

Part II

Conclusion: Technocapitalism's Responsibilization to Calculate and Care (for Liberating Products)

Kenyan makers mostly sit in front of their computers to digitally draw an idea and calculate its implementation. As such, they do not conform to the global imagination of work in a makerspace – tinkering with cheap materials and fast prototyping machines. In Kenya, design work stands for the professionalization of manufacturing and is thus part of the vision to develop professional technologies in Nairobi. As such, this Part II's overall claims can be summarized as follows: first, Kenyan tech entrepreneurs deal with colonial trajectories and neoliberalism affectively and socio-materially, specifically through practices of care and calculation. Second, Kenyan makers aim at making professional products because these promise to achieve the aspired future of integrating Kenya into technocapitalist commodity flows.

The previous chapters on making have shown that the emerging makerspaces in Nairobi personify the vision of reworking Kenya's positionality by building a local innovation culture that is independent of technology from the Global North. In this regard, makerspaces aim to eradicate the challenges faced by hardware makers, for example, the lack of resources, machines, and capital, and to offer digital fabrication tools to support the local development of technologies. Kenyan makers feel empowered by their interactions with automated machines – because they liberate the makers from repair work and other manual labor, transform intangible ideas into tangible prototypes, and open up the chance to do something previously not possible: innovating professional products that target the local market. Therefore, making in Kenya differs from making in post-industrial contexts where it mainly happens as an anti-capitalist practice or leisure time activity that empowers makers through the return to manual work. The context-specific feelings of empowerment

and liberation signify that making in contexts without a prior industrialization represents a political endeavor to alleviate postcolonial asymmetries. As such, *performances of professionalism* position tech developers and their national economies in the realms of technocapitalism from which they had previously been excluded and make them independent of epistemological and technological supremacy of the West.

Furthermore, I analyzed the bodies, machines, and affects of postcolonial technology entrepreneurship. I argued that makers handle their neoliberal responsabilization to care for their own income, but also for national progress, in an affective and socio-material way. Loving affects express the desire to be liberated from postcolonial asymmetries that hinder the smooth entry into the technocapitalist market. In this vein, the pleasure in the aesthetics of technology and the love for machines show that making 'professional' technology is a precious endeavor. However, love can be complicated or even driven by the affect of fear. Kenyan makers constantly fear the failure of their ideas because they work in a context where developing technology is not a self-evident practice. Competition, resource scarcity, and hierarchies complicate the process of technology development. I have shown that surviving the challenging process of making products requires caring human-machine relationships that make technology in a calculative way. Instead of embracing and fostering failure as in the global maker ethos, makers, material, and machines unite in the *calculative making* of perfect digital models for competitive implementations that do not waste resources. These socio-material relationships care for making an idea into a marketable product – a product with social impact, a product that drives national progress, and a product that helps the country to gain independence from the centers of technology development. In regard to the hierarchies at tech workplaces, makers and their objects of work make their invisibilized work tangible, circumvent having to negotiate with authorities, and silently resist oppressing hierarchies. As such, prototyping methods and machines enable makers to resist inconveniences and to change their positionalities in the workplace. Fear and love, two seemingly antagonistic emotions, show that making practices in former colonies are sticky with emotions stemming from racialized national pasts, current global inequalities, and futuristic visions of an independent country.

Overall, the analyses of Chapters 7, 8, 9, and 10 have shown that the making of technology creates possibilities to change positionalities – whether within the workplace or global economies. And, as already elaborated above, the development of technology re-makes Kenya's positionality in technocapitalism:

performing professionalism to global standards earns global acknowledgment which results in a change of commodity flows and imaginations about an African country. However, being embedded in precarious neoliberal and postcolonial power asymmetries, postcolonial technology entrepreneurs have to invest all their commitment and bodily powers to care for the making of technology in order to fulfill their neoliberal responsibilization of national and technology development.

