing experience that made him reflect on his life and that his attempt in Happy Valley was his way to do something good. So even though he was sincere, had the passion and good intentions, he was offending and abusing the people of Happy Valley through the way he was doing things. Stefan was doing what Lewis (1994) had explained as supercilious development endeavours.

Stefan also related to something that he had experienced that became an analogy for what Martha warned me during my February field visit, and that is, "you can implement a R1 million project, but if

the community does not accept it [and you], no-one will touch it." "People will not trust you on face value or what you can provide." [Fieldnotes: 19 February 2009]. During one of his trips he brought a big crate of food and other consumables to the mission. When he came there a month later he found the crate exactly there where he had left it. All the food had gone off. Stefan was quite frustrated when he complained about it: "I cannot understand why nobody takes initiative and at least distribute the stuff". I knew what was going on though. The locals were doing what Martha had predicted through her explanations. Because of Stefan's culturally offensive behaviour, they courteously ignored him and all efforts from his side.

In retrospect I believe that a big part of Stefan's actions is because of his strong choleric personality. I perceived this big man to be sincere, but he suffered from a form of cultural entrapment (Thomas, 1993), where he was set in his ways. I came to think that maybe some people just can't do community engagement in a different culture, because of their personalities or lack of social skills (Walsham, 2006). I also realised that cultural entrapment in outsiders make them unable to do introspection and critically reflect about other's worldview and assumptions ... or maybe they just don't know how to shut-up and listen.

On the other hand his calculated and strategic assertiveness probably was his way of showing sincerity, commitment, integrity, and expertise. It was during this time that I was starting to play with this idea that outsiders wanting to do development are in fact entrapped in some form of false consciousness about what development is and how to do it. It seemed that the developed or the "haves", such as Stefan possibly find themselves in a position where they perceive themselves as successful. He was able to prove to himself that what he had done for many years is working for him and therefore should work for others, similarly to Lewis' (1994) quote in Section 4.8. But perceptions of achievement may also be false consciousness in people like Stefan, because it causes you to believe that there is only one path to achievement and that being developed (such as having access to a bank account) is better, or in Stefan's case; that pushing hard to create business opportunities is a strategic route to development. For me the idea of self-emancipation of the outsider researcher and practitioner was emerging as a very strong theme in my research.

Although I had not yet explored Bourdieu's critical lineage, I was quite weary about what he explained as unexposed first-order strategies, or repressions sustaining assumptions, hidden agenda, and ethnocentrism of outsiders participating in ICT4D discourses (see Section 3.7). After this story I started to display considerable reluctance to involve outsiders, including funders, who were not willing or open to share my understanding or who I perceived as having ulterior motives or "strings attached" to their development ideas. For example, one of the funders I approached had certain

conditions that the school had to abide by before they were willing to fund computer infrastructure. These conditions included that the computer training venue had to have burglar bars, the infrastructure had to be insured and the school had to provide their own software. It was a problem for the school. I realised that due to the difficulties associated with poverty in the community these added expenses would just not be feasible. Crime also was not a problem in this traditional Zulu community. This specific funder, however, stuck to a one-size-fits-all mentality. I had to make a decision at the time and didn't even finish the application for funding.

The UNESCO project sponsor was different. Although they had a specific development agenda, they were also open to engage with regarding project outcomes to a certain degree as well as to criticism on their ICT-CST policy framework.

4.12 Conclusions

Chapter 4 tells the story of community entry, topic discovery, and the beginnings of critical reflexivity in the ethnography. I place the study in its historical context and show how my own position and subjectivity influenced what I could do in the Happy Valley Project and what could be interpreted from the social situation. I reflect on how I combined confessional writing and criticality to also engage the reader in the text. I tell the story of my first encounters in the community, mistakes I made with gatekeepers, how I discovered criticality, how community entry was practiced, and how I observed others' inabilities and need for self-emancipation. Throughout the chapter I reflect on topic discovery and how started to observe worldview collisions in the social phenomena. A number of theoretical themes are highlighted as they emerged from doing fieldwork. Literature on community entry is weaved into the various sections as they pertain to the unfolding ethnographic account. In the chapter that follows I will summarise lessons learnt from the community entry phases of the research and show how they are implemented in a project funding proposal.

CHAPTER 5
A culmination of lessons learnt during community entry

5.1 Preamble

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the lessons learnt during the becoming-a-member phases of the project and to reflect on the start of more active participant-observation. The researcher will continue to demonstrate the methodological approach put forward in Chapter 2 and how the key principles of critical research manifested.

In this chapter the researcher presents the preliminary research themes as they evolved from the community entry phase, including some initial mis-constructions of themes. Thereafter, the researcher will show how lessons learnt were implemented in a project proposal for UNESCO funding. The chapter then concludes with a model for community entry and introducing the ICT4D artefact in deep rural communities in South Africa.

5.2 Introduction

Towards the end of the enculturation and topic discovery phases there were two events that compelled me to summarise and articulate my initial understandings of the research situation and research themes that emerged. The first event was the writing of the IDIA conference paper that I referred to in Chapter 4. The second event was the UNESCO project proposal and planning stages, which included a press release I had to prepare for the 15th of June 2009. Because of these events I had to have clarity on the needs and realities that led me to do the project, I had to understand which values and principles to align with in order to introduce the ICT4D artefact and the research that emanated from it, and I had to understand the theoretical themes that helped me in sense-making and practical community engagement.

As I explained earlier, topic discovery was a continuous dialogue between myself, my research partners and the literature that I read. It was the hermeneutic process (see Section 2.11) of juggling between induction and deduction (Schultze, 2000), where I used themes that emerged from my data to seek out literature, while I used literature to make sense of what I observed from the social phenomena. Critical social theory and interpretivism continue to guide my epistemological assumptions. I spent endless hours reflecting on issues to seek out possible alternate explanations, contradictions, and collisions. Critical reflexivity became a driving force behind my efforts. Because I

pursued change for the better, I sought out opportunities for practice and total immersion in the project in order to ethically align change with transformation. ICT training became the hands-on opportunity I needed for total immersion in the social phenomena and to engage with criticality.

5.3 Summary of theoretical themes

My IDIA paper (Krauss, 2009) was mostly a preliminary theoretical summary of key themes that emerged from topic discovery and enculturation. Since intercultural communication emerged as a key difficulty I struggled with during the early phases of community entry, I highlighted the impact of Afrocentricity on intercultural communication in deep rural communities in South Africa as a key aim of the paper. A second aim addressed hopelessness as a false consciousness to negotiate during community entry and research practice. I explained that the difficulties, problems, and destructive effects associated with ICT4D (see Table 4.1) are potentially a result of false expectations, assumptions, and beliefs in both the "developed" or those doing the development and the "developing" or those who are on the receiving side of so-called development efforts. The overall idea of ethical research practice emerged because of my own need for self-critique and reflexivity. I also reflected on both theoretical and practical aspects of community entry (see Section 4.5), and the importance of understanding the needs and concerns of deep rural communities when doing community entry. Most of these issues have been covered in previous sections. Some of the themes, however, need explanation at this stage. The first theme is about my venture into understanding Afrocentricity.

5.3.1 Afrocentricity

In an effort to understand my initial difficulties in intercultural communication in Happy Valley I sought out several sources on the African view of reality. These include Willoughby (1928) on the African worldview, Ndegwa (1992) on the relevance of African studies, and Asante (1983) on the ideological significance of Afrocentricity in intercultural communication. At the time I wrote the IDIA paper I didn't have a clear understanding on the role of theory in the study, i.e. whether to use it as a conceptual lens upfront to decipher social phenomena or to follow more of a grounded approach, where I allow themes to emerge from my data (Walsham, 2006).

As I matured in criticality, however, I avoided the use of theory as a conceptual lens upfront, because I didn't want it to distort what I observed from the social phenomena. I only used theory retrospectively, i.e. to help me reflect on what emerged from the field. What I did wrong when I wrote the paper in June 2009, was to actually try and enforce a general description of Afrocentricity onto the Happy Valley community. It was only after two lengthy conversations with a research

colleague that I found clarity on the role of theory and literature. After these conversations I discarded others' perceptions on Afrocentricity as a conceptual lens. I later learned from Bourdieu that this manner of avoiding an outsider-constructed and predetermined set of rules and views onto the social phenomena helped me construct adequate knowledge of the social situation (see Section 3.3).

In negotiating intercultural matters and interpretation I found critical social theory and specifically the process of self-reflexivity and introspection, where I reflect on the repression sustaining conditions of my own worldview and my own need for emancipation, much more useful. Criticality allowed me an openness where I could place myself on par with my project partners (see Section 2.7) also in the area of emancipation and where I could gradually escape from non-understanding and cultural entrapment, and what I think I know, who I am, and what I think I can accomplish.

5.3.2 First understandings of collisions

In the original abstract I wrote for the IDIA paper (see Krauss, 2009), I highlighted a number of contrasts that I observed during my first fieldwork experiences, namely, empowerment as opposed to development, loyalty as opposed to integrity, social interaction structures as opposed to project management principles, the realities of sustainability, and the effect of Afrocentricity on research strategies. A number of collisions also emerged during further topic discovery, for example, the ways in which Westerners typically portray self-respect and integrity as opposed to the Happy Valley way of finding identity in belonging and loyalty, different views on how to do community entry, the collisions between UNESCO's development agenda and the Happy Valley realities, the conflicts associated with negotiating false beliefs, and so forth. My ideas on these collisions were, however, premature and under-developed and I needed much more time in the field to fully understand them. I left these discussions from the final version of the paper that I submitted in June 2009.

5.3.3 Sustainability, innovation and collaboration

My reflections on sustainability and innovation offered significant theoretical guidance in the Happy Valley project. In the following paragraphs I explain how my views on sustainability and innovation matured and how I had to consciously avoid preconceived ideas on what is meant by sustainability.

One of the central concerns in development discourses is the issue of sustainability (Ali and Bailur, 2007). Sustainability has also been highlighted in ICT4D literature as a criterion for successful ICT4D implementation (Ali and Bailur, 2007). As a critical theorist, however, I had to question my own assumptions on sustainability as well as those of my project partners. I also had to reflect on how

sustainability relates to or ensures social transformation. Since literature has shown that ICT failures in developing contexts outnumber success stories (Avgerou and Walsham, 2000; Lunat, 2008; Zheng, 2009), I was especially sensitised to these issues. I had to reflect on how I could make whatever the Happy Valley project led me to do sustainable as far as possible.

ICT4D literature helped me to understand sustainability concerns. For example, I learnt that neo-liberal thinking and standardised modernist approaches to ICT implementation may in fact contribute to ongoing failures in developing situations (Du Plooy and Roode, 1993; Heeks, 2005; Lee et al., 2008). I also learnt about the need for culturally sensitive and context specific ICT4D implementation (Krishna and Madon, 2003; Heeks, 2005; Madon, et al., 2009). It was, however, Ali and Bailur's (2007) critical discourse on the meaning of sustainability as well as a line of reasoning by Avgerou (2009) on innovation in developing contexts that helped me understand my own position and assumptions on sustainability. Ali and Bailur's (2007) argument is based their scepticism regarding the typical emphasis of ICT4D projects on sustainability: "Nothing has ever been sustainable, and nothing will ever be" (p. 12). Quoting Hemmati (2002), they also suggest that sustainable development should be seen as a process of dialogue and consensus building among all project partners who together should define problems, design possible solutions, collaborate to implement them, and evaluate the outcomes. They suggest that the unintended consequences of ICT4D implementation should be embraced as improvisations and *bricolage*, rather than a threat to sustainability. According to them sustainability and innovation implies allowing for a process of *bricolage* and tinkering with new technologies (also see Section 2.5.2).

Regarding innovation as a concept, Avgerou (2009) argues as follows:

> "I will refer to this object of study [the broader socio-economic context of the organizations hosting new technologies] of ISDC [Information Systems in Developing Countries] research as 'IS innovation' to convey the notion of novelty of experiences of IS implementation and the associated changes within the hosting organization and beyond it. The rationale for using the term innovation is that, even if the technologies implemented in an IS project are already common elsewhere and widespread, the local experience of technology implementation and socio-organizational change constitutes an innovation for the organization concerned and may well constitute innovation for its socio-economic context." (Avgerou, 2009: 1).

The need for local ICT4D innovation thus emerged as an important requirement for sustainability.

In context of sustainability and empowerment, several sources have highlighted the importance of building collaborative partnerships in ICT4D implementation (Avgerou and Walsham, 2000; Krishna and Madon, 2003; Phahlamohlaka and Lotriet, 2003; Heeks, 2005; Lee et al., 2008; Kleine and Unwin, 2009). The partnerships I sought out were with development agents. Aligning with their guidance and agency interests, therefore, became my way ensuring ongoing empowerment and sustainability. As demonstrated in previous sections, these development agents I partnered with also played a significant role in contextualising the ICT4D artefact. Partnerships allowed me to align with local needs and realities, to collaboratively challenge oppressive circumstances and ideologies, and to align with emancipatory practices.

For all of us the Happy Valley project represented collaborative IS innovation. I personally remained in a position of openness and reflexivity regarding unexpected outcomes, work ways and values of the local people regardless of how “absurd”, “unproductive” or “illogical” it appeared. There were many times when things evolved in ways that I was very uncomfortable with, both at a project management and personal interaction level. However, as a result of lessons learnt, understanding my own limitations, and “advice” from literature, my first reaction remained to allow for local innovation as far as possible and to assume a learning position. Throughout the project this approach not only deepened local ownership, but also developed and reinforced culturally and context specific ICT4D principles and implementation guidelines – which I documented.

There were many times where mistakes occurred, including financial mistakes and distorted relationships. We collectively embraced mistakes (including alternate meanings attributed to the concept of “mistakes”) as learning hurdles and because there was local ownership and involvement and a resilient partnership, the drive to rectify mistakes and learn from them was strong. This resilience was evident in many events but especially in how Philani, a key project partner, and I once conveyed to each other. Towards the end of the project I said to him: “You know why I keep pushing [this ICT training]? It’s because I see you pushing [to make it a success].” His response was: “I keep pushing because I see you pushing.” [Fieldnotes: 2 June 2011]. We both struggled to find ways to make things work. We both were frustrated with many things. But it was our partnership, friendship and openness with each other that kept both of us and the project going. I asked him what he considers as his measure of success and what it is that makes him continue even though he is not sufficiently making money from the initiative. He said that “It is when I see response in people, when I see positive outcomes.” [Fieldnotes: 4 July 2011].

These conversations occurred during a stage of the project where I had enough fieldwork experience and data to build a coherent account of my findings (my research agenda had gone the full cycle),

but the reality of the situation was that I could not leave the field because of the initiatives that had started and the people I committed to. According to Bourdieu's lineage I was carried away by the game of ICT4D to such a degree that I could no longer find an easy or non-disruptive way to leave the field. Ethicality, commitment to people, and my own conscience were the only reasons why I continued supporting the project. What kept me going was the response and social transformation I saw in people. My PhD writing, however, suffered somewhat because I couldn't leave the field when I needed to.

Earlier Martha presented an interesting perspective on innovation and openness to unexpected outcomes. She noted that things such as budgets, timelines, and projects outcomes are there to eliminate the human factor, because humans are unpredictable. The Zulu culture, however, embraces the human factor and the unpredictability of humans [Fieldnotes: 19 May 2010]. It was a theme that I had to explore much more to fully understand it.

Although the entire study is in many ways a collection of stories about collaborative sustainability struggles in the Happy Valley, a number of principles emerged from the topic discovery phases. These include:

- to pursue a critical position in inquiry and practice and to seek out oppression sustaining beliefs, false consciousness, and emancipatory practices in project stakeholders,
- to institutionalise ICT knowledge through motivational aspects, addressing false beliefs and expectations, creating local ownership, and following the guidance of local expertise and leadership,
- to create opportunities for train-the-trainer initiatives as a way to empower development agents and institutionalise ICTs ethically and critically,
- to align with development agents and their agency interests. Agency interests in Happy Valley include emancipatory practices such as people-orientated values and principles, caring practices, respect for local practices, protocol and culture, and developing local skills and knowledge, and
- to follow tailored community entry protocol and principles as a precursor for ICT4D implementation.

5.4 Demonstration lessons learnt in a project proposal

More active participant-observation started with the opportunity I had to align with UNESCO, as a project sponsor, who was able and willing to negotiate project terms and outcomes in such a way that oppression sustaining beliefs and circumstances are not reinforced and that we remained open

to unexpected outcomes and innovation and the true empowerment of all participants. In this section I will demonstrate how the establishment of a project scope was a collaborative effort between myself, community visionaries, and UNESCO. By reflecting on the process I hopefully also prove the beginnings of my deep and ethnographic immersion in the Happy Valley project.

In the project proposal I prepared for UNESCO, I explained several oppressive circumstances, e.g. perceptions on the impact of sickness and death and how these factors contributed to hopelessness, and its associated beliefs, and how hopelessness affected the success of development efforts:

> "… In rural KZN, several issues and difficulties complicate community empowerment initiatives. These include high rates of HIV infections, a high occurrence of Tuberculosis (TB), high unemployment, extreme poverty, child-headed households and illiteracy. The impact of these factors has been profound, and is intensifying. Large numbers of children are left orphaned and destitute while malnutrition, sickness and death result in a general feeling of hopelessness, which impacts negatively on programs aimed at empowerment, social development and improving health. …" [Excerpts from the UNESCO project funding checklist: 14 April 2009]

I then presented the Department of Informatics' position with regard to doing ICT4D and understanding associated difficulties:

> "… The Department is suitably sensitized to the body of research around the many failures and few successes of ICT for development, and backs their approach with knowledge that has been gained around ICTs in community empowerment, health, education and the sociocultural community context. Theoretical knowledge as well as practical experience from a number of previous outreach programmes are utilized as experiential basis for this community empowerment initiative. …" [Excerpts from the UNESCO project funding checklist: 14 April 2009]

Although I personally prepared and wrote the project proposal, it was in fact a collaborative effort between myself and Dr Smith, Martha and Mrs Dlamini, our key gatekeepers. Project intentions were based on their explanations of needs, difficulties, and oppressive circumstances as well as their guidance on where to focus our ICT4D efforts. I used ICT4D literature to articulate how we planned to approach the project. In the proposal I explicitly emphasised that we align ourselves with existing development initiatives and agency interests, and that we will aim to institutionalise ICT knowledge as far as possible (Madon et al., 2009). I also highlighted that the proposal was based on a prior needs analysis:

> "… Several very successful community-owned projects have been established in Happy Valley since the early 1990's. These include Happy Valley Private School, several orphan care projects, a

hospice, employment initiatives and home-based health care projects. Several staff members of the Department of Informatics have committed themselves to support this community as far as possible in the areas of ICT education and training, ICT infrastructure support and research. A number of fact-finding and exploratory projects have already been initiated under the theme of 'ICTs for community empowerment'. The overarching aim is to focus on, and customize, ICT solutions that are context specific and culturally sensitive while empowering the community through ICTs to address developmental needs and to be self-supporting and for these projects to be sustainable as far as possible. …

… one of the primary values that guide our community engagement initiatives is that of cultural and regional sensitivity in ICT implementation and research. Any project initiated at Happy Valley should be done in close collaboration with community participants. In addition, we recognize that such programmes might impact on or may seem to need changes in mind-sets and belief systems and that a culture which will allow sustainability and empowerment will need to be established. These impacts on the impoverished community of Happy Valley and those individuals aiming to invest in the community are important considerations in this outreach initiative. It is for these reasons that we aim primarily to support the health workers, teachers and active community volunteers. It is also with this principle in mind that we will tailor-make our ICT training courses to be context specific and culturally sensitive. …

… Primary beneficiaries of the next rounds of training are teachers, health care workers and active community members. Indirectly, and as a result of empowering key community members, ICT training and knowledge may be passed on to other community members, OVC, school children, school leavers and businesses. ICT training courses in the health care area will specifically lead to more efficient and effective management of health care and monitoring of ARVs and TB treatment and for creating a much needed culture of record keeping and statistics among the nursing community. ICT training, provided by UP [University of Pretoria], will strengthen and complement existing empowerment initiatives started by Happy Valley School and Njalo. …" [Excerpts from the UNESCO project funding checklist: 14 April 2009]

I related to some of the principles of community entry as I explained them in Chapter 4. To ensure sustainability and ownership I incorporated the following in the proposal:

"… A key principle followed throughout is that of creating community ownership. Consequently, this project is a community initiative and the community has assumed ownership with regards to training and ICT needs. The Department of Informatics' role is to support, guide and empower

community leaders to knowledgeably facilitate their own ICT empowerment initiatives, social development and wellbeing.

This approach, as well as targeting the key areas of health, education and orphan care, may assist community ICT initiatives to expand. School children may have a better opportunity to get tertiary education, teachers may be able to train other teachers in the area, the mandate of Njalo to train and empower nurses for future jobs in other rural areas may be supported and better employment opportunities through context specific ICT training may be created. …

… Currently, the headmistress of Happy Valley School, Mrs Dlamini, together with two other heads of schools in the region, has started literacy training in English and isiZulu at the school. It is on her request, as owner of this initiative, that we now include the UP ICT training in their portfolio. UP therefore supports the community initiative and, in collaboration with the school, will facilitate the management and planning of ICT training. …

… any community empowerment initiative needs champions that drive such an initiative. From the Happy Valley community we have Mrs Dlamini from Happy Valley School, Dr Smith from Njalo and Ms Vermeulen from Khayamandi care all of whom have been driving community projects for a number of years. …these projects have been successful, managed well and funding and auditing have been open and transparent. Existing community empowerment initiatives have a track record of success. ICT for community empowerment is now an added initiative that will be managed by the same stakeholders in collaboration with the Department of Informatics.

With regard to financial sustainability, very few initiatives in the health care sector and especially where it involves OVC are considered likely to ever be independently sustainable. The reasons for this include the severity of the HIV and TB pandemics in the area and the extreme poverty and isolation of the Happy Valley community. External funding will be needed for a very long time to ensure continued socio-economic development and health support for OVC and future generations of Happy Valley. …" [Excerpts from the UNESCO project funding checklist: 14 April 2009]

In a press release prior to the project starting in June 2009, made the following statement regarding relationships and addressing the beliefs surrounding hopelessness:

"… We … place a strong emphasis on creating relationships, empowering community workers, facilitating social development, addressing poverty and creating ownership, motivation, hope and liberty in people. We will hopefully be able to identify and empower some teachers, through

an additional train-the-trainer initiative, to also facilitate ongoing ICT training in the region. …" [Press release: 15 June 2009]

In my project proposal I had certain ideas and plans about what and how we could do engage with the Happy Valley community and where we needed funding. I had quite an elaborative budget which included infrastructural, operational and training expenses and even bursaries for school leavers. I was somewhat overambitious about what we could achieve, especially since I managed to attract the interest of a possible funder.

Fortunately both the project sponsor and I had the openness to enter into a conversation about issues such as project outcomes, underlying community engagement principles, and expectations. During our conversations, the project sponsor explained UNESCO's mandate and development agenda as well as some of the ideas that he had. I could relate to some of the lessons learnt during the needs analysis and topic discovery phases. We were able to demarcate the project scope and community engagement principles in a way that worked for both of us. We both agreed to do a single pilot ICT teacher training initiative. The sponsor also asked us to give feedback on the UNESCO's ICT-CST policy framework in context of the Happy Valley project.

In order to relate to the importance of openness to innovation and unexpected outcomes, I explained to the project sponsor that we will follow a "small-step approach" with the project, where we innovate with pilot initiatives and follow-up discourse rather than trying to do too much too fast and run the risk of failure and losing the participation of the community. He seemed especially pleased about this as he noted during our conversation that "I like the small-step approach" [Fieldnotes: 16 May 2009].

Our conversations continued via email. In the following excerpt from an email I demonstrate how I responded to some of the suggestion he made regarding the use of UNESCO's ICT-CST policy framework:

"Dear Jaco

I certainly look forward to your call this afternoon. …

Just some initial comments:

The policy Framework on ICT-CST is certainly comprehensive and covers all avenues as we also understand it. I believe that we'll be able to participate with regard to its application in rural Afrocentric context and especially since Informatics and knowledge in Africa is our department's forte. As the document rightly highlights, there are several unique variables and constraints that

affect one's approach to development, such as the intricacies of inter-cultural communication and lack of access to the Internet and mobile connectivity. I therefore believe that our approach and research values are compatible with what UNESCO advocates. …" [Email to the UNESCO project funder: 25 May 2009]

The next part of the email demonstrates how we clarified the project scope. It was my response to the funder's request to consider Open Office and free software in our training:

"We considered Open Office and free software and in fact did some initial research on that, but chose the propriety route, mainly because that is what the school has available. We will certainly consider free software should community needs lead us to that. We and the school have been doing this project on a shoe string budget and future funding may enable us to expand the project scope considerably. Our future intentions include an advanced and follow-up literacy course that will have a module on Information literacy that we will tailor for the school. Currently, however, the school has no internet access and the project will have to address infrastructure first. Our field trip will assist us to plan follow-up engagement and training." [Email to the UNESCO project sponsor: 25 May 2009]

In a collaborative effort, we established the following project objectives in a financing contract between the Department of Informatics and UNESCO:

"… under the direct supervision of the Communication and Information Advisor, the contractor shall:

1. Organize two, five day training courses from 29 June to 12 July 2009 …"

This objective was as a direct result of Mrs Dlamini's guidance and suggestions (see Section 4.10).

" …

2. Ensure the inclusion and participation of stakeholders in the community …"

This objective was based on the principle that we should align with agency interest in the community and that we should try and initiate some type of train-the-trainer event.

"…

3. Facilitate logistic arrangements for the training (venue and catering, travel and accommodation, lodging, audiovisual material, lecture fees and course material) …
4. Ensure advocacy and publicity through the media on the training course …

5. Submit to UNESCO by 30 August 2009 a final report on the training course and which should include: (a) the thematic areas that will be guiding the training course, (b) the training material, a list of all participants and facilitators (c) the final draft of the agenda and workplan, (d) recommendations on the use of the policy framework on ICT-CST in rural South African context and ways to further information literacy training through community multimedia and/or training centres in rural South Africa, (e) a detailed financial statement … , (f) evidence of media coverage. …" [Excerpts from UNESCO's activity-financing contract: 11 June 2009]

By presenting the excerpts from the contract I am demonstrating how the project scope was pinned down by means of a discourse between the project sponsor and myself, and how we attempted to remain open to unexpected outcomes and innovation as well as participation and guidance from the Happy Valley community. I was requested to give feedback on the ICT-CST policy framework. The contract also involved giving detailed feedback on teaching strategies and community engagement practices (Krauss et al. 2009 and Krauss 2013). Consequently I had to record practically everything that occurred during the two-week community engagement initiative.

5.5 The first training intervention – the start of becoming-a-member phases

On the 27th of June 2009, we commenced with an important part of the Happy Valley project. It involved a hands-on ICT training intervention, where we dealt directly with a community of teachers from Happy Valley School. During the two weeks from the 27th of June until the 12th of July 2009, we presented the planned two five-day basic computer literacy courses for the teachers and a number of other active caregivers from the Happy Valley community. We also facilitated a "Computer Appreciation" course, in the afternoons for those people who were active in some caregiving role in the community, but who lacked enough background (e.g. illiterate in writing and reading, unable to speak English, and so forth) to participate in a full basic course, as well as a train-the-trainer initiative in the second week. As project leader of a team of academics this was one of the most difficult, demanding, and probably also one of the most rewarding phases of the project.

During these two weeks of computer literacy courses my average work-day started at about 7:30 in the mornings and ended at about 19:30 in the evenings. The computer training involved the demonstration of new computer concepts (see Krauss et al. 2009), allowing people to practice and repeat things over and over again, gaining trust, building confidence, and motivation, gauging existing levels of skills and knowledge, building new knowledge in people, flexibility, and so forth. For me it was innovation in action.

Together with Mrs Dlamini, we initially planned to do the training until about 15:00 in the afternoons, but because of teachers skills levels and the need for personal interaction, support, encouragement, and so forth, we often had to continue until late in the evenings supporting some individuals. By 5 pm I was normally quite exhausted, being on my feet the whole day, and engaging with teachers at various levels. Luckily we were a team and could support each other. As project leader I took some strain though. I had to constantly gauge the timing of how training progressed, decide on breaks, plan for the next day, prepare exercises based on the observations I made about progress, skills, and motivational aspects, and even gauge the approaches of my colleagues who participated in the event. I did not do all of the training, but had to be constantly aware of and observe what my colleagues did.

Ethnographically this first training intervention was the beginning of the becoming-a-member phases. I was building deep relationships with people during the training sessions. This deep and active participant-observation gave me an opportunity to fast-track acceptance and reciprocity. I was reacting on expressed needs and the guidance of community leaders, and we had followed appropriate community entry protocol. My awareness of my own limitations and need for reflexivity, prior stories of unethical and disruptive engagement (e.g. Roode, 1993; Thompson, 2008; Madon et al., 2009; Zheng, 2009), and the need to connect culturally, guided my approaches.

Although I didn't fully understand value conflicts, hospitality approaches, and people-orientatedness while I was engaged in these phases of the research, I was fortunate to record many of the events and reflections during the time. I could subsequently reconstruct fieldwork events and create new reflections and interpretations as I matured in the situation.

5.6 Aligning with a local project owner

On the Sunday evening (28 June 2009) before the training started, we had a quick meeting with Mrs Dlamini regarding her expectations and guidance on how we should commence with the training the next day. As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, we had submitted to her leadership in the project and therefore needed her guidance on how to continue. Her concern primarily was that she wanted the teachers to know the seriousness of the training. She, therefore, wanted us to emphasise the importance and value of the course they were getting. She also wanted all participants to know that although they received the course for free, it doesn't mean that they could skip training sessions. She was quite strict about this. She also wanted them to know how much the course would cost them if UNESCO didn't provide funding, and that they have a responsibility to give their full cooperation. Realising the reasons behind her urgency, I also contributed a few of my own points to support her in her leadership.

In my introductory slides I prepared a brief background on the project and how it started, who we are and where we come from. I highlighted Mrs Dlamini's role and leadership in the project, thus publically acknowledging her position. I had learnt that the teachers would value and perceive this as important. I presented a brief overview of the course content. I also prepared a couple of points on costs, certification, pass requirements, and attendance policy [Introductory course slides: 29 June 2009].

One of Mrs Dlamini suggestions, although obvious, made me reflect on the concept of time. She noted that we should tell the teachers to be on time. To emphasise this she said something like: "you know, us Zulus we look at the sun to judge time". These were some of my first realisations of how the concept of time is viewed differently. During my introduction the next morning, I spent some time on a proposed daily schedule. We never really followed this completely, though. In retrospect I believe that it was simply a way to communicate the formality of the event rather than for us to follow it as a specific schedule.

In my pre-course presentation I emphasised responsible engagement, teaching, and project management, as well as UNESCO's requirements for us to report back to them, as inspirational and motivational factors [Introductory course slides: 29 June 2009]. I wanted to bring across the message that the group of teachers is special, in the sense that they were the only UNESCO funded project operating along the specific project guidelines in the whole of Southern Africa. As mentioned by some participants [e.g. Fieldnotes: 31 July 2011] and also highlighted by Madon et al. (2009), Happy Valley, like most other isolated communities have experienced attempts by "outsiders" to profit from them. I felt I had to counter the possibility of such consciousness and causes of prior repressive events, and therefore tried to dignify them, acknowledge them, and build inspiration. I also wanted them to realise their privileged position, but also the responsibility that comes with this position. I considered it as a way also to ensure participation and commitment. It was relatively easy for me apply these motivating factors, because I had Mrs Dlamini's support and blessing and was working under her authority.

When the course started the following day, we had absolutely no lack of commitment and dedication. The teachers were on time and stayed long after our planned schedule. In fact, most of them ignored the proposed schedule and work right through their lunches, and tea times. I was amazed at this utmost and raw commitment and dedication. I obviously flourished on this, being who I am. I responded with the same commitment. I noted that some of my younger colleagues seemed to tire a bit sooner than me. I let them go off a take a rest during the training sessions.

Because the two-week training intervention was absolutely packed with activities, I didn't have time to talk to the teachers about their experiences or deeply observe and reflect on their reactions to the new ICT phenomena that they were confronted with. Also, I hadn't built many friendships and openness yet. Even Mrs Dlamini felt a bit distant in that regard. It was only when I came back on the 25th of August for a certification ceremony and to initiate more training, that I began to realise the impact and value of what had happened. When I had more focussed conversations with people in April and June 2010, I also realised why some people seemed so intimidated by the training event.

Mrs Dlamini's authority and role in the community and school allowed us to slot into an existing structure of leadership and power. Her position of power became an emancipatory power in the project (Avgerou, 2007). Our collaboration and alignment with her also became a very strong emancipatory practice. It provided a safe and productive environment for us and the teachers to function in, confirming also the importance of a school's leadership in such activities (Chigona and Chigona, 2010). Although it may provide an alternate perspective and conceptual lens to look at the social phenomena, it is worth noting that, drawing from the Capability Approach by Amartya Sen, Mrs Dlamini's leadership and the respect teachers had for her, provided a social arrangement and one of the necessary sets of conversion factors (Zheng, 2009) for us and the teachers to fully achieve in the project.

5.7 Visual summary of community entry, enculturation and introducing the ICT4D artefact

After the training intervention and while visiting the community again in August 2009, I finalised two reports to UNESCO on our training approaches and the applicability of their ICT Competency Standards for Teachers (ICT-CST) policy framework (See Krauss et al. 2009 and Krauss, 2013). I also published a paper based on my fieldwork experiences where I prepared a model (see Appendix E) that visualised the lessons learnt from the community entry phases of the project (see Krauss, 2013).

However, as I matured in the project and gradually developed an ability to explain and articulate deeper reasons (*why* issues) for differences and collisions, I realised that the issue of value conflicts and collisions between worldviews as well as the outsider ICT4D researcher-practitioner's need for emancipation and empowerment also need to be included as important themes in a model for community entry and ICT4D implementation. I eventually concluded with the model in Figure 5.1, which I present as *A model for ethical community entry conduct and introducing the ICT4D artefact in deep rural communities in South Africa*. The guidelines for introducing the ICT4D artefact shown in model in Figure 5.1 guided much of my way forward in the Happy Valley project. Each concept in the model was something that I wanted to explore to seek out stories of confirmation.

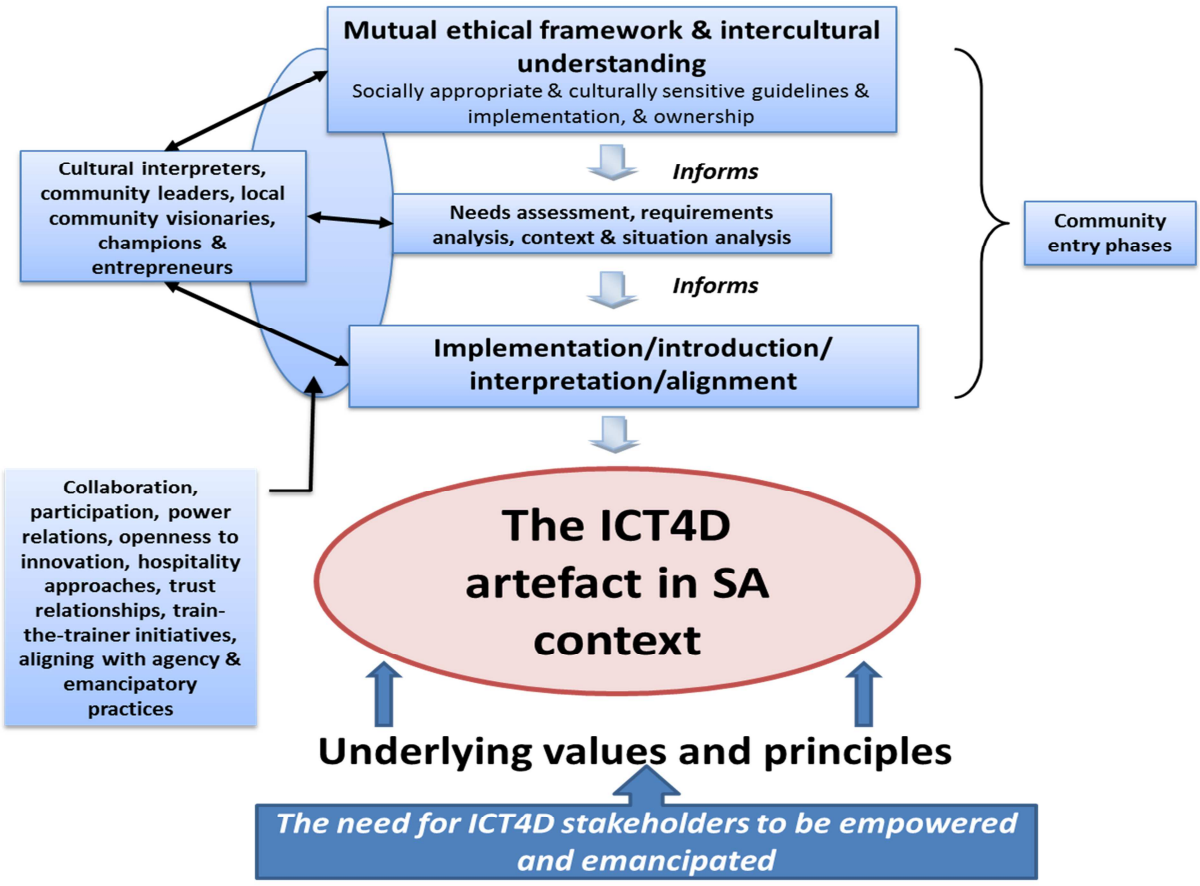


Figure 5-1: A model for ethical community entry conduct and introducing the ICT4D artefact in deep rural communities in South Africa

Figure 5.1 visually integrates:

- the community entry phases of policy implementation in deep rural situations,
- ethical research practice and appropriate and culturally sensitive community engagement,
- the importance of a collaborative needs or situation analysis as part of community entry,
- appropriate alignment with local leadership, ownership, and power relations,
- the need to examine individual situations,
- the importance of trust relationships with cultural interpreters and community visionaries as advisories and equal partners, and the subsequent collaboration in introducing and understanding the ICT4D artefact,
- the underlying and possible contradicting values that project stakeholders and participators may assume (explained in detail in Chapters 6 and 7), and
- the need for ICT4D stakeholders, both the "developed" and "developing", to be empowered and emancipated from possible misconceptions and ethnocentric thinking and approaches.

This model is only a brief visual overview of community entry and ICT4D implementation guidelines. The detailed narrative descriptions in Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 explain how to apply and understand this model. Also, the issue of underlying values and subsequent worldview collisions are elaborated upon in detail in Chapter 6 and 7.

5.8 ICT training – a new cultural phenomena

Western logic is embedded in ICTs (Thompson, 2004) which implies that for deep rural African cultures, learning new ICTs equates to an intercultural encounter (Krauss, 2013). In this section I reflect on the ICT training and some of my observations on the struggles I noted in people.

For some teachers, such as the pre-school teacher and the Zulu teacher, the computer was an absolutely brand new phenomenon. Many times during the training we had to sit down to allow the teachers to practice things like the difference between a mouse *click* and a *double-click*. On the extreme there were those who struggled at least a day to successfully click on a button or icon. The phenomenon of keeping a mouse dead-still during the two clicks of a double-click was impossible for some in the beginning. In many case their actions resulted in a *move*. The timing between two clicks also was an issue: two clicks following each other and executed too slow is two clicks and not a double-click.

Another example was the issue of clicking *on* a button. In several cases when I told a student to click *on* a button he or she would move the mouse curser above the button and then try to click. I never found a way to explain this verbally in the end. I always had to demonstrate what I meant by *clicking on the button*, and even then I had students who didn't get it the first time. In some cases I had to actually put my hand on top of the student's hand to make her or him feel my movements and clicking. In the end I could not predict who would react in certain ways to new ICT phenomena. In most cases I believe that the distinguishing factor is simply prior exposure to new technologies. If you had prior exposure to the computer or some Western technologies, your learning is somewhat easier.

For me personally, though, this way of teaching also was a new phenomenon. There are many assumptions one makes about prior knowledge your students have. However, in these cases and during this training intervention, there was absolutely no foreknowledge or frame of reference to place new computer concepts into. We had to create that frame of reference as we went along. As I matured in ICT training phenomena I found the cell phone to be a useful metaphor to initiate learning right in the beginning. For example, I could use the cell phone's menu button as a metaphor

to explain the computer's *Start* button. I was not as experienced at that stage, though and had not developed "best practices" yet.

What made the training successful in the end? Three things I believe. The first was Mrs Dlamini's ownership and established position in the community of teachers. For all of us, the direction she provided, both in terms of leadership and power, emerged as a strong emancipatory practice that we could align with. We could function under her leadership, authority, and the social arrangement that she established. Secondly; patience, patience, patience. The most basic way to mess up a training intervention like this is to lose your patience. And then with patience comes, repetition and innovation – continuously re-framing new concepts in new ways, trying to find innovative ways to explain them, coming up with new and innovative training ideas and metaphors, and so forth. Thirdly, you need to establish the commitment and buy in of the people you are training. Without their commitment you as trainer cannot respond. Establishing such reciprocity, though, takes time, reflexivity, and the agency role of a gatekeeper.

After many such training experiences over a three-year period and also observing how some of the teachers did the training themselves, I have established guidelines for deep rural computer literacy training, i.e. building onto the local ways of doing things also for a training event.

5.8.1 Unknowingly disrespectful

This brief story is an attempt to show that my cultural mannerisms made me behave disrespectfully even though I tried avoiding it. During a specific training session I was explaining a computer concept to an older man (in his fifties). After demonstrating the concept, I teasingly pressed the *Undo* button a couple of times, and told him to now do it himself. He laughed somewhat embarrassingly and then tried it on his own. I would've never made anything of it until Jacob, who was watching me, took me aside and told me that what I did was disrespectful. "You don't make jokes with older people like that", he said. I had absolutely no idea.

In Chapter 4 I noted that it was especially during the early stages of community engagement and enculturation, when the people did not know me yet and didn't have time to fully come to terms with my intentions and motivations, that I experienced a type of insecurity in dealing with people and gaining reciprocity. This was a perfect example of such a scenario, and I believe there were many other cases that I didn't know about.

What did I learn from it? Well, the most important lesson was the value of befriending cultural interpreters, who understand your outsider background, with whom you can build an open trust

relationship, and who can actually guide you in intercultural matters. For me, Jacob was this cultural interpreter. I also learnt about traditional social structures and how to more carefully engage with elders in the community.

5.8.2 Reproducing computer phobia (IT-stress)

The story of Mr Ndlovu probably was one of the most tragic events during the training intervention. My observation of him was that he came to the training with a fair level of confidence, but left the training event traumatised and embarrassed. He was one of the few teachers at Happy Valley School who had a degree in teaching and who also assumed a mentorship role for his younger colleagues. His struggles with the computer training, however, and the fact that he was the only one to get a supplementary exam, seemed to put him down in front of his colleagues. The story broadly unfolded as follows.

On the first and second days of the first week, Jacob introduced the teachers to MSWord. He was very patient and I especially noted his friendly ways with the local people. However, on the Wednesday another colleague of mine, Solomon, introduced the teachers to MS Excel. He, however, was simply relentless in his ways. He stormed in with a goal-orientated approach, pushing to cover specific topics that he had concluded are important, without proper reflection on how his fast and relentless pace could possibly affect the teachers' confidence, prior computer fears and phobia, motivation, and sense of achievement. He had a way of "talking" the teachers through a concept rather than allowing them to practice the concept in their own time and way. Jacob and I quite quickly realised that there was a problem. His assessment on the choice of topic was really relevant to the teachers' work, though. For example, he addressed concepts (e.g. the VLOOKUP function, linking and hyperlink, the AutoFilter Command, etc.) that could help teachers organise subject marks in spread sheets. But much of that involved calculations. Solomon's goal-orientated approaches were destructive and had an impact on the teachers' confidence. Almost everybody noted how "difficult" MS Excel is, while I knew that much of their perceptions were because of his approach.

Solomon also was not as observant and sensitive to the teachers as Jacob and I were. We both hinted to the problem during the training, but it just didn't seem to faze him at all. On the Thursday morning Solomon continued pushing. The more the teachers struggled, the more he pushed, because "time was running out" and there were still some things to cover. By Thursday early afternoon, I had to step in. As project leader, and seeing the bigger picture, I realised that this might end up in a disaster if I don't do something. I, therefore, against my own nature asked Solomon to excuse himself from the training. He obviously was quite offended at my stepping into the situation.

My assessment of the situation was that a couple of the teachers were quite traumatised and that because of the social arrangement of the training intervention, they couldn't appose Solomon or ask him to slow down. Solomon also was not open to it. I had to come up with a strategy that could rectify the situation without placing Solomon in a bad light in front of the teachers.

I decided to leave MS Excel for a moment and to do some MS Word revision. I decided to spend the whole of Friday morning to follow a softer and people-orientated approach during the Excel revision. I had to again find ways to turn around "prior" disruptive approaches that caused computer phobia, fear, and anxiety. That evening Jacob and I had a very long chat with Solomon. It took him quite a while to see our point and to back off. For me it was quite a difficult part of the training, because of the conflict that had now erupted and because I wanted the teachers' first experiences with a computer to be positive. I wanted to establish a foundation and sense of achievement that they could build upon in the future.

So Friday morning I started with something similar than on the first day, where I place everything in perspective, explaining the positives aspects of the topics that Solomon addressed, but that I would do revision in a slower and more people-orientated way. It was tough though, but I managed to again create some understanding and sense of achievement. As I explained things to Malusi, he made an interesting remark. He said that; "for Excel we need a Solomon and a Kirstin" [Fieldnotes: 23 August 2009]. I understood that Solomon explained the concepts, and I had a way of opening them up. Again I had to sit down and reflect about what I did right.

Mr Ndlovu though, never recovered from this event. During the exam on the Friday afternoon, I noted his hands shaking during the exam. Given the situation, I felt that I should allow him a supplementary exam, which he wrote on the 26th of August when I visited the community again. I argued that because he had some time to practice (July and August), he should be better off than to put him under the pressure of a rewrite immediately. On the 26th of August, when I gave him the supplementary exam he barely made it with 50%. And even then, during the rewrite he was shaking while he was trying to complete the exam and do very simply things. I was concerned, because I observed him to be an intelligent and capable man. On the evening of the 26th, we did a certification ceremony where we handed out all the certificates of the July training. I told Mr Ndlovu that I will reveal his mark then. However, he disappeared – it was as if he almost fled the scene. I think that he was so scared and embarrassed that he simply couldn't face the possibility of failure and disappointment. I reflected a lot on his case, but never had the opportunity to chat with him again.

Scenarios like Mr Ndlovu's made me reflect about how to avoid disruptive and abusive behaviour that would reinforce prior repressive beliefs or experiences (Roode, 1993; Thompson, 2008; Madon et al., 2009; Zheng, 2009; Chigona and Chigona, 2010). During this whole event, I believe that the problem didn't lie with the community and anyone in the community but rather with us as outsiders. We didn't fully understand prior false consciousnesses, the situation and context, existing fears and beliefs, the difficulties and stresses associated of learning new IT concepts and at the same time make some type of cultural transition, and even how to be ethically reflexive (Stahl, 2008) throughout.

It was during these times that I was confronted by my own needs, social entrapments, inabilities, and false consciousnesses in the social phenomena. Since this training event I had several opportunities to refine my approaches to IT training specifically (see Table 5.1 for times and key fieldwork events after community entry was established) and even in other community projects (Krauss and Fourie, 2010; Matthee and Krauss, 2010). However, as I highlighted before, my learnings were still about the *what* and *how* of avoiding abusive and disruptive behaviour during training and community engagement. During January 2010 and April 2010 I started to understand and "live" (Whyte, 1996) the underlying values that underpinned the local people's intuitive behaviour in the social phenomena.

Date	Event	Purpose and lessons learnt
The start of active participant-observation: discovering fieldwork collisions, topic discovery continues		
27 June – 12 July 2009	UNESCO funded teacher training project	First hands-on ICT training intervention, train-the-trainer initiatives, further fact-finding by the teachers themselves, building relationships with cultural interpreters
24-27 August 2009	Field trip to assist in community-owned training, and a certificate ceremony	The project is officially accepted as part of the community at the certification ceremony, ongoing fieldwork, laying the groundwork for further data collection
August to November 2009	Community-owned training of local nurses	Local teachers facilitate a computer literacy course for the nurses at the local hospice
24-26 November 2009	Field trip to finalize community-owned training, meeting traditional leadership	Nurses write exams, the researcher meets the local king, key learnings on traditional leadership
Becoming a member phases		
22-24 January 2010	A cultural interpreter visits the researcher's home	Lungile and Nonhle spend a few days at the researcher's home: lessons on friendships and hospitality, people, relationships, values and culture
19 March 2010	Testing an initial fieldwork instrument	Learning about doing interviews and conversations

22-24 March 2010	Spending time with key cultural interpreters	Learning about fieldwork, relationships, and conversations
Being-a-member phases: learning about value conflicts, articulating key collisions between worldviews		
4-10 April 2010	Fieldtrip and ongoing IT training for teachers, first meeting with Bongani, a local business owner and entrepreneur	Start of planned conversations, building concepts around people-orientatedness and worldview collisions
19-20 April 2010	Annual grade 11 campus trip	Reciprocity continues
April – June 2010	Ongoing community-owned training for nurses	Local teachers facilitates a further training course for the nurses from the local hospice
1-11 July 2010	Follow-up teacher training	More planned conversations, doing fieldwork as an insider, building concepts around people-orientatedness and collisions between worldviews
24-25 September 2010	Planning a community owned business start-up	Second meeting with Bongani to plan training courses
5 February 2011 – 16 April 2011	First fully community owned course takes place	Philani and Bongani commences with a community-owned course, ongoing manifestations of collisions
20-22 April 2011	Annual grade 11 campus trip	Reciprocity continues
11-12 March 2011	Train-the-trainer workshop starts	Attempts to expand local capacity and Bongani's business venture, sustainability struggles
16 April – 2 July 2011	Second community owned course takes place	Ongoing capacity building and support of local initiatives
1-2 July 2011	Train-the-trainer workshop exams and end of workshop	Worldview collisions intensifies
30 July 2011 – 7 August 2011	Philani visits the researcher's home in Pretoria	Confirmation of lessons learn, final clarification of worldview collisions, discussion of exit strategies
Start of exist strategies		
21 July 2011	Exit strategies officially start	Final realisation of ICT business failure
2 July – November 2011	Failed community owned courses	Ongoing attempt to facilitate ICT training courses, failure of a business venture
14 December 2011	Letter to Philani and Bongani	Official end of fieldwork visits and ICT4D sustainability attempts
8 January 2012	Phone call from Philani	Closure, the researcher is still considered member regardless of conflict and business failure
2012 to date	Annual campus trip continues in the absence of the researcher, ongoing friendships with some community members continue.	Evidence of acceptance, membership, and embeddedness in the social phenomena

Table 5.1: Key fieldwork events after community entry was established

5.9 Conclusions

In this chapter I conclude the topic discovery and enculturation phases of ethnographic immersion in the Happy Valley project. I explain how the project gained momentum and include a number of stories on community entry lessons and how emancipation started. I reflect on how criticality initially developed and how it guided the research and practical aspects of project planning. I summarise theoretical themes and demonstrate how those themes were practically implemented in the project planning phases. I reflect on stories of "follow-through", after implementation service, and related sustainability challenges. I also discuss how my understanding of the collisions that emerged during enculturation matured and subsequently guided ongoing emancipatory action. The chapter concludes with a model for ethical community entry conduct and some examples of disruptive ICT training approaches. In the following chapter I will reflect on critical reflexivity, the being-a-member phases of the Happy Valley project, and eventually how I was able to articulate fieldwork collisions and *why* reasons for worldview collisions.

CHAPTER 6
Critical reflexivity and collisions in the social situation

6.1 Preamble

In the previous two chapters, the emphasis was on how the Happy Valley project evolved, the community entry phases of the project in particular, and how I developed as a more skilful and emancipated ICT4D researcher-practitioner. During the community entry phases I alluded to collisions between the different worldviews that I observed in the ICT4D social situation. I also highlighted the impact that different views of reality had on intercultural communication and misunderstandings that occurred during fieldwork.

The purpose of this and the following chapter is to reflect on and describe the key collision that emerged from the ICT4D phenomena. The primary data emphasis therefore is on how my learnings evolved as opposed to how the Happy Valley project developed. Consequently, only the most remarkable and most relevant stories of learning and emancipation will be put forward and not necessarily everything that contributed to my understandings of key collisions.

This chapter commences with a discourse on critical reflexivity and how it assisted me to understand collisions between different worldviews, as I went into the being-a-member phases of the research. In the chapter that follows, I explain how my understanding of the social phenomena of collisions evolved as I moved from outsider to an embedded insider. Towards the end of the next chapter I explain the implications of my findings for ICT4D research and practice. Essentially I theorise the social situation as an embedded insider or as someone who have been carried away by the game of ICT4D social interaction.

In retrospect, I have to note that I found it easier to write the first two data chapters (Chapters 4 and 5), because I was telling the story of how a project started and evolved. This and the following chapter, however, are different. I have to reflect on how my learnings evolved and I have to move back and forth in time to build a coherent account of my findings and to hopefully draw the reader into the process.

6.2 Introduction

As a critical theorist I can identify and reflect on many moments of emancipation, change, and transformation throughout the Happy Valley project. As ethnographer, however, I was discovering a

"culture" of an ICT4D project in a deep rural Zulu community, where I played a key role. I discovered the underlying values and the collisions that made the people I worked with function in particular ways.

In order to complete my PhD, I had to make a choice on what to emphasise and include in my thesis, though. Thomas (1993) holds that what eventually turns out to be relevant data, emerges much sooner and tighter for the critical ethnographer. I opted to specifically investigate value conflicts or collisions between the different worldviews that I observed within the Happy Valley project. More specifically, I was focussing on the collisions between the typical Western worldview, of which I initially considered myself to be part of, and the worldview of the Happy Valley people as it manifested in the project. Although I had quite early on recognised that my frustrations, inabilities, and perceived difficulties were possibly the result of value conflicts, and conflicting beliefs, expectations, assumptions, or agendas, I was not able to fully articulate these conflicts or explain what underpinned them [Fieldnotes: 23 July 2009]. In fact, after the first training intervention in June 2009 (see Table 4.1), I wrote a paper where I reflected on this specific issue (see Krauss, 2013). But even at that stage, I was not able to fully explain or articulate deeper reasons (*why* issues) for differences and collisions.

A secondary reason for focussing was more of a practical nature. I wanted to complete my PhD work within a reasonable timeframe and number of pages, and the data I collected over a three year period offered me much more. My immersion in the social phenomena and in a community of caregivers or development agents still makes it possible to write about many other moments of social transformation.

In my research, I started out with a critical position of enquiry. While writing my final data chapters, however, I debated the issue of paradigm and orientation to knowledge with my supervisor. It revolved around whether my research is indeed critical, or whether it is interpretive with strong elements of critical reflexivity (Howcroft and Trauth, 2005; Myers and Klein, 2011) and suspicion (Klein and Myers, 1999). During my final data emphasis and exploring value conflicts, I put forward my own emancipation as a primary outcome and evidence of social transformation. I argued that the self-emancipation of the outsider researcher and practitioner is a prerequisite for critical research and that putting forward my own self-emancipation as a key research outcome, therefore, is sufficient for it to be framed as critical research. My supervisor, however, argued that pursuing social change primarily within myself may not be considered sufficient enough for my research to be framed as critical and that change should also be seen in the research participants.

As a result of this debate I had to pause and reflect on what I was doing and how approach, paradigm, and research results aligned. I also realised that there is a strong possibility that others might not agree that putting forward my own social transformation as a primary research outcome is sufficient for critical research. I realised that some might even argue for it to be arrogant to put forward my own need for emancipation while I engage with a community that are perceived by outsiders as deprived and oppressed in many ways. I therefore paid close attention to the connection between the self-emancipation of the researcher, the emancipation of the researched, and ethics (Stahl, 2008; Krauss and Turpin, 2013). Myers and Klein (2011) citing Alvesson and Wilmott (1992), state that "all critical social theory is oriented toward facilitating the realization of human needs and potential, critical self-reflection, and associated self-transformation" (p. 25) (also see Appendix D). Similarly, therefore I argue for a close link between the self-emancipation of the researcher and the researched.

I subsequently frame my final data emphasis as both interpretive and critical. The argument being that I describe the "status quo" of collisions between different worldviews, and its implications for ICT4D research and practice. The change that I described was primarily that of my own worldview, with some evidence of change in my research partners, and hopefully I can also affect change in my readers. Insight cannot be separated from critique (Klein and Myers, 1999; Schultze, 2000; McGrath, 2005; Myers and Klein, 2011). "In any insight there lies a critical element in the sense that a prior understanding is at least implicitly seen as being insufficient. Critique builds upon insight." (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000: 144). Like Walsham (2005; 2006), I believe interpretive research can also be critical and that the two paradigms strongly overlap. And maybe my deep involvement also caused me to be so socialised with the views of the people (Walsham, 2006), that I lost the benefit of objectivity and critical distance to certain degree, and that ultimately I was changed.

Critical reflexivity is considered as the methodology of critical research (Stahl, Tremblay and LeRouge, 2011; Krauss and Turpin, 2013). A critical methodology requires critical reflexivity on the part of the critical researcher, i.e. "*interpretation of interpretation* [sic] and the launching of critical self-exploration of one's own interpretations of empirical material (including its construction)" (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000: 6). I therefore had to be aware of issues raised by my approaches (Howcroft and Trauth, 2005; McGrath, 2005; Kvasny and Richardson, 2006; Stahl, Tremblay and LeRouge, 2011). In the end, though, I did critical reflexivity with a good degree of introspection[2], and therefore, highlight *critical introspection* as the methodology of self-emancipation and a central

[2] Referring to a combination of sources (Sternberg, 1998; Encarta World English Dictionary, 1999; merriam-webster online dictionary), I define introspection as the detailed and reflective self-examination of inner ideas, experiences, feelings, thoughts, and motives, especially for long periods of time.

aspect of my research. Through critical reflexivity, I learned how to question and be critical of my own cultural entrapment, ethnocentrism, and the assumptions and mechanisms in my own mind that might sustain repression. That is, the underlying assumptions, beliefs, values, motives, and expectations embedded in my own view on emancipation, achievement, oppression, suffering, and freedom. As a prerequisite for being able to critically interpret social phenomena, I reflect on my own intolerances and misguided perceptions, and false consciousness about my position and perceived enlightenment, and therefore my own need for emancipation. Since I started out as outsider, I can use confessional writing to also draw my readers and others like me into the process of self-emancipation, critical reflexivity, and the change that I experienced.

6.3 Reflexivity struggles

The first two weeks of active participant-observation during the first training intervention in June 2009 (see Table 4.1) made a huge impression on me as outsider. I captured my first impressions and struggles in self-reflexivity as follows:

> "… I … had the opportunity to train teachers in basic ICTs in a rural South African community and what a different set of variables it was for my Western, goal-orientated mind! In this untouched [not affected much by Western capitalism and development] community … a completely different view of reality exists. Coming from a background of teaching and knowing the importance of relating new knowledge to existing experience, I was constantly confronted with trying to find similarities in this 'new' social system in order for me to firstly, make sense of the environment and people, and secondly, try and make myself clear during the training sessions.
>
> I had to constantly ask myself whether what I assume is the same as what 'they' assume. At some stage I felt helpless for not having the same frame of reference and for not understanding the way they understand. Every time I talk or teach, I have to question, not only the clarity of what I say, but also how I say it, as well as the preconceived ideas I assume they have about what I want so say. It really opened my eyes to the different worlds of Afrocentricity and Eurocentricity [since this was quite early in the research, I was still broadly framing the two worldviews I observed as such] and especially the systems by which people value themselves and what they do. My interactions with the community, laughing at their jokes (which I mostly gathered through their body language) and my feeble efforts to gain their trust were constantly challenged by my consistent misunderstandings of their different cultural world. Was it not for some of my 'cultural interpreting' colleagues, I would have probably unknowingly offended and lost the very people I tried to collaborate with in this 'meeting of minds'. In doing my ICT-related

development work, I was challenged by a uniquely different social reality. …" [Fieldnotes: 23 July 2009]

Intercultural communication and understanding the different worldviews were my greatest challenges during this time. In my fieldnotes I wrote down some impressions about collisions between worldviews (or symptoms I observed in myself), but I didn't fully understand the new reality I was confronted with. In my fieldnotes and prior chapters I alluded to the fact that there is a different set of values by which the local people construct meaning and weave logic. I also noted my own frustrations and struggles in the phenomena, that it was in conflict with my own goal-orientatedness, and that I could not articulate the collisions or reasons for my struggles. During the training interventions I noted the following in my fieldnotes:

> "the sympathetic meeting of minds is even more complicated as we try to not only understand meaning but also the underlying cultural context and value systems from which meaning emanates." [Fieldnotes: 23 July 2009].

During our first fieldtrip Martha made considerable effort to explain some intricacies of the Zulu people, which I honestly didn't understand fully at that stage. Among other things she suggested that "loyalty is to the Zulu what integrity is to the white man" [Fieldnotes: 19 February 2009]. She noted that it is often these conflicting values that cause the breakdown of intercultural collaboration in community engagement initiatives [Fieldnotes: 19 February 2009]. It was a concept that I was trying to understand from the outside. In fact there were stages where I wrote down things that I only understood much later, such as my reflections on conflicting values. During our early engagements, Martha also explained some of her observations of previous outsider development initiatives. She noted that Westerners are often driven by the need to meet deadlines and achieve objectives, and in the process they disregard local protocol and social structures. Zulu's on the other hand are courteous and do not push for their ideas and agendas to be noted, respected, or followed. When they are not respected and the right people not acknowledged they would simply not accept and take ownership of a development idea in such cases [Fieldnotes: 19 February 2009]. I was adamant to not repeat any of those mistakes or reinforce some existing oppressive belief or situation. I was especially sensitised to my role as outsider researcher-practitioner and producer of knowledge, and the mediations and negotiations that are associated with this role, and specifically the extent to which I (and others like me) may be implicated in the mechanisms that promote repression in the social phenomena (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990; Howcroft and Trauth, 2005; Stahl, 2008). Ethical conduct in emancipatory research was what I was trying to understand and pursue.

6.3.1 Seeking criteria for critical research

Establishing and understanding criteria for critical research formed a central part of maturing in critical reflexivity and building knowledge about collisions between different worldviews. During the process of writing my results chapters I often had to pause and revisit the ontological and epistemological assumptions that guided my fieldwork as well as the process of interpretation and analysis of data that was very much part of ongoing fieldwork. This helped me to gain clarity on my own orientations to knowledge.

During my own reflexivity struggles and while exploring Klein and Myers' (1999) principle of suspicion, I compiled a "lens" or framework for identifying criticality in social phenomena (see Appendix A). This framework was based on what constitutes evidence of criticality according to the key sources I read. It was also a result of an effort to try and organise my "data". I compiled this list also because sources on critical hermeneutics and critical ethnography (Hammersley, 1992; Thomas, 1993; Myers, 1997; Harvey and Myers, 2002; Myers, 2009) suggest that data treatment involves seeking out contradictions, oppositions, tensions, and conflicts in the social situation. This lens proved especially useful for reminding me about *how* to explore Klein and Myers' (1999) principle of suspicion and to identify moments of criticality within myself, my fieldwork, and the data. This lens combined with critical reflexivity became my primary data treatment (read data analysis) approach.

Howcroft and Trauth's (2005) five key themes or foci for shaping a critical epistemology, provided a further useful framework for guiding my approaches and seeking out contradictions, oppositions, tensions, and conflicts in the social situation. Their five themes overlap considerably with what I have in Appendix A. Their five themes are briefly discussed below.

Howcroft and Trauth's (2005) first theme is **emancipation.** It is a theme evident in all the different critical streams (Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005; Myers and Klein, 2011). According to Howcroft and Trauth (2005) emancipation implies a commitment to free people from repression sustaining power relations evident in social phenomena. A key objective of critical research is to address "the oppositions, conflicts and contradictions in contemporary society, and to be emancipatory in that it should help to eliminate the causes of alienation and domination" (Myers and Avison, 2002: 7). Howcroft and Trauth's (2005) second theme is the **critique of tradition**. The purpose of this theme is to disrupt the status quo rather than simply reproducing it. Citing Doolin (1998), Howcroft and Trauth (2005) hold that "c[C]ritical research questions and deconstructs the taken-for-granted assumptions inherent in the status quo, and interprets organizational activity … by recourse to a wider social, political, historical, economic and ideological context" (p. 3). The third theme is **non-performative intent**. This theme "rejects a view of action that is guided only by economic efficiency

[i.e. producing maximum output for minimum input] as opposed to a concern for social relations and all that is associated with this." (Howcroft and Trauth, 2005: 4). The fourth theme is about the **critique of technological determinism**. Citing Bijker (1995), Howcroft and Trauth, (2005) explain that it challenges "discourse surrounding socio-economic change … which assumes that technological development is autonomous and that societal development is determined by the technology" (p. 4). "C[c]ritical literature seeks to conceptualize technology development, adoption and use within the context of broader social and economic changes." (Howcroft and Trauth, 2005: 4). The fifth theme is **reflexivity**, which highlights a "methodological distinction between critical and more mainstream IS research" (Howcroft and Trauth, 2005: 4). Critiquing objectivity this theme "questions the validity of objective, value-free knowledge and information that is available, noting how this is often shaped by structures of power and interests." (p. 4). Critical reflexivity provides reflections on the role of the researcher as a producer of knowledge, and specifically the extent to which the researcher is implicated in the mechanisms that promotes repression in the social phenomena (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990; Howcroft and Trauth, 2005; Stahl, 2008).

I found Myers and Klein's (2011) set of principles for critical research (see Appendix D) quite summative, aligning with the themes from Howcroft and Trauth (2005) and that which I had summarised in Appendix A. However, since Myers and Klein (2011) published their paper after I had completed most of my fieldwork, I applied their set of principles to retrospectively gauge to which degree I addressed the necessary aspects of critical research (briefly demonstrated in the next section). While doing so, I remained mindful that Myers and Klein (2011) noted that the mandate of critical research cannot be captured by a fixed set of principles, that their principles should not be viewed as canons to limit the kinds of research that IS researcher may conduct, and that their principles should not be used in a mechanistic manner but rather with judgement and discretion on whether, how and which of the principles should be used in a given project. Also, critical IS research seems to still be in a process of evolution (Myers and Klein, 2011) and hopefully my study can contribute to that debate.

6.3.2 Ethics, ICT4D, and critical research

The ethical nature of critical research has been discussed in Section 1.2.1. In this section I will briefly reflect on some ethical considerations in context of development and ICTs.

The ethical goals of ICT4D research and practice should include "how we can use ICTs to support the poor of the world, not just the formal sectors and the economically well off." (Walsham, 2012: 91). ICT4D research and practice should therefore be underpinned by a strong ethical agenda. Du Plooy

and Roode (1993) explicitly reflect on ethical considerations in context of ICTs and economic development. They associated several of the themes of critical research mentioned above to the concept of ethics (also see Stahl, 2006, 2008; Mthoko and Pade-Khene, 2013). Although Du Plooy and Roode (1993) critique concepts such as "uncritical technoidolatry" (p. 7), "technocracy" (p. 8), "technopoly" (p. 8), and "technological Utopianism" (p. 9), one can infer that in order to be ethical in development practice and discourses, one should be sensitised to the themes of non-performative intent and the critique of technological determinism (Howcroft and Trauth, 2005). On a slightly more implicit level, Du Plooy and Roode (1993) support the themes of emancipation, the critique of tradition, and the principle of taking a value position (Myers and Klein, 2011) in critical research. In context of economic development and the need for survival in developing situations, there is a risk that people may be exploited (Du Plooy and Roode, 1993). The introduction of ICTs can enhance discrimination and support for those that are already in positions of power (Stahl, 2006; Walsham, 2012). In order to be ethical, development should be seen as a multidimensional process that involves social structures, popular attitudes, addressing inequality, freedom from servitude, and so forth (Du Plooy and Roode, 1993; Walsham, 2012). ICTs are a product of a particular economic and political context, and therefore carry with it a philosophy and agenda (Postman, 1992 in Du Plooy and Roode, 1993). This should be exposed and critiqued (Thomas, 1993; Stahl, 2008; Walsham, 2012).

Supporting the idea of emancipation, Du Plooy and Roode (1993) argue that ethical development discourses and practice should also address "low levels of living, low self-esteem, and limited freedom" (p. 4) and power relations in development. The idea of nurturing a person's self-esteem (or right to be a person) and each individual's search for meaning, supports the idea that I put forward in this thesis which about understanding alternate ways in which people want to portray identity and self-respect (see Sections 5.3.2 and 5.11). This is central to emancipation and ethical research.

Supporting the idea of worldview collisions, Du Plooy and Roode (1993), citing Boland (1987), note that ICT has embedded in it, the worldview of the designer and that ethical research should heed against the fact that technology can engulf the traditions and values of people or impose worldviews, which may lead to phenomena such as technostress and cyberphobia (Du Plooy and Roode, 1993) (in Section 5.8.2 I presented such an example).

Furthermore, ethical ICT4D discourses should challenge "uncritical technoidolatry" (Du Plooy and Roode, 1993: 7) and the view that the ICT4D artefact is ahistorical and decontextualized. This, subsequently, makes the link between critical research, which is sensitive to historicity and context,

and the idea of ethics. Throughout their paper Du Plooy and Roode (1993) take a value position of social responsibility and avoiding the careless infusion of ICTs into the dynamics of development communities. The concept and idea of development is, therefore, ethically laden (Walsham, 2012; Gasper, 2009 in Mthoko and Pade-Khene, 2013).

6.3.3 Reflecting on a value position and ethical conduct

Central to my critical ethnographic work was that I had to understand my value position (Thomas, 1993; Myers and Klein, 2011). In context of my study my value position relates to the careless and disruptive diffusion of ICT into the social dynamics of the developing community (Du Plooy and Roode, 1993; Avgerou, 2009), and the importance of negotiating the implications of existing repression sustaining ideologies, beliefs, and practices evident in those perceived to participate in the ICT4D discourses. Moreover, I was determined to align with the emancipatory interests and practices of the Happy Valley people and not to reinforce hopelessness and discouragement through further destructive ICT4D initiatives (Zheng, 2009). Throughout the project these remained key guiding principles I adopted.

I furthermore consider critical reflexivity and critical introspection – i.e. critiquing my own repression sustaining mechanisms and assumptions, as well as the social conditions of the sense-making relationship I have with the social phenomena – a central aspect of ethical research (Bourdieu, 1977, 1998; Stahl, 2008). Concurring with Bourdieu, I argue that it is important for an adequate understanding of the social situation. Given the assumptions of critical research (ontology and epistemology) I argue that ethical research and practice imply critical research and practice (Stahl, 2008). This value position is what guided me in applying the principles from Myers and Klein (2011) and others.

I thus argue that ethical ICT4D research and practice imply that introducing the ICT4D artefact should involve a deep and careful critical reflexivity (Stahl, 2008) (also see Howcroft and Trauth's (2005) fifth theme) on the part of the researcher in order to challenge the outsider-researcher's own cultural entrapment and ethnocentrism (Principle 3 from Myers and Klein (2011)) that might have emanated from an assumed position of power, enlightenment, and so-called "developed" and "educated" view of reality (also see historicity and prejudice from Klein and Myers (1999)). I consequently argue that ethical research and practice should commence with a critical position of enquiry where the researcher challenges his/her own assumptions, beliefs, practices, and conscious or subconscious perceptions about power, position, and enlightenment regarding what is understood as emancipation, empowerment, and true upliftment (Lee, 1999; Čečez-Kecmanović,

Klein and Brooke, 2008; Stahl, 2008). Only then can the researcher begin to open up and understand meaning from within the lifeworld, assumptions, and social context of the local people, and begin to perceive and interpret that which might keep people in a state of repression, non-emancipation and non-enlightenment (Principle 4). In fact, I consider it ethical to firstly address the researcher's own false consciousness, cultural entrapment, and ethnocentrism before attempting to pursue the emancipation of the researched, i.e. through applying critical reflexivity (Bourdieu, 1977, 1998; Stahl, 2008). In this sense, the researcher should be part of the social phenomena and a participator in self-emancipation (Principle 4). The questioning of the researcher's own beliefs, assumptions and practices is, therefore, a prerequisite for ethical research and practice. This challenging of my own preconceptions, assumptions, ethnocentrism, and cultural entrapment (Principle 3 and Howcroft and Trauth's (2005) fifth theme) was most prominent during the becoming-a-member phases of ethnographic fieldwork (see Table 5.1). It was during these phases that I was most challenged with regard to my own cultural entrapment and ethnocentric approaches and views.

6.3.4 Ethics, rigour, and relevance

As I was able to immerse myself in the social phenomena and to a certain degree assume the beliefs, values and realities (habitus according to Bourdieu) of the people I engaged with, I started to perceive and understand their worldview. I was able to unchain myself from my own assumptions and create new ones that aligned with the meanings of my informants (Thomas, 1993). Only then, after this ethical position had been achieved (Bourdieu, 1998), could I find a balance between the two worlds, that is, resist repressions from both and embrace emancipatory practices of both worlds. I therefore, also argue that ethical research and practice implies a deliberate process of understanding reality and meaning from within the lifeworld of the local people (Thomas, 1993; Ngwenyama and Lee, 1997). Only when meaning is understood in this manner, will the ICT4D researcher be able to build on and progress to interpret the social phenomena adequately and do emancipatory ICT4D. That is, ethical research and practice take place when the researcher can internalise reasons (experiential knowledge) for differences, diversity between both worlds' practices, beliefs, and values (Bourdieu, 1977, 1998). Then such research and practice lay the foundations for emancipation and transformation, and the challenging of repression-sustaining situations, false consciousness or cultural entrapment evident in the social phenomena. I subsequently, argue that ethical research also implies practice-orientated research (also see Ngwenyama, 1991; Stahl, 2008) that is relevant to the emancipatory interests of the local people. To state this in another way; critical reflexivity leads to emancipatory research (Principle 4), which leads

to research that is relevant to the practical reality of the social situation (Principle 5) (Mahar, Harker and Wilkes, 1990; Postone, LiPuma, Calhoun, 1993; Bourdieu, 1977, 1998).

Reflecting on the social conditions of the relationship I have with the social phenomena and addressing the limitations of both objectivist and subjectivist knowledge, according to Bourdieu is a necessary ingredient for an adequate understanding of the social situation. This required from me to be deeply embedded in the Happy Valley ICT4D project and to allow myself to be carried away by the game of social interaction (Bourdieu) in order to challenge and unchain myself from my own ethnocentric assumptions and values and align my worldview with those of my informants (Thomas, 1993). This third mode of knowledge according to Bourdieu also allowed me to pursue a rigorous science of ICT4D practice, to experience the urgency of real-time habitus action, and to live the data (Whyte, 1996).

Moreover, literature has highlighted that in ICT4D discourses there are potentially disruptive and repression sustaining assumptions and beliefs embedded in the role of the outsider-researcher. Consequently, I had to assume a starting position where I had to critically reflect (critically introspect) on my own assumptions about my position and power in the project and the discourses that emanated from it, and in particular, questions of power that arise from the ICT4D situation (Barnard, 1990). My starting position in the project – that of being a PhD student and academic – afforded me a certain level of symbolic capital that I potentially could use to dominate beliefs, discourses, action, and the official definition of the ICT4D social situation. Through critical reflexivity and self-emancipation, this had to be avoided and suppressed in such a way that my presence in the project did not create further repression sustaining conditions. By exposing my own first-order strategies, and bringing those in line with the expressed reasons (second-order strategies) for being part of the project, became a difficult reflexivity challenge. Bourdieu argues that the researcher's experiences and struggles cannot be bracketed out of the social situation and should rather be critiqued and reflected upon (which is what I tried to do through a confessional account).

6.3.5 Doing research inductively

In line with the reasoning in the previous section, I argue that ethical research implies starting out inductively and not enforcing a theoretical lens upfront onto the social phenomena. Using a theoretical lens in this manner may limit the researcher's ability to see alternative explanations and therefore alternate views of reality (Kvasny and Keil, 2006). Bourdieu also argues that enforcing an outsider constructed view of the social situation onto the social situation is ethnocentric on the side

of the researcher, because it yields an inadequate understanding of the social situation (see Sections 3.5.3 and 5.3.1).

Therefore, aligning myself with the basic assumptions of critical research perspectives, I went into the field and engaged with the social phenomena. Fieldwork commenced as I simply spent time with the people from Happy Valley and participated in what the ICT4D project and contextualised innovation led me to do. During the community entry and enculturation phases (August 2008 to June 2009) several key issues inductively emerged to me. When I started to participate more actively in the ICT4D project (becoming-a-member phases: July 2009 to March 2010), I was able to initiate and explore a number of relationships with key community members and cultural interpreters. During this time my understanding evolved from lessons that were mostly about "what to do" in ICT4D and ICT training to a greater sense of *how* and *why* things are done in certain ways. I learned to understand that which underpinned how and why people weave logic in particular ways. I developed a more mature understanding of the key issues that I identified during the enculturation phases. I noted that as I engaged with people and asked them questions about what I observed and learned, that the *what to do* was quite clear in their minds and most of them were able to articulate the explicit side of things as guidelines to me. For example, when we discussed the issue of community entry and introducing ICT4D, they would tell me things such as: "engage with community leaders", and "show respect to people" (see Krauss, 2009, 2013 and Chapter 4). However, fewer of my informants were able to articulate *how* to engage with a community leader or *how* to show respect. They were unable to articulate tacit cultural knowledge and nuances. Showing respect in my culture, for example, involves different cultural mannerisms and portraying different values, and I could only learn new ways of showing respect over time, through observation, and sometimes by asking questions. Answers to these types of questions required deeper scrutiny and engagement with people who could help me articulate contrasts between worldviews.

The issue of *why*, that is, explaining underlying cultural values and principles of the social grouping, was even more difficult and subconsciously embedded in the thinking and practices of people (Postone, LiPuma and Calhoun, 1993). For example, as I learnt about respect and gaining access to people, I noted from their stories and ways, the importance of friendships and hospitality approaches (see Krauss, 2012a). No-one actually articulated this specific concept as such during the becoming-a-member phases. It was, therefore, observer-identified (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). Knowledge of this theme helped me explain collisions in the social phenomena. As I matured in the field I was building networks of friendships using hospitality approaches, that is, showing and

responding to hospitality. Hospitality approaches therefore emerged as a key fieldwork concept and cultural exchange rate.

By the time the being-a-member phases (April 2010) started, I not only had a good sense of my research topic, but also a better understanding of the key issues (collisions) that emerged from the social phenomena, as well as the values, assumptions and social realities (habitus) of the local people. My understanding and experiences of the collisions and contrasts made it easier for me to articulate my understanding of social practices and therefore bridge the gap between theoretical objective understanding and embodied practical knowledge of the social phenomena, which I later learnt is central to Bourdieu's critical lineage (Bourdieu, 1977, 1998; Postone, LiPuma and Calhoun, 1993). I observed my role and position in the field and my subsequent mannerisms to be more intuitive and spontaneous than during the enculturation phases. In Bourdieu's terminology, I had learned to participate in and assume the habitus of the local people through socialisation. I had learned to play the social game and position myself, with particular social and symbolic capital in the Happy Valley project, where I could affect emancipation and change ethically. I could therefore more easily theorise deeper meaning and *why* issues. I transcended the gap between theory and practiced reality, and I internalised practice.

My follow-up data collection, therefore, focussed on achieving a more detailed understanding of the key issues I had identified earlier. Critical reflexivity turned into gaining insight during those phases, that is, criticality helped me to identify the issues (Klein and Myers, 1999; Myers and Klein, 2011), and the element of insight helped me to seek out deeper meaning regarding those issues (see Appendices A and D). Findings during this time did not reveal new macro-level themes, but rather more intricate details and nuances about the themes, such as stories of confirmation, clarification, and innovative ways of ICT4D implementation.

My understanding during the early phases of the research focussed mainly on guidelines or *what* to do and *how* to do it. In my first papers on the project (e.g. Krauss, 2009, 2013) I therefore reflected on guidelines for community entry and introducing the ICT4D artefact. In my later papers (Krauss 2012a, 2012b; Krauss and Turpin, 2013), when I had a clearer understanding of the different value systems and that which underpinned the different worldviews in the project, I was more able to articulate reasons for collisions. I could theorise the *why* of community engagement – that type of embedment in the social phenomena which allowed people to intuitively behave in certain ways (Bourdieu, 1977; Postone, LiPuma, Calhoun, 1993), even when confronted with new phenomena – much better. In the next section I will reflect on how my learnings on one of the most important collisions in the social phenomena evolved.

6.4 Different views of reality and fieldwork conflicts

During the becoming-a-member phases there were certain facets of the social phenomena which I was simply unable to interpret or explain. Although I was guided by key cultural interpreters with regard to the *what* and *how* of respectful and appropriate community engagement, the *why* of community engagement, i.e. the underlying values and views of reality that guided local logic and sense-making eluded me until well into my second year of fieldwork. According to the terminology of Bourdieu, this was because I had not yet developed a sense of practiced habitus action.

What I *did* experience during those phases though, was frustration, conflict, confusion, intolerances, apparent gross inabilities, struggles in intercultural "whats" and "hows", and even insecurities in how to deal with people. These experiences consequently became primary manifestations of critical ethnographic data (Thomas, 1993). It was only through an ongoing process of critical introspection (constantly questioning my own assumptions and mechanism) and becoming deeply embedded in the Happy Valley project that I was able to identify, interpret, and eventually articulate that which underpinned the new social reality I became part of. It was while I reflected on the reasons for fieldwork collisions and value conflicts that I concluded that *you can only interpret that which you are able to perceive* (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Thomas, 1993).

While I still grappled with this newly discovered reality, and while also exploring Bourdieu's critical lineage (Chapter 3), I wrote a paper to capture my emerging reflections (see Krauss, 2012b). This process of writing, like with the other papers I wrote during my ethnography, helped me to formulate my arguments and articulate my thinking – it was like generating a set of peer-reviewed pre-writings and reflections.

As I learnt lessons about *why* things are and why collisions occurred in the social phenomena, one particular theme stood out, which eventually became my primary data emphasis. I construe this theme as *the collisions between the typical task-orientated or performance-orientated value system of Western-minded societies and the traditional loyalty-based value system or people-orientated culture of the Zulu people* (in short I will also refer to it as value conflicts or collisions between worldviews). My discovery of this collision developed in parallel with my learnings about the people-orientated culture of Zulu people and their loyalty-based values. I could explain almost all manifestations of conflicts, collisions, and emancipatory practices in the context of this theme or by contrasting people-orientatedness with my own subjective view of Western task-orientatedness. This theme also allowed me to articulate differences in meaning attributed to emancipation and emancipatory concepts. An understanding of this collision affected the way I did fieldwork, my understanding of community entry and gaining access to people, the way I approached the ICT4D

project, my understanding of the tensions I observed in development agents involved in development initiatives, and even transformations within myself. It also related to the fact that different social groups have "different experiences, histories, dispositions, cultural needs, desires and tastes" (Kvasny and Keil, 2006: 31, 32) and that these differences are not always treated as equal. This collision consequently has implications for the ways in which ICT4D is viewed, valued, evaluated, and expected to contribute to development. My understanding of this collision eventually helped me to also participate in and assume the habitus of the local people, and ultimately embed myself, with particular social and symbolic capital in the field, where I could affect transformation and change in an ethical manner.

This new understanding helped me perceive the new social phenomena differently which evolved into learning how to interpret new perceptions. It helped me transcended the gap between theory and practiced ICT4D reality. Although I will never become a Zulu, I experienced that type of embedment in the social phenomena which allows people to intuitively behave in certain ways (Bourdieu, 1977), even when confronted with new phenomena like ICTs. My understanding of this collision and being able to articulate reasons for collisions helped me to theorise deeper meaning and *why* issues. Ultimately my understanding of this collision helped me explain the social phenomena (theorise) from an embedded position.

This primary collision needs detailed explanation though, including what is meant by "people-orientatedness" and "loyalty-based". I also need to show how my understanding thereof evolved, how it emerged from and affected fieldwork and data treatment (including evidence obtained from fieldwork), the role of critical reflexivity in understanding this theme, how such understanding affected clarity on alternate meanings attributed to emancipation and emancipatory concepts, how an understanding of this collision allowed me to challenge cultural entrapment and ethnocentrism, how this collision had to be negotiated in order to align with the value position I had taken, and how I eventually contributed to Bourdieu's views on emancipation, power, and social transformation. I believe that I can best explain the people-orientated culture and loyalty-based value system, by telling stories of how it emerged, evolved, and affected my view of reality, and I will attempt to do so in the following chapter.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I explained critical reflexivity as the methodology of critical research as I understood it when I went into the being-a-member phases of ethnographic research. Several themes related to critical reflexivity have also been addressed. I have shown how the need for critical reflexivity emerged from doing fieldwork and negotiating value conflicts and collisions in the social situation. I

revisited the idea of the emancipation of the researcher and argued that critical introspection should be viewed as the methodology of self-emancipation. I explained the relevance and value of the criteria for critical research I used and referenced key authors on the topic (e.g Howcroft and Trauth, 2005 and Myers and Klein, 2011). I then elaborated on the ethical nature of critical research and presented discussions on ethics and development, values and ethics, relevance and rigour, and inductive reasoning. The chapter concludes by articulating the key theme of this and the following chapter, namely the issue of collisions between worldviews. This chapter thus sets the stage for Chapter 7 where I show how critical reflexivity evolved and how it enabled me to understand and articulate worldview collisions and its implications.

CHAPTER 7
Exploring collisions

7.1 Preamble

This chapter follows from the previous chapter in that it demonstrates the outcome of critical reflexivity and a critical epistemology. It thus introduces my learnings about people-orientatedness and the collisions between worldviews as I experienced it in the project. Chapters 6 and 7 thus go together in the sense that the one explains the position of critical reflexivity and the next demonstrates the outcomes of the position and how it evolved.

7.2 Introduction

Although I alluded to some aspects associated with this collision in the becoming-a-member phases, my initial understandings were somewhat immature. In Chapter 4 and 5 I highlighted some manifestations associated with people-orientatedness and collisions between worldviews:

- I mentioned hospitality approaches, how we experience hospitality during our fieldtrips, and how hospitality approaches became a cultural exchange rate (i.e. we learnt how to show and respond to hospitality gestures). I also explained how the campus trip for grade 11 learners became an annual hospitality gesture that formed a key part of building reciprocity.
- I highlighted the importance of relationships and friendships, and how we had to acknowledge and align with the social structures of the Zulu people during community entry practice.
- I also showed how conflict occurred when a Western minded businessman portrayed his own identity and self-respect in a task-orientated manner and in the process offended the locals, who were evaluating the development artefact according to loyalty and people-orientatedness (see Section 4.11).
- I noted how I experienced social overload during community engagement, and that the Zulu people seem to have an enormous capacity for people, social interaction, sharing, and community living. During community engagement we functioned almost permanently in each other's company, and I consequently experienced some tension around this phenomenon. I found that I needed time to recharge, think, and reflect about my doings and beings.
- During our key gatekeeper's first presentation, Martha explained that for the Zulu culture the identity of a person is not determined by what he does but by the community where

he/she belongs, and that removing a person from his community is the same as stripping him/her from everything he/she values [Martha's presentation: 27 August 2008]. I didn't fully understand this concept until became a member, though. I noted, however, that creating a sense of belonging and people-orientatedness should be an intricate part of community engagement practices (Section 4.9).

- During community engagement we had to allow for a development idea to become part of a community's social dynamics. This concept has strong people-orientatedness associated with it. Community members are very considerate of each other, they have the need and desire to acknowledge each other during this process, thus giving each other time to come to grips with a new development idea.
- In this context, timing and time also have different associations with it. Timelines is not a driving factor in a decision making or evaluation process. My experiences are that the community will invite you to step in when there is a mutual sense of understanding, agreement, and acceptance of an outsider. No time stamp can be pre-determined for when this will occur. Timelines and decision-making dynamics are guided by a people-orientatedness, deep loyalty and consideration for each other, and not technical correctness, efficiency, or productivity measures.
- During community entry and becoming-a-member phases I recognised that my internal conflicts, frustrations, and perceived inabilities may have been the result of value conflicts or collisions between different worldviews. I identified my own worldview as somewhat goal-orientated [Fieldnotes: 23 July 2009].
- I showed that in a different worldview, innovation and openness to innovation may be viewed and treated differently. In a task-orientated context, things such as budgets, timelines, and project outcomes are there to eliminate the unpredictability of the human factor. The Zulu culture, however, embraces the human factor and the unpredictability of human beings. This may create conflicts in the way ICT4D projects are planned and executed (Section 5.3).
- I highlighted quite early in the research that integrity in the Zulu's worldview implies loyalty. However, I only fully understood this until later in the research when I became a member and could construct concepts around it as a member.

My real and embedded understandings of the people-orientated culture or loyalty-based value system started when one of my "students" from the first training intervention in June 2009 visited me at my home in Pretoria in January 2010. It was the first time in the project where I could simply

relax in the company of one of the locals and his family and just *be* as opposed to always being busy with some ICT thing in Happy Valley.

7.3 Beginning to learn about people

During our IT training of teachers in June/July 2009, a local businessman from the mission also joined the course. Lungile had his own laptop with the latest version of Microsoft Office. I perceived him as not much of an outgoing or talkative person but rather a quiet, thinking type of personality. He was good at picking up new computer concepts and applying the new computer knowledge we discussed in class. The type of questions he asked, indicated to me that he uses a computer on a daily basis. He often asked us about things that were outside of the scope of the training course and I had to sometimes figure out answers to his questions myself.

One evening towards the end of the two-week training course he came to visit me at the place where I stayed in Happy Valley. He had questions about some utility programs I told him about during the training. I gave him some of the programs and also some practical advice on doing IT things in his business context. I learnt that not only is he the manager of the mission's bakery, but that he is also partly responsible for general maintenance at the mission community, such as being responsible for telephone and internet connectivity, fleet management, and so forth. Although Lungile was deeply embedded in his Zulu culture especially from the way he grew up, he was also very much exposed to Western culture, thinking, and artefacts. For example, he had visited Germany before and therefore had some sense of European cultures. Because he and his family were living on the missionary premises he had also met many people from all over the world visiting their community.

As with all the teachers and students I tried to maintain a good relationship with Lungile, and in follow-up community visits always enquired about his wife and son – I noticed that enquiring about family is an important value and therefore, also a valuable conversation maker. During one of our conversations I indicated that if he ever planned to come to Pretoria, he should visit me. He then told me that he had plans to visit a friend in Pretoria in January 2010 and that he will certainly make contact. I never realised that the opportunity would come quite so soon. I also didn't take him too seriously at that stage, until I received his phone call early in December 2009: He wanted to visit me in Pretoria on the 24th of January 2010. I was excited but also somewhat amazed at his frank ways. I realised that I had made a friend and I was sure to learn about this local man and his community during the time we were going to spend together at my home in Pretoria. I wasn't sure what to expect though and although I had many people staying over at my place before, this was going to be the first Zulu couple under my roof.

During the week of the 18th of January, he confirmed his visit and the next Friday evening he, his wife, and son were there. Apparently his other friend was not available for a visit anymore and I was the only reason he came to Pretoria. We had almost four full days to chat, interact, talk about things, relax, and observe each other. He kept on saying that what amazed him the most was that I invited him to my house the year before and that things worked out so well for them, i.e. with his other friend not being available anymore. I never realised what the impact of my invitation and subsequent visit would have on both of us until the opportunity came. I had unknowingly aligned with the hospitality approaches that the Zulu people embraced. For me it was a weekend where a lifelong friendship was cemented.

As I reflected on his visit I realised that I was doing a type of ethnography where people are now coming into my space and observing my family life also to build trust and reciprocity. Traditionally, ethnographies imply that the researcher enters the space of the researched in order to inquire. This was different. Lungile was visiting my space for four days, and I was showing hospitality. Some time later Lungile told me that "my [his] wife was inspired after the visit" [Fieldnotes: 7 April 2010]. Why, that was I never asked, but I was just to glad about this friend I made. Maybe they were not used to "white" people showing hospitality to them as much.

During the visit, we spoke about his culture, the way he was brought up, difficulties in his community, the schools, and difficulties the students have with regard to learning about ICTs. I tried to motivate him to pursue studies at a university and we spent some time on UNISA's website to enquire about distance learning, financial aid, cost of courses, and so forth. We spoke about some of the superstitious beliefs the locals have and that according to him some of those beliefs do not carry any value. During this time I tried to initiate a discussion on a number of things related to my research. Afterwards, when doing my fieldnotes I recall asking questions such as:

- What about my culture and background is offensive to them?
- What is an appropriate way to approach a community such as theirs especially if I want to bring ICT and ICT training to them?
- How do they experience the IT training?
- How could I build and continue a good trust relationship?
- How important is it to acknowledge community leaders and local chiefs and acquire their blessing on an IT initiative?

- What is the attitude of other schools and teachers in the community with regard to IT training and us as a university visiting them to give them some guidance for studies and careers?
- What can we do as outsiders so as to not offend the locals and get them to accept us?
- What do you see as the difference between loyalty and integrity?
- We also spoke about the issues of respect and showing respect.

The issue of traditional respect emerged as central theme in our discussions of the Zulu culture. Lungile said that if there is one thing that he would keep from his Zulu culture, it is the way people still respect each other. The Lobola system was an example of such a conversation. According to Lungile and his wife it is based on respect and showing respect and that is not intended to be based on greed and capitalist motives as some outsiders perceive it to be. There are, however, some that try to exploit the Lobola system for the personal benefit or to acquire things such as cell phones or nice clothes. Lobola, however, is flexible and the husband's friends may negotiate the price and specific items. Lungile explained that you need a friend or family member that could negotiate the Lobola price on your behalf and that it helps to have someone who can negotiate well.

The account presented in the next section shows how I started to contrast the Zulu people with the Western mind-set and how I started to see Europeans through the eyes of the Zulu.

7.4 Hospitality approaches and friendships

Lungile told me that when he was in Germany he was amazed at how people live in isolation and that they do not even know their neighbours. In his community this phenomenon does not exist and it is a foreign thing not to have friends. He said that his friends and friendships are very important to him and that he would not be able to live like the Germans. I inferred from our conversations that building networks of friendships might be a meaningful strategy for gaining access to people and deeper meaning. The fact that he took initiative to reach out to me confirms this. Had I not taken up the chance, I would have missed an opportunity to learn about the community and their values.

During our four-day engagement, he told me several stories of how he grew up. One of those was about the importance of friends and family. People in those days would not have phones and would not be able to let a friend or family member know when they were planning a visit. "So you would just notice a person walking over the hills with bags, and as you look closely you recognise them." [Fieldnotes: 25 January 2010]. He said that you were always happy and excited when someone would surprise you like that. From this I inferred that friendships and family are highly regarded and that a formal relationship might not achieve as much during community engagement. Also, in a

formal relationship someone might not open his heart and mind as much as with a friendship relationship, which would affect access to deeper meaning. I perceived friendships and hospitality to be the way forward in the Happy Valley Project.

He also mentioned examples of other people that managed to establish rapport with the locals by simply participating in the things they do, like going to church with them or attending meetings, and talking and interacting. He told a story of a German man who got involved with various aspects of the community. Apparently this man could not speak Zulu or English, but he managed to participate in various things such as agricultural activities and some other activities where he helped the locals. This man was accepted because he talked and interacted regardless whether he could speak the language.

During Lungile's visit I recalled that late in 2009, Malusi, another teacher from the 2009 training sessions and also one of those teachers who participated in the train-the-trainer initiative in July 2009, sent me a text message that I didn't respond to immediately. I didn't value it at that stage (I was fortunate to still have a copy of his text message on my cell phone). I now realized that this was probably his way of reaching out to me as was natural to his custom.

So when Lungile left on Monday, I texted Malusi. I wanted to respond to his reaching out last year. This was my message:

> "Hi, Malusi. Thinking of you lately. Lungile visited us last month. How's the training going?"

He responded almost immediately:

> "Hi bro. I b liv u r grt im doing so fine. Wow thnx 4yo concern. hey did I tell the studnts invited us at their chrmas party thanking God for the chance they had. [Malusi was part of a group of teachers doing IT training for nurses at the local hospice] They even gave us some gifts. We enjoyed it so mch! Does UP offer burs 4 people who want to do teaching. Plz find it for me. B blsd mybro. Luv u."

I was amazed at the opportunity that emerged. I responded:

> "it is nice if the students ar so grateful. Me and u must go on UNISA website when I get there in apr. c u then."

I learned a valuable lesson. I also realized that to pursue the research that I am doing, I had to be personally and intrinsically involved with people from the community. It wasn't long before Malusi phoned me to arrange for a second campus visit for Grade 11's at the school.

The friendship that developed with Malusi specifically opened up several interview opportunities for me when I visited the community in April and July 2010 again. Malusi and Vivian, another student, almost took me by the hand to set up interviews with a number of key community members and visionaries at Happy Valley. These key community members include one of only four Induna (these men are like traditional community gatekeepers and guardians extending the king's governance) in the region and a church leader. I was able to record all of these interviews and engaged with the local people at an intimate level. In fact, Malusi, having learned about my research and the things about ICT I was interested in, even guided some of the interviews and did the interpreting for me. In a sense, these relationships allowed me to sit back, observe, and record. I found myself almost more interested in the process that unfolded than with what the people actually told me. I learned a further lesson: friendships may well evolve into research partnerships.

Looking back now on how my learnings about friendship and hospitality developed, I sometimes felt somewhat embarrassed by my trying to create friendships to gain access and do research. I realised that at times there were hidden and unexposed first-order strategies. However, it has been a while since I became a member, and I have actually made friends from the community just for friendship sake, i.e. there is no motive other than for the friendship itself. Through reflexivity, I was clear about why I was there and I exposed my first-order strategies to myself (see Section 3.5.1). There were stages during the research where I in a way forgot that I was doing research. Philani, for example, became such a friend. When he visited me in August 2011 in Pretoria, I told him about some of my own personal struggles. Philani became a type of mentor or sound board – a friend with great wisdom and perspective with whom I could later test my learnings. He, for example, noted that according to him friendships without trust are meaningless and that he trusts me [Fieldnotes: 11 August 2011]. Our friendship is now our primary engagement and my research and Happy Valley project very much became a secondary and completed issue. As I learnt about the richness of people-orientatedness, I started to value my newly found friendships and the non-material riches that came with it.

What advice would I give in retrospect? I would advise anyone wanting to do community entry, community engagement or any real, sustainable ICT4D project, to allow people into your personal space and to allow them to be your friends. For the Zulu people, it is important to show and respond to hospitality and it is also their way of showing respect. You should respond. Learn from them, listen to them, do things with them, and allow your boundaries to be expanded. You will be enriched as a person.

My learnings about hospitality and friendships approaches matured as I explain in the story that follows.

7.5 Contrasting people-orientatedness with task-orientatedness

After Lungile's inspiring visit to my home in Pretoria and my engagement with Malusi, I was especially sensitized to the people-orientatedness of the local Zulu culture. I started asking about it and deliberately collecting stories about it. One of the stories occurred when I approached Sipho to set up an interview for collecting data. It was during the April 2010 training in Happy Valley (see Table 5.1). It was also during a stage in my research where I had found clarity about my research topic and research questions, and I felt ready to pursue more focussed conversations, with particular expectations. I felt ready to move to more deductive work, hoping to confirm lessons learnt during the inductive phases of the research.

One morning I asked Sipho whether I could come and talk to him later that day about my research. My intention and understanding was that I would address certain themes in an informal interview or discussion and that I was going to sit with him for about an hour to ask questions and record the conversation. Later that day, I confirmed my visit with him. He asked me where my wife and children were (during that specific field trip my family joined me). I told him that they were visiting some friends down the road and that it would only be me visiting him. What happened during the next few hours was a valuable lesson in hospitality and people-orientatedness. He immediately appeared very dissatisfied about the fact that my family was not going to come along even up to the point of disappointment. Luckily, we had an open relationship and he could verbalize how he felt about it. He was not offended, but vividly explained how hospitality works in his culture. He said that if you visit someone it means that your family or anybody else that you invite should come along and that for him it was important that my whole family visits him. I realized that Sipho was excited and that he valued my visit. Also, as I learnt much later from Philani, Zulus don't invite people, because who do you leave out from the invitation [Fieldnotes: 2 June 2011]? An invitation is always implied, while an expressed invitation can even suggest an insult [Fieldnotes: 2 June 2011]. Again I was unknowingly and opportunistically aligning with their cultural expressions of values. I had to respect their ways and abide by the values that emerged to me. However, being as task-orientated as I am and having to do research, I also realized that the intention of recording an interview or any vague interview structure was not going to realise. I experienced a collision between worldviews (values), but allowed myself to take the flow of things and submitted to what was happening to me. I submitted to an alternate value system and worldview. I simply observed and enjoyed what was unfolding around me.

So as a result of Sipho's insistence, Vivian and I had to walk down the road to go and fetch my wife and children. I realized that, although my intended interview would not go as planned, I now had an opportunity to observe culture and values much deeper and in a more relaxed manner than what an interview would have revealed to me. Thus, I allowed this newly acquired friend of mine to show me hospitality while I made a deliberate effort of simply enjoying it and responding to it. On the way, I noted to Vivian, Sipho's hospitality and insistence on bringing my family along. She responded by telling me a further story about the importance of hospitality, family, and friendship in their culture.

She told me about a certain German lady who visited Happy Valley. This lady told her that in Germany people appear sometimes "very rushed," while she observed people in Happy Valley much more relaxed. Vivian noted that it is their custom to always put people before work, even if they are under pressure to complete something. She said that personally she finds it difficult to complete her work when there are people around because she has to put her work aside to entertain people (Vivian is the general manager of the mission). She noted that sometimes "white people" appear "very work orientated and always in a hurry" [Fieldnotes: 8 April 2010]. This story consequently began my learnings about the tensions and collisions I observed in development agents.

Back at Sipho's place, we were welcomed by a whole array of cakes and snacks for tea. Sipho continued his prior discussion about the meaning of hospitality in his culture. Among other things he said that it is customary to always finish all the food presented to them as a way of accepting hospitality (Philani also confirmed this cultural mannerism much later [Fieldnotes: 7 August 2011]). Luckily, he understood that my wife and I were not able or going to finish everything they prepared for us. During the visit, Sipho asked me if I would help him install a new printer that he acquired. So as a result, I found myself assisting him with the installation process. An intended one-hour interview ended up in a three-hour very relaxed tea drinking and socializing event.

From this specific encounter I learned a number of valuable lessons that assisted me in understanding their view of reality better. Firstly, I observed their culture as extremely people-centered and orientated towards hospitality. For someone from the outside wanting to establish rapport, do research, or introduce some ICT4D initiative, one will have to align with and respect their people-orientated values. Secondly, I learnt that people-orientatedness and task-orientatedness don't go well together. It is very difficult to do both and often the one contradicts the other. For me the concept of "value conflicts" was established. During my 2011 efforts to start an ICT training business with two of the local people, I experienced and observed this conflict in its utmost.

A further lesson was that of allowing an interview or a conversation to develop naturally, even if it means deviating from the original intention or themes you wanted to address. Stories and memories (headnotes) of interactions might later-on provide valuable access to the unofficial story and deeper meaning that one might not envisage at the beginning of fieldwork. In fact, my fieldwork guide at that stage mostly addressed *what* and *how* issues (see Appendix F), and I wouldn't have understood *why* issues and deeper meaning through semi-structured interviews or deduction. As researcher-practitioner, I was empowered through the lessons I learned and through allowing fieldwork to evolve as it did. I could align myself with what the local people considered important and subsequently utilize a people-orientatedness in future and ongoing ICT4D endeavours. I was enriched as an individual because I argued that a people-orientated approach is potentially less destructive to relationships than the task-orientatedness I am so acquainted to.

7.6 Learning about my own position

During Lungile's visit he also asked me a couple of things about myself. One question that stood out was: why it was so important to me to be sensitive their community? From the discussions that followed I realised that according to him, the locals at the mission are not as sensitive to culturally offensive behaviour than I originally thought and for them it is a matter of me as outsider just spending honest quality time, talking to the people, showing and responding to hospitality, and respecting leadership structures, even if I cannot speak isiZulu or know the culture very well. Philani and Martha [Fieldnotes: 30 June 2011] later confirmed this and said that instead of focussing on culturally acceptable behaviour or mannerisms, issues of trust and genuineness are more important. People understand that the "white" culture does things differently and show respect differently. I was also able to confirm this understanding during my interview with Mrs Dlamini and teachers [6 July 2010].

My perceptions in this regard changed somewhat from when I was busy with community entry early in 2009 (see Section 4.10 and the role Jacob play during community entry). Lungile and I discussed for example how you would approach the local chief and specifically that as a sign of respect you would not look him in the eyes – as if you were to challenge him. I told him that in the white culture, I would insist that my children look me in the eyes when I talk to them. They were aware of that. I realised that it is more important to continuously reflect on my own motives and assumptions for being there, and my own unexposed first-order strategies, rather than trying to imitate cultural mannerisms.

One of the traits or strengths of a people-orientated worldview, which I noticed during our conversations, is how quick people are able, both as individuals and a community, to discern an

outsider's motives and attitudes – and perhaps this could be a caution to the reader and outsider who might underestimate or misjudge the discernment of the local people. Although I had been very careful throughout the project to examine my own motives and reasons for being in Happy Valley, I realised that I could never do enough introspection in this regard. As a community they would certainly know and pick up why I was there. Malusi later confirm this – both during the April 2010 training and the campus trip later that month. And when I explicitly asked him about it, his response was; "Yes the people very quickly and very easily discern when someone is not genuine in their motives [for engaging with the community]" [Fieldnotes: 8 April 2010]. Martha took the idea even further by saying that the Western culture is socially underdeveloped in the sense that they tend to overlook issues that may disrupt communion and community living. The Zulu people, however, tend to discern hidden motives much better [Fieldnotes: 26 July 2012]. I also noted that when they see that someone can be trusted, that they will put immense value and trust in such a relationship, like Lungile and his wife who made special effort to visit me (He was one of the few how could afford it, though).

As a result of my more embedded encounters I continued in the Happy Valley Project with more of a personalized approach to community engagement where I pursued and nurtured the friendships that naturally developed from the project. In doing so I constantly, through introspection and self-reflexivity, made sure that I understood my own motives for being there, such as that I ensured that other reasons, such as doing IT training, gathering data, and doing research, remained secondary to the honest and deliberate choice to engender trust and respond to those with whom a relationship naturally developed, and to learn from them. In the terminology of Bourdieu I constantly exposed my first-order strategies to myself.

Initially I framed this new found approach as friendship approaches or building networks of friendships (see Krauss, 2012a). I later added the concept of hospitality approaches to community engagement. Both these concepts – hospitality and friendships – however, relate to the *how* of community engagement. Towards April and May 2010, after constructing concepts from a more embedded position [Fieldnotes: 6 April 2010 and 19 May 2010], I inferred that both of these ideas are actually manifestations of a people-orientated culture and a loyalty-based value system, and that expressing and responding to hospitality are ways of portraying respect and self-respect.

As I learnt about putting people before tasks I could confirm, through embedded understanding, that I should never assume an arrogant or superior position by thinking that they need me because I am educated and knowledgeable in ICT – like a "licence" for assuming a position of dictating or telling them what to do and how to do it. I had to be aware that I should not fall in the trap Lewis

(1994) warns about, where many outsiders come in with a sense of compassion and a degree of superiority where less "developed" communities are targeted in order to develop them; or that my own mechanisms and assumptions about power and position as outsider-researcher may subconsciously reinforce a repressive situation or belief (Howcroft and Trauth, 2005). I had to explicitly think about how I could introduce ICT and engage with the community in such a way that the strengths of their community, culture and way of living are respected and maintained, and that I do not, when I introduce ICTs, also attempt to introduce a new or Western way of living and valuing things. I had to, with the help of local cultural interpreters, identify the strengths of the community, which emerged to be their people-orientatedness and loyalty towards each other, and then allow them to build onto that and then also establish how ICT could possibly play a role in it, if at all. Following this approach and shadowing cultural interpreters, assisted me in critical reflexivity and deciphering meaning [see Question 3 from Appendix F]. It was especially when people stayed with me or when I spent honest, quality and non-structured time with them that I learned a lot in terms of their values and culture. Because of their people-orientated culture and the importance of hospitality, friendships and unstructured time became key learning opportunities for me.

During my April 2010 fieldtrip, the campus trip that followed that same month, and our July 2010 fieldtrip I felt that I was actually considered a member of a group of people in the Happy Valley community. Apart from observing my own mannerism as being much more spontaneous and intuitive in the community I remember two distinct events that confirmed my position as such. The first occurred shortly after my engagements with Sipho and Lungile (stories told earlier in Sections 7.3, 7.4, and 7.5). During my fieldtrips I made a deliberate effort to schedule unstructured time. For example, instead of always doing ICT things or filling my days with ICT training courses, I simply loitered around, and participated in whatever occurred to me. During one particular lunch event during my June/July 2010 fieldtrip, I was simply strolling around and chatting with some of the local people. I recalled having a plate of food in my hand when Malusi looked at me and said: "I've never seen you like this! I like what I see" [Fieldnotes: 5 July 2010]. What I was doing was working, and I believe that it is probably because I was relaxing much more than in the beginning and thus enjoying things, people, and events.

Another event occurred when I noted that Mrs Dlamini signed an email she sent to me as *Mama* (a Zulu term used to respectfully address your mother or elderly lady in the community) Dlamini as opposed to *Mrs* Dlamini like she always did [Letter from Mrs Dlamini: 9 June 2010]. It intrigued me and I wanted to ask her about it. When we saw her again in July 2010 she came up to us and said that it is good to see us again. She also said that they can now relax because their visitors have left

(they had entertained a group of people from Centurion just before we arrived). I asked her why she could relax with us and why she doesn't see us as visitors. She replied: "no, you are part of us". I asked her whether that was the reason she signed her letter as *Mama* Dlamini. She confirmed it [Fieldnotes: 5 July 2010]. She then greeted and kissed my three daughters who came along on the fieldtrip.

I believe that there were stages during my research that I identified so much with what I discovered that I lost some objectivity and distance (Walsham, 2006). After I became a member, around April 2010, I also in many ways evolved from a participating-observer to a non-observing participator. It affecting my research in two ways; firstly, my immediate fieldnotes, which are different from my pre-writing reflections, started to have less deep reflections (notes about my own thinking about thinking) and more simple recordings of observations, events, and collisions in the social phenomena. Because I had developed a clearer and embedded understanding of the people-orientated culture, I was now simply seeking more evidence of it. Secondly, when I became a member I experienced embedded, spontaneous and intuitive participation, where I didn't have to think so hard about my role and mannerisms among the people. It made me relax more, as Malusi also noted, and I was simply enjoying my visits and engagement. That which was explicit and new to me in the beginning, became tacit and intuitive. In the terminology of Bourdieu, I had developed a sense of the game of social interaction. In layman's terms, it meant that I had made friends with people with whom I could relax and share deep cultural lessons.

7.7 Constructing concepts for more focussed fieldwork

After Lungile's visit in January 2010 I started to collate all the data and literature I had collected at that stage. Since I had worked mostly inductively up to that point, I was specifically seeking clarity on my research questions. Because of the relationships that had developed, I also felt ready to do more focussed data collection, with particular expectations, and I needed a more structured fieldwork guide. At that stage, my "data" consisted of fieldnotes with many stories, reflections, and happenings (pre-writing), feedback reports to our department and to UNESCO (Krauss et al., 2009; Krauss 2013), three blogs that I had written (http://www.techleader.co.za/kirstinkrauss), and a number of research papers (Krauss, 2009, 2012a, 2013). Borrowing from the basic principles of Content Analysis (Leedy and Ormrod, 2005), I spent several weeks to meticulously work through my data to identify concepts and themes. I started to list these concepts in a spread sheet (see an excerpt in Figure 7.1). In the spread sheet, I also included concepts that related to my research problem, possible research approaches, theoretical lenses I had considered, and concepts that related to my ontological and epistemological assumptions. I therefore included concepts that I

discovered both inductively (from the field) and deductively, thus linking them to literature. Initially I tried to relate concepts from field data to specific references in a matrix format (See Figure 7.1), but eventually reverted to simply listing the concepts. By the beginning of March 2010 I had over 600 concepts listed. This approach helped me to embed myself in the data and literature I had during the becoming-a-member phases, and I subsequently consider them as a part of the fieldnotes and reflections that I generated during the becoming-a-member phases.

Using Roode's (1993) bottom-up approach (explained in more detail in Section 1.4) for generating my research questions (Figure 1.1), I furthermore, formulated a long list of rudimentary questions based on each central statement or theme from my data. I then grouped and "massaged" these until I came up with three research questions and sub-problems, and then one main research question and overarching problem statement. Two of my research papers helped me in this process of articulating my research questions (see ; Krauss 2012a; Krauss and Turpin, 2013). Since I was working mostly inductively, I felt that I needed to have clarity on my research questions before I could come up with a more focussed fieldwork guide.

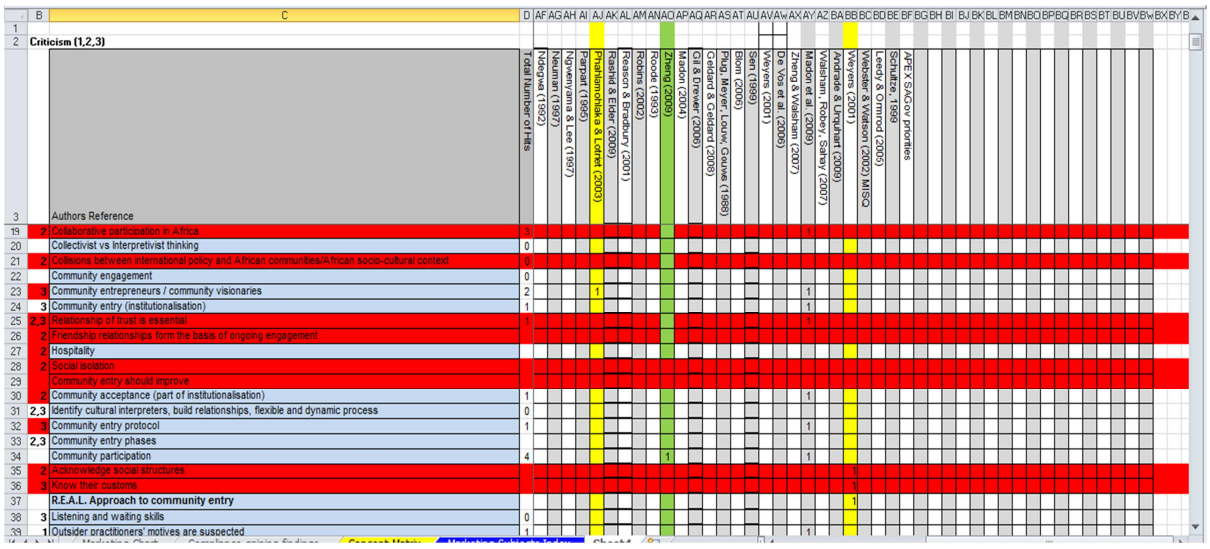


Figure 7-1: Listing concepts and themes from a "becoming-a-member" point of view

When I had established my key research questions I summarised them visually (see Appendix F). In my visual summary, I also added some of the most prominent themes that emerged from my fieldwork and from literature. These themes, however, were constructed during the becoming-a-member phases and consequently changed towards the being-a-member phases. I piloted my fieldwork guide with five colleagues and researchers, to establish how it would benefit or enhance a structured conversation. These colleagues included two individuals from another traditional community in South Africa, who had considerable research exposure in ICT4D in rural and traditional

communities. Their insights helped me practice the used of my fieldwork instrument in a structured conversation.

I gave the idea of an interview guide with specific and more detailed questions considerable thought, but later opted not to prepare a fixed list of questions. I decided to rather present my informants with my actual research questions as opposed to interview questions, and then see what would emerge from the conversations. This approach later proved to be helpful where I did interviews with the teachers that participated in the Happy Valley project. The reason was that I was able to apply an inductive approach also during the interview process, i.e. I approached the conversation with an open mind as opposed to using a conceptual lens generated from my own limited insights. I was trying not to enforce specific ideas or themes I thought were relevant onto the thinking of my informants. Visualising my research like in I did and presenting my informants each with a copy during recorded conversations allowed me to simply sit back, listen, observe, and enjoy the discussions that evolved. They guided themselves during focus group discussions, using the research questions I pointed out to them. With each new group conversation, I could use some insights from prior conversations. The fieldwork instrument mostly helped to initiate a conversation on my research topic and mainly confirm prior learnings.

Although, I initially planned to do interviews with individuals, my structured and recorded interviews spontaneously evolved into focus group conversations, mainly because the people I approached invited their peers to also participate. I let the conversations develop as it did, and in the end explored the collective point of view on matters.

My approach had its difficulties though. In some cases it totally disrupted the spontaneity of a conversation, like my interview with Lungile and Nonhle [Fieldnotes: 7 July 2010; Interview with Lungile and Nonhle: 7 July 2010]. Moreover, it was compiled from the perspective of becoming-a-member and not necessarily as an insider. My fieldwork guide, therefore, was preliminary, and I did not have a position of embeddedness or a sense of the game (Bourdieu, 1977) to look at and interpret my data as such. The type of issues I explored (using the fieldwork guide in Appendix F) therefore focussed mostly on the *how* and *what* of ICT4D and community engagement, e.g. “How to do community entry” and “How to interpret and align ICT and ICT policy”. Although my third question related more to my primary data emphasis, i.e. “How to decipher meaning and align with local understanding, values and view of reality?”, I struggled to elicit meaningful insight from informants during planned conversations, and to fully explain the purpose of the research question to them. It was because I struggled with these concepts myself. Since I used my fieldwork guide during the becoming-a-member phases, my primary learnings about people-orientatedness didn’t

come from these focussed conversations, but rather came from embedded engagement (i.e. being-a-member) and spontaneous and opportunistic engagements and observations in the field, as well as reflexive conversations where I tested some of my emerging ideas on collisions and people-orientatedness with key cultural interpreters I befriended. It was often the case that the process around the conversations and the process of setting up the conversation relationship offered me much more meaningful insight on people-orientatedness and collisions than the conversation itself, just like the story told earlier about my visit to Sipho. My application of a focussed fieldwork guide therefore helped primarily as a confirmatory tool during a specific phase of me research.

7.8 The role of traditional leadership in a people-orientated culture

My first recorded conversation during the more focussed phases of data collection was with Malusi and Vivian [Interview with Malusi and Vivian: 8 April 2010]. Malusi, who came from a background of Zulu royalty, gave me a perspective on the structure and functioning of the Gumede clan, and specifically the role of royalty and traditional leadership. My learnings about Zulu royalty, however, started in November 2009 (see Table 5.1).

What I specifically noted about royalty is their heightened interest and insight into their community. For example, I noted that Ntombi, the current king's daughter and also a teacher at Happy Valley School, expressed a special and more open-minded concern to expand development initiatives to the wider community [Fieldnotes: 2 July 2009]. I also observed from my meeting Ndabezitha (a honorary name for the Zulu king) in November 2009 and my conversation with one of the Induna [Interview with Induna: 9 April 2010] that royalty have a natural way of looking out for their people. When I discussed the role of royalty with one of my pilot interviewees, who also came from a royal background in a traditional community in South Africa, she confirmed some of my observations about the potential empowering and influential role of traditional leadership and royalty [Fieldnotes: 19 April 2010]. As with my learnings about hospitality approaches I considered aligning with and empowering royalty as a further theme and potential emancipatory practice to explore in my research. In the end, however, and especially after testing my learnings with Martha [Fieldnotes: 19 May 2010], I didn't explore that avenue in much detail though.

Events like my meeting Ndabezitha in November 2009, helped me to reflect on the issue of loyalty and potential empowering role of traditional leadership [Fieldnotes: 1 February 2010]. Having taught and engaged with two of his daughters at a number of occasions, and spending time with Philani and Malusi also clarified the position of royalty and traditional leadership to me. Earlier explanations regarding the loyalty versus integrity debate which I didn't understand when it was first explained to me, became clearer.

The following narrative (which I also presented in Krauss (2012a)) reflects on how I met King Gumede and some of the things I learnt during this special engagement. To align with and identify with the people, I will refer to him as the king or Ndabezitha as Malusi, Philani, and my other partners address him.

Since we first visited Happy Valley I was hoping for a chance to meet the king, but never had a good opportunity up to now (i.e. November 2009). I realised that I had to be introduced by a guide or spokesperson since I would not know how to approach the king on my own. I also realised that I had to build a relationship with someone who might be able to guide me and introduce me appropriately and correctly. Building such a relationship took time and I had to allow for a time of enculturation.

One of the values that I learnt from the cultural interpreters during previous fieldtrips is that the community must experience ownership in any development project and that as an outsider, I should not rush in and implement what I think is right without their consent and support or without waiting for their timing and sense of readiness. Because I wanted the project to be sustainable, I had to ensure that local visionaries identify with the project in order to guide me as an outsider in implementing the project.

In addition to learning about these values, I was lucky to have the king's daughter as one of my students during the June/July 2009 training. She achieved very good results, was quiet and seemed to understand the community well. I especially noted her as having a broader sense of the community and their needs. Ntombi didn't speak much, but when she spoke, one could listen and take note of it. For example, at one stage during a meeting, she mentioned that the ICT training should be taken to the rest of the community so that they do not see the mission and the school as isolated from the rest of the people. ICT4D literature shows that ICT implementation has the potential to create or reinforce social divides in a community (Lewis, 1994; Zheng, 2009). Being royalty, she seemed to be naturally aware of this.

Therefore, having this understanding and attempting to implement the training according to these values and principles for about eight months (February 2009 to November 2009), I felt that the time for meeting the king was close. However, I still didn't know when, how, and who would introduce me. During my November visit, Malusi took Jacob and me on a sightseeing trip through Happy Valley. Malusi showed us many places while he explained many of the issues related to local traditions. One of the issues we spoke about was the scope of traditional leadership. Malusi pointed out to us the importance of the ultimate authority of Zulu kingship. He told us that a king from another area specifically told his people that they should not cut down trees, because according to

Malusi, they should protect nature. Malusi showed us the boundary of where the one king's area stopped and the other started. The local people respected the king so much that they would not cut down trees for wood, even if they might desperately need it for fuel.

So on our way sightseeing, I noted to Malusi that I would like to meet the king. He immediately told me that he was related (I didn't know Malusi was royalty until then) and that he could organise a meeting for us. He told me that the king was approachable and would be open to meeting us unlike some other local kings who really demand respect in particular ways. I immediately started enquiring about conduct of respect and protocol. From that moment, I had a two-hour "lesson" on Zulu royalty.

Back from our trip, Malusi made a phone call and off we went to meet the king. As we approached the king's palace or traditional headquarters, I noticed both Jacob and Malusi tense up. Malusi told me that even though he personally knows the king, he is still nervous every time he meets him. He said that the community has great respect for this man. Since it was still during the becoming-a-member phases, I was, as outsider, unable to spontaneously conduct myself, and I had not yet fully discovered people-orientatedness and loyalty. I was, however, determined to follow their customs and behaviour in showing respect and therefore align with their way of doing things, and therefore in a way imitated what they did. I found it quite awkward though.

As we sat and waited, both Jacob and Malusi were quiet. When the king arrived, I noticed that he was driven by his son in a very simple but neat Toyota truck. I later learned that he had no formal education, few Western literacy skills and had no driver's license. Yet he exhibited a tremendous authority and wisdom. I sensed that the people actually loved him very much. I was told by Malusi that I should allow the king to start the conversation and that I should wait for him to allow me to respond. This was also something new to me, because in my culture people tend to show interest and sincerity by expressing themselves.

The king started by telling us about how important the development of his community is to him. He also said that what we were doing in terms of ICT training as well as the way we approached it, was according to him right and appropriate. In fact, he thanked us for what we are doing with the words "siyabonga khakhulu", meaning "I am very grateful". After saying a few things about his view of what we are doing and about his community he asked us three questions. I will reflect on two of those questions.

First he asked how the training came about and how we got involved. I responded by thanking him for being able to be in his community and also told him what an honour it was for us to meet him.

Learning from previous lessons, I knew that I had to acknowledge his leadership and position in the community. I told him about my earlier connections with Martha and some friends at the orphanage, UNESCO's involvement in the project, and how we met up with Mrs Dlamini from Happy Valley School.

Another question from him was: What is our vision for the training? Having learnt about the importance of ownership and transfer of vision, I noted that the vision is actually Mrs Dlamini's vision to empower her teachers and schoolchildren and also maybe other schools in the region, and that we at the university aim to support them with knowledge and skills. As a result, he turned to Malusi who was also a teacher at the school and said that he hopes that the teachers will be faithful. For me this was a moment of symbolic transfer of ownership. Because we had correctly followed community entry principles, I knew that in many ways the project is now viewed also as a community initiative and not ours only.

I asked him if there were anything that he would suggest with regards to the way we do the IT training – I sincerely wanted his advice as he knows his people very well. He reiterated that he had no problem with what we are doing but then continued by telling us how important the certification of the course is to him.

One of the things Malusi and Jacob told me is to not stare at him or look him in the eyes directly. During our meeting, I noted Jacob actually looking at the floor when he addressed the king. I tried to copy his behaviour but found it quite awkward. I also noted that when I looked at the king during the conversation, he would look away. Jacob told me later that it could be seen as me challenging him in a way.

Leaving his palace, we felt honoured to meet the king and grateful for his open reception. In fact I felt empowered, having this great man's endorsement of the project. On the way back, Malusi continued to tell me about the authority of the king and how he in two or three questions, actually profiled me and the ICT training project. I didn't realise it at that stage. Malusi noticed it and mentioned it to me.

One of the key lessons I learned during this engagement was how well respected and loved the king was in his community – I could see it from Malusi's reactions. I also realised that for continued openness and empowerment of the local people and myself, I had to align with what the local people valued, which in this case was absolute loyalty and respect for their leadership structures. I felt empowered to continue with the ICT4D project under the protection and support of the king himself up the point where I could say that I have encountered riches beyond what many outsiders

can identify with. I experienced and therefore conclude that being part of a community of caregivers, operating under protection of traditional leadership, is a safe place to be, firstly, and secondly, a setting where ongoing and sustained empowerment of the local people can take effect. I believe that acknowledging and respecting (according to the local culture) traditional leadership is an absolute necessity for successful ICT4D research and practice in rural South African communities.

7.9 Reflecting on traditional leadership and value conflicts

During my discussions with Martha [Fieldnotes: 19 May 2010], Malusi [Interview with Malusi and Vivian: 8 April 2010], and Philani [Fieldnotes: 2 June 2011] on Zulu royalty and leadership I learnt much about the loyalty-based value system of the local people, and how it stands in contrast with task-orientatedness. According to my participants, Zulu royalty have a natural sense of vision and tenacity to look out for their people. Because of the families they are born into they assume a position of power and status, and therefore more naturally and easily assume leadership and caregiving roles. Other community members have to learn to be leaders and to develop vision. Royalty are assumed to lead and others are assumed to follow. According to the terminology of Bourdieu, they are born with symbolic capital with which they can influence, shape, and dominate. Generally Zulu royalty are sensitive to their community's well-being, and in this sense, the power and symbolic capital they have are not entirely oppressive or mostly inspired by self-interests as Bourdieu's writings tend to insinuate. Baba Mbatha for example gives about half his income to caring for his community [Fieldnotes: 19 May 2010]. When one seeks and values communion and understands the "safe place" that communion offers, it is not too far-fetched to argue that it is naturally logic for leadership to put the interests of the people before or at least on par with their own.

What is also noteworthy from a task-orientated perspective and necessary for understanding the value conflicts I experienced, is that royalty are assumed to be empowered and accepted as such regardless of whether they do things right or wrong [Fieldnotes: 19 May 2010]. In a loyalty-based context people will respect, acknowledge, and nurture their loyalty to leadership as a way of expressing identity and self-respect. Zulu royalty and leadership in a people-orientated culture offer a sense of identity and self-respect that people from a task-orientated background, like myself initially, find difficult to fathom. Leadership and position are not determined by what people do, their competence, task-orientatedness, or task integrity. This manner of evaluating leadership and showing respect to leadership also extends to how people treat and respect each other in their communities and how they seek and put communion before task criteria. Relationships with one's community, portraying hospitality, sharing, and respect towards each are not determined by task-

based integrity or task-orientated values and judgement of each other, but rather through loyalty-based respect, a desire for identity and seeking communion (body life) with each other. I believe that this is a cultural mannerism that has embedded itself in African politics and naturally does not make sense to task-orientated cultures. This manifestation of people-orientatedness and loyalty also provides some evidence of how collisions occur when Western task-orientatedness meets African loyalty-based values.

The Zulu people's views on position, empowerment, and influence are similar to how Bourdieu (1998) argues that some agents in the social situation acquire cultural capital, and therefore power and position, through marriage or through the "sword" and nobility as opposed to acquiring position and cultural capital through competence, education, or through the "robe" (Bourdieu, 1998: 22-23). In Western middleclass developed societies there seems to be a much closer connection between economic capital and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1998). Among the Zulu people the different social spaces where people are grouped, implies for those in the social spaces, cultural and symbolic capital that are still very much determined by their particular position in traditional society (see Figure 4.1 where I visualised this structure among men). Older men, for example, are all respected and assumed as having more symbolic capital and therefore more influence than younger men, royalty more than others, men more than women, elders more than children, and so forth, and issues such as competence, education, economic capital, task correctness, and so forth, do not have a significant impact on people's symbolic capital and influence in the communities. Symbolic and economic capital is not easily interchangeable.

According to Bourdieu, people with more cultural and symbolic capital generally use their capacity to influence, repress, and dominate the worldview of others (Bourdieu, 1998). However, what Bourdieu does not emphasise is that position and power may work both ways, i.e. various forms of capital may also allow those agents who possess it to more easily empower, uplift, and ultimately affect the freedom and emancipation of others. I believe that people in traditional leadership positions, development agents involved in ICT4D, or those who are involved in development discourses (such as myself) may be in a position where their influence may go either way. It is a very fine and ethical line to tread on.

7.10 Constructing concepts as an insider

Several events during the being-a-member phases opened my mind to people-orientatedness, loyalty-based values and its collisions with my own worldview. My position as member allowed me to build *experiential knowledge* on people-orientatedness and collisions. I therefore, believe that the best way to provide evidence of my understanding is to provide evidence of my embeddedness in

the social situation. That is, evidence that I had transcended the gap between theory and practice, that I made the second knowledge break, and that I got carried away by the game of ICT4D social interaction (Bourdieu, 1977, 1998; Postone, LiPuma and Calhoun, 1993). I then have to provide sufficient explanation of cases to which the explanations and concepts (theory) I construct applies (Neuman, 1997).

It is impossible to relate to all my learning events, how all those learning events built onto one another or led to one another, or how my ability to be reflexive and introspective in the situation improved. I will therefore only reflect on those events or reflexivity initiators that best illustrate the phenomena and that best support my interpretations.

One of my key learnings on loyalty-based values occurred during my conversations with a very prominent community leader and member of the royal family, Baba Mbatha. During the conversation I asked him regarding his view on the experiences of the teachers in a training situation [Interview Baba Mbatha: 9 April 2010]. I wanted to know what goes through their minds when they participate in ICT training. Baba Mbatha's response was a real eye-opener (and reflexivity initiator) to the meaning and manifestations of a loyalty-based value system and something that I could extrapolate to almost all types of engagements and instances of social practice in the project. He said the following: "I think they are afraid that they will disappointment you" [Interview with Baba Mbatha: 9 April 2010]. I had no idea! I have never before considered this alternate perspective or the possibility that a phenomenon like this even exists. Baba Mbatha also said that he thinks that they are scared of "breaking" the computer. I've been in many types of training situations in South Africa, but have never conceptualised the experiences of my students as such. Neither has anyone actually expressed their experiences like Baba Mbatha, nor have I even *perceived* this particular phenomenon in my students. I always assumed that achievement with regards to the task was the primary concern of the students I taught.

Baba Mbatha's insights became a key learning moment or reflexivity initiator on how loyalty manifests in the Zulu people and in ICT training. It affected much of how I engaged with the local people during ongoing ICT training and ICT4D, and how I theorised social phenomena. Access to his thinking didn't come easy though. It required considerable time, insight, and immersion in the social situation for me to be able to mine this idea from him. It was not obvious to him that I didn't realise this or that I weaved logic differently when it comes to ICT training and inspiring and motivating people. There were a number of challenges that emerged before and during my conversations with him. It compelled me to improvise during the conversation, and my fieldwork guide felt very inadequate at the time and I therefore simply abandoned it. The first issue was that he told to me

that he knows nothing about computers and does not know how he can help me. I therefore, could not ask him about ICTs or training directly. Secondly, I had observed from my engagements with people and with King Gumede, that in the Zulu culture, respect also implies reserving opinion (see Sections 7.9 and 7.15), especially towards your elders. Although I had noticed this mannerism several times before, I was somewhat unsure as to how to practice this with Baba Mbatha in a conversation. Baba Mbatha is a much older man, and traditionally a younger person like me would not approach an elder as frankly as I had attempted. I also couldn't simply pursue a friendship with him. My attempt do an interview with Sipho earlier also made me very careful to enforce some structure onto the conversation. I, therefore, felt quite uncomfortable to dictate the conversation by presenting this very influential and respected community leader with a piece of paper (with questions about my research) and a request for information.

My interview with Baba Mbatha, therefore, started by him asking me questions about our involvement. I had to improvise and allow him to guide the conversation as it was considered respectful. My primary aim was to simply respond to how Baba Mbatha guided the conversation, learn from the stories and conversation setting, and be flexible and open to improvisations for pursuing follow-up questions for digging below surface experiences (Thomas, 1993). I was doing the interview using principles rather than structure. It was while I was listening attentively for guidelines, principles, and values that I was able to respond and present him with this particular question that allowed me to initiate a deeper discussion and mine deeper meaning.

Another key learning event about people-orientatedness occurred during one of my many conversations with Martha. She related to a story in response to a question I asked her on what she considers a Zulu's worst form of deprivation [Interview with Martha: 8 July 2010; Fieldnotes: 7 July 2010]. She told me a story of a very distraught old Zulu gogo (grandmother) she met at the local hospital. When she asked the gogo how she was, the lady replied: "I am living like an owl". Martha's interpretation of this was that this lady was experiencing the utmost form of often unsaid deprivation according to what the Zulu people valued. Martha explained that due to HIV and AIDS, this woman has lost her husband, all her children, and grandchildren and that she had no-one left. According to traditional beliefs, if everyone around you passes, you are considered a "bearer of death" [Fieldnotes: 7 July 2010; Interview with Martha: 8 July 2010], and that in the Zulu culture the worst form of deprivation is having no social relations. This is because it relates to your identity and that your identity lies with your people, and if you are deprived of all social connections you have lost all of yourself.

I have been able to confirm this worldview from both Malusi and Philani [Interview with Malusi and Vivian: 8 April 2010; Interview with Mrs Dlamini and the teachers: 6 July 2010], as they explained how important communion and people are for them. In fact, Philani explained much later [Fieldnotes: 7 August 2011], that the Zulu people have no privacy and that they constantly live in communion with each other – it must have taken some reflection and exposure to Western thinking for Philani to actually realise that privacy is viewed differently in my culture. For them being connected to their roots and community is an expression of identity and self-respect, and it is something they value highly. Referring to this phenomenon as "Ubuntu" I wrote the following in my fieldnotes: "Living among people who operate in the spirit of Ubuntu creates an environment where you feel safe and cared for. Ubuntu is a safe place … I know my people will not see me fall into poverty or loneliness" [Fieldnotes: 27 January 2011].

My understandings of the concepts of loyalty and respect also matured as I observed the Zulu people's deep respect and loyalty to their king. Malusi, Martha, and Baba Mbatha at different occasions told me the story of how Ndabezitha was able to diffuse a war with another tribe by simply speaking a few words. During our constructing of concepts around this story and specifically how he was able to make so many men obey him in the heat of the moment, Martha and Malusi explained that the men obeyed their king because they have loyalty to him [Fieldnotes: 30 April 2010; 1 February 2010]. A Zulu's self-respect is associated with his loyalty to his leaders, i.e. if they don't have loyalty to their leaders or elders, they do not have self-respect. Moreover, I noted that Malusi who is a Zulu conceptualised this deep loyalty of the men as *respect* or having respect for him. Martha, who grew up as an Afrikaner, conceptualised the same phenomenon as *loyalty*. I could therefore, relate these two concepts to each other. This idea of loyalty as a way of portraying respect and self-respect is different from my own worldview, where I and people like me would typically portray respect and self-respect by means of showing task-orientatedness, like in the story told earlier about Stefan.

From my conversations with Martha and Malusi it also emerged [Fieldnotes: 30 April 2010; 19 May 2012] that total loyalty can be exploited and is exploited by leaders in African communities. Malusi, for example, noted that Ndabezitha is much more open and approachable than some of the other kings in the region who might demand particular forms of submission to them [Fieldnotes: 1 February 2010]. A key issue and difficulty of the loyalty-based value system is that the Zulu people's respect and loyalty to their leaders are not based on what they do or whether they do things right, or have integrity in the task-orientated sense [Fieldnotes: 19 May 2010]. The African people's need for showing self-respect through portraying their loyalty and identity with their communities

supersedes and mostly totally overrides their need to see task-orientated efficiency in their leadership. As a result they often are easily exploited. It is a conflict that I observed several times being a South African. This realisation is also the primary reason why I chose not to pursue the specific idea of empowering royalty as development agents in development projects. I realised the importance of aligning with development agents that do not suffer from cultural entrapment or ethnocentricity (i.e. judging social reality and development initiatives only by means of loyalty-based values or only by task-based values) or who do not have an appetite for self-centered enrichment and Western materialism. It emerged as a very difficult and ethical judgement to make as I experienced during my exit strategies.

7.11 Contrasting people-orientatedness with task-orientatedness as an insider

A number of events helped me reflect on this collision and how it manifested in me and in my project partners. During a lunch event [Fieldnotes: 9 April 2010] with several community members, a prominent community elder, Baba Nkosi, with whom I had engaged several times during the project, asked me why it is that we keep on coming back to the community. For a brief moment, I had to think about how to respond. I had come to do ICT4D things (training, etc.) and research, but more subconsciously, there was also a deep sense that I simply came for the community and the people. Being who I was, that is, coming from a task-orientated worldview, I started to explain that I came to do something like upliftment work, IT training for the school, and so forth. I believe I wanted to show that I am productive and therefore could contribute in a “meaningful” way to the community. My daughter, who has joined several of my research trips, promptly interrupted the conversation and said: “For the people!” Realising her childlike identification of our real reasons, I promptly agreed with it. Baba Nkosi’s response was quite surprising as he clapped his hands, saying that he was happy to hear that. I then also explained my “other”, task-orientated reason, because I wanted to give both points of view. My second explanation didn’t really faze him at all – as if it didn’t matter to him.

After this event I did much introspection on why I wanted to say one thing but then that I also agreed with my daughter’s spontaneous response, as well as the reasons behind Baba Nkosi’s question. In the terminology of Bourdieu I had to again expose my first-order strategies and my own ethnocentric ways. I came to conclude that Baba Nkosi was probably observing us for more than a year and noted that our motives were different from other outsider groups that visited his community, who Philani described as generally ignorant, culturally insensitive, and only concerned with their own agendas [Fieldnotes: 7 August 2011]. I could also confirm the perceptiveness and

discernment of the local people of the motives of outsiders and the long time it really takes for them to actually trust someone. Reflecting a lot about my own thinking, I realised that my initial choice of providing a task-orientated reason was a subconscious, spontaneous attempt at portraying my own self-respect and identity – just like Stefan had done earlier in the project. The reality was that I came for the people also – the friends I had made and the riches I had encountered by being considered part of them.

My learnings of how absolute loyalty manifests, made me also understand how development initiatives, such as the ICT4D artefact, are evaluated by the local people. In fact, during my exit strategy struggles and in an effort to get a sustainable ICT training initiative going (see Table 5.1), it emerged that cause-effect reasoning are undervalued, underdeveloped or simply not considered important in a loyalty-based culture. Cause-effect reasoning is something that cultivates much better growing up in a task-orientated context and is, therefore, something that is valued more within a Western mind-set. Among the Zulu people, a lack of task-orientated cause-effect judgement may be seen a form of cultural entrapment that allows the local people to be exploited during outsider so-called development initiatives. This potential mis-evaluation of the ICT4D artefact, i.e. evaluating it only by means of loyalty-based and people-orientated values or only by means of task-based, cause-effect measures, emerged as a considerable source of collisions, misunderstandings, and ethnocentrism on both sides of the worldview divide, and in my mind, also a key reason why so many development initiatives constantly fail. From this I also argue that an emancipatory practice might be that development initiatives in African contexts should incorporate both worldviews in its introduction and establishment in communities, and that diversity and emancipation from cultural entrapment and ethnocentric thinking may be an answer to sustainability, true achievement, freedom, and development.

7.12 Learning about collisions from a community-owned ICT training business start-up

This further story expands on how my worldview changed towards the end of the project. During our April 2010 training fieldtrip I met Bongani. Bongani is a member of the local municipality and a businessman involved in a number of small initiatives. Mrs Dlamini and her teachers described him specifically as someone to align with when doing community entry or starting any development initiative [Interview with Mrs Dlamini and her teachers: 6 July 2010]. He seemed to have a good standing among the Happy Valley people and with traditional leadership. One afternoon during the training week, Magrieta did an interview with Bongani. Shortly after this, he phoned me. He had learned from Magrieta about the training we offered and wanted to discuss the possibility of further

training with me. He came to the meeting very focussed and without all the traditional greetings and "how are you's". He knew exactly what he wanted. He was there to get things done and he already had a small ICT services business going. He wanted to know how we could help him expand his business to also include training courses and possibly how the University could collaborate with him. Money making didn't seem to be his primary concern, but rather the empowerment of people. Bongani appeared to be a doer and a visionary and he had ideas and plans for generating funding from within the community. I realised that partnering with him could lead to things happening. Back in Pretoria for two days, and there the email was: it was the minutes of the discussion we had and a number of action points (Figure 7.2).

The desire to make the project community owned and sustained, gained momentum after my conversations with Malusi and Vivian [Interview with Malusi and Vivian: 8 April 2010]. As a result, I was continually looking for an opportunity to pursue more sustainable ICT4D in Happy Valley and to possibly source funding from the community itself, so that they could eventually become independent from outside funding. Malusi and Vivian argued that it is not unreasonable to ask community members to pay for IT training courses. Both Philani and Malusi argued, and I observed it from Mrs Dlamini's guidance in 2009 also, that when someone pays for a course they value it more than when it is simply "given" to them or sponsored for them.

My meeting Bongani was the key moment that I was seeking. I also got quite fed up with trying to persuade outsider funders to consider funding ICT training in Happy Valley. My feeling was that there are certain expected ways to market and explain a project to potential outsider funders. It has to sound as if they can "feel sorry" for the people and that the outcomes should be measureable according to some task-based outcome. Western-minded outsider funders often have an entrapment that puts them in a frame of mind where they only respond if they can see pre-established outcomes or "evidence" of success, or an opportunity to exert some supercilious empathy that they are familiar with. If you highlight the strengths of a community in a funding application, you should for example provide evidence of previously clean audits, short term projects with "measurable" successes, and evidence of sustainability (which are not always available) that makes sense according to international expectations. You must be able to show that you can predict outcomes.

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
PRETORIA
0002
13 APRIL 2010

Dear Kirstin

Re: Computer College

I thank God for this opportunity to write to you regarding our blessed discussion we had last week at the Mission.
I hope you went well with your family back home.

Business

In terms of my plans this is what I have in mind:

- Programmes

- ✓ Introduction to Computer
- ✓ Basic Computer Literacy
- ✓ Advance Computer Literacy

- Targeted Groups

- ✓ Teachers
- ✓ Grade 11 and 12 Students
- ✓ Youth in the Community (matriculants)

- Fees

- ✓ For study materials
- ✓ Accreditation
- ✓ Graduation
- ✓ Certification
- ✓ Salaries for Educators
- ✓ Cost for your moderation (your involvement and your sessions including traveling and accommodation.

I hope to here from you soon as the time allows you

Thank you

Figure 7-2: First letter from Bongani on an ICT training business start-up

The reality, however, is that successes are not always observable by the non-perceptive outsider, or when measurable against Western expectations. Sustainability expectations may elude you (Ali and Bailur, 2007). For example, how do you measure or predict how IT skills will expand in a community where there is a richness of bodylife and where outsiders simply don't understand the intricacies of community living? Criteria for evaluating project funding applications should be that you endorse and support a project where bodylife is supported, respect, and valued. But this is a measure that many outsiders simply cannot fathom or perceive. If you do not understand bodylife, you won't

understand the value of it and the implications it has for sustainability and success. I found it very difficult to explain and interpret to outsiders the realities I was facing.

My press-releases in 2009 particularly had a task-based marketing of the project approach though, where I highlighted those things that are valued according to task-based evidence. At some point, however, I simply abandon "sucking up" to funders. I could no longer go against my own ethical judgement where I superficially portrayed only the community as those in need of emancipation. I felt that outsiders also needed emancipation and delivery from their own self-repression and cultural entrapment. In fact, I got the feeling that funding from socially entrapped outsider funders might keep people in a state of repression and dependence. I could no longer speak only the language of dependence or task-orientatedness.

Since my first meeting with Bongani we spent a considerable amount of time and phone calls to help plan the start-up. I even visited him again in September 2010 to have a face-to-face meeting and to explain the University's requirements and expectations to him. I also had to understand the particular needs and context in which the training would take place. Bongani recruited Philani in January 2011 and eventually the training started in February 2011 (see Table 5.1).

The way in which the business would work, however, was something that the three of us had to discover. It was fairly easy for me to discuss and plan things with Philani, because I had a very open relationship with him and he had a good understanding of how formal training normally takes place – he was a teacher at Happy Valley School. With Bongani, however, I found it very difficult, mainly because he never told me what he thought about things and suggestions. Although I will not elaborate on the success of the training during the first six months of 2011 and then how the whole venture failed spectacularly towards the end of 2011, I will briefly highlight some of the manifestations of collisions I experienced in the following paragraphs.

In order to register a training course with the University, requirements are that each training course should have specific outcomes, a budget, a predetermined number of students, a specific predetermined cost per student, hourly rates for trainers, a contract for each trainer, and a very specific time frame. Figure 7.3 shows a typical planning budget of a training course.

Promotional courses (Basic Computer Literacy)		
Pilot …		
Course income	32200	
Cost per person	1400	
Number of delegates	23	
Course Operating Expensis	15100	
Salaries	9000	
LoBuTech Salaries for 2 trainers	9000	
Nr of trainers	2	
TotalNr of Hours	40	
Fee p/hour	100	
Invigilation fee	0	
Marketing fee	0	
Venue costs	2600	
Course Material	2500	
Notes per person	100	
Printing of Flyers & posters	1000	
Postage & courier	0	
Traveling cost per course	0	Invoice from Informatics
Other expensis	14450	
CEatUP Admin & Certification (25% excluding travel)	8050	
CEatUP Salaries	6400	
TOTAL Expensis	29550	
Course Profit	2650	To AR226 and to fund the train-the-trainer workshop

Figure 7-3: Typical planning budget for a computer literacy course

The reality, however, was that absolutely all of these task-based criteria were challenged during the actual implementation of the training. For example, in order to register a training course through the University of Pretoria, Philani and I had to register a particular number of students *before* the course started. When I arrived for the exams a few weeks later, I found that the number of students changed. Originally we decided that a course would continue for a month on a part-time basis. Philani, however, would continue to postpone the exams because according to him, "the students are not ready yet", which I interpreted and accepted as being his way of being people-orientated. This had implications for the course budget, for example, because the approved budget only accommodated training fees for the trainers for a month and not for two months and Philani ended up working without pay at times. He then found it difficult initially to understand why he didn't get paid. In his mind he had to be flexible to the students and give them enough time. For me personally, managing the collisions between the different work-ways and at the same time keeping everything above board for the University's was a very exhausting and frustrating endeavour. It is one of the reasons why I can say with confidence that I was deeply immersed in the social situation of worldview collisions.

I also had a very specific role to play in the project, namely that of liaison and cultural interpreter between the University and the community. I was the one managing the changing requirements and requests, traveling every few weeks, absorbing conflict and collisions, shielding my Zulu partners from the University's inflexible Western ways, and interpreting constant changing requirements to the University as local innovation, openness to adaptations, entrepreneurial activities, and so forth. Luckily I had very understanding partners who were willing to constantly accommodate me and the ICT4D project, and through the research I did and concepts I construed, I developed ways to articulate and explain to my partners at the University why things changed all the time.

Throughout the project I experienced my Zulu partners to be extremely flexible in accommodating the needs and individual requests of people. It was as if they embraced, valued, and encouraged the unpredictability of the human-factor, as I noted earlier. Task-based criteria were sometimes not even considered when changes and adaptations to the planning were made. In fact, I found it virtually impossible to plan ahead and had to learn how to take the flow of things, often against my "better" task-orientated judgement. Also, because I had become so much part of the people and the Zulu way of doing things, i.e. understanding that respect is often associated with reserving opinion, I often found it very difficult to express some of my concerns about how things panned out. And, I also didn't want to interfere with the way in which local innovation took place.

7.13 Reflecting on embeddedness

There were certain real limits with regard to my depth of embeddedness and consequently what I could interpret from the social phenomena. Although I could to some degree understand and describe the Zulu culture, three years are not enough to become a Zulu. In fact, both Martha and Mrs Dlamini told me that I will never be a Zulu. My perspectives therefore, are that of an outsider with some embeddedness in the Zulu culture. My embeddedness, however, eventually emerged to not be in the Zulu culture as such but rather in the Happy Valley project. The collisions that I specifically experienced are what I can describe the best. I can to some degree try and reflect on my observations of others' (my project partners) tensions and the collisions I observed in them, but not from the perspective of a Zulu. The Zulu people naturally reserve opinion in matters – as a manner of enabling communion and showing respect – and therefore I have even less deep views on the social phenomena than what I want to have. Who I am, my historicity and prejudice, has a profound impact on how I did the project. There were some real successes in the project, which means that, given the need for the Zulu people to function within a personal relationship with me and with loyalty towards me, I have succeeded to become a member and become part of the community, and start a sustainable ICT4D initiative. But then this was with a community of development agents who

had some sense of Western thinking. There were some real failures, some which I cannot write about, because of the sensitivity of matters (e.g. fraud, rape, murder, divorce, extramarital affairs, etc.) and how it affected sustainability and success, and I want to protect my friends (even though some have disappointed me) in Happy Valley. I therefore, can only briefly describe my exit strategies, but not everything that led to it.

I believe that my reflections about my failures will be a caution to others who feel that they *know* how to develop others: You honestly don't know how to do things if you haven't been there and collaborated and took the hand of a real insider. And even then you should mostly stay away from doing things, lest you disrupt things. The best way, probably, is to simply make friends and inspire and support those that do the work and should do the work. Like Bourdieu, I came to believe that my entire study is based on the belief that "the deepest logic of the social world can be grasped only if one plunges into the particularity of an empirical reality, historically located and dated, but with the objective of constructing it as a 'special case of what is possible'." (Bachelard cited in Bourdieu, 1998: 2) Like Bourdieu I am convinced that "an approach consisting of applying a model constructed according to this logic to another social world is without doubt more respectful of historical realities (and of people) and above all more fruitful in scientific terms than the interest in superficial features of the lover of exoticism who gives priority to picturesque differences." (Bourdieu, 1998: 2). My embeddedness became evidence of rigorous scientific practice (Bourdieu, 1977) (also see Section 3.3).

Working inductively has its limitations. I found that I needed theory, like that of Bourdieu, to help me think and cover the various angles (i.e. reflect on) to the social situation. The lack of mechanistic data analysis approaches, especially necessitated me to use theoretical concepts, like those of Bourdieu, and his ontological and epistemological views as a tool to reflect with, or a tool to interpret my reflections with. It helped that my heart didn't leave my mind.

During and after observing the new phenomenon called people-orientatedness and accompanying hospitality and friendship approaches, I needed people with whom I could sit down and test my learnings and possibly construct concepts around this theme. Hospitality events occurred many times during fieldwork and I am able to relate to many stories for a long time. In order to substantiate my learnings I had to make a choice about which events could confirm, articulate or possibly refute my constructions of a new worldview.

One of my first attempts to understand the people-orientated culture and loyalty-based value system was during my conversations with Lungile in January 2010. Martha had mentioned earlier

that loyalty is to the Zulu what integrity is to the Westerner. When I asked Lungile about it, I simply couldn't get an explanation from him on whether he agrees with Martha or not. During our conversations I felt a bit concerned about my own understandings of the integrity versus loyalty debate and what it meant. I couldn't explain the difference between the meaning of loyalty and integrity in a way he understood, since I was still learning about it myself. Even a dictionary didn't help the conversations.

In order to distinguish and decipher meaning I later realised that, like in the integrity/loyalty issue, I had to engage with cultural interpreters that could articulate contrasts and who had some sense of contrasting worldviews. I realised that those people coming from the outside and who have done community entry before in Happy Valley, will possibly provide different perspectives and views on meaning. They would be able to decipher and interpret things in such a way that they would articulate tacit aspects of community engagement better than, for example, an individual that come from the community and that may not be aware of the tacit ways they do things themselves. This dilemma relate to the fact that few people could present reasons and *why* answers to subtle cultural nuances and underlying values. I therefore included the issue of seeking guidance from different types of cultural interpreters in the fieldwork guide that I compiled during January to March 2010 (see Appendix F). I concluded that a sensible way to understand contrasts between different worldviews is to engage with those who have lived both worldviews. Those who have penetrated the community and been accepted by the community are much more aware of the contrasts. They had to some degree be aware of their own and my ethnocentric self-repressions, and in a sense be willing to also expose their own first-order strategies (Bourdieu, 1977) to be a development agent.

What I could confirm from Lungile during my conversations with him, were guidelines on the community entry process as I presented it in Chapter 4 and 5, i.e. mostly responses to *what* and *how* issues. What I could not confirm is how the different views of reality could possibly create distorted intercultural understanding and assumptions. There were some real difficulties with regard to explaining meaning. Even a prolonged engagement with two research colleagues from another traditional African community in South Africa didn't help me fully articulate and construct concepts around people-orientatedness, loyalty-based values, and the associated collisions.

Like with Whyte (1996) only a few people provided a more holistic and deeper perspective on the Happy Valley community. Two specific informants can be highlighted. Both helped me decipher deeper meaning from my fieldwork experiences, and both had an intricate understanding of my own and the Zulu cultures. Early in the project it was Martha, and later-on Philani who helped me to formulate and confirm concepts around people-orientatedness and loyalty. Martha grew up as an

Afrikaner and later in her life moved to the Happy Valley community, while Philani grew up as a Zulu. With both of them I spent countless hours reflecting on the social phenomena of people-orientatedness in ICT4D projects in their context, even up to the end of 2012, long after I left the project. In retrospect I believe that through our relationships, we were able to apply many of the principles of interpretation (see Section 2.11) in much detail. They became my key research partners.

Martha being who she was, was able to articulate contrasts and, therefore, helped me during the early phases of the project. She had done community entry 20 years ago and had an embedded understanding of the Zulu people as well as how several development projects evolved in their context. Since she lived both cultures, she was able to articulate contrasts to me much better than some of the other local people. Many times during my being-a-member phases I sat down with her and discussed my learnings and observations. I believe that my reflections became reminders to her about what she already knew, and we could sit down and reflect and even theorise her responses to my learnings and experiences.

Much later in the project, after my role had changed from being a teacher and doer of ICT things to an advisor, coordinator, and liaison between the University and the community, and when my exit from the project started, I spent considerable time with Philani to confirm my learnings from the point of view of a Zulu and member of the royal family also. I believe that I needed additional perspectives and confirmation as a way to triangulate findings. My lack of mechanistic approaches for data treatment necessitated me to confirm themes and lessons learnt with different people with different worldviews and perspectives. Although many others played key roles in my research, Philani and Martha were those cultural interpreters who acted as soundboards with whom I could converse openly about my understandings, misunderstandings, my own reflections, and my research findings, without fear of offending them.

7.14 The meaning of loyalty

The meaning of loyalty needs some clarification. From my own worldview I construe loyalty to people as doing what I have promised them and doing it as well as possible. It implies that I portray self-respect and respect to others by committing to the task and promises I made to people regarding the task. Personally it also implies nurturing the relationships I have with my wife and children. Among the Happy Valley people, however, loyalty implies unquestioning loyalty, reserving opinion and critique against others, especially your elders, sharing, and showing and responding to hospitality. It implies an unquestioning commitment to the views and wishes of your elders and seniors. In a task-orientated culture loyalty is not non-existent. It is simply portrayed differently. For

example, loyalty to people may be portrayed through commitment to the task and expressing opinion. The total loyalty of the Zulu people manifests in their loyalty to their king and the role of their king in their community. Malusi for example, noted that the king is the "alpha and omega of the community" and that the king is like the parents and the community is like the child [Interview with Malusi and Vivian: 8 April 2010]. This concept carries much meaning especially since Malusi is part of the royal family, and grandson of the previous king.

The meaning of loyalty and integrity and the collisions that emerged from how these concepts are constructed in different worldviews, therefore, emerge from the value systems that people live by. My learnings in this regard highlighted the possible repressive effects of a loyalty-based culture. I consequently argue that diversity, i.e. understanding and living diverse worldviews and values may be a key emancipatory practice in ICT4D phenomena. Martha, who grew up as a Westerner, highlighted this issue as she noted that total loyalty is dangerous, because people can easily be exploited by others [Fieldnotes: 19 May 2010]. Martha also noted that loyalty to royalty is regardless of whether they do things right or wrong. During our conversation on this issue, we discussed African politics as an example of how this loyalty manifests and how people continue to support their leaders regardless of whether they are productive, responsible, efficient, and so forth.

Exploitation by leadership, however, is not easily viewed as a form of oppression in a loyalty-based culture, and people seem to accept the views and "repressions" of their leadership, disregarding task-based fairness. This, I believe, has to do with how different people express self-respect and the way different people weave the logic of freedom and emancipation. As outsider one can barely argue that the one is better than the other if you don't understand how it is to source your identity and "safe place" from your community.

Both and Martha and Philani explained this collision by relating to Lungile's role as operational manager at the mission. Both of them highlighted the tension Lungile experiences when he is made responsible for the maintenance and operation of things at the mission by his elders, but then when an elder needs to do something, Lungile is not recognised in the dealings. Lungile then seems to experience extreme turmoil and conflict as he sees how things are going pear-shaped in terms of the task, while he simply cannot express a concern or suggest a solution to his elders.

It is considered disrespectful in among the Zulu people to express a view or suggestion as a younger person. Philani for example mentioned that the elders would collectively come up with the idea that Lungile should manage the booking and maintenance of the mission vehicles. Lungile, by means of the task-orientated skills that he developed through his exposure to technology and Western

culture, would then develop a booking system which the elders will then endorse. However, when an elder needs a vehicle he would simple take the car disregarding all protocol. Lungile, because of his people-orientated background experiences conflict as he cannot oppose, refuse, suggest alternatives, or enforce any form of control over the process even though he is made "responsible" by the very people that are now disregarding it.

Martha noted that in particular scenarios in the operations of the mission things would go wrong. Lungile, through his exposure and development of cause-effect reasoning, would then pre-empt a scenario and a solution to avoid serious problems. However, because of his position in the community, he cannot suggest or act until instructed by his elders. Both Philani and Martha noted that it is an internal conflict that Lungile cannot express or articulate.

During my exit from the community in 2011 and while Philani and I were grappling with how to make an ICT training start-up successful, I even noted a similar conflict within Philani. During our struggles to work out how to do things in the ICT training business, there was a stage when both he and I realised that the business was going to fail due to the way in which Bongani, the manager and originator managed his matters. I told Philani that he should approach Bongani and express his concerns regarding how things were going. Philani, despite the fact that he has lived different worldviews and is the same age as Bongani, was simply unable to confront Bongani's ways. He noted that, "he is like my senior in the business and I am like his employer". I was fascinated by this phenomenon and how Philani was willing to let the venture slide into failure simply because of his loyalty-based worldview, rather than confronting Bongani and make things work.

The conflict that resulted from this business failure and the fact that we both could not resolve the issues became a severe source of tension and conflict within us both, and eventually the primary reason why I had to leave the community and the project. However, my friendships with Philani, Martha, Malusi, Mrs Dlamini, and Lungile have remained to this day, regardless of what happened with the project. They still phone to tell me about family events – births, deaths, divorces, new jobs, etc., and often just to ask how I am – and Philani still wants to re-start the training initiative.

In one of my last conversations with Martha [Fieldnotes: 26 July 2012], we reflected on the issue embeddedness in the community and the meaning of loyalty. The following is a translation of what I wrote down in my fieldnotes:

> "In the Zulu worldview disrespect may mean that you cut off someone from the group or collective sense. You then potentially threaten their dignity if you ask of them to be 'disloyal'. The first retaliation is to close up like a book and withdraw. No actor is

mentioned anymore in the conversations. Views are expressed more and more vaguely. No-one is identified in the conversation anymore. If you ask pointed questions they became uncomfortable.

Accountability becomes a threatening concept/experience especially if it is requested from you as individual. It affects the way you use language. It becomes a way of speaking. Never individual accountability, always the group as you communicate back what you understand. You find your strength and dignity in your people. Success is a communal effort.

Building respect becomes a tango. If you have lost togetherness you have disrespect. You have to be able to take hands. Nobody can do it alone. The dance is very complex and you will only understand it if you have grown up in the community. We [Westerners] are socially under-developed. They have much discernment. They can't understand that we are like children that simply speak what comes to mind, because it is only children that talks like that. You just speak and don't think first. When do you think if you just speak? We are socially underdeveloped because we don't know how to function in communion, how to maintain unity and collective strength, how to focus on people, how to discern, and keep quiet, and when to talk.

You need to take the hand of someone. You can never learn to live a new worldview. You can only take the hands of someone, and let them do the work.

The need to maintain communion and derive identity and strength from your people is stronger than trying to escape from others domination over my construction of reality. In fact, I embrace my community's domination of my construction of reality and my opinion is derived from my community and my leadership." [Fieldnotes: 19 May 2012]

Martha's analogy of a dance is an interesting confirmation of Bourdieu's discourse on developing a sense of the game, and in particular that habitus is something that is embedded in the minds and bodies of agents. There are real limits to what an outsider can fathom from a new a foreign habitus, no matter how long he or she tries to become part of it.

7.15 Reserving opinion and the dysfunctional relationship

Early in the project, during our February 2009 fieldwork trip, Martha noted that Zulus are courteous and do not push for their ideas and agendas to be noted, respected, or followed. When they are not

respected and the right people not acknowledged, they would simply not accept and take ownership of a development idea and then simply withdraw [Fieldnotes: 19 February 2009].

During my interview with Mrs Dlamini and teachers [Interview with Mrs Dlamini and teachers: 6 July 2010], one of our points of discussion was around the issue of reserving opinion as a way of showing respect. During the recorded conversation Mrs Dlamini mentioned that Zulus are not transparent people, like me. There are things that they reserve for themselves and even people like Martha will never fully understand the Zulu people. During the conversation, Ntombi, the king's daughter, said that she in particular is very "straight" (assertive) in the way she says things [Interview with Mrs Dlamini and teachers: 6 July 2010], and often people would tell her that she is cheeky or disrespectful. In this conversation, in which Philani also participated, he noted that that you cannot tell the king if he is wrong – "They don't like it if you point fingers" [Interview with Mrs Dlamini and teachers: 6 July 2010]. During the conversation I asked them why the Zulus reserve opinion. Philani said that "it is like hanging out dirty washing". Towards the end of the project I realised that the phenomenon of reserving opinion actually emanates from the desire and collective effort to seek communion in a people-orientated worldview.

Because respect and sincerity is shown by reserving opinion, the local people often experience internal conflicts, which they are unable to articulate when engaging in development discourses and practice. On the one side, according to their worldview, they are courteous and respectful, and as a result do not push for their ways, views, and opinions to be noted or observed. Because of this conflict, and their cultural practice of *always* showing hospitality, they may find it difficult or impossible to refuse participation, or to articulate how and when they disagree with the way development is construed by outsiders (see Thompson, 2008). On the other hand, according to the Western mind-set, people tend to offer opinion as a way of expressing pro-activeness, strategic task-orientatedness, and self-respect. It is often viewed as necessary for survival in a productivity-driven world.

I have noted and experienced that differing assumptions on how to participate in a discourse may result in a dysfunctional relationship, where one party simply offers ideas, strategies and approaches because of their task-orientated values and worldview, while the other party withholds opinion as a way of showing self-respect and hospitality, and seeking communion in their people-orientated worldview. I have experienced that this dysfunctional relationship may intensify as the one party continues to offer advice while the other settles into a stance where advice, help, and strategy are continuously "sought" as a way of showing respect and hospitality. Personally during my exist struggles I experienced this phenomena in its utmost, even to the point where I was sucked dry from

trying to make things work and adapting to the flexibility and unpredictability that the local people always embrace – or as I felt: the flexibility and unpredictability that was imposed onto me.

This manner of withholding opinion even when it is necessary to make things work, translates into a task and productivity inhibiting practice and ultimately into a collision between worldviews. In the Happy Valley community the task and productivity simply is not valued as highly as total loyalty. People would rather embrace and encourage the spontaneity and unpredictability of people. The task, correctness of the task, task-based timing, and task-orientated values simply doesn't matter in their traditional worldview. In fact, during one of the many dinners I had with Philani, he told me that he is scared of me. He said this because he thought that I think too much like a white man and that I verbalise too fast what I think, and that it could be disruptive to the relationship I have with Zulus, and specifically Bongani.

A collision manifests as task-orientatedness push people away, up to the point where they can be traumatised if they attempt not to disappoint you, and cannot succeed in doing so, especially if they try and show their loyalty by means of a different set of values. Malusi, who is a Zulu and from the royal family used different words and concepts to explain the same issue [Interview with Malusi and Vivian: 8 April 2010]. He said that the Zulu people are very friendly and hospitable [read: they don't want to disappoint you], but if you don't respect them [read: push them away] they may retaliate severely [read: will be traumatised] – different explanations from different points of view putting forward the same idea using different concepts. For the Zulu people respect implies loyalty and receiving and giving loyalty.

7.16 Conversations and interviews

Some of my most insightful conversations came after I had become part of the people, i.e. when I discovered people-orientatedness and the reasons for collisions. However, setting up planned interviews or conversations in order to collect data, offered quite a challenge throughout the study.

As I showed earlier (e.g. the story of setting up an interview with Sipho in Section 7.5), the process around the interview and setting up the interview relationship often offered me more relevant and meaningful insight into worldview collisions than the actual responses I got from the questions I asked. Also, because I was working inductively during the times that I did planned interviews (April to July 2010) I often went into the situation not knowing specifically what to ask and what the natural conversation would lead me to ask, like with Baba Mbatha (Section 7.10). In the end though I'd rather refer to the interviews I did (recorded and non-recorded) as conversations, simply because they all in some way evolved naturally, spontaneously, opportunistically, or unstructured. Each of

my planned and unplanned conversations was different from the next. Also, the fact that reserving opinion emerged to be a respectful way of treating one's elders, made it very difficult to enforce any structure onto conversations especially with more senior and influential people in the community. My conversations with Ndabezitha and Baba Mbatha (stories told earlier) for example unfolded unusually, because I was obliged to start the conversation by keeping quiet!

I realised very early on in the project that I would never be able to get any meaningful insights from anyone outside of a relationship of trust. Also, gaining access to people to do conversations emerged to be a central part of the community entry process I constructed in Chapters 4 and 5. Community entry, therefore, also involved acquiring the tenacity of building cross-cultural relationships of trust, which subsequently evolved into some of the most meaningful lessons I learned. I succeeded in building such relationships (i.e. for doing conversations) during my acceptance as part of the community and after I had to some level come to grips with the habitus of the people I engaged with. The skills and process leading to relationships of openness and trust began with reflexivity and understanding my own self-repression and ethnocentricity as well as challenging the assumptions about what I thought I knew about the social situation, how ICT4D should be done, and the meaning of emancipation.

There was a change of perspective on my side where I had to understand and experience that the community of caregivers that I engaged with had a level of riches and communion which I didn't understand and which rendered me deprived in a certain sense. I had to be carried away by the game (and collisions) of caregiving in the terminology of Bourdieu. This realisation and the willingness to not make any supercilious assumptions about my own position in the community helped the people to perceive my motives as genuine.

I observed that my honest approach of enquiring advice from my informants, became a way of empowering them to correct, advise, and explain intricacies about their community and worldview. During the conversations I often wanted to know how I could improve or adapt my approaches, what I could have done better, or what about my worldview should be addressed to make an ICT4D project successful. I wanted them to help me critique myself. However, since the Zulu people are courteous and generally avoid criticising others, I realised that not all of them would tell me directly what I should've done better or differently during the project. I, therefore, typically asked my questions in the third person, e.g. "What would you tell other people coming from the outside how to do community entry?", "Can you tell me stories of previous projects where the people disrespected you?", or "What advice can I give others on how to implement a training project like I did?" and so forth. In this way I removed the possibility of the "disrespectful" approach of getting

them to criticise me or what I did. I could then afterwards extrapolate their advice and guidance to my own ways. My conversations with Lungile and Baba Mbatha were examples of such conversations.

The process of exposing to myself and challenging my own first-order strategies and the real reasons for being in the project helped me to build relationships of trust, where people with a much more refined social discernment than myself could open up to me. It was during these times and because of the difficulty of gaining access to people, that I started arguing that the emancipation of the researcher is a prerequisite for the emancipation of the researched. All the conversations I had were guided by principles and understanding my own position and orientation to knowledge (i.e. a critical ontology and epistemology) rather than guided by structure or method (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000). Before all the conversations I did, I made sure as far as possible that there was a personal relationship of trust, or that I had a "chaperone" that could guide and interpret. For example, after my conversations with Malusi and Vivian, Malusi took me to do a conversation with one of the Zulu Induna who I had never met before. Since Malusi was part of the ICT training project and because I had spent considerable time with Malusi, he had an understanding of the type of information I was interested in. He took a key role in interpreting to the Induna the things I wanted to know, and then explained to me what the Induna said.

Some of the best advice about how to do an interview with people came during the beginning of the being-a-member phases in March 2010, when I tested my initial interview guide with a senior research colleague and someone who also comes from a traditional community in South Africa. During the many conversations I had with him over a period of about four days, he noted that very few people really have good listening skills. He said that this is because, according to him, people think too much about how they are going to respond to what people are telling them, and therefore they neglect to listen. He added that people are uncomfortable in moments of silence during conversations. He noted that those are the times when people reflect and that it is necessary to allow people to do so without being interrupted with a question or comment.

I took his advice and allowed people to tell me their stories and that which they considered important, without interrupting or interfering with follow-up questions on what I assumed to be themes to seek out. In fact, I forced myself to not think about follow-up questions, interview structure or anything else that could cause "interview noise" while someone was talking to me. I let go of control of the interview situation and simply listened to what they told me. I allowed the people I engaged with, to determine and guide the nature of a conversation. As a result, I was

offered more access to deeper meaning and more realistic accounts of their honest views and feelings.

Other advice on doing conversations came from Whyte's (1996) confessional account. He told the story where a cultural interpreter told him to "g[G]o easy on that 'who,' 'why,' 'when,' 'where,' stuff … . You ask those questions, and the people will clam up on you. If people accept you, you can just hang around, and you'll learn the answers in the long run without even having to ask the question" (Whyte, 1996: 29). Just hanging around provided answers to questions that Whyte (1996) didn't even know exists. This approach proved to be much more fruitful and more successful to me as well, than asking questions all the time, like when Malusi noted my relaxed manner of enjoying social activities and what I subsequently learned from the event (Section 7.6). When Whyte (1996) established this position, data just came to him without him having to make special data collection efforts.

My engagement with Sipho is an example of how I let conversations naturally evolve and how I actually learnt more from the conversation setting. Also, putting aside an explicit and conscious research agenda during engagement and leaving my fieldnotes and reflections until after my engagement (see my approach to fieldnotes in Section 2.13), made me relax and enjoy social activities much more. I could focus in entirety on becoming part of the people, like Bourdieu argues. The result was that people noticed it and subsequently responded to my relaxed manner, unlike Schultze (2000) who seems to portray much of her fieldwork as an intense and exhausting activity because of her research agenda. In taking this stance, I observed people offering deep and revealing personal accounts about their lives. I have to note though that this maturity in doing conversations only came after I became a member (April 2010). During my very first encounters I *did* experience very intense and tiring fieldwork activities.

I noted from myself that I also remembered much more from the conversations I did when I simply just listened. For example, in April 2010 I did a recorded conversation which I never followed up on or transcribed. When I listened to the recording again in 2012, I was amazed at how much I actually remembered from the conversation. I contribute this simply to the fact that I went into the conversation with the primary aim of listening and not thinking about how I want to respond or about "interview noise". I didn't allow my mind to be side-tracked by the interview setting, e.g. the interview guide, the recording device, follow-up questions, and so forth.

During my very first recorded and planned conversations in April 2010, I attempted interviews with individuals. However, all these conversations evolved into focus group discussions, as the people I

approached spontaneously invited their peers to join the conversations. I let the conversations develop as it did, and in the end realised the value of having a collective point of view on matters.

Early on in the research I considered a "friendship approach" to community engagement and setting up interviews. However, during and after I gained a more embedded understanding of the social phenomena, I realised that friendships can only happen naturally and you cannot force them into existence. I simply could not befriend everyone. Real friendships in my case also only occurred with some people – mostly men and couples of more or less my own age and social disposition (e.g. with children the same age as mine, etc.) or with people I taught during various training events. A different approach would rather be to build trust relationships as I explained earlier. I could get to the point where the local people trusted me enough to divulge some of the intricacies of their values, thinking, and worldview.

I was told in interviews, more than once, that I will never be able to fully understand their culture and that they deliberately don't tell me certain things. When I inquired why they would not tell me everything, Philani's response for example was that "it is like hanging out dirty washing" [Interview with Mrs Dlamini and teachers: 6 July 2010]. I didn't fully understand this until I understood that the traditional Zulu deliberately reserves opinion about what they think and about themselves and their culture from outsiders because it is seen as respectful social practice. Gaining access to what the Zulu really thinks and experiences is very difficult.

Towards my being-a-member phases I did manage to gain some access to deeper issues. After an intimate group interview with Mrs Dlamini and four of her teachers [Interview with Mrs Dlamini and teachers: 6 July 2010], she came to me the next day to tell me that she thought I would be shocked because of what I had heard the previous day. I was somewhat surprised by her concerns. I asked Martha the following day to help me interpret Mrs Dlamini's concerns to me. She explained that Mrs Dlamini actually just wanted to tell me how difficult it was for them to reveal to me the things they told me. For me, though it wasn't shocking at all. I tend to find it easy to tell people about how I think about things.

During the same conversation Philani also asked me; "Can you see now how difficult it is to be a Zulu?" I asked him what he meant. He responded: "When you are at home you must think like a Zulu, but when you are working at school or doing computers you must think like a white man. I grew up amongst white people and it is easy for me, but others find it very difficult" [Fieldnotes: 6 July 2010]. Much later I realised that he was telling me that they experience a collision between worldviews when they have to deal with a Western driven economy.

7.17 Fieldwork events and data treatment

Although my approach to fieldnotes and fieldwork is described in Sections 2.12 and 2.13, it is necessary to also reflect on (confess) how fieldwork events unfolded and how it was incorporated as part of the data.

Towards the end of the topic discovery and becoming-a-member phases of the project I started to seek ways to analyse and organise my data. One of my first attempts was after Lungile's visit where I loosely applied Content Analysis and Roode's (1993) bottom-up approach to make sense of what I had at the time (see Section 7.7). However, throughout my seeking ways to treat my data with rigour, I continuously found that any attempt to mechanistically analyse my data fell short of the spirit of critical social theory and critical ethnography. I also experienced that the data organisation methods I attempted became a very time consuming form of "displacement activity" (Walsham, 2006: 325).

Walsham (2006) argues that the "need for thought" (p. 325), such as choosing themes and making data-theory links is much harder work and a key responsibility for the researcher. Walsham (2006) also warned that because of the great effort to link themes to data, a student can "get 'locked in' to the themes as the only way to look at the data" (Walsham, 2006: 325). The "emphasis on methodological accountability may well inhibit criticality" (Avgerou, 2005: 103), because it is necessary for researchers to "bring into their investigation tacit knowledge, emotions, and moral and political convictions that cannot be rationalized in methodological descriptions" (Avgerou, 2005: 103). As a critical theorist I wanted to avoid being "locked in" or constrained in any way.

My reading of Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000) further confirmed this manner of reasoning in that critical research requires "a great deal of reflection" (p. 140), because theory and data cannot be easily integrated. "C[c]ritical theory demands meticulous interpretation and theoretical reasoning in tackling the empirical material." (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000: 140). They also suggest, confirming Thomas (1993), that the ethnographer should select from the body of data those empirical indicators (which I also refer to as reflexivity initiators) most important for supporting the mandate of critical research (e.g. social transformation, emancipation, critique, etc.), which implies that the body of empirical material may be reduced, while critical reflection is done more in-depth.

Throughout my fieldwork and "data treatment" I, therefore, encountered many reflexivity initiators, which is different from themes. I define reflexivity initiators as fieldwork moments (and sometimes stories) that initiated reflection in a particular direction or that helped me describe particular manifestations of collisions or criticality. Typically reflexivity initiators would also become topics for

discussion that I would take to my cultural informants for further scrutiny and interpretation. Examples include my discovery of hospitality approaches (Sections 2.7, 4.5, and 7.4), specific manifestations of loyalty and people-orientatedness in teaching (Section 7.10), or manifestations of Western bias during community entry (Sections 4.7 and 4.11).

Although I found pre-writing (i.e. continuously writing down reflections and reflections about reflections) a useful way to formulate my arguments and to theorise social phenomena, I also heeded to Harvey and Myers' (2002) and Myers' (2009) guidance to not be carried away by the process of creating hermeneutic text upon text or focussing on the text instead of paying attention to the lived experience (see Section 2.11).

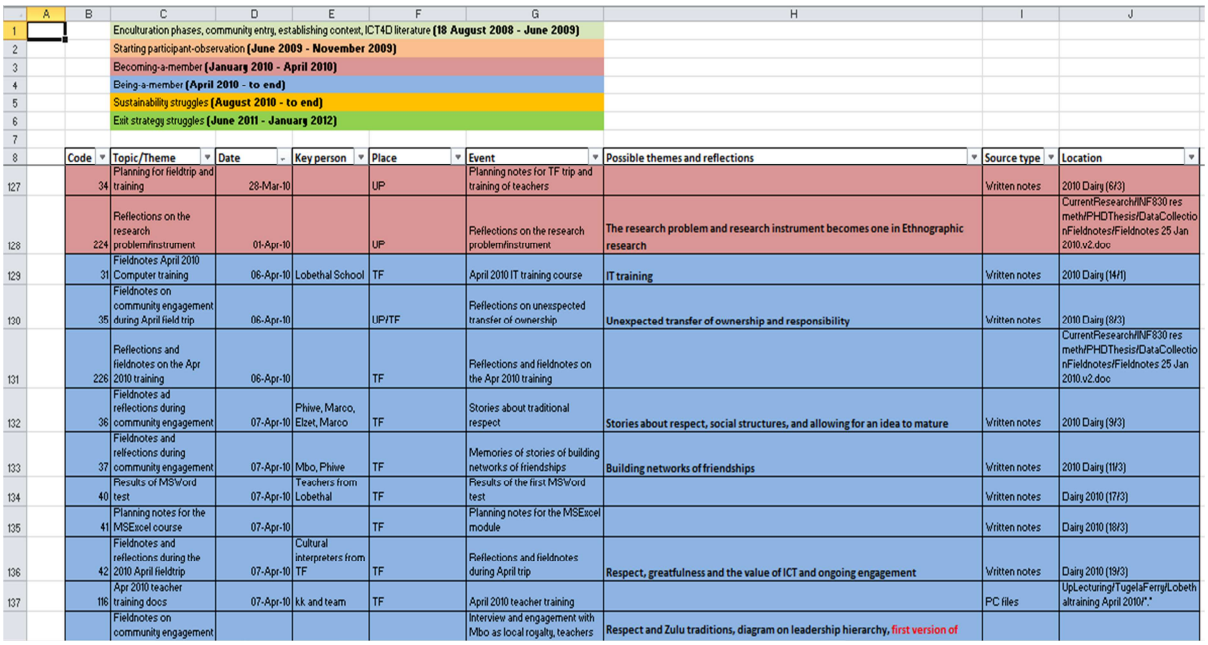
I explored Schultze's (2000) data treatment approaches and discovered that she also found it difficult to isolate when data analysis took place, "because it is happening all the time as the ethnographer moves from the periphery toward legitimate membership in the field" (Lave and Wenger 1991, cited in Schultze, 2000: 25). For Schultze (2000) the primary activity during data analysis was "reading the fieldnotes over and over again in order to categorize events and to inductively construct themes" (p. 25).

In this study, "data analysis" was rather a non-mechanistic process of interpretation and critique, which was guided by the principles of critical hermeneutics, critical reflexivity, and the epistemology of critical social theory. I.e. my orientation to knowledge was the primary position from which I constructed knowledge and thus "analysed" my "data" (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000) (I elaborated on this in detail in Sections 2.11, 6.3, and 8.3, and demonstrated these principles throughout). In my critical ethnographic work, social transformation (my own being the most prominent) was the primary outcome I desired, while collisions between worldviews became the central and mostly the only theme I sought to interpret, understand, and describe. Therefore, rather than seeking out many themes as is often the case in qualitative research, I was only concerned with a single theme towards the end of the research, i.e. worldview collisions, and its many manifestations and reflexivity initiators.

I had to find a way to *organise* my data, though (Section 2.13 explains my view on fieldnotes). While I initially considered using either Thematic Analysis (Braun and Clark, 2006), Content Analysis (Leedy and Ormrod, 2005), or possibly borrowing principles from Grounded Theory (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000; Van Niekerk and Roode, 2009; Twinomurinzi, 2010), I started going through all my many data items to see if I can identify themes or concepts that I could code in some way. The first step in the process was to create a spread sheet which could operate as an index to all the many

data items that I had collected throughout the study. I named this spread sheet "Fieldnotes Timelines.xls" (an extract can be seen in Figure 7.4). The purpose was to have a central, searchable, and sortable point of entry where I could gain access to each and every data item I collected and created. It was also these data items in the spread sheet that I referred to throughout this dissertation.

Absolutely everything I had done from 18 August 2008 up to 26 July 2012 on the Happy Valley project was included in the spread sheet. Data items included written fieldnotes, reflections on fieldnotes and conversations, recordings of conversations, pictures, videos, cell phone text messages, research papers I had written on the project, feedback reports, project proposals, press releases, emails, letters, budgets, applications for funding, contracts, financing contracts, planning notes and documents, training course notes I used, PowerPoint presentations, workplans, and so forth. In the end, all records, pictures, and fieldnotes on the project were a total of five gigabytes of electronic data, and three full notebooks with hand written notes.



1		Enculturation phases, community entry, establishing context, ICT4D literature **(18 August 2008 - June 2009)**								
2		Starting participant-observation **(June 2009 - November 2009)**								
3		Becoming-a-member **(January 2010 - April 2010)**								
4		Being-a-member **(April 2010 - to end)**								
5		Sustainability struggles **(August 2010 - to end)**								
6		Exit strategy struggles **(June 2011 - January 2012)**								
7										
8		Code	Topic/Theme	Date	Key person	Place	Event	Possible themes and reflections	Source type	Location
127		34	Planning for fieldtrip and training	28-Mar-10		UP	Planning notes for TF trip and training of teachers		Written notes	2010 Dairy (6/3)
128		224	Reflections on the research problem/instrument	01-Apr-10		UP	Reflections on the research problem/instrument	The research problem and research instrument becomes one in Ethnographic research		CurrentResearch/INF830 res meth/PHDThesis/DataCollectionFieldnotes/Fieldnotes 25 Jan 2010.v2.doc
129		31	Fieldnotes April 2010 Computer training	06-Apr-10	Lobethal School	TF	April 2010 IT training course	IT training	Written notes	2010 Dairy (14/f)
130		35	Fieldnotes on community engagement during April field trip	06-Apr-10		UP/TF	Reflections on unexpected transfer of ownership	Unexpected transfer of ownership and responsibility	Written notes	2010 Dairy (8/3)
131		226	Reflections and fieldnotes on the Apr 2010 training	06-Apr-10		TF	Reflections and fieldnotes on the Apr 2010 training			CurrentResearch/INF830 res meth/PHDThesis/DataCollectionFieldnotes/Fieldnotes 25 Jan 2010.v2.doc
132		36	Fieldnotes ad reflections during community engagement	07-Apr-10	Phiwe, Marco, Elzet, Marco	TF	Stories about traditional respect	Stories about respect, social structures, and allowing for an idea to mature	Written notes	2010 Dairy (9/3)
133		37	Fieldnotes and reflections during community engagement	07-Apr-10	Mbo, Phiwe	TF	Memories of stories of building networks of friendships	Building networks of friendships	Written notes	2010 Dairy (11/3)
134		40	Results of MSWord test	07-Apr-10	Teachers from Lobethal	TF	Results of the first MSWord test		Written notes	Dairy 2010 (17/3)
135		41	Planning notes for the MSExcel course	07-Apr-10		TF	Planning notes for the MSExcel module		Written notes	Dairy 2010 (18/3)
136		42	Fieldnotes and reflections during the 2010 April fieldtrip	07-Apr-10	Cultural interpreters from TF	TF	Reflections and fieldnotes during April trip	Respect, greatfulness and the value of ICT and ongoing engagement	Written notes	Dairy 2010 (19/3)
137		116	Apr 2010 teacher training docs	07-Apr-10	kk and team	TF	April 2010 teacher training		PC files	UpLecturing/TugelaFerry/Lobethaltraining April 2010/*.*
			Fieldnotes on community engagement				Interview and engagement with Mbo as local royalty, teachers	Respect and Zulu traditions, diagram on leadership hierarchy, first version of		

Figure 7-4: Extract from "Fieldnotes Timelines" spread sheet

For each data item I created column entries with a number (code) to identify the row, a topic or theme, date or dates, key individuals involved, place, something about the event, possible themes and/or reflections, the type of data source, and location of the data item. By the time I had finished with data entry I had 328 data items in the spread sheet. I sorted the spread sheet according to date and then colour-coded the primary phases of the research (see Figure 7.4). Although it is not possible to pin-point exactly where one phase of the research ended and where the next started, I divided my ethnography into roughly six phases:

1. Enculturation phases, community entry, establishing context, ICT4D literature (18 August 2008 - June 2009)
2. Starting participant-observation (June 2009 - November 2009)
3. Becoming-a-member (January 2010 - April 2010)
4. Being-a-member (April 2010 - to end)
5. Sustainability struggles (August 2010 - to end)
6. Exit strategy struggles (July 2011 - January 2012)

After I completed the spread sheet I started working through each data item to identify themes and fieldwork collisions. I initially created a table that contained descriptions of themes and codes that showed which data item/s (rows) in the spread sheet contained evidence of the particular theme (a three-row excerpt can be found in Table 7.1). After "analysing" up to the becoming-a-member phase of the spread sheet and after generating thirty-three pages of descriptions of "themes" and codes, I had to stand back and reflect on the process (Myers, 1997; Harvey and Myers, 2002) and the value of what I was doing.

I realised that as I was writing down and describing "themes", I actually simply created reflections upon reflections, and more fieldnotes of fieldnotes. Also, since I had completed most of my fieldwork at the time, I was bringing reflections and experiences from later phases of the research into events that occurred during the becoming-a-member phases. Although this process of going through my fieldnotes and creating more reflections and fieldnotes (text upon text) was useful for pre-writing and helped me to revisit the transformational experiences I encountered throughout the project, I found myself to be "locked in" (Walsham, 2006) in the process. I still had no coherent account of my findings (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001).

I, therefore, abandoned this process and started writing my data chapters by simply telling the story of social transformation, how community entry unfolded, and how my learnings of worldview collisions matured. As I told my story, I continually reverted to my orientation to knowledge or the spirit of critical social theory as I explained it earlier. As I created a coherent account of my findings (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001) I consulted the spread sheet to support my story with empirical evidence (empirical indicators or reflexivity initiators). I strategically selected the most remarkable and most relevant data items to support my arguments. I also continually consulted the data in me (Whyte, 1996) in order to remember how things unfolded and how social transformation occurred. I used Bourdieu (i.e. theory) to reflect on my reflections and on my findings, and to provide evidence of rigour (Walsham, 2006).

Conflict, collisions, contradictions	Data item (Fieldnotes Timeline.xls)
…	…
***Importance of taking pride in their traditions**, even though it is simple, earthly. AmaZulu has an ancient culture with deep and long history, much more than what the white people in South Africa have. It is often underrated by outsiders, or looked down upon by outsiders. It should, however, be protected, nurtured, and children should learn how to continue to value what they have in the cultures. It is a way of protect the community fibre. The ICT4D artefact or development should not enforce other or new values and so disrupt or distort the safety and value of the local traditions. Pictures of where ICTs meet tradition. Zulu pride and identity.* *Bongani seem to have tasted the good life and lost his respect for the people he engaged with. He is not very hospitable as I have noted the other Zulu's to be, always in a hurry, job orientated, wanting to be in meetings, high flyer .. and he was the one responsible for the biggest upset in the whole project. I think he lost his respect for people.*	*112, 122, 111*
***Inter-cultural communication– in teaching**: use metaphors to transfer basic knowledge into another culture, build onto existing knowledge (blends)* *Inter-cultural meeting of minds: Western goal-orientated mind; one's social status is not determined at all by what you do, earn or have; finding similarities and differences to relate to; questioning my own assumptions during communication; not having the same frame of reference and for not understanding the way they understand; "Every time I talk or teach, I have to question, not only the clarity of what I say, but also how I say it, as well as the preconceived ideas I assume they have about what I want so say"*	*113, 150*
***Inter-cultural communication collisions during community entry:** Difficulties of connecting with the people on their level and trying to understand their frame of reference in order to ensure successful communication and knowledge transfer. Learning how to speak the cultural language, huge gap in assumptions, body language, ways of showing respect, etc. Feelings of insecurity and helplessness.* ***Storming in and not respecting** and allowing people to engage with the ICT4D project may cause them simply to stand back and not engage or identify with the project*	*150, 213, 216*
…	…

Table 7.1: Extract from a table of possible fieldwork themes

I furthermore made sure to follow the guidance put forward in Appendices B and C and the methodology described in Chapter 2. Often as I wrote down a reflection or story I remembered particular events and then searched for it in the spread sheet to get the details. However, there was no time where I simply abandoned my data. I often found myself going through the notes and things I collected, looking at pictures, revisiting recorded conversations, and reading my fieldnotes over and over again. Reflection, writing, and engaging with my data were an iterative process during the write-up phases of the research.

7.18 Conclusion

This chapter describes how my learnings of people-orientatedness and worldview collisions evolved. I also demonstrate how I matured as a critical researcher within the phenomena of worldview collisions in cross-cultural ICT4D situations, and ultimately how I was changed through a prolonged and embedded time in the field. I reflect on how I started to understand people-orientatedness and

worldview collisions and which particular events (or reflexivity initiators) opened up my understandings. I also reflect on the idea of hospitality approaches as a manifestation of people-orientatedness and loyalty. A number of encounters are presented where I show how my learnings evolved and deepened. The chapter continues where I reflect how my understanding of people-orientatedness and worldview collisions affected the way in which I engaged with people, and treated fieldnotes and ethnographic data. Some of the implications of worldview collisions are reflected upon, such as that it may translate into dysfunctional relationships. Throughout the chapter, I used Bourdieu's concepts to assist in criticality and interpretation, and where it made sense to do so. In the following chapter I will conclude the study. I will show how I contribute to critical ICT4D discourses and practice and to Bourdieu's critical lineage.

CHAPTER 8
Conclusions and contributions

8.1 Introduction

In Section 2.10 I explained the nature and purpose of critical theories mainly from Hammersley (1992), Čečez-Kecmanović (2005), and Myers and Klein (2011). In this chapter I argue my contribution to theory and practice and how my research establishes a new basis for ethical conduct in social research practice. I thus show how the research contribution fosters reflexivity, challenges existing dominating practices and beliefs, enables emancipatory social transformation, establishes a new basis for emancipatory practice, and ultimately how my contribution provides conceptual tools to enable those that are silenced and repressed by existing ICT4D practices, to realise and articulate their values.

8.2 Summary of the thesis

My thesis can best be summarised by revisiting the purpose of each chapter and how my research contribution aligns with the model for community entry in South African context, which I presented in Figure 5.1 and revisit in Figure 8.1. In the model, the main research problem is presented as *The need for ICT4D stakeholders to be empowered and emancipated*. In Chapter 1 I explained the background to this problem, the sub-problems, the research context, and the orientation to knowledge necessary to address the problem. The main research problem in particular critiques the Western-minded ICT4D researcher-practitioner's own cultural entrapment and ethnocentrism, and the subsequent non-emancipatory practices and assumptions he/she brings into the ICT4D social situation. In Chapter 1 I put forward the three research questions that follow from this problem and place the research in a particular setting. The research context is explained as engaging in emancipatory ICT4D in a deep rural Zulu community in South Africa and the implications of this engagement from the point of view of a Western task-orientated and socially entrapped worldview.

Chapters 4 and 5 address the community entry, enculturation, and topic discovery (and problem discovery) phases of the research and ethnography. Figure 8.1 highlights and groups those aspects of introducing the ICT4D artefact as *Community entry phases*, which includes the need for doing a collaborative situation analysis and principles for engaging with research participants. In Chapter 4 I focus on my own initial worldview, addressing historicity and prejudice, and how community entry unfolded during the first eight months of the ethnography. Chapter 5 is summative as I demonstrate how lessons learnt during community entry and enculturation are implemented and appropriated in

subsequent engagements. Chapters 4 and 5 primarily address research questions 2 and 3 (see Section 1.6), but also lay the foundation for answering research questions 1 and 4 in Chapter 6 and 7. The answer to the main research question is sought and clarified throughout, and the conclusion is reached in Chapters 7 and 8, where I present myself as the emancipated and therefore empowered ICT4D researcher.

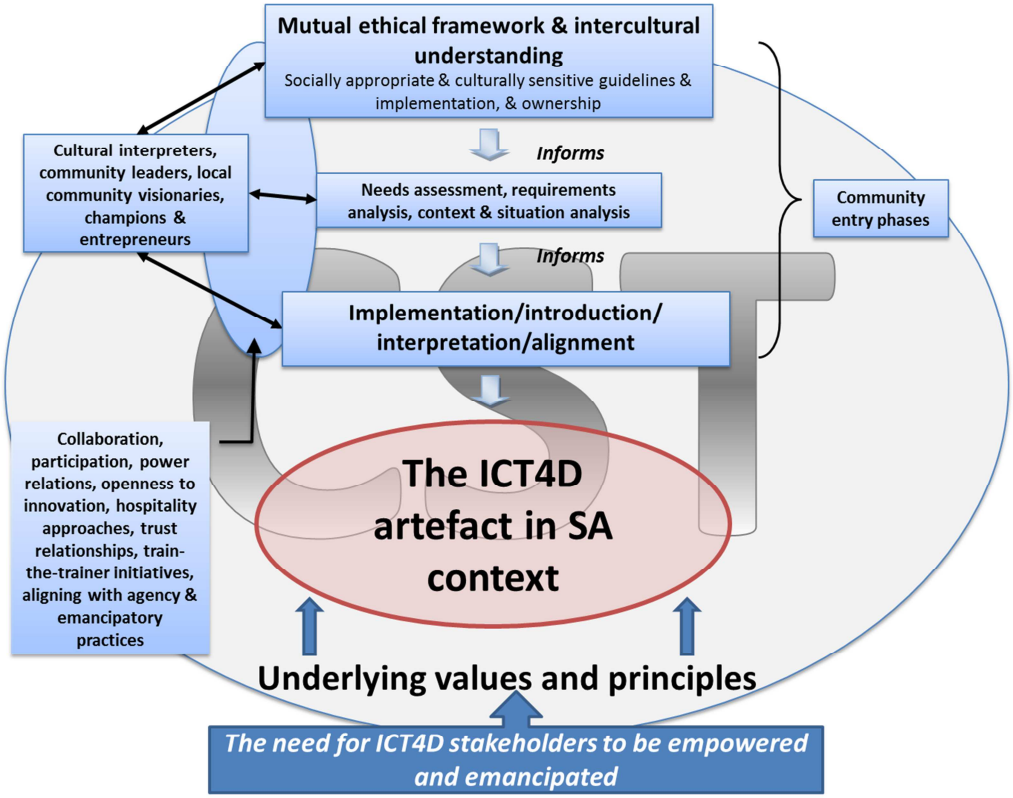


Figure 8-1: The thesis revisited

In Chapters 6 and 7, I explore and describe collisions between worldviews as embedded insider or someone who has been carried away by the game of ICT4D collisions. These chapters differ from Chapters 4 and 5, in that project timelines are not as eminent in how things unfolded. The focus is rather on how learning and critical reflexivity matured, how I discovered a different worldview, what I did when I was confronted with fieldwork collisions and conflict, and how social transformation and emancipation started after community entry was established. As is appropriate for critical ethnographies, only the most relevant and most remarkable stories of collisions and learning are select and presented.

In Figure 8.1, *Underlying values and principles* denotes the critical position of enquiry needed to adequately and also ethically engage in ICT4D research and practice in communities such as Happy Valley. It also shows that the ICT4D researcher and practitioner should be aware of collisions

between worldviews and the implications of collisions. The need for the outsider researcher-practitioner to be emancipated from his/her own self-repression and ethnocentrism is put forward as an essential starting point for *ethical*, respectful, *socially appropriate*, and *culturally sensitive* ICT4D research and practice. The concepts *Mutual* and *Ownership* in the figure represent the shared understanding needed and reciprocal spirit of the model.

Chapters 2 and 6 explain my methodological approach, epistemological assumptions, how I matured in critical epistemology, and principles I applied to adequately construct knowledge about the ICT4D situation. Chapter 6 and 7 (Chapters 4 and 5 also, but to a lesser degree) reflect on the results of my knowledge construction approaches. In Chapter 6 and in particular Section 6.3, I build onto the methodological approach that I explained in Chapter 2. I thus explain the critical position of enquiry, which includes making my value position clear, my discovery of critical reflexivity, and how I applied the epistemology of critical social theory. The idea of ethicality in ICT4D research and practice is explained by showing that the outsider researcher-practitioner should start ICT4D work by critiquing his/her own repression-sustaining mechanisms and assumptions, and ethnocentrism. Ethicality in ICT4D work is established by the underpinning values and principles of a critical position of enquiry and critical reflexivity as I argue it throughout this study (see for example Sections 2.15 and 6.3).

Chapter 3 presents a summary of Bourdieu's critical lineage as it was appropriated for this study. Towards the end of Chapter 3 (Section 3.6 and 3.7) I reflect on how Bourdieu's critical lineage can be applied to answer my main research question. In this chapter (Chapter 8) I will retrospectively use Bourdieu to assess my own knowledge construction approaches and the rigour I applied during my reflexivity struggles. This chapter revisits Bourdieu's critical lineage and how this study contributes to and appropriates Bourdieu's views for the Happy Valley project and the research questions.

Throughout the four confessional chapters (Chapters 4 to 7), I constantly refer to critical social theory as my orientation to knowledge. I also describe the process of self-emancipation, critical reflexivity, and how I matured as a critical theorist in the social situation. Confessional writing is used to also draw my readers into the fieldwork experiences and process of social transformation. This final chapter argues my research contribution and the value of my contribution to knowledge. My findings show how the ICT4D artefact, such as ICT training or policy, should be appropriated for deep rural communities in South Africa.

The graphical model in Figures 5.1 and 8.1 therefore summarises my research and my contribution to ICT4D discourses. Using what was explained in Section 5.7, the model addresses practical issues and appropriate guidelines for community entry and introducing the ICT4D artefact in a deep rural

community such as Happy Valley, i.e. it presents a "special case of what is possible" (Bachelard cited in Bourdieu, 1998: 2) in ICT4D. The model also emphasises that the developing community is not the only ones in need of emancipation and social transformation, by putting forward the ICT4D researcher-practitioner's emancipatory needs as an important guiding consciousness. This is the beginnings of ethical ICT research practice for community engagement in rural South Africa.

8.3 Critical reflexivity – a key contribution

Some questions come to mind as I think about how I contribute to ICT4D discourses: *How is it that I discovered that my worldview is different from the Zulu people I engaged with?*; *What did I do when I discovered that my worldview is different and when I wanted to do truly emancipatory and ethical ICT4D work?*; *What made me realise that I suffer from cultural entrapment and self-repression?*; and *How does the Western worldview potentially distort the empirical (ICT4D) situation?* A theme that spans all of these questions is the transformational skill of critical reflexivity.

As I explained in Section 6.3, critical reflexivity is a central part of my approach to fieldwork and orientation to knowledge. The summative list of guidelines and principles below are the criteria that I used to be critically reflective throughout. They can therefore also be used to assess my contribution and approach:

- Seek to interpret and understanding disagreements, conflict, and contradictions in the social situation (Thomas, 1993; Myers, 1997);
- Seek to interpret and understand prejudice and subsequently distinguish between true prejudice by which one understands and false prejudice by which one misunderstand (Myers, 2009);
- Expose historicity and recognise that the interpretation of the social situation cannot be separated from the historical context (Myers, 1997);
- Reflect on the research process itself, i.e. the relationship between the processes of data collection, analysis, and research design (Myers, 1997, 2009);
- Apply critical hermeneutics and the hermeneutics of suspicion (Myers, 1997; Klein and Myers, 1999);
- Use Howcroft and Trauth's (2005) five key themes for shaping a critical epistemology;
- Apply the "lens" for criticality given in Appendix A, to remind me how to be critical;
- Myers and Klein's (2011) and Myers' (2009) principle of generalising from the field study to theory; and
- Obtain insights from Bourdieu's critical lineage summarised in Chapter 3.

In addition to the criteria above, Myers and Klein (2011) suggest the use of Klein and Myers' (1999) principles for interpretive research (see Section 2.11) to address the need for gaining insight in critical research (see Appendix D). Myers (2009) suggests that the interpretive act can be concluded when most of the apparent contradictions or conflicts have been explained. Klein and Myers' (1999) principles, therefore, also emerged as useful guidelines for interpretation, critical reflexivity, and thus a further way of assessing my approaches.

Since critiquing my own repression-sustaining mechanisms, assumptions, motives, and aspects of my own worldview was central to the enquiry process, I had to do critical reflexivity with a good degree of introspection (see Section 6.2, Footnote [2] for a definition). I therefore, add to critical reflexivity the idea of *critical introspection,* and argue that just as critical reflexivity is considered the methodology of critical research (Stahl et al., 2011), critical introspection should be considered the methodology of self-emancipation. Critical introspection implies that instead of "bracketing out" my own transformational experiences as researcher, which is often the case in ICT4D research, I foreground and expose those experiences and reflections. A manifestation of critical introspection is how I show throughout this thesis that the emancipation and empowerment of the ICT4D researcher is a prerequisite for the emancipation of the researched. Critical introspection and self-emancipation, therefore, are central to my ontological and epistemological assumptions.

Critical introspection thus implies that one does introspection using the principles and guidelines for critical reflexivity presented in the list above. For example;

- when I seek to interpret and understand disagreements, conflict, and contradictions in the social situation, I specifically look at conflicts, disagreements, and contradictions between my own ways and mechanisms and those that emerge from the social situation;
- when I reflect about historicity and prejudice I focus on my own historicity and prejudice and how it affects the social situation;
- when I reflect on the research process, I specifically reflect on myself as a research instrument and how I am calibrated (Myers, 2009);
- when I apply critical hermeneutics and the hermeneutics of suspicion (Klein and Myers, 1999), I am "suspicious" of my own views, perceptions, and assumptions;
- when using Howcroft and Trauth's (2005) themes for a critical epistemology (Section 6.3.1), I reflect on my own emancipation, critique my own tradition, challenge my own tendencies to performative intent and technological determinism, and apply reflexivity to my own assumptions and approaches; or

- when applying Bourdieu's lineage, I primarily expose and critique my own first-order strategies, self-interests, misuse of capital, and ethnocentrism.

Supporting the idea of critical introspection, I also put forward the concepts of *critical inductive reasoning* and *reflexivity initiators,* which I relied on during critical inductive reasoning. Starting out inductively assisted me to be critically reflective (see Section 6.3.5). Going into the field with an open mind as opposed to enforcing some outsider-constructed view or theoretical lens onto the ICT4D social situation, was a central part of confronting my own self-repression and doing critical introspection. It was the beginnings of escaping from ethnocentrism according to Bourdieu (see Chapter 3). It assisted me in constructing adequate knowledge of the social situation and unchaining myself from my own assumptions (Thomas, 1993). Learning to be critically inductive was a process of social transformation as it enabled me to perceive and interpret the "new" worldview of people-orientatedness with openness, thus allowing the data to speak to me.

During the process of critical inductive reasoning I encountered *reflexivity initiators* (or key empirical indicators) (see Sections 7.10 and 7.17). As shown earlier, reflexivity initiators are key fieldwork moments (emerging from the data) that got me to engage in critical introspection along a particular theme or line of reasoning, thus addressing fieldwork "topics" which I could take back to cultural interpreters to explore in more detail. Underpinning all of these concepts is a critical orientation to knowledge.

Čečez-Kecmanović (2005) argues that critical theorists will typically appropriate a particular social theory and apply it to a specific empirical situation. As I explained in Chapter 3, Bourdieu's critical lineage "spoke" to me and the findings I encountered. Generalising to his concepts and arguments, therefore, became a meaningful way for me to assess my research contribution. Using Bourdieu retrospectively also addresses the criteria for critical research put forward by Myers and Klein (2011), specifically principles 1 and 6 (see Appendix D). In the following section I will refer to some of Bourdieu's arguments and concepts (from Chapter 3) as they apply to my research contribution.

A further outcome of this study, which forms part of *Underlying values and principles* and *The need for ICT4D stakeholders to be empowered and emancipated,* as visualised in Figure 8.1, is that the ICT4D artefact should include a transformation process where development agents are empowered to apply the principles of critical reflexivity and critical introspection to their own ways. It addresses the idea (as I have discovered) that ICT4D should not only remain with understanding *what* and *how* issues in ICT4D, but that it should include a process of discovering and critiquing *why* issues (see Sections 4.5 and 6.3.5 for example) and ethicality in introducing the ICT4D artefact (see Section 8.2).

As I have learnt to challenge my own assumptions, misconceptions, self-interests, and first-order strategies throughout this study, I similarly argue that the empowerment of ICT4D agents should include empowering them to apply the same introspective principles.

8.4 Using Bourdieu to assess and reflect

8.4.1 A reflexive practice of social science

In Section 3.3 I showed how Bourdieu argues that the researcher should reflect on the sense-making relationship he/she has with the social phenomena. I also showed that, according to Bourdieu, the researcher should escape ethnocentrism by making the second break with objectivist knowledge – Bourdieu challenges those who practice social life without reflecting on it and those who build knowledge about the social world without practicing it (Nice in Bourdieu, 1977). He argues that only after the second knowledge break can the researcher adequately construct knowledge of the social situation. He argues that this reflexivity is evidence of rigorous science of practice (Bourdieu, 1977).

Bourdieu argues that an adequate understanding of practice lies in gaining access to subconscious understanding of practice, the spirit of practice, or a sense of the game, rather than relying on the official account that may be imposed onto the researcher by informants. There are real limits to what the informant can explain about his/her worldview. I argue, therefore, that doing critical introspection and allowing myself to be carried away by the game of social ICT4D interaction is my greatest evidence of rigour and adequate understanding of the social situation.

Throughout this thesis I have attempted to provide empirical evidence that I have developed a practical sense of the game of ICT4D, of critical reflexivity in the social situation, and that I have challenged my own ethnocentric approaches. In concurrence with Bourdieu, I believe that there is a difference in understanding between those outsider-inquirers that play the game of social interaction in order to be carried away by the game and those who simply play the game as a game to leave it later and tell stories about it. In my work, especially towards the end, I found myself consumed by my choice of maximum immersion in the social situation.

Using Bourdieu's discourse on first- and second-order strategies (Section 3.5.1), I can argue that researchers or agents in a community are emancipated if they expose and critique their hidden first-order strategies and subsequently bring those in line with their second-order strategies. This is an emancipatory position and the start of ethical ICT4D research and practice. I thus argue that there is a link between the topic of this thesis, i.e. *Ethical ICT research practice for community engagement in*

rural South Africa and *the need the ICT4D researcher-practitioner to be emancipated and empowered* (see Sections 1.5 and 1.6, and Figure 8.1).

Agents and researchers are emancipated as they mature in critical introspection, and subsequently developed the skill and discernment to ethically apply their social capital for uplifting, empowering, and truly emancipating other agents in their social situation, i.e. they are able to use their power, capital, and position to emancipate others. There is, therefore, a strong connection between critical introspection and the emancipation of the researched. These self-emancipated individuals are the agents in the fieldwork situation that one needs to discover and become a member of, to truly do emancipatory ICT4D work.

8.4.2 Depth of engagement – a primary strength of my approach

In Chapter 1 and 4 I explained my ethnographic position as being immersed in an ICT4D project in a deep rural Zulu community and not as much in the community of Zulu people. Although I learnt much about the Zulu people and their worldview, a three-year period was not enough for me to become a Zulu – my informants told me this also. Habitus is embedded in the minds and bodies of people and develops from childhood, and I didn't grow up in that context.

In the project, however, I engaged with those caregivers, teachers, project owners, entrepreneurs, and so forth, who are involved in various types of development initiatives in Happy Valley. They acted as cultural interpreters and primary informants. They became my friends and partners in the project. From this position I found myself to be deeply embedded in the social phenomena. As I became part of the Happy Valley project, I observed that practiced habitus action became more intuitive and spontaneous within me as I matured in the social situation, even though I remained significantly different. In the beginning, I tended to think a lot (i.e. consciously applying critical introspection) about my own ways and mannerisms. However, as I became part of the project and the people, I started to behave intuitively. I experienced what Walsham (2006) explains as being socialised with the views and values of the local people.

I started out as project leader of an UNESCO funded initiative (June 2009). Later, as I attempted to withdraw from the project in order to hand it over to some of my partners, I was quickly informed, especially by Philani, that I have a specific role to play, namely, that of the representative from the University. I had to ensure quality control and liaise with the University, as their own efforts were only considered credible by the local people because of the involvement and backing of the University. The position I had, affected the social situation and what I experienced. My position in the situation determined the lessons that I could learn and that I could not learn, and the type of

people I connected with. I thus represent a "special case of what is possible" (Bachelard in Bourdieu, 1998: 2).

In the end, though, I can with confidence claim embedded understanding of *collisions between worldviews*. I allowed myself to be carried away by the game of ICT4D collisions. I experienced the frustration, anger, conflicts, miscommunication, and all that goes with them and causes them, to its utmost. At stages I wanted to "flee the scene", but loyalty to the people I met and people-orientatedness got the better of me (see Section 7.12). I got carried away by the game of ICT4D and its collisions. I got caught up in the fight and could not leave the fight (especially to start writing) because of commitments I made and because I didn't want to mistreat or abuse the trust that people placed in me – ethicality was what I discovered, what I valued and desired. In the project there was much evidence of both ICT4D success and failure. I didn't back down from trying though. Being totally immersed in the social situation and having made the second knowledge break became evidence of an adequate understanding of the social situation.

My frustration with ICT4D collisions reached a climax several times, especially during 2011. One of those occasions was when I made an arrangement with Bongani and Philani to attend a government-funded week-long entrepreneurship course in Pretoria. It was a fieldwork moment that illustrated the collisions I experienced because of the conflicting ways and assumptions we had.

I confirmed with them several times, and told them that I needed a commitment from them. Both of them confirmed. The Saturday before the course started I phoned them to confirm attendance. Philani confirmed that he would travel the next day, but Bongani suddenly backed out. The promises I made to course administrators now exploded in my face. In the heat of the moment, I wrote the following in my fieldnotes:

> "F**k, am I angry and frustrated. I confirmed with them last week about the entrepreneurship course. This afternoon I phone Bongani and Philani to confirm again and to know when they are coming tomorrow. Now Philani tells me that Bongani won't make it anymore on Monday. He might only be here on Thursday. What the f**k is this? Apparently Bongani has work or leave issues … should arrange leave a week before the time. Why didn't he do it? And why is he not phoning me himself? I am disappointed. What must I tell Prof C? … It is difficult to work with the Zulus, they can't plan." [Translated fieldnotes: 30 July 2011].

After my exit from the community in 2012, I found it difficult to write about the social phenomena of ICT4D collisions. I seemed to understand and "feel" the phenomena better when I was there, than when I moved out and tried and reflect at a distance. I was stuck with a dilemma though, because I

had to move away to be able to write my thesis chapters. Luckily I had my reflections and fieldnotes to fall back to (see Section 7.17 and Table 7.1).

8.4.3 Reflecting on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, and power struggles

Although I cannot fully describe the habitus of the Zulu people, I discovered a worldview that has a totally different system of values and meanings from my own. This affected the way in which I viewed and constructed the meaning of emancipation and the improvement of a situation, and it affected the way I did ICT4D work.

In my discovery of collisions, I can agree with Asante (1983), Escobar (1992), Lewis (1994), Kvasny and Keil (2006), and others (see Section 2.5) that developed Western societies have a tendency to enforce their worldview and all that goes with it onto developing communities. Various reasons for this have been noted in literature. In Bourdieu's terminology I have observed that the ICT4D situation often becomes a playing field of forces where outsider-agents subconsciously (assume the right to) struggle and strategize to improve their positions or to further their undisclosed self-interests through Western symbolic, cultural, or economic capital. They subconsciously and often unknowingly (thus misrecognising) attempt to influence others' sense of taste, meaning, judgement, desires, and so forth. ICT4D discourses and practice in the South African context become a field where outsider-westerners attempt to establish practical relationships (see Section 3.5) with developing communities, in order to improve their own position, capital, and interests.

Based on my subjective experiences and the stories told to me about previous development efforts from outsiders in Happy Valley, I argue that because of the Western's productivity-driven worldview and unchallenged ethnocentric assumptions, outsiders tend to enforce onto the local community principles, values, and controls explicitly associated with productivity that are implicitly designed (as first-order strategies) to improve the capital of those in power. Such first-order strategies can, for example be to build capacity as a researcher, to create opportunities for market expansion, or to simply satisfy a guilty conscience and desire to show sympathy for "poor" people in a place where they can easily leave the playing field and tell stories (boast) about it. Bourdieu refers to this as symbolic violence and symbolic struggles. The official account of why outsiders pursue development endeavours often has an implied, but misinformed sense of ethical impeccability (Bourdieu, 1977) or empathy (Lewis, 1994) associated with it.

Referring to Bourdieu's critical discourses, Kvasny and Keil (2006) present a debate around the "haves" and "have nots". I extend the debate to *perceptions* about "having" and "not having" from a task-orientated worldview as opposed to a people-orientated worldview and values, and

consequently to those perceptions and themes that are evident in Western dominated ICT4D discourses about what development and the improvement of a situation means. I concur that one can only interpret that which you are able to perceive (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Thomas, 1993), and this includes interpreting *why* different people value and perceive things differently.

The reality is that task-orientatedness is the dominant worldview internationally. The traditional community, however, may not have the social capital to participate in the international playing field of ICT4D discourses according to Western developmental values and concepts, and therefore may not be able to articulate (using someone else's concepts) or resist according to expected (Western) lines of reasoning. This intensifies collisions. Moreover, the Happy Valley people is characterised by a tendency to reserve opinion as a way of showing hospitality, respect, and seeking communion, while habitus provides a defence against change. This *resistance* and contrast is in conflict with Western-outsider *imposing* tendencies, and results in ICT4D failures. It is not possible to simply transfer Western thinking wholesale onto developing communities, such as Happy Valley. The idea of habitus collisions thus emerges.

Collisions also manifest as a dysfunctional relationship between the Western-driven ICT4D and the local worldview as described in Section 7.15. A misrecognised ethnocentric inability, even though there may be good intentions, is the reason why critical introspection is put forward as a guiding (and starting) principle for ICT4D research and practice in the South African context. I thus challenge those with the social capital to influence, shape, and structure, to hold back and do critical introspection first. I also argue, in line with Bourdieu, that the researcher has to situate himself/herself in the social situation and engage in real social activities in order to get a sense of the practiced habitus of the people. This will enable him/her to escape from ethnocentrism and adequately – and may I add *ethically* – describe the social situation. I challenge you to start by trying to understanding the feeling of hopelessness in context of an AIDS pandemic!

8.5 Limitations and adaptations of Bourdieu

Myers and Klein (2011) argue that critical theories are "fallible and that improvements in social theories are possible. Critical researchers entertain the possibility of competing truth claims arising from alternative theoretical categories, which can guide critical researchers in their analyses and interventions." (p. 25). In line with this principle from Myers and Klein (2011), I briefly highlight some limitations and adaptations of Bourdieu as I experienced it in this study. These limitations and adaptations, however, need further scrutiny in follow-up research.

8.5.1 Power, struggles, and emancipation

Bourdieu (and critical theorists in general) seems to hold that *all* power, influence, authority, and position lean towards domination and exploitation, that those in power *always* have second-order strategies hidden in their dealings in the social situation, and that that second-order strategies *always* have some disruptiveness associated with them – i.e. some hidden purpose of domination, protecting self-interests, or improving capital. In this study, however, I argue that especially in the spirit of people-orientatedness, where capitalism and Western materialism have not yet "polluted" the local worldview, power, authority, and influence can be emancipatory. I believe that the spirit of people-orientatedness, where people find their personal freedom and identity in the identity of the group, and where giving and hospitality is associated with self-respect, is probably different from the habitus of the Kabyle people where Bourdieu formulated many of his insights. I, therefore, argue that emancipatory practice is not about non-use or rejection of the use of social capital, power, or influence, but rather about ethical or correct use of social capital and influence.

I argue that you inevitably get people with capital and the ability to influence and construct their playing field, but some have also exposed (confronted or suppressed) their own first-order strategies and brought them in line with their second-order strategies. They have the capital to influence, structure, and manipulate, but they do so in order to empower others. They may not have the skills to do so very well (e.g. Ndabezitha) but their motives are evidence that they have been emancipated to some degree. It is also typically the case, as I have shown in this study (e.g. stories about Philani, Martha, Baba Mbatha, Mrs Dlamini, Ndabezitha, and myself), that these agents have matured or are in a process or maturing in critical introspection and self-emancipation. They understand to some degree that self-emancipation (confronting your own self-interests, motives, and assumptions) is a prerequisite for social transformation in others, even though they may not always be able to articulate their views very well.

There is a disclaimer and risk to this adaptation of Bourdieu though. And that is that such agents are always in a *process* of social transformation (I include myself here). No-one has fully matured in it. Those who have discovered their own inabilities like I did (see Section 1.3) are learning in their own way about critical introspection and are in a process of escaping from cultural entrapment. They are few in number but they do exist, and they are ones with whom one needs to collaborate in ICT4D.

Therefore, with reference to Figure 8.1, I argue that the agents that one should collaborate with should be those that have exposed or are exposing their own ethnocentricity and who have developed some sense of different worldviews – i.e. they are not engaging with the ICT4D artefact only from a people-orientated worldview or only from a task-orientated worldview. However,

identifying and building relationships with such agents is difficult though and involves making challenging ethical judgments. One needs to be in the social situation for a long time (to develop a sense of the game) before you can adequately make those judgements.

8.5.2 Habitus collisions

Bourdieu gives us concepts and principles to adequately construct knowledge about the habitus and the field of forces in a particular society. He gives us concepts and ideas to scrutinise class distinctions and practical relationships between the "have's" and the "have nots" within the same habitus (e.g. Kvasny and Keil, 2006). Bourdieu's assumption also seems to be that the dynamics of power relations are exercised in practical kin relationships within a more-or-less similar habitus.

This study, however, is not primarily about getting a sense of a different habitus and the field of forces in that particular habitus, but more about getting a sense of habitus collisions, which are expected to be part of ICT4D discourses and practice in the South African context. What has not been found in Bourdieu's writings are concepts and ideas for adequately describing the dynamics of habitus collisions, i.e. how to address conflicting assumptions, values, and expectations between the different worldviews of different classes. I, therefore, challenge Bourdieu's assumption that different social classes and people in practical kin relationships naturally have a similar (or homogeneous) habitus, and therefore naturally have the same values and perceptions about what is useful social capital and valuable.

As I showed from Kvasny and Keil's (2006) contribution, one can extend Bourdieu's discourses on kin relationships and class distinctions, to *perceptions* about "having" and "not having" social capital (Section 8.4.3). However, how to deal with social situations where the "have's" and the "have not's" are from different habitus remains a mostly unaddressed issue in Bourdieu. As shown in this study, the meaning of emancipation and the improvement of a situation should be viewed in the light of the values that people accept (Hammersley, 1992), and differing value systems therefore imply different value judgements and perceptions about what is considered meaningful and valuable, or what it means to "have" or to "not have" social capital.

The dynamics of habitus, i.e. how people struggle and strategize, the values and capital that dictate the way they struggle and strategize to obtain position, significance, self-respect, differentiation, individuality, and even how these different concepts are valued and viewed, is uniquely different in the Zulu culture. You cannot understand this difference if you are not to some degree delivered from ethnocentrism. And, you cannot perceive and interpret this difference or collisions emerging from this difference if you haven't lived the alternate habitus to some extent. Therefore, the local

community, since they come from a different habitus, may not respond well or in the expected way to the value judgements and evaluations of outsider-initiated development initiatives. This has implications for formulating the meaning of and evaluating the improvement of a situation, and assessing emancipation, suffering, deprivation, repression, and other ICT4D concepts.

Although Bourdieu gives us guidelines as to how to reflect on the researcher's objectifying relationship with researched and the social conditions of the sense-making relationship, which have proved to be useful in this study, we need something more. I thus put forward critical introspection as a way of challenging the researcher's ethnocentric self-repression and inabilities to perceive and to do ICT4D in a different habitus. I also argue the need for self-emancipation as a prerequisite for the emancipation of the researched. This is primarily because an outsider cannot naturally understand why people value certain things differently (because of habitus collisions), and therefore does not know how to perceive and therefore interpret them. Outsiders have to start by learning how to perceive and value, i.e. unchain themselves from their own assumptions and values and create new ones that aligned with the meanings of their informants (Thomas, 1993).

8.5.3 Discernment and the third mode of knowledge

In Section 3.3 I discussed Bourdieu's two knowledge breaks and the third mode of knowledge which he argues is necessary to understand the limits of objectivist knowledge. In this section I argue that traditional communities may have their own reflexivity practices and ways of making the necessary knowledge breaks for adequate understanding, and that this has an impact on how they discern the motives, ethnocentricity, and worldview of outsiders. Bourdieu's critical lineage tends to focus on the social scientist and his/her knowledge construction mechanisms. However, Bourdieu does not sufficiently entertain the possibility that the local people (the researched) have also developed adequate ways to construct knowledge and make knowledge breaks about outsider social entrapment and outsider inabilities in the local situation.

I have shown in Section 7.6, that one of the strengths of a people-orientated habitus is how quickly it enables people, both as individuals and a community, to discern outsider motives and attitudes. I have also shown that the Western worldview is perceived as socially underdeveloped because Westerners tend to focus primarily on the task and therefore, mostly only discern issues related to the task (e.g. cause-effect) and not necessarily on communion or issues that may disrupt communion and community living.

I do not see that Bourdieu emphasises the possibility that those (natives) in the social phenomena are sufficiently capable of objectifying experience and reflecting on the social conditions that

enables that objectifying of knowledge. I also do not see that Bourdieu allows for the possibility that the local people may discern the outsider-researcher's lack of critical reflexivity. When applying Bourdieu's critical lineage, there is a real risk that the ethnographer may underestimate the insight and discernment that the locals have regarding outsider ethnocentricity. The problem may simply be that the insider does not have the social capital and conceptual tools or the ability to explain or articulate their discernment and points of view in ways that outsiders can understand. On the other hand, outsiders may not have the ability to adequately understand simply because they have not been in the social situation long enough or have not yet developed a sense of the game, and do to not know how to do critical introspection in the situation.

This, therefore, is a caution to outsider-researchers who may overestimate their own discernment and mechanisms and underestimate the social discernment and knowledge traditions of the communities they engage with. The poor, oppressed or working class are not unable to reflect on or actively participate in critical reflexivity. In fact, they often easily see through the the "hidden agendas" embedded in the definition of the situation imposed on them by the outsider dominating classes.

Again, I put forward critical introspection and the emancipation of the researcher as a prerequisite for the emancipation of the researched (thus adding to Bourdieu's lineage) as principles for overcoming this lack of adequate understanding of the social situation.

8.6 Ethical ICT research and practice: some ethical considerations

This thesis is about ethical ICT research and practice for community engagement in rural South African contexts. I, therefore, conclude with guidelines and considerations for ethical conduct in ICT4D research and practice, based on the findings of my research.

The primary ethical consideration I put forward in this thesis is that ethical research should be underpinned by critical research. I elaborated on this in Sections 1.2.1 and 6.3, and throughout Chapter 8. Critical research is ethical because it is "characterized by an intention to change the status quo, overcome injustice and alienation, and promote emancipation" (Stahl, 2008: 139). In the model for community entry (Figure 8.1) I also foregrounded critical social research as the underpinning of ethical community entry conduct.

I subsequently argue that the self-emancipation of the researcher is a precursor for the emancipation of the researched and therefore, the beginnings of ethical research and practice. I consider it ethical to first address and expose the researcher's own false consciousness, cultural entrapment, and ethnocentrism before attempting to pursue the emancipation of the researched.

The idea of ethicality in ICT4D research and practice can be explained by highlighting that the outsider researcher-practitioner should start ICT4D work by critiquing his/her own repression-sustaining mechanisms and assumptions, and ethnocentrism. Ethicality in ICT4D work is established by the underpinning values and principles of a critical position of enquiry and critical reflexivity.

I furthermore put forward critical reflexivity is a transformational skill and the starting point for emancipatory and ethical research practice. I also put forward a new consideration for ethical research, namely, critical introspection. I explained that just as critical reflexivity is the methodology of critical research, critical introspection should be the methodology of self-emancipation. Critical introspection will allow ethical research and practice to commence with a critical position of enquiry where the researcher challenges his/her own assumptions, beliefs, practices, and conscious or subconscious perceptions about power, position, and enlightenment regarding what is understood as emancipation, empowerment, and true upliftment. I explained this in Chapter 6 and Section 8.3. I also argue that cultural informants can assist in exploring reflexivity initiators in the social situation and that it is, therefore, ethical to empower and allow agents in the field to also do critical reflexivity and critical introspection in their own ways.

Ethical research practice should include that the researcher seeks total immersion in the social phenomena, and allow him or herself to be carried away by the game of ICT4D collisions, and makes the second break with knowledge; and therefore reflect on the social situation from an experiential point of view, i.e. live the data, be the data, and live with the data. Ethical research practice necessitates total immersion in the social situation to be able to transcend the gap between theory and practiced reality, to internalise practice, and to adequately understand the social situation. That is, ethical research and practice take place when the researcher can internalise reasons (experiential knowledge) for differences and diversity between both worlds' practices, beliefs, and values (Bourdieu, 1977, 1998). According to Bourdieu (1977) this is rigorous science of practice and in this thesis I argue for it to also be ethical research practice. Therefore, doing critical introspection and allowing myself to be carried away by the game of social ICT4D interaction is evidence of rigour and adequate understanding of the social situation, and consequently evidence of ethical research and practice.

Bourdieu (1977, 1990) argues that enforcing an outsider constructed view of the social situation onto the social situation is ethnocentric on the side of the researcher, because it yields an inadequate understanding of the social situation and equates to unethical conduct. I also argue that critical inductive reasoning and using reflexivity initiators (empirical indicators) to allow the "data" to speak to me as opposed to enforcing some outsider constructed conceptual lens onto the social

situation is ethical research conduct as it will allow an adequate understanding and representation of the social situation.

In addition to seeking self-emancipation and enlightenment, ethical research and practice also implies that the outsider-researcher should expose and critique his or her own hidden first-order strategies and brings those in line with second-order strategies and the expressed reasons for being involved in ICT4D discourses and practice. Critical introspection (as explained in Section 8.3) is the ethical approach for initiating and pursuing this position. Self-emancipation should be the outcome.

Critical researchers like Bourdieu hold that *all* power, influence, authority, and position lean towards domination and exploitation. However, as I showed in Section 8.5.1 power can also be emancipatory and that emancipatory research practice is not about non-use or rejection of the use of social capital, power, or influence, but rather about ethical or correct use of social capital and influence. Ethical conduct is, therefore, about using social and symbolic capital and power to affect emancipation and change for the better.

Finally, ethical research should be practice-orientated in a way that it respectful and relevant to the emancipatory interests of the researcher and the local people. I argued this point in Sections 1.2.1, 1.7, and 6.3.4. In this thesis this manifested in the way that I reflected on fieldwork, i.e. I wrote my confessional chapters in such a way that I not only tried to satisfy my readers and examiners, but also remained truthful (thus ethical) to myself and my project partners.

8.7 My contribution – a story of emancipation and discovery

As a critical theorist and someone who considers myself an integral part of the social phenomena, I consider subjectivity to be a strength of my work. My findings thus illustrate how I identified with the people of Happy Valley and their silent plight. I therefore present reason accompanied by a level of sentiment, and I do display some frustration as well. The truth of the matter, though, is that theory enabled me to conduct research using my heart as well as my mind. I thus conclude.

I present myself as the emancipated and empowered ICT4D researcher-practitioner. I argue as such because in the ICT4D situation, I have succeeded to initiate an escape from the social entrapment and the self-repressive consequences of my own worldview, which I didn't know about when I started out. I also argue that I am more empowered because I have succeeded in doing ethical research practice with emancipatory consequences according to the worldview, values, and desires of the Happy Valley people. I know that I have done ethical research practice because I have achieved change through the process of critical introspection. I have argued that my own social transformation is a prerequisite for the emancipation and social transformation of my informants.

My orientation to knowledge, i.e. critical social theory, and its associated assumptions, has allowed me not only to test and confirm what exists in literature on critical social theory, but also to add to the debate. I thus put forward a new challenge to the ICT4D fraternity, especially those that come from the outside and who want to attempt emancipatory ICT4D in the South Africa context. My challenge is that the researcher should start out by doing critical introspection, i.e. critiquing his/her own repression-sustaining mechanisms and assumptions about power, knowledge, enlightenment, and freedom. I argue, like Bourdieu, that the outsider researcher can only truly discover and build adequate knowledge of the social situation, including the meaning of emancipation and the improvement of a situation, if his own first-order strategies have been exposed and ethically brought in line with the expressed reasons for being in the ICT4D situation.

An emancipatory outcome of this research, therefore, has emerged from my emerging ability "to expose the dominant discourse" (Čečez-Kecmanović, 2005: 37) and I have shown how such discourse has attempted to legitimise particular ICT4D practices. Čečez-Kecmanović (2005) argues that "critical researchers aim at enabling the subordinated and the disadvantaged to articulate and realize their values that have been silenced by current practices" (p. 36). This emerged to be a key contribution of this study.

From this study I conclude that the traditional African view of reality has been silenced by the dominating task-orientated perspective and associated value systems. The less powerful and inarticulate, in Western terms, are subsequently not given an opportunity to voice their concerns. Neither have they been allowed to express and articulate their emancipatory interests in their own ways. Cultural entrapment on the side of the "developed" Westerner has put structures in place to eliminate others' view of reality. Culturally entrapped Africans have allowed their tastes, desires, and means of expression to be dominated by those who have framed and defined "development" in the first place. There are those who resist, but their voices are not easily discernible by outsiders, neither have they got the Western social capital to play the game of social interaction along the lines and expectations of the more powerful and "eloquent".

The traditional Zulu people value communion and bodylife. Their culture is loyalty-based and people-orientated. They portray their identity and self-respect to a large extent though loyalty and hospitality. This affects what they value, how they perceive the logic of freedom and emancipation, and how they respond to each other and outsiders. As I indicated earlier, one cannot argue that one worldview is more sensible than the other if you haven't lived both worldviews or if you don't understand how it is to source your identity, liberty, and "safe place" from your community.

I thus challenge the Western way of doing and valuing things (embedded in ICT4D discourses and practice) of which I make myself the primary case study in this thesis, and through confessional writing I hope to also challenge those reading my thesis. I hope to put an end to a line of ICT4D research and practice where outsiders with a Western task-orientated worldview, like myself, make unqualified and inadequate assumptions about their own position in ICT4D discourses and practice, and about their own understanding of how to "develop" traditional communities in South Africa through ICTs. Like Bourdieu, I argue that you can only build an adequate understanding of the social situation, which includes an understanding of the needs, desires, and freedoms – expressed and observed – if you have made the necessary second break with objectivist knowledge, i.e. you have been carried away by the game, you have lived the habitus to some extent, and you have sought to understand the emancipatory practices of the local people from the point of view of the local people. It is a formidable challenge, but I argue that you will only adequately understand the social situation if you allowed the mock-fight to get the better of you. I also argue that you will only understand poverty and suffering in context of people-orientatedness if you have lived the social situation of poverty and hopelessness, and if you have at the same time experienced (adequately constructed experiential knowledge) the riches of being in the safe place of bodylife, where people seek, desire, and value communion. Maybe then you will understand the developmental situation in South African context.

8.8 To whom will this research be of value?

Essentially this thesis attempts to emancipate its readers. It does so primarily, by articulating the collisions between the worldviews of the task-orientated and people-orientated and by articulating the process of knowledge construction. I present examples of collisions and concepts that illustrate this reality. I articulate (bring to the fore and verbalise) those subtle cultural nuances, silences, and conflicts (or "silences, ellipses, and lacunae" according to Bourdieu (1977: 18)) which most people cannot verbalise and therefore cannot explain to others. As I learnt to do myself over the past four years, I provide concepts by which those that read this thesis can explain to others and to themselves (through critical introspection), tacit aspects of their own worldview and value systems.

I also challenge the assumption that the traditional community, although they might be deprived, suffering, or uneducated according to Western standards, do not have the discernment and their own traditional conceptual tools to reflect on outsiders' motives and intentions. Just like the outsider escapes from ethnocentricity by making the second knowledge break, there are some from the local community who have done so in similar ways. They are the ones that outsiders should go to sit with to scrutinise their own outsider inabilities and entrapment.

I, therefore, show that everyone needs people to assist them to be critically reflexive about their own repression-sustaining mechanisms. And hopefully this will alleviate the misunderstandings, conflicts, and ethnocentrism that many in South Africa are still entrapped in. By putting forward the idea of critical introspection as a "new" concept in critical ICT4D discourses, I argue that ICT4D should involve introspection along with the other more established ontological and epistemological aspects of critical social theory.

I emphasise the value of connecting with those people who have firstly, lived different worldviews (people like Philani and Martha) and who can articulate contrasts to you, and secondly, who have escaped from their own ethnocentricity and who have learnt to do critical introspection themselves to varying degrees and who have thus embraced a emancipatory combination of worldviews – i.e. they have been emancipated and empowered to empower you as outsider. I consequently urge you to seek ethicality in ICT4D discourses and practice, by seeking out those partners in ICT4D discourses who have, through critical introspection, exposed their own second-order strategies and brought them in line with their first-order strategies. It is a very difficult judgement to make and few have been able to do so, but some have been able to do so to some degree, and hence a collective picture from them may suffice (see Section 3.6).

I hope that the South African *Africans* reading my thesis will be inspired by recognising and acknowledging the emancipatory power and richness of their own people-orientated worldview and historicity which they often misrepresent as something else, or underestimate in the global sense of things, by looking down on it as inferior or unsophisticated compared to Western-driven development – and although it might sound contradictory, they continue to value it immensely without being able to explain why. I also caution them (South African Africans) to challenge their own self-entrapment and ethnocentrism and how it possibly inhibits their participation and innovation in a Western-driven global economy and ICT4D situation, but without rejecting their wonderful and very deep people-orientated roots. I urge you to educate those outsiders who think of their own way of doing things as the only sensible way and who subconsciously look down (with sympathy) on Africans who they perceive as unproductive in terms of the task. Help me to establish and articulate an additional set of criteria by which we can introduce an African worldview and values into ICT4D discourses and practice. Join me in educating those outsiders who still need to escape from cultural entrapment and self-repression and who do not know the very safe place of communion and people-orientatedness. It is something that we can only demonstrate (as Bourdieu has argued), and be patient in doing so. I believe that as economic repression (recession) continues

to affect our global situation, communion will continue to be a safe place. Us Westerners cannot easily fathom why this is so.

8.9 Limitations and recommendations

This thesis is a story about what is wrong in ICT4D discourses and practice (see Section 2.5), and is therefore a detailed and elaborate account of "limitations". The most prominent being the outsider-research's need for emancipation in ICT4D work. To highlight this issue, I presented a confessional account about the limitations of my own cultural entrapment and repression sustaining starting assumptions and approaches.

Some of the other limitations and recommendations have been discussed earlier in this chapter. In Section 8.5 I highlighted limitations and adaptations of Bourdieu's critical lineage as they pertain to my findings. These are; the potential emancipatory role of power, social capital, and position; the idea of habitus collisions; and the need to be aware of local (indigenous) discernment and reflexivity traditions. As indicated, these limitations and adaptations need further scrutiny in follow-up research. In Section 8.6 I highlighted some considerations and recommendations for ethical ICT research and practice in rural communities in South Africa. These could also be tested further in follow-up work. In the paragraphs that follow, I will highlight a number of further limitations and possible areas for future research as they pertain to this research and its contribution.

Throughout the thesis I argued (using Bourdieu) that my greatest evidence of rigour and relevance lies in seeking maximum immersion in the social situation, in allowing myself to be carried away by the game of ICT4D collisions, and by making the second knowledge break. I noted in Section 8.4.2 that I found it difficult to write and reflect about the social phenomena when I was not physically present in the community. I noted that I could "feel" the phenomena better when I was immersed in it, than when I moved out to reflect at a distance. Consequently, I believe that I would've done a better job with writing and reflecting while remaining immersed in the Happy Valley project and while constantly testing my reflections with cultural informants (according to the hermeneutic principle of the interaction between the researcher and the research participants). This, however, was not possible, and I consider it a limitation.

This thesis offers a special case of what is possible in emancipatory ICT4D research (Bourdieu, 1998). I reflected on my own worldview, starting prejudices, and historicity, and how I had to be emancipated from my own cultural entrapment and ethnocentrism. The principle of abstraction and generalisation (Section 2.11.2) implies that research findings may lead to in-depth knowledge only about a particular problem or context. I, therefore, cannot represent others, like me, in the social

situation. Those reading my thesis should therefore see it as analogy for what they could possibly attempt in similar situations, and not the only ethical or emancipatory way. I believe that there are guidelines that the reader can learn from, to adapt and apply in other similar situations, but that it should be done within its unique historical and political contexts.

I presented only the most remarkable reflections on fieldwork encounters, and not everything that led to my own emancipation and insight. Moreover, I am the data and I lived the data for a while. I believe that ethnographic data collected in such situations is an example of "big social data", and only through the human capacity of subjective and experiential understanding am I able to process it in some way to produce something that can by presented in the format of a written thesis. The hermeneutic principles of distanciation and autonomisation, furthermore, suggest that once verbal speech has been inscribed in text, it takes on a life of its own and that there is a distance in time and space between the original author and the text. This has implications for reconstructing meaning as I tried to do in this thesis. I therefore consider it a limitation of my *written* thesis. The reality is that the reader should actually sit done and have a conversation with me and then also join me on a fieldtrip or two to fully (adequately) understand (experience) what I am writing about.

From my ethnographic encounters many themes emerged from the data. For example, I mentioned sustainability, Afrocentricity and the Zulu culture, traditional leadership, ICT training approaches, Western values and economic development, ICT4D policy implementation, and so forth. Several themes also emerged from Chapter 7, for example; themes related to contrasts between people-orientatedness and task-orientatedness and themes related to traditional leadership in emancipatory ICT4D. Some very relevant themes from Bourdieu's critical lineage, such as his discourse on masculine domination, could also be incorporated in this study. These themes should be linked to literature and more empirical evidence in follow-up work.

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Appendices

Appendix A – A lens for criticality in social phenomena

Criticality concept or principle	*Sourced from*
To seek out and expose deep-seated structural contradictions and disagreements within social phenomena	Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991); Thomas (1993); Myers (1997); Myers and Avison, (2002); Myers and Klein (2011)
To acknowledge (and seek to understand) that contradictions in social systems may lead to inequalities and conflicts	Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991); Thomas (1993); Myers (1997); Myers and Klein (2011)
To seek out and address unequal positions of power between the haves and have-nots, and within discourses between the haves and have-nots	Čečez-Kecmanović (2001); McGrath (2005); Kvasny and Keil (2006); Myers and Klein (2011)
To seek out (and understand) emancipation and emancipatory interests of people as precursor for change and improvement	Hammersley (1992); Ngwenyama and Lee (1997); Myers and Klein (2011)
To seek out and clarify ethics; discharging of social and ethical responsibilities	Thomas (1993); Myers and Klein (2011)
To be explicit about values and value judgments, as well as alternate and contradictory value judgments (e.g. critique of Western values), and how they affect the meaning of criticality and emancipation	Hammersley (1992); Thomas (1993); Myers and Klein (2011)
To critique the meaning of emancipation and emancipatory concepts	Hammersley (1992); Ngwenyama and Lee (1997)
Taking a critical stance towards taken-for-granted assumptions, prevailing beliefs, social practices and values regarding the ICT4D artefact	Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991); Neuman (1997); Myers and Klein (2011)
Reflexivity: i.e. reflections on the role of the researcher as a producer of knowledge and the mediations and negotiations that are associated with this role	Čečez-Kecmanović (2001, 2005); Avgerou (2005); Howcroft and Trauth (2005); McGrath (2005)
Knowledge is embedded in social and historical practices	Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991); Myers (1997); Myers and Klein (2011)
Addressing alienating and restrictive social conditions, false ideologies, false consciousness, cultural entrapment, ethnocentrism	Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991); Thomas (1993); Ngwenyama and Lee (1997); Myers and Klein (2011)
Acknowledging and negotiating the role of prejudice and foreknowledge, making explicit philosophical prejudices, juxtaposition of cultural prejudices	Klein and Myers (1999); Schultze (2000); Myers (2009); Myers and Klein (2011)
Evidence of devising ways to gain access to deeper meaning and conflicting and contradicting accounts in the social phenomena, validity or rightness of what is being communicated, facilitating inter-cultural communication	Thomas (1993); Ngwenyama and Lee (1997); Čečez-Kecmanović, (2001); Myers (2009); Myers and Klein (2011)
Relevance to practice; improving practice	Harvey and Myers (2002); McGrath (2005); Myers and Klein (2011)
To seek change and transformation in societies	Ngwenyama and Lee (1997); Alvesson and Deetz (2000); Čečez-Kecmanović (2001, 2005); Myers and Klein (2011)
Suggestions and improvements for social theories and practice	Hammersley (1992); Thomas (1993); Čečez-Kecmanović (2005); Myers and Klein (2011)

Appendix B – Requirements for a high quality ethnography and confessional writing (From Schultze, 2000: 30)

Criterion	Requirement
Authenticity (demonstrate that the ethnographic researcher was indeed immersed in the field)	Provide descriptions of: • everyday life as lived by members of the field; • vernacular of the field; • what members think about their lives in the field, i.e., particular society or organization; • who the ethnographer talked to and observed; • the nature of the researcher's relationship with various categories of people in the field; • the response of others on the scene to the researcher's presence; • researcher's pre-understandings of the studied scene; • researcher's interest in the scene; • researcher's mode of entry, sustained participation, and exit procedure; • researcher's length of stay; • start and end dates of the research; • researcher's mode of data collection, storage, retrieval, and analysis, e.g., whether theoretical concepts "emerge" from the data or whether they were imposed on the data; • the relationship between the fieldnotes and the written-up ethnography; • presenting “raw data” such as fieldnotes, documents, and transcribed interviews; and • conducting post-hoc respondent validation
Plausibility (present the findings as relevant to the common concerns of the audience)	• Adhering to academic article genre with specific headings, referencing, and formatting; • Justifying the research and differentiating its contribution through the identification of gaps in our understanding or the development of a novel theoretical approach; • Normalizing atypical research conditions and aligning the findings with common, everyday experiences
Criticality in confessional writing (move readers to examine their own taken-for-granted assumptions)	• Challenge readers to pause and think about a specific situation; • Provoking them to answer questions; • Guiding readers through imagining ways of acting and thinking differently; • Cultural juxtaposition
Self-revealing writing	• Using personal pronouns; • Detailing – to the extent that it is relevant to the research ethnographer's age, gender, race, epistemological assumptions and theoretical point of view; • Disclosing details that present an unflattering picture of researcher, e.g., mistakes made; • Rendering canonical the problematic and less-than-optimal research conditions
Interlacing “actual” and confessional content	• Interlacing self-reflexive and autobiographical material with “actual” ethnographic material; • limiting autobiographical material to information that has relevance to the subject of the research

Appendix C – An analysis of Whyte's (1996) confessional ethnography: issues addressed and lessons learnt on structuring a confessional account

Present detailed insights into all aspects of the ethnography	• State study objectives, position and purpose early on • How the project was identified, how and why the type of study was chosen • Finding a suitable community • How the researcher gained acceptance • Inept and inappropriate engagement methods • Important informants and cultural interpreters • Personal struggles: personal, emotional, intellectual • Humanising the research process – presented humour, humility, grace, ignorance, frustrations, mental and emotional battles • Discuss unforeseen and unimagined consequences that could and did resulted from his research • Describe complex sets of relationships • Examine in close detail the interactions with group members – patterns of reciprocity and exchange
Tracing thoughts and actions as the research questions, methodology, fieldwork and themes developed – some lessons and ideas from Whyte's (1996) confessional ethnography	• Reflecting on the ethnographer's history, who he was, where he came from, personal background, prior studies and background and how this historicity might have affected the studied scene • Became accepted because he was different, people liked him like that, differences became a position for entry and acceptance, became a fixture "like a lamppost" • Background and limitations (e.g. no background in sociology or anthropology) • Difficulties in gaining access and entry, false starts; E.g. initially tried a more formal economist approach to community entry • Problems, limitations, gaps in fieldnotes, things that could not be remembered, unrecorded events, unrecorded reasons for decisions made, falsified stories: e.g. recording what he wanted to do rather than what he actually did • The role of gatekeepers to show around, introduce, interpret; how to engage with the people, what to do, what not to do, and what is acceptable practice • The role of research partners to help with data analysis, interpretation and critical thinking; and interpreting social situations; taking the lead of a cultural interpreters and informants • The difficulty of making formal appointments for data collection; relaxing, enjoying people and social activities and thus gaining access to tacit knowledge, deeper meaning; placing the research agenda secondary to social activities; the need to relax, socialise and put aside a research agenda and research role, such as doing fieldnotes • Did little formal interviewing: just hanging around provided answers to questions that the researcher didn't even know exists – much more useful and fruitful and more successful than asking questions in a formal interviewing and systematic manner; When this position was established, "data just came to him" without having to make special data collection efforts • In some cases resorted to more systematic data collection, or vice versa

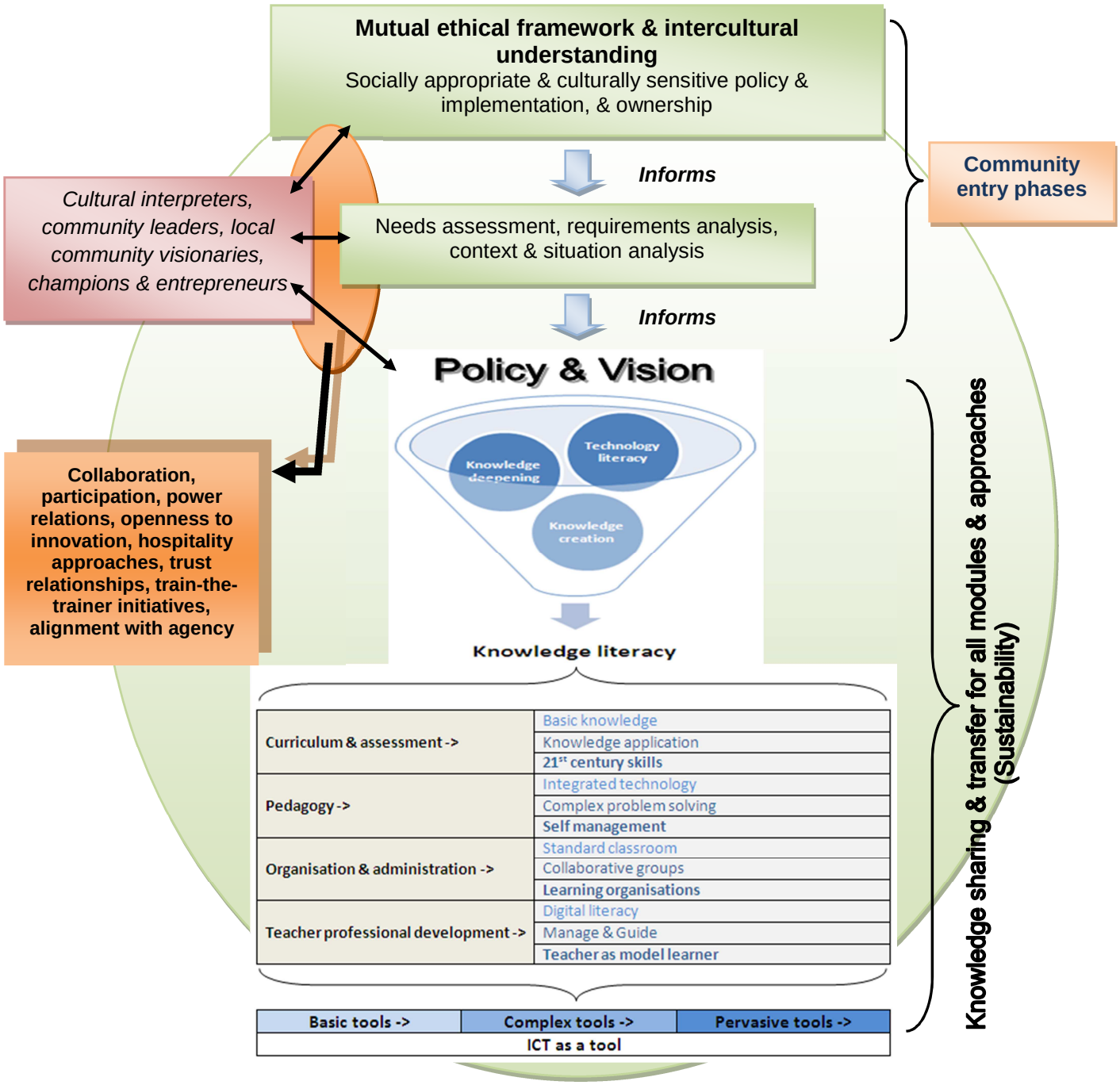
	• The role of personal relationships, gaining trust, reciprocity; building relationships were central to almost everything in the ethnography; it's what made him and his research partners connect • Reflected on experiences and lessons learnt in participant-observation • The role of the language and the cultural language, e.g. how to greet in the local language • Discussed how to introduce yourself and your research as outsider • Discuss limits of how and with whom he could engage • Discussed the impact that the research had on research participants, their family life, how they started businesses/initiatives, conflicts they experienced, how they innovated; how people's lives were affected • Became so embedded that it became difficult to fit in back home • Avoided leadership positions – became a conflict though, because in some cases he had to affect change; had to strike a balance between influencing situations, affecting change and observing; when to intervene and when not to in social situations (you need to affect the situation) • Could not connect with everyone and all groups, especially if there are conflicts between groups; accused of taking sides; could not be a friend in all cases, could not totally fit in • Discussed his dilemma of taking fieldnotes and organising fieldnotes • Discussed how fieldnotes and observations were linked to theory and literature • The research develop as the researcher became more focussed and matured in the situation • Used the minutes of meetings, reports, etc. as part of fieldnotes • Some cases he could get the data without getting in too deep; a fieldworker has to carry some consistency and honesty to himself; you can't go in too deep; cannot be accepted by everyone • Got along with some people, others he didn't like • The studied scene changed, time became a theme • Structure and themes emerged from fieldwork, had periods of re-planning and reflection • Discussed fieldwork activities that could jeopardise the study • Enjoyed fieldwork activities – moved from non-participating observer to non-observing participator; moved from observer to becoming a member • Married life enabled him to engage differently in the community • Didn't have a fixed plan before the research • It was difficult to conclude; exit strategies • Had limited information on certain things, had to re-plan or accept limitations, certain themes had more data on it • Certain themes and things interested the researcher, others didn't • Had to understand people by looking at their position and social structures, observed meetings; discussed social structures in the community • Studied groups and then later-on individuals starting to stand out • Discussed why relationships started and faded, how people lost interest • Reflected on possible reasons for social behaviour • How to join and leave social groupings, the study of the social phenomena had no logical end point • Relied on memory a lot, tried to visualise social events, used pictures as reminders of events • Discussed how ethical mistakes were made

	• How field lessons were confirmed, how stories were confirmed, triangulation, confirmation or non-confirmation of themes • Some projects emanated from the research, community leaders were involved • Took lessons learnt to persuade funders/sponsors • Told stories of how learning unfolded, how research themes unfolded, what lessons were learnt and how they were implemented in follow-up engagement • Took his stories to cultural interpreters to get their approval, confirmation and possible additional views • Discussed reflections on the process, methodology and themes afterwards

Appendix D – A set of principles for critical research in IS (from Myers and Klein, 2011: 25)

The Element of Insight Refer to Klein and Myers' (1999) set of principles for Interpretive research	
The Element of Critique	
1.	**The principle of using core concepts from critical social theorists** This principle suggests that critical researchers should organize their data collection and analysis around core concepts and ideas from one or more critical theorists.
2.	**The principle of taking a value position** Critical theorists advocate values such as open democracy, equal opportunity, or discursive ethics. These values drive or provide the basis for principles 4 through 6.
3.	**The principle of revealing and challenging prevailing beliefs and social practices** This principle suggests that critical researchers should identify important beliefs and social practices and challenge them with potentially conflicting arguments and evidence.
The Element of Transformation	
4.	**The principle of individual emancipation** Alvesson and Wilmott (1992) say that all critical social theory is oriented toward facilitating the realization of human needs and potential, critical self-reflection, and associated self-transformation.
5.	**The principle of improvements in society** This principle suggests that improvements in society are possible. The goal is not just to reveal the current forms of domination, but to suggest how unwarranted uses of power might be overcome (although the critical theorist should not assume any special position of authority). Most critical theorists assume that social improvements are possible, although to very differing degrees.
6.	**The principle of improvements in social theories** All critical theorists believe that our theories are fallible and that improvements in social theories are possible. Critical researchers entertain the possibility of competing truth claims arising from alternative theoretical categories, which can guide critical researchers in their analyses and interventions.

Appendix E – ICT competency guidelines for knowledge literacy for teachers: an adapted, integrated and interrelated approach to ICT policy implementation (from Krauss, 2013)



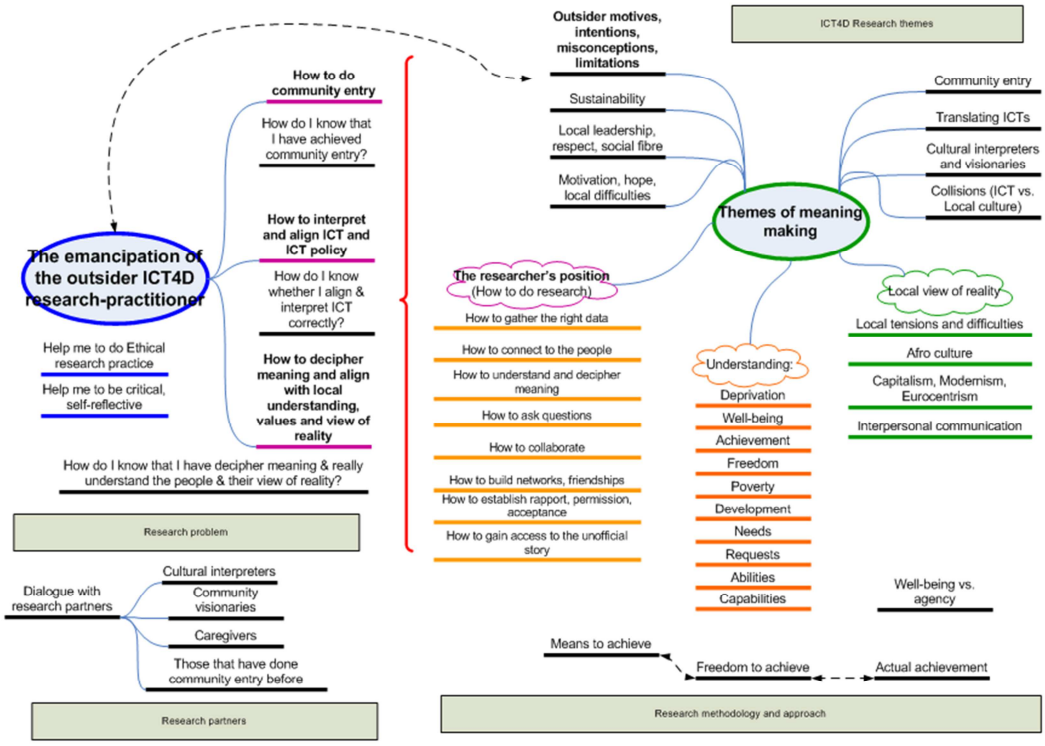
"ICT competency guidelines for knowledge literacy for teachers": an adapted, integrated and interrelated approach to ICT policy implementation

Based on the theoretical underpinning, our experiences in Happy Valley and the background of the ICT-CST policy framework, I proposes in the figure how policy implementation could take place in deep rural communities in SA. The figure visually integrates (from Krauss 2013):

- the community entry phases of policy implementation in deep rural situations,
- ethical research practice and appropriate and culturally sensitive community engagement,
- the importance of a collaborative needs or situation analysis as part of community entry,
- alignment with the guidance of cultural interpreters on how one should pursue and think about the implementation of ICT4D,
- appropriate alignment with local leadership, ownership and power relations,
- the examination of individual contexts,
- the need for knowledge transfer skills,
- the importance of explicitly viewing ICT as a supporting tool rather than as an end in itself, which is in line with Adam's (2001) argument that the emancipatory goals of critical social theory may be to overcome technocracy,
- the prominence of knowledge literacy and competence as the final objective,
- the importance of trust relationships with cultural interpreters and community visionaries as advisories and equal partners, and the subsequent collaboration in understanding the ICT4D artefact, and
- that the three approaches of the ICT-CST policy (technology literacy, knowledge deepening and knowledge creation) are interrelated or complementary rather than linear or "if-then" as the current matrix-model visualises. For example, knowledge creation and deepening may need to be addressed even before technology literacy is possible. Due to the general lack of resources in deep rural communities, it is especially important to empower local communities to work within existing constraints.

A more detail on the discussion can be found in Krauss (2013)

Appendix F – Fieldwork guide during the becoming-a-member phases



Appendix G – People I engaged with and their roles in the unfolding ethnography

The purpose of this appendix is to introduce the key cultural informants and project partners I engaged with and who I mention in the unfolding ethnography.

Philani is one of the most significant cultural informants and gatekeepers I engaged with throughout the ethnography. Early in the project my relationship with him was not as eminent. However, towards the end of the project and especially while Philani, Bongani , and I started an ICT training business in Happy Valley in 2011, his role in my understanding of worldview collisions intensified considerably. It is especially during the narratives described in Chapter 7 where I discovered and explicated worldview collisions, that Philani assisted me to articulate contrasts and interpret the social phenomena I encountered. Philani is a Zulu man and part of the royal family. He is in his late thirties and is married to **Thabi**, the school secretary and also the lady who I introduced in Section 4.10. They have three daughters. Philani also became a close friend of mine with whom I still have contact, long after the project ended for me.

I introduced **Bongani**, a Zulu man in his late thirties, in Section 7.12. Bongani is a member of the local municipality and also a local business entrepreneur involved in all kinds of small business initiatives, including the training initiative that Philani and I participated in. In Section 7.14 and 7.15 I reflect on Bongani's role in my understanding of loyalty and worldview collisions. My friendship with Bongani came to a dead-end after a spectacular business failure. I have, since the project ended, sent him an a few emails, but never made contact after that.

Martha Vermeulen was the most important cultural informant and gatekeeper during the community entry phases of the project. I introduced Martha in several places in the Thesis, but especially in Sections 4.5 to 4.11 where I reflect on the community entry and topic discovery phases of the project. Martha's role is that of project manager at the Care Centre for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (CCOVC), and someone who has intricate knowledge of development projects in Happy Valley. She comes from an Afrikaner background, but has been in the Happy Valley community for more than 20 years. In Section 7.14 I contrast Martha's views of loyalty with Malusi's view of the same phenomenon, mainly to illustrate how different people from different backgrounds explain the same phenomenon in different ways.

Malusi is one of the more outspoken teachers from Happy Valley School. He is an unmarried Zulu man, about thirty years old, and a member of the royal family. He still accompanies the Grade 11 learners every year on their campus trip. I briefly introduced Malusi in Section 5.8.2, and also in

Section 7.4 where I reflect on his role as cultural informant, research partner, and friend. Malusi was the one who introduced me to Ndabezitha, the local king.

Ndabezitha or **King Gumede** is the king of the Gumede clan in Happy Valley and a much respected man. I introduced Ndabezitha in Section 7.8. Ndabezitha has two wives and a number of children. Two of his daughters are also teachers at Happy Valley School. One of them is **Ntombi**, whom I introduced in Sections 7.8 and 7.15.

I introduced **Lungile** and his wife **Nonhle** in Section 7.3. They are a Zulu couple who visited me at my home in Pretoria and from whom I learned much about the Zulu people and their people-orientated culture. They were important cultural informants throughout the project.

Mrs Dlamini or **Mama Dlamini** is a Zulu lady in her fifties and the headmistress of Happy Valley School. She is a key community leader and was an important gatekeeper during the community entry phases of the project. I described my partnership with her in Section 4.5 in detail, and referred to her role in the project a number of times throughout the narratives.

Baba Mbatha is probably the most prominent and senior community leader in Happy Valley, apart from Ndabezitha. He is the senior pastor of the Rock of Ages Mission and also a businessman. He played an important role in explaining the views of those teachers who received ICT training. I introduced Baba Mbatha in Sections 7.9 and 7.10.

Susan is one of the teachers who visited our university during the first campus trip in 2009. She comes from an Afrikaner background. I introduced her in Section 4.10. **Vivian**, a Zulu lady in her late twenties, is one of the managers of the Rock of Ages Mission community. She has a hospitality role to play among the people and was instrumental in explaining intricacies of the Zulu culture to me. I introduced her in Sections 7.4 and 7.5.

Danie and **Suzaan** are Afrikaner friends of mine and an elderly couple who worked at the CCOVC in administrative roles. **Baba Nkosi** is an older Zulu man and a key member of the CCOVC staff. Baba Nkosi cannot speak English. **Mrs Ndlovu** and **Kebashnee Naidoo** are employees at the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Health. I introduced them in much detail in Section 4.7, where I reflect on the mistakes I made with a gatekeeper.

Dr Smith is a doctor at the Happy Valley Hospital (HVH) and the chairman of Njalo, an NGO and hospice in the Happy Valley region. Dr Smith has been involved in ground-breaking research on HIV and tuberculosis in the Happy Valley region. He has been instrumental in giving me background on the Happy Valley community. Together with Martha they helped me understand the impacts of HIV

and tuberculosis infections on the local people. I introduced Dr Smith in Section 4.7 and his wife **Mrs Smith**, a teacher at Happy Valley School, in Section 4.10

I discussed **Stefan's** and **Adrian's** roles in the project extensively in Section 4.11. **Sipho** is a local Zulu man and member of the mission community who I engaged with especially early in the project. In Section 7.5 I explained how my conversations with him helped open up the phenomenon of hospitality and people-orientatedness.

Solomon is a colleague of mine from the University of Pretoria and someone who showed great passion for the Happy Valley project. Solomon together with **Magrieta** was the two colleagues who joined me on many of my fieldtrips. I described in Section 5.8.2, Solomon's role and the impact of his teaching ways and mannerisms on **Mr Ndlovu's** (a teacher from Happy Valley School) experiences of IT training.

Jacob, who I introduced in Section 4.5, 4.6, and 4.10, was a key cultural informant and partner during the community entry phases of the project. Jacob is an academic at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and an indigenous man from Zambia. He joined us on a number of fieldtrips during the first year of the project.

[‡] On title page the reader will see the original Greek translation of Matthew 5 verse 3. The meaning of this Biblical verse is symbolic of the research contribution and of the introspection needed to understand the research contribution. The reason for using the *Greek* translation is symbolic of the tenacity needed to seek deeper meaning behind apparent meaning and to understand what is really conveyed in this thesis.