Chapter 4
Tangible Tech Stories – The Embodied Performances of Visitor Tours

> Just landed in Nairobi! I'm here to meet with entrepreneurs and developers, and to learn about mobile money – where Kenya is the world leader.

So posted Mark Zuckerberg on his Facebook page when he arrived in Nairobi to pay a day visit to its tech workplaces and startups (Macharia 2016: n.p.). Zuckerberg's short trip to Kenya's tech scene in August 2016 made it clear that Nairobi's reputation as a place of tech innovation had reached the top level of global tech gurus. Famous technology entrepreneurs were not the only people to visit Nairobi; politicians, donor agency representatives, international investors "interested in … an 'untapped' consumer base … [in] African markets" (Marchant 2014: 18), tourists who had booked a "Get to Know Kenyan Startups" tour on Airbnb, and students from Kenya and other parts of the world who wanted to get a first-hand impression of the latest Kenyan technologies also flocked in. The number of visits to workplaces such as the iHub and Gearbox was tremendous; my research diary documents people visiting these places on every single day of my research stays. This influx of visitors confirms that Nairobi is a center of global attention and role model for technology development on the African continent. It also means that hosting visitors and guiding them through the workplaces is part of the everyday life of Kenyan technology developers.

The tech scene in Nairobi is clustered in a few buildings and city districts, so that a visitor tour usually consists of walking through the whole building, being shown various workplaces and startups while listening to the story of their beginnings, goals, and achievements. The visitor guides are company or co-working space employees and sometimes members of the workplaces are asked to pitch their current projects to the visitors. The visitors usually do not

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come alone, but in groups of three to ten, although occasionally singletons or large groups of 15–20 people also tour. As depicted above, the visitors' backgrounds and interests are manifold, but they all have two things in common: they usually come well equipped with cameras or smartphones and have little prior knowledge about Nairobi's tech scene.

Hosting visitors is a regular act for innovative co-working spaces all over the world. Their managers and members foster a global ethos of tech communities that support each other by sharing knowledge. For this reason, the doors of Nairobi's creative workplaces are left open, so that everyone is able to wander around, enter (almost) every room, and approach people and fabrication tools in order to chat and experiment with them.[1] For one user-experience (UX) designer I interviewed, the possibility for anyone to enter the workplaces of technology developers signifies the "culture of openness" celebrated in tech communities all over the world (Interview, November 2015). He stated that leaving the doors open is a non-hierarchical way of sharing knowledge and that it makes up the "DNA of Nairobi's tech community" (ibid.). When I asked him if the researchers and journalists who frequently come in and ask questions annoy him, he assured me that the benefit of learning from each other's mistakes and experiences offset the unpaid and time-intensive work of sharing knowledge with visitors.

Like this UX designer, many emphasize that the iHub, in particular, revolves around visions of "collaboration, openness, community, creativity, and diversity" (Friederici 2019: 194). Kenyan tech developers appreciate the "central values of openness and collaboration" in the technology sector, as they are not typical values of other organizations in the country (Interview, serial founder, April 2017). In this respect, a former iHub member remembered the tech hub as "fantastic and collaborative" because he could walk around the co-working space and ask for help when faced with a problem he could not solve himself: "there was a lot of synergy and comradery" (Interview, April 2017). An electrical engineer also emphasized that the existence of a hardware innovation community was encouraging: "There is a perception of hardware being hard. But the more you are in the community, the less hard it is" (Interview, May 2016).

The conviction that knowledge is a freely available and collectively shared good is a central part of the global maker ethos. In Kenya's tech scene, this

1 Knowledge is not only shared in analogue forms; a large amount is also shared digitally via platforms such as GitHub, where makers and coders share their projects transparently on a global level.

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global ethos gets a 'local' touch: one designer claimed that in Nairobi, "technology has started to restore Ubuntu, [so that] these days people are concerned about working together; every morning you are on Twitter and saying hello to the community" (Nyamweya interviewed in Bristow 2017: 287). Referring to the philosophy of *Ubuntu*, the designer pointed to a difference between Kenya and tech scenes outside of Sub-Saharan Africa. Ubuntu stands for "I am because you are" (Stassen interviewed in Kohtala et al. 2020: 139) and understands life as ontologically relational (Escobar 2015: 341). As such, the designer argued that the Kenyan tech developers' care for each other is contrary to the society of capitalist modernity (ibid.). Along this line, a startup founder explained that developers are aware of working and living in a network and therefore prioritize the community's well-being:

> That's probably different from Europe or the US where people are a little bit more competitive and want to keep things to themselves – they don't want to share, so they don't share investors. I feel like, people here see it more like a win for Nairobi or Kenya to get someone to invest. So, we know a lot of other startups that recommend investors or pass them around our way. There is a lot of openness and collaboration, which is quite nice. (Interview, April 2017)

This quote makes it clear that entrepreneurial success is understood as a collective endeavor. Tech entrepreneurs share their investors because they care about other startups, innovative workplaces, and developers, and do not draw a line between their own and another's business. In this vein, a hardware company founder described Nairobi's tech developers as a "community of technologists and entrepreneurs that are collectively committed to seeing each other being successful and to seeing [the] country prosper from the success of these enterprises" (Interview, November 2015).[2]

Against the background of this context-specific ideology of sharing, co-working spaces serve as support structures in which entrepreneurs care for their broader community. Thus, the guiding of visitors through technology development workplaces is an important tool to convince investors of the value of technological ideas, startups, and co-working spaces. Once convinced, the investors function as a shared asset:

2 As well as the care for the community's entrepreneurial success through sharing knowledge, investors, and publicity, Section 6.4 shows that Kenyan tech developers also care about their broader environment by establishing almost exclusively social enterprises.

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> We rent space from this makerspace. It's been a nice story of both companies growing and trying to help each other out. When we have visitors and investors coming around, we also tell them about the great space we are in and how it needs additional help and funding to create a better ecosystem. (Interview, startup founder, April 2017)

In the following, I claim that guiding visitors is a highly affective and embodied storytelling practice; tech developers guide visitors because of their care for the tech community as well as their fear of not surviving in tech entrepreneurship. As such, they aim to rework Kenya's positionality as a place of technology development by strengthening the local community of technology developers and by attracting investors to support technology innovation. Therefore, visitor guides (have to) convince, particularly financially affluent, visitors of the worth of the technological ideas, startups, and workplaces that they see. This usually works through making Nairobi's media tech story (see Chapter 3) comprehensible to the incoming visitors by letting them wander through open doors in order to experience the places where entrepreneurs work, touch machines, and hear about tech projects. Due to the need to secure money from visiting investors, the guiding tech developers perform their work as a touristic event in which Kenya's tech story is staged according to the visitors' (often discriminatory) imaginations and technoscientific beliefs. In this regard, technology developers, workplaces, and technologies are turned into watchable touristic objects. In this chapter, I first argue that the daily visitor tours 'script' the workplaces, bodies, and technologies along the narrative characteristics of the single story analyzed in Chapter 3. This means that the guided tours performatively materialize and embody the technoscientific and exoticizing norms of how to tell stories about technology development in Kenya. Second, I shed light on the affects and effects of leaving the workplace doors open and reveal the extent to which tech developers feel disturbed when treated as touristic objects.

4.1 Visitor Tours as Touristic Events

The story of Nairobi's tech scene is told by media outlets (see Chapter 3), but is also enacted by members of co-working spaces while giving tours to visitors. The following vignette merges several research diary excerpts from 2015 to 2016 and shows how visitors are guided through the Magua Bishop Building, the location of iHub, Gearbox, and many other tech startups at that time.

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Attention should be paid to the affective performance of technoscientific storytelling norms and discriminating imaginations of Kenya.

A Guided Tour through Nairobi's Tech Spaces

Four design students and two professors from a British university follow Peter to the fourth floor of the Magua Bishop Building. He starts his introduction in front of iHub's door, mentioning the post-election violence in Kenya in 2007–2008 and how Ushahidi was developed in a Java Coffee shop until Ushahidi became popular and founded iHub. After these preliminary words, the visitor group enters iHub's co-working space, greeted by murmurs, the smell of coffee, and John, the space manager. They see that the co-working space is full of tables, green chairs, a sofa corner, and last, but not least, a tabletop soccer game, a seeming fixture in any co-working space around the world. Slowly, the six visitors wander around between the tables of people who are hunched over their laptops – coding, writing, or watching YouTube videos.

After a couple of minutes, Peter leads the group downstairs to the third floor where Microsoft and some mobile app startups have offices. Moving on to the second floor, that has more attractions for these visitors, the group laughs about a poster on the wall saying "In case of fire, please leave the building before posting it to social media". As well as the tech hub's research and consultancy department that Peter describes briefly, the first makerspace in Kenya, Gearbox, and the BRCK office are here. In front of BRCK's door, Peter explains how the BRCK team developed a mobile modem because Ushahidi had problems with stable power access 'back then'. Thus, they built a robust modem with its own battery. As he starts to talk about BRCK's latest project, he runs into the office to ask if the group can look at the products. He returns and gives the group a sign to enter. "Wow! This place is spacious and looks 100 percent like a creative workplace in the US!" exclaims one of the visiting students. The group gathers around Peter, who shows them a BRCK. Behind them is a wall bearing the slogan, "You can do hard things". Peter explains that the BRCK has been shipped to Rwanda, South Africa, and the USA amongst others and that it is already available almost everywhere in Kenya.

The next stop is Gearbox – the reason the design students and professors travelled from Britain to Nairobi. Peter shows the visitor group the computer space with numerous makers working on their digital models, the PCB production machines, the laser cutter, and 3D printers. The visitors are amazed and constantly marvel at the fact that a makerspace in Kenya is better

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equipped than theirs at a British university. Using their cameras and smartphones, they take many photos. Peter asks a makerspace member to show the visitors around and explain the machines. After the introduction to various machines, including a CNC machine, welding machine, and wood saws, Peter guides the group out of the workplace again and downstairs.

Without stopping, Peter says "That's the first floor" and leads the group down to the ground floor without mentioning the various other (non-tech) businesses and offices in the building. At the User-Experience (UX) lab, an employee stands up and presents the lab and design thinking basics, even though he knows that the visitors are product design students and probably already know the basics of UX. After this short visit, the visitors encounter another nuance of a visitor tour at workplaces: Peter asks a woman to say something about their charity organization, but she just answers 'deadline' without looking up from her laptop and points to her seated neighbor. He rolls his eyes, sighs, and starts to talk.

The final stop is Pete's – the famous coffee and burrito café in the building, which is said to be the place where the real innovations happen. While drinking refreshing juice and coffee, the visitors exchange their newly gained impressions. (Research Diary, November 2015; June 2016; July 2016)

The vignette shows that visitor guides perform a tangible and thus, perceivable tech story by allowing guests to walk around workplaces of technology development, to watch people and machines at work, to hear people talk about their ideas, and to eat/drink where every Kenyan tech developer supposedly eats, thinks, and networks.[3] Delving into the tastes, smells, and sounds of the tech developers' daily lives lets the visitors experience what the work of technology development is (supposedly) like in Kenya.

In particular, visitors from the USA, UK, and Germany exclaim in amazement and wonder during their visits to Nairobi's tech scene. They compare the interior design of the workplaces to the look of creative co-working spaces in their home countries, express astonishment at the fact that the workplaces are better equipped than their own, and marvel at the sheer existence of a tech scene in Kenya. The continuous utterance of wonder about Kenya's technology

3 The rumor that all innovations actually happen at Pete's persists, even though the casual staff and members of co-working spaces only rarely eat lunch there, because Pete's is more expensive than the restaurants serving local food nearby.

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development sector and its unexpected comparability to the places of high-tech work in the Global North cause many Kenyan technology developers to assume that colonial stereotypes frame the visits of (white) visitors. According to an iHub employee, "white visitors" are fascinated by merely "see[ing] young African techies working on their computers building a great app" (Interview, March 2017). Often, my research partners expressed the feeling that the majority of their visitors had "no real interest" because the (exotic) event character of visiting a place that does not exist in Western histories of technology was more important to them than hearing a detailed story (Interview, former tech hub employee, March 2017). Thus, the employees who show visitors around assume that "white visitors" are merely looking for confirmation of the story that they have already read from afar:

> It's so easy to give out the same story of what iHub is, because that's what most white people are looking for when they come. You don't need to delve further into what projects you do. I remember talking about projects that we did yeeeeeeaaaaaars ago. They were like 'Wow! That's so cool, man!' No one will ask what YOU do. They don't really care; they don't want to know about us – they just want to know that some cool projects have been done in Africa. … They want a tour, the same thing that is on the BBC, but this time it's told by someone who works there. … They won't ask any hard questions. So, for me, that's less time away from my work and I take five minutes to take them up and down. Fine. (ibid.)

The interviewee was angry and sad that the visitors she guided around did not ask questions about her, her work, motivation, and education. She perceived the visitors' amazement about a depersonalized story of "cool projects in Africa" as offensive and based on discriminatory imaginations of 'an Africa'. The lack of interest in stories that deviate from media reports is reminiscent of tourist events in which contexts in countries of the Global South are specifically staged for "the interests of the metropolitan center", that is Western travelers (d'Hauteserre 2004: 238). In this light, tourism studies scholars claim that Western tourists perceive African contexts as the imagined "myth of Africa" that "hinges on time-honored stereotypes of Africa as an exotic, receptive, timeless space, a *tabula rasa* waiting to be filled by the imperialist imagination" (van Eeden 2004: 21).

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4.2 Scripted Stories Script Nairobi's Tech Places

The more visitor tours I watched, participated in, and gave during the three years of my empirical research, the stranger it seemed to me that the story of Nairobi's tech scene stayed the same during these tours. Why did every guide tell the same story? In the quote above, the tech developer explains that giving tours is an unsatisfying task. The negative emotions evoked by the interaction with (white) visitors made her conduct the tours as quickly as possible. Performing the tour swiftly and scripting its content are strategies to survive the unpleasant duty of giving tours, as other former tech hub employees told me:

> All newbies had to do tours. So, if you just joined, you had to give a tour. Not just 'a' tour: you had to do tours for a couple of weeks until the next person joined. So, you were told what you should say and what the tech hub is and then you repeat that to all the visitors coming. So, you are going over and over and over and over and over again. (Interview, March 2017)

> The reason why people at the tech hub will show and tell you the same rehearsed version of its story is because it's a survival thing. You do it over and over again. So, you don't want to do it again. So, when people come and ask you to do a visitor tour, you just do it as a formality and the quickest way possible. You go for the default story. (Interview, April 2017)

The repeated story becomes a script – 'a default story' – that annoys and bores the visitor guides, but was a condition of keeping their jobs.[4] The guide who gave the visitor tour I referred to most in the vignette replied to my compliment of giving the perfect visitor tour, that there was no choice in doing them: "you have to give tours" (Research Diary, June 30, 2016).

The scripting of the tours causes the stabilization of Nairobi's tech story.[5] As such, the vignette shows strikingly that visitor tours materially and bodily perform the singularized media story analyzed in Chapter 3. During the tours,

4 Interviews by visiting researchers and journalists also seemed to proceed in a scripted way. A management studies researcher told me that her interviewees had asked her if she could get the audio recordings of a researcher who had been there the week before instead of interviewing them again (Research Diary, November 23, 2015).

5 Not least because journalists and researchers who write about Nairobi's technology sector also acquire their knowledge through guided tours, spreading their content through media and academia to a broader audience.

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the absences and presences of the story's content are enacted by stopping only at certain places in the Magua Bishop Building while leaving others out. As such, visitor guides enact the technoscientific norms of mentioning only successful companies, products, and workplaces, and concealing personal and alternative stories (see Chapter 3). They reproduce the linear establishment of Nairobi's tech scene, which is a main characteristic of the mediatized story, by starting at the top of the building where iHub's co-working space was located. From there, the guide leads the visitors through the workplaces, along the same linear story about events and successful companies that led to the emergence of Nairobi's tech scene. Additionally, the story's characteristics of focusing on success stories and hard numbers while eliminating daily life challenges are also part of the visitor tours:

> You stick to your script and say 'Yeah, it's all good!' I talk about this project, this project, and this project that help people. Don't forget to throw out big numbers: 'Hey, we have 16,000 members! We have done 20M+ in funding!' (Interview, former tech hub employee, March 2017)

As illustrated in the previous chapter, the presence of success, numbers, and linearity leaves little space for alternative stories. In the case of visitor tours, we learn from the vignette that no tour guide mentions the other companies in the building, be it an exchange bureau, a print shop or fashion shop. This underlines the storytelling norm of only staging 'revolutionary' startups and ideas fitting into the master narrative of technoscientific progress. Individual stories are also not told – or at least not in a holistic way, inclusive of doubts, fears, and setbacks. I realized the absence of people and individual emotions in the visitor tours I conducted, too, when I guided a new employee through a makerspace: I only told her about the functionalities of the rooms and different workplaces – be it the quietness of the computer lab compared to the machine space, the possibility of renting the huge rooms as offices for startups, the industrial aesthetic of the machine space's ceiling, or the functionality of a prepaid gas meter invented by a startup (Research Diary, April 7, 2017).

Nairobi's tech story and the tech scene itself performatively produce each other. As such, the scripted tour story 'scripts' (see Crang 2004) the workplaces, technology developers, and their technologies along the norms of the technoscientific master narrative and the visitors' exoticizing imaginations of work in an African country.

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4.3 Feelings of Objectification

Visitor tours not only streamline and stabilize the story of Kenyan technology development, they also have an impact on the workers in the visited co-working spaces. The visitor tours are accompanied by feelings of fear of not being able to survive as a tech entrepreneur, of caring for one's own community, and of anger about serving as an illustrative object of Nairobi's tech scene.

A research diary entry of only one day shows numerous visitors and that only a few of them interacted with the tech developers. On this average day, the makerspace was visited four times: one tech hub founder came in with a visitor – both holding takeaway coffee cups in their hands; a bit later, one group came in and stood close to the entrance looking at the workplace; in the afternoon, another large group talked to one of the makerspace managers; when they left, four people stayed behind and took photos of the workplace; and, after that, a Kenyan journalist came in and asked for information as she wanted to write an article about the challenges of manufacturing and how the tech scene could support manufacturers (Research Diary, July 3, 2016).

The spatial arrangement of visitors and workers distinctively indicates their non-interaction. A smartphone snapshot of mine shows that visitors usually stay close to the workplace entrance, listening to their tour guide and watching the workers from afar (Figure 4).

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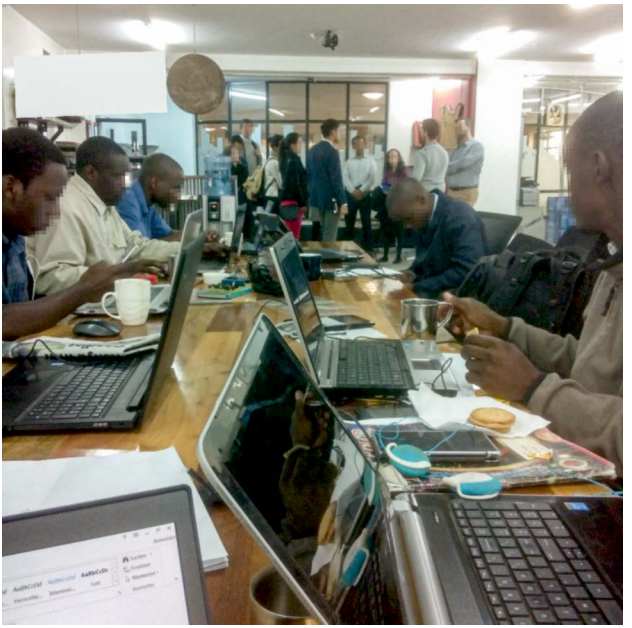
Figure 4: Smartphone camera snapshot of a visitor group at a makerspace, 2016 (author's photo).



However, the distance between visitors and developers is bypassed by the visitors' action of taking photos of everything and everyone:

> At some point, [a serial founder] and a group of 15 people in suits, who I would categorize as white, came in. They didn't enter very far, but were just standing in the entrance space, looking at us. Two women split from the group and went around the makerspace taking photos with their phones. I felt intimidated as they went close to the computers that show people's projects and took photos of the screens and people without asking. They moved like lurking cats. Brian, who sat across from me, leaned over the table and asked me in a whisper: "Do they come because they don't believe that something like this can happen in Africa?" (Research Diary, June 23, 2016)

> Before lunch, we had several visitors. Two guys were standing behind me, but they didn't walk around the makerspace. They just stood there. … Again, their smartphones were capturing everything. They shot quickly in every di-

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> rection, probably hoping that one of the photos would be nice. (Research Diary, June 27, 2016)

Those two research diary excerpts illustrate that visitors see taking pictures as a crucial part of their guided tours. In my case, witnessing how visitors invaded the privacy of co-workers, and the sensation of being observed while I worked led to feeling intimidated and uncomfortable. In Brian's case, the white visitors evoked questions about why they came to the makerspace. Brian could feel the spatial distance between him and the visitors at the entrance as it was far enough that he was unable to hear the purpose of their visit. Additionally, Brian's questioning of and irritation about visits from white people signified his sensation of a bodily boundary between the visitors' bodies and his own (see Schmitz and Ahmed 2014).

This perceived *otherness* was also the topic of a conversation with two former tech hub employees, who compared their work situation to being an animal in a zoo:

> Joseph: For me, the most annoying part about the tours is that they just walk in and a whole team comes filming: 'Who are you?! Why are you filming me?'
> Glory: That even happened at one of the Kids Hacker Camps. … We had to stop random people from taking pictures of children in the middle of our class. What's wrong with you? 'Oh, I just wanted to take a picture, I think you guys are doing something very cool.' They just see Kenyan children in a tech space and think it's something cool.
> Joseph: Like in a zoo.
> (Interview, former tech hub employees, March 2017)

Taking photos without first asking permission makes the developers feel objectified – as Joseph said, like animals in a zoo; the photos serve as illustrations of a touristic event in which the developers have no agency. Thus, it is important to consider the gaze during the tours: who is allowed to look and who is looked at? The lack of (verbal) interaction between working people and the predominantly white visitors, as well as the taking of photos, consolidate the so-called *colonial gaze*, which has exoticized people in (former) colonies by portraying them as different since colonial times (Melber 2001).

Besides the feelings of intimidation, technology developers are regularly confronted with uncertainty and unpredictability, as they never know who will be visiting or why they are visiting. The nonexistent interaction between visi-

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tors and tech developers prevents any inquiry about the visitors' motives. In addition, the staff of the co-working spaces never know who is coming: "I thought that I remembered this guy and then I realized that Ban Ki-Moon was standing next to me" (Research Diary, June 29, 2016). As such, technology developers who work at co-working spaces to meet investors and donors have to be constantly prepared for requests to present their project to visitors:

> Marcus told me that he had heard from someone that visitors were coming that day; maybe from the World Bank. So, he was in a hurry because he wanted to be ready to show his 3D scanner to them in case they were interested in his work. I asked a makerspace employee if he knew that people from the World Bank were coming that day, but he answered: 'That's interesting. I didn't know'. (Research Diary, June 29, 2016)

The high hopes of investment, achieved by giving visitors one of the famous and fast elevator pitches, are interwoven with emotions such as uncertainty as to when and what visitors will arrive and anger toward visitors who simply watch, do not interact, and photograph people, screens, and work life without asking.

Of course, the incoming visitors cannot be generalized into a single gawker who does not respect the workers' privacy and their need to concentrate. A former tour guide, for example, sensed that sometimes his visitors "wanted to ask more questions, but they didn't because they are clever and noticed that I was busy" (Interview, April 2017). This reminded me of my embarrassment on my first day at the tech hub because my presence forced people to talk to me although they did not have time for a conversation (Research Diary, November 3, 2015). It should also be noted that some visitors on a business trip explicitly apologize for taking random photos and having no time for interaction; their schedules are tight as they have to visit as many companies or NGOs as possible and the photos are necessary to prove their activities (Research Diary, June 28, 2016; March 30, 2017).

However, I am not concerned with judging individual visitors to Nairobi's tech scene as either interested and self-reflective or as unsympathetic and discriminating. Rather, I am highlighting the postcolonial power asymmetries that manifest in directions of travel, looking, and knowledge exploitation.

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4.4 Conclusion: The Affective Ambiguities of Performing Stories

The empirical insights from visitor tours of co-working spaces show that they serve their function, which is to convince doubters that technology development exists in Kenya. However, looking at the different feelings evoked in both the visitors themselves and the visited tech workers, we come to understand that visitor tours have ambiguous effects and affects: from the workers' side, the visitor guides doubt that employees and members of the co-working spaces gain any benefits from the visitors: "What are WE getting out of this? Do you want to fund something? Do you want to work with us? Please, don't just say bye" (Interview, March 2017). They long for visitors who ask "targeted questions" (ibid.), showing that they are interested and not sightseers who "just walk in like 'I'm just passing by [because] I am in Nairobi'" (Interview, public relations manager, March 2017). The tech workers are annoyed by having to tell the same story several times a day, irritated when being watched, angry when being photographed without permission, and stressed by the constant need to be prepared to pitch their work. The visitors, however, usually enjoy the sensual experience of Kenya's tech scene by watching, touching, and photographing workers, technologies, and machines:

> For every single [design] student, the five days of visiting Nairobi felt awesome. The twenty-something year olds exclaimed that they would tell their grandchildren about the trip and that they hadn't expected it to be so nice here. I asked them what they had expected and one student answered 'fewer materials to work with and not such nice and like-minded people'. (Research Diary, July 3, 2016)

This research diary excerpt shows that visitors socialized in countries of the Global North go home inspired and with slightly changed imaginations about technology development in an African country, whereas the Kenyan developers return to work as usual after hosting them. Thus, visitor tours often do not leave anything behind except the hope for investment and the loss of working time. The outcome for tech developers hosting visitors is more of irritation and intimidation than inspiration, knowledge gain, or a tangible (financial) outcome.

The differing feelings point to the performative ambiguity of storytelling practices. On the one hand, the narrative work of technology developers, the open doors of co-working spaces, and the visitors' affective states of wonder

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and astonishment carry emancipatory potential to re-script Kenya's positionality by refuting colonial stereotypes of a supposedly atechnological place. On the other hand, the one-sidedness of visitor tours objectifies tech developers, their workplaces, and technologies and reduces them to mere touristic performances in which the visitors have more agency than the storytellers.

The reason for this ambiguity is the ambivalent striving for decolonial independence through capitalist technologies: the tours are supposed to promote knowledge exchange and encourage local technology developers to collaborate, but at the same time, they are fundamental to gaining investment for the tech scene. Thus, stories about technological projects are turned into services for potential investors and must therefore meet the expectations of the primarily international – and white – audience. This means that Kenya's racist colonial past and current global injustices cause feelings of, for example, wonder or amazement, to "stick" (Ahmed 2004b: 120) to the bodies and technologies of innovative workplaces in Nairobi, organizing them along historically constructed power structures. The opposing affects of enthusiasm and anger highlight the emotional and embodied negotiation between the technology developers' attempt to re-script Kenya's positionality in technocapitalism on their own terms and the need to attract investors by performing stories according to the expectations of others.

Examining context-specific affects such as anger, intimidation, and passion at technology development workplaces highlights the precariousness of developing technology and creating desired futures. Tech developers protect these precious endeavors and their mental health with daily forms of resistances (see Scott 1989). They utilize various strategies to cope with the steady stream of visitors that disrupts their concentration by making them feel uncomfortable being watched while working, makes it too noisy to understand the words of a co-worker, and means that someone has to interrupt their work in order to guide them around or pitch a project (Research Diary, June 22, 2016; March 24, 2017). One such strategy is the telling of the scripted 'default story' of Nairobi's tech scene to keep the tours as short and formal as possible. Tech developers also take protective measures such as wearing highly visible headphones to appear busy and unresponsive, or placing whiteboards between the door and work desks so that they are not visible to visitors entering. By sighing loudly, rolling their eyes, and conspicuously turning on timers, technology developers show their displeasure with constant disruptions (Research Diary, e.g., November 11, 2015).

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