Implementing a Vision

Studying Leaders’ Strategic Use of an Intranet while Exploring Ethnography within HCI

Anette Lofström
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Abstract

This thesis investigates an Intranet based leadership strategy. The aims are to follow, describe and analyse an Intranet based leadership strategy through a broad, dynamic and cultural perspective, and to carry out an ethnography-based research process and thereby explore the potential uses of ethnography within human-computer interaction (HCI). The empirical material is gathered from three qualitative investigations in the municipality of Stockholm. The material is interpreted and analysed through the concepts of culture, lifeworld, sensemaking, sense unmaking and trust. Some aspects of leadership are studied as well. The theoretical toolbox is framed by phenomenology and a hermeneutic writing process paired with methods of semi-structured interviews, participative observations, open unstructured questionnaires and the snapshot method. Cultural analysis of empirical results from an ethnographic fieldwork has shown that the time spent in the field can be shortened when ethnography is utilised within HCI. Furthermore, other contributions from ethnography to technology development are the possibility to point out explicit versus implicit symbolic communications and cultural pitfalls for technology developers as well as to support the transformations of cultural values and the content of steering documents into technology development. Ethnographers within HCI can promote designing for trust by exploring how intended users think about this issue. Some recommendations for organisations that aim to use the Intranet as a leadership strategy are also presented as an additional outcome of the results in the study. It is argued that it is of importance to discuss usability versus diversity; that developers of the Intranet tools investigate influential circumstances at local workplaces and that they study the impact of work routines on cultural identification in order to avoid ‘we’ and ‘they’ thinking within the organisation. Moreover, it is important to put a wider effort into the discussion of what happens when the content of a steering document meets practice. It is also questioned whether a vision is the right way to go forward, and it is suggested that it should be clarified what quality development actually means.

Keywords: HCI, Ethnography, Culture, Organisation, Intranet, Sensemaking, Trust

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List of Papers and Seminars

This thesis is monographic, but in the framework of the research some publications, unpublished reports and other official works have been written and/or presented. These works are listed below.


Löfström, A. (2012) Presentation at a seminar within Stockholm municipality. The seminar was arranged around this PhD research, documented by professional filmmakers and published on the city’s Intranet on the following link. http://video.stockholm.se/secret/7423141/2c7fabf453a05f6b62190e5c0a4474d0


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Abbreviations

CSCW  Computer Supported Cooperative Work
ESL   English Second Language
HCI   Human-Computer Interaction
IPA   Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
ISO   International Organization for Standardisation
IT    Information Technology
L1    Language one
L2    Language two
RE    Requirements Engineering
SSK   Sociology of Scientific Knowledge
TEI   Tangible and Embedded Interaction
TTM   The Together Modules
WVS   World Values System
Introduction

We belong together, you and I
We belong together with so many people
We need to communicate, but how?
We have effective tools, or do we?
We live in the same world, but…
You are so far away, or maybe you are close?
We know how to reach each other, or do we?

Anette Löfström

The introductory poem illustrates that we live in an era in which technology is developing rapidly. Everyone is influenced in different ways. Old people who live in care units for the elderly, children in preschools, and parents at work, among others. It does not matter who you are. Somehow Information Technology (IT) affects you. We can hardly use any services in our society without interconnecting with technology. For example, if we want to go shopping, we need to have either cash or a credit card. The credit card demands various technological skills, and in order to get cash we must either visit a bank or use a cash dispenser. Even if we visit a bank, we might not get cash because some bank offices are reducing their handling of cash. Other areas such as health care, public transport and many others are doing so as well. In short, we live in an era when Information Technology is a part of our lives. We simply have no choice other than to accept at least a minimum of IT use.

Furthermore, IT has provided and required essential tools for communications within organisations and work life. It makes communications more effective – but does it? It is common knowledge that IT has influenced and severely changed cultures, communication patterns, and activities in workplaces, and that this progress has occurred in only a few decades. Efficiency in workplaces has increased, but many issues have followed this development as well, for example, influences of and on trust and hindrances caused by purely technological obstacles. IT has also influenced how leadership can be accomplished. This thesis studies how leaders in a large organisation use Intranet-based tools for strategic dissemination of information for the first time in the history of the organisation investigated. Intranets constitute a technological focus in this thesis, so what is an Intranet?
Defining an Intranet

An Intranet, which can be defined as a private network implemented using Internet concepts and technology to disseminate and exchange data, sound, graphics, and other media, is one of the concrete methods that organisations are using to change the way they communicate internally and share information. (Stoddart 2001, 19)

An Intranet is built for a specific group and is controlled and interacts with the external environment. Intranet is used as a communication channel for organizational employees and the means of improving organizational efficiency. (Lee and Kim 2009, 191)

These quotes show that Intranets are used as tools for communications within organisations and workplaces. They can be used for different purposes: for e-mail communications, time reporting, dissemination of information and so on. They are a tool with general characteristics that can be used to suit all users. Intranets can be used as instruments for leaders who want to reach many people and environments with the same message at a certain time. In contrast, they can be problematic when they face differences among users in diverse contexts. In this thesis, a leader in the field of investigation says that ‘It is everything from people who work with a computer all day to people who [only] have a computer available at a preschool. (…) This solution must take all types of conditions for employees into account (Pia, 2009-09-07)’.

In other words, an Intranet is a tool for communications in a multitude of different local cultures within an organisation, and it can be implemented in different ways. As an example Karlsbjerg and Damsgaard suggest a taxonomy of Intranet implementation strategies (Karlsbjerg and Damsgaard 2001). It involves and engages many people in different situations and with various kinds of responsibility. Lehmuskallio argues that ‘What this extremely versatile technology is used for and how it is allowed to support internal communication often seem to depend more on business policies, resources, and context rather than on its technical qualities as a communication channel’ (Lehmuskallio 2006, 292).

An Intranet does not function as an isolated feature. It is commonly integrated in complex organisations.
Intranet use in complex organisations

Intranet uses within the organisation explored in this thesis require that the same technology be applied by diverse users in potentially dissimilar local contexts. A large organisation has many local cultures that are obligated and expected to use the same Intranet technology and share the same disseminated content. It is likely that this affects the leadership strategy explored in this thesis, because: ‘It [culture] frames the collective mind set of a social group, provides values and norms to the group, and acts as the ‘hidden agenda’ behind the responses of society to the incoming technology’ (de Man and van den Toorn 2002, 52). A large organisation has many cultures which influence how people make sense of the leadership strategy. Boersma and Kingma argue that we have to incorporate the sensemaking process during the managerial implementation process as well as in a socio-cultural analysis, if we are to understand the cultural aspects of Intranets (Boersma and Kingma 2006). Furthermore, it is likely that users’ levels of interest in technology and differences in user situations are influential on success or non-success of the communications. As example, Badi et al. show that incorporation of interest information from readings and organising activities better predicted users’ valuation of documents (Badi et al. 2006). Claypool et al. conclude that combinations of time and scrolling on a web page had a strong correlation with level of interest. Thus, interest is an influential factor in IT use (Claypool et al. 2001).

It is possible that Intranet-based communications might influence organisational development over time and the other way around, the mentioned features might influence technology development. Scheepers and Damsgaard argue that the Intranet shapes social structures, but that this shaping is mutual. These authors conclude that during the introduction phase, intranets are more shaped by, rather than shaping social structures in the organizational context. Thus initially, intranets have to “fit” with the prevailing social structures in the organizational structures, otherwise termination would follow. However, as intranets become institutionalized in the organization over time, it is likely that their impact on social structures will be pervasive. (Scheepers and Damsgaard 1997, 16)

Issues such as dynamics, changes and progress will be added to this mutuality in the current thesis since the leadership strategy explored is both a reaction to rapid changes within the organisation investigated and a strategic way to handle issues following these dynamics. Users of Intranets are not regarded as passive receivers of information in this thesis. Rather, they are viewed as active creators of Intranet-based communications and the content in itself can be analysed as a cultural arena (Edenius and Borgersson 2003). Scheepers and Damsgaard argue that Intranets can be applied as conduits for disseminating organisational information via static Web pages, but this
technology can also serve as a platform for more advanced applications (Scheepers and Damsgaard 1997). Furthermore; an Intranet is used within cultural contexts. Complexities, dynamics, views of users as active creators of communications among other factors shape the leadership strategy explored as well as the field in current research. Therefore, this thesis takes a broad approach in its investigation of Intranet use.

Broadened perspectives in Intranet research have been investigated earlier, for example Yen and Chou argue that a powerful Intranet system allows a company to communicate quickly and freely within the organisation. They argue that it ‘allows HR [human resources] staff to focus their efforts on critical organizational needs rather than repetitive, routine requests from employees’ (Yen and Chou 2001, 81). Baker has an organisational perspective in his description of an Intranet. He writes that

Typically, intranets begin as information-sharing networks, enabling employees to use the same browser they use to surf the Web to access company data. But an intranet is not simply a corporate Internet behind a firewall, it is a way of doing business. Now intranets support real and complex business applications as well as simple data dissemination. (Baker 2007, 41)

The current thesis broadens the work of these researchers by explicitly linking uses of an Intranet to features such as real-life circumstances, cultures, opinions, sensemakings and trust issues in realities where the Intranet is put into play.

A catalyst in this thesis is that leaders’ strategic use of an Intranet is explored both in the broadened contextual perspective described and as a dynamic process over time. Even if broadening approaches have been advanced in earlier research, holistically approached studies that investigate changes and progress in Intranet use over a period of time are scarce.

Bank and Nyström conducted a study related to the current thesis. They examined in what ways different aspects influence the use and understanding of an Intranet. The purpose of their study was to strengthen empirical knowledge regarding the actual use of the Intranet, especially to illuminate the view and understanding of the technology by different categories of users. They conclude that

Aspects that influence the use of the Intranet are quite hard to isolate because they depend on each other. Among aspects of influence, we have initially identified ‘strategies’ and ‘development’ as being the most important. As regards ‘development’, the process of further development is most critical and important. (Banck and Amcoff Nyström 2005, 176)

This thesis has a holistic approach, and it tests the development process over time, as Bank and Nyström suggest. What is still lacking in this impetus, however, is the perspective of team-building. This thesis concerns Intranet
use as a tool, to point out a common direction to all employees within an organisation, and to do this in an interactive manner. Richardson and Denton have explored this aspect. They write that Intranets have primarily been limited to information sharing. This should be enhanced, since Intranets can be powerful tools for collaboration. These authors argue that

Today’s intranet has the potential to put critical information directly in front of group members and can help encourage coordinated actions. The intranet, when combined with appropriate software, can be used to continually track what is going on and provide relatively real-time feedback. It can be used to help team members see the vision and how to implement it and even help empower people, because it lets them take control over the feedback. The intranet can be used as a feedback system that helps group members see connections between their individual activities, attitudes, choices, and formal strategic objectives. (Richardson and Denton 2007, 186)

It is shown that research on Intranets has been advanced from different perspectives and approaches, and the importance of including holistic and dynamic aspects has been noted. This thesis can be regarded as a continuation of prior research. Previous researchers have shown what is needed. This thesis puts the needed research into active practice, since the ambition is to explore and put three main perspectives on Intranet use into play. These are inclusions of a holistic approach, studies of Intranet use as a dynamic process and progress over time and investigations of efforts to use an Intranet as an interactive leadership steering tool within a large organisation.

Aims of the thesis

The first aim in this thesis is to follow, describe and analyse an Intranet-based leadership strategy through a broad, dynamic and cultural perspective

This aim strives to describe and define realities in a multitude of complex relations, in which politicians and leaders point out an ideologically-grounded direction for the whole organisation to pursue. It is likely, however, that this striving towards one ideology and one direction through one and the same Intranet-based strategy in a number of complex cultures will face contradictions and discrepancies and that disparities and perhaps also similarities will influence how the leadership strategy explored works out, how people view it and work with it as well as how it influences local work cultures and the organisation. It is possible that the intended ideological unity will face obstacles and contradictions and that it will chafe and fray under circumstances and experienced realities in an extensive process that includes phenomena from details to the whole. Furthermore, the field under study, the
Stockholm municipality, is diverse and complex, and, within this complexity, there are a number of cultures. A premise in this thesis is that culture is everywhere, that it is complex and dynamic and therefore not easily interpreted. Hannerz argues that

> When culture is everywhere, and if we as anthropologists choose still to think that it is in a particular way ours, complacency will not do, and it may even be that we must sometimes call for a little help from friends in other disciplines to continue to build some kind of orderly understanding of how culture works, and of where, after all, it begins and ends. (Hannerz 1996, 43)

Thus, if culture is everywhere, in a complex organisation there is a risk of contradiction that in a worst case scenario may generate severe consequences. In a paper in which Ekström discusses the cultural concept, he argues that

> Recent controversies around phenomena such as honour killings, structural discrimination and cultural racism reveal that it first and foremost is in relation to the ‘exotic other’ that cultural explanations nowadays are becoming questioned. (Ekström 2010, 17)

It is not likely that ‘the exotic other’ in this research will cause such severe consequences as Ekströms mentions, because it is, after all, only a disseminated governmental steering document that is the focus of this investigation. It is likely, however, that ‘the exotic other’ will influence the work and cause cultural contradictions. Therefore, cultural (or other) contradictions will be noticed and discussed during the research.

Furthermore, this thesis is written by an ethnologist somewhere in the intersection between human-computer interaction (HCI), organisational research, leadership research and ethnography. Thus, ethnography is a central research approach in this study; it is commonly utilised and discussed in different ways among researchers within HCI and other related areas (Millen 2000, McMillan and Chalmers 2012, Hughes, Randall, and Shapiro 1993, Dourish 2006, Crabtree et al. 2009). Despite this commonality, there is some confusion regarding how ethnography shall be applied within HCI and related research areas. Cooper et al. write that

> there is as yet no very clear view of the different sociological approaches on offer- ethnography, ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, interaction analysis; nor is it clear exactly how such approaches can be of use in the variety of domains which have shown interest- for example human-computer interaction (HCI), requirement analysis, and computer-supported cooperative work (CSCW). (Cooper et al. 1995, 11)

A number of years have passed since the authors published this paper, but the subject of interdisciplinary research that includes ethnography continu-
ously needs to be examined because the issues are still not resolved. In 2006 Dourish wrote that

> Given our commitment to interdisciplinary working, it is valuable to step back and consider what happens when two disciplinary, conceptual, and methodological approaches come together, and how it is that the relationship between them is to be articulated. (Dourish 2006, 541)

The paper quoted is relevant for this thesis, because ethnography is an approach in current research, but design of new technology is not a central perspective even if some discussions will be linked to design aspects as a part of HCI. Dourish argues for a wider view and acceptance of ethnography as a creator of holistic knowledge that is valuable within HCI but should not be limited to implications for design. He argues that the ‘implications for design-view’ is problematic for two reasons. First, this limitation is misplaced, and it misconstrues the nature of the ethnographic enterprise. Second, it misses the fact that ethnographic research can provide major insights into and benefits for HCI research. It is noted above that Dourish argues that ethnographic research can provide these insights and benefits. If this knowledge shall be successfully retrieved, however, it is necessary to continue a search for enriching ways to realise the transformation.

Räsänen and Nyce are critical regarding designers’ and developers’ tendencies to use ethnography instrumentally and as a form of data collection in order to identify and solve problems (Räsänen and Nyce 2006). The instrumentalism mentioned is one problem that ethnographers within HCI face. Another challenge for ethnography in HCI today is that Information Technology often concerns large-scale, user environments, as for example in McMillan’s and Chalmers study (McMillan and Chalmers 2012). This thesis will include an ethnographical approach and, by concrete practice, study how ethnography can be utilised within a large organisation.

Ethnography faces many problems when it is applied within HCI, from difficulties regarding how it should be integrated to challenges that follow uses of IT in large environments. These are problems that can hardly be solved in a single study like this thesis, but they can be addressed in small parts that hopefully contribute to a development of the integration between ethnography and HCI in a fruitful way. This reasoning leads to a second aim in this thesis which is the following:

**To elaborate an ethnographic research process and thereby explore uses of ethnography within HCI.**
Structure, reading instructions and contributions

The thesis is structured in the following way. It begins with a presentation of Human-Computer Interaction, since this is the research field within which the thesis is produced. A discussion concerning the importance of HCI comes next, because this perspective will function as a thread in a web that ties the whole together. Ethnography within HCI follows in the next section. How ethnography is viewed and put into play as a process is explained. Consequences concerning writing in a second language in ethnographical research are discussed after this. Hereafter, follows a presentation of the research field, Stockholm municipality, as well as of the focus of investigation, the Intranet-based tools called The Together Modules (TTM), which are used to disseminate information about the steering document Vision 2030 in the municipality studied. Theory and central concepts are described before a presentation of methods used and empirical material is given. The empirical presentations and analyses follow the same structure as the research process. An introductory interview study is presented first. Thereafter follows a description and analysis of results from a survey with open and unstructured questions. Then the presentation describes the ethnographic fieldwork, including methods such as participative observation and interviews. Finally, the development of TTM over the period of time that this research was conducted is presented and summarised.

Reading instructions

A reader who is interested in details, examples, hermeneutic reasoning and so on is recommended to read the text as a whole. If the intention is to view a quick glance of the thesis, it is enough to read the English abstract and/or the Swedish summary, the introduction, the chapters ‘Towards adjusted ethnography within HCI’ and ‘Implications for practice’ and the conclusions. Potential continuations of this research are presented in future works. A reader who wants to view deepened insights of a specific feature is recommended to read the section of special interest as a whole.

An intention in this thesis is that respondents and their opinions shall be visible and explicitly present through numerous quotes in which they are allowed to speak in their own words. Therefore, they are given a prioritised position through descriptive empirical presentations. Analytical reasoning and theoretical interpretations are advanced in the sub-chapter entitled ‘Analysis and interpretations’.

Empirical presentations of the interview study and the survey emphasise the first aim of the thesis. The second ethnographically focused aim is explored in the third study at a preschool, but this study also reflects the first aim.
The thesis’s contributions to Human-Computer Interaction
In this thesis it is argued, and exemplified empirically, that traditional ethnography can be shaped to better suit the field of HCI through shortened fieldwork. It is still ethnography if all elements in an ethnographic process are included. For the reason that HCI has other purposes with ethnography than traditional ethnologists and anthropologists have, the length of fieldwork can be short(er) and still create knowledge that is enough to fulfil purposes in an HCI investigation.

The thesis argues that cross-cultural aspects should be used in a more complex way than is usual within HCI research and literature. It is common that cross-culture is interpreted and used as synonymous with cross-societal, cross-national or cross-ethnic. This thesis argues that cross-culture is much more complex than originally conceived and that it should be taken into account when people within the same organisational culture but in different local work cultures interact with or through technology.

Contribution to the research field and other organisations
This research has contributed to a more user-friendly development of the Intranet-based tools explored called The Together Modules (TTM). They have been redesigned and disseminated in another way than they were in an early phase of this work. From uses of a technology that had issues for the users, such as long log-in times and lack of technological equipment among others, they are sent as a link in an e-mail today, thus using a technology that is more easily accessible for the users. TTM has also been redesigned to be more interactive through a social media function. This development has increased potentials for direct communications between high-level leaders in Stockholm City Hall and employees in local workplaces.

Based on the empirical results, recommendations are suggested for other organisations that would like to work with similar Intranet-based leadership strategies, as the one that is studied in this research.
Human-Computer Interaction

Human-Computer Interaction (HCI) is a broad and multifaceted research area with dynamic borders. If an artist should paint this field in a work of art, the result would be an abstract floating ‘something’, almost like an unformed amoeba. Through its history, HCI has developed in dynamic flows. The first wave focused on information processing and cognitive psychology. In this wave, one person who worked with one computer was a common research focus. In the second wave, the attention extended to work situations where multiple people used computers in their daily tasks. In the current era, HCI are facing what is called the third wave. This is a time in which ‘the use context and application types are broadened, and intermixed, relative to the focus of the second wave on work. Technology spreads from the workplace to our homes and everyday lives and culture’ (Bødker 2006, 1).

In order to enhance knowledge about central HCI issues such as users, contexts, work cultures, tasks and so on, researchers from the social sciences and the humanities are included in the area. The research in this thesis is in parallel with the dynamics in HCI, since it investigates Intranet use as a contextual and dynamic process and because it focuses on a growing organisation that is going through a rather rapid development process. Viewed from the perspective of diverse, involved people and cultures as well as differences in technology aspects in the explored field, this thesis can be positioned in the second but not in the third wave, because it does not include technology use in home environments. However, the purpose that is directed towards the field is highly contextual and based on everyday lives in local workplaces. Viewed in this way, this thesis can also be applied in the third wave of HCI.

ISO 9241-11 is a commonly used document within HCI. It applies to products intended for general application as well as those that are acquired within a specific organisation, for example the Intranet in the Stockholm municipality. The concept of usability is defined here. Usability is the ‘Extent to which a product can be used by specified users to achieve specified goals with effectiveness, efficiency and satisfaction in a specified context of use’ (ISO 9241-11 1998, 2). The complexity of usability is pointed out in this document, since it is argued that a product can have different levels of usability when used in different contexts. The organisation of Stockholm is complex with lots of different contexts.
Usability is important because, as Myers argues, ‘There is substantial empirical evidence that attention to usability dramatically decreases costs and increases productivity’ (Myers 1994, 74). This term has been applied in many different respects among HCI researchers. It can concern pragmatically testing the usability of technological devices or systems (Buchanan et al. 2001, Chan et al. 2002, Waterson, Landay, and Matthews 2002) or be about methods to evaluate usability (Gray and Salzman 1998, Gutwin and Greenberg 2000, Hertzum and Jacobsen 2001, Kjeldskov and Stage 2004). It can also encompass usability and cognition (Kushniruk and Patel 2004, van Dijk 2009, Sánchez and Lumbreras 2000), usability and aesthetics (De Angeli, Sutcliffe, and Hartmann 2006, Brady and Phillips 2003, Cawthon and Moere 2007) or simply linking HCI and usability together (Jørgensen 2004). One aspect of usability that can be valuable in future work that follows this thesis is usability versus cultural aspects, which is also an applied perspective within HCI (Clemmensen and Plocher 2007, Clemmensen et al. 2007, Sun 2006). Usability is a central concept within HCI, but it is not a main focus in this thesis and research. Users have been asked questions like: ‘How do you think the technology worked?’ and ‘How was it to use it?’ Thus, aspects of usability have been explored more implicitly than explicitly. It has been more or less immanently present in the purposes, as, for example, in the issue of opinions. Experienced usability has affected opinions that have influenced development and potential success of the studied leadership strategy.

Another common concept in HCI is design. Usability and ergonomic design were essential perspectives in the very first HCI development project. It was presented by Brian Shackel, who has been called the ‘grandfather’ of the field (Dillon 2009). Ken Eason gives this personal description of Shackel and the origin of HCI

Brian Shackel, who died on May 9th 2007 at the age of 80, was a trail blazer who saw very early how important ergonomics was to the development of the computer industry. I remember in 1968, when I was a new recruit to the Ergonomics Laboratory he ran in EMI Electronics, his excitement when he showed me an early teletype, a ‘dumb’ remote terminal, that could interact on-line (albeit very slowly) with a mainframe computer. He was convinced these terminals would become the working tools of the future but that a lot of ergonomic work would be necessary to turn them into usable devices. Earlier, in 1962, he had completed his first study of human–computer interaction by re-designing the console of the EMIDEC 2400. That was to be the first of numerous studies of people using computers he was to lead over the next 40 years. (Eason 2009)

In this early era, ergonomics focused on physical issues, but ergonomics also includes cognitive subjects (Harris 2001, Long and Whitefield 1989, Sumner, Bonnardel, and Kallak 1997). The concept and perspective of cog-
nition is not included in the purposes of this thesis, partly because it has derived from the scientific area of psychology and partly because it would make the theoretical and conceptual framework too complex. It would simply be ‘too much’. The concept of design is somehow related to the first aim and the questions, but this depends on how design is defined. Design is not relevant if it is regarded as the building and formation of a certain technological artefact. If the concept is interpreted more broadly, as, for example, what the content shall be and the technology that is needed for its dissemination, it can be argued that issues of design are present in this research. For example, it is implicitly included in the question: ‘How has the leadership strategy explored worked and developed in a pure technological aspect’?

In current HCI, researchers develop designs for usability by searching knowledge about users, tasks and contexts, but as with the concept of usability, design has been explored in different dimensions within this research area. Kyng and Mathiassen claim that

> We believe it is time to join forces in the design of computer artifacts. This can be achieved on a personal level through collaboration between designers and users, it can also be achieved on a conceptual level through the systematic use of complementary perspectives that can help the actors involved in a design process better understand the situation and come up with useful solutions. (Kyng and Mathiassen 1997, xi)

Abascal and Nicolle discuss the importance of universal design and a need for design guidelines. They write that ‘The design of universally accessible interfaces has a positive effect over the socialisation of people with disabilities’ (Abascal and Nicolle 2005, 484). In this case, design issues aim at enhancing social opportunities among users with disabilities. At the same time, the authors strive to avoid potential side-effects by providing some, in their view, preliminary socially and ethically aware design guidelines.

Another way design has been enacted within HCI is by integrations between HCI techniques and design, as, for example, in a study of Pane et al. These authors describe a process in which they designed a programming system for children. The system is focused on usability, and typical HCI knowledge, principles and methods are used as guides through the design process (Pane, Myers, and Miller 2002). Design has also been worked with through reviews of existing designs in computer games in order to improve usability in other types of applications. Design has also been worked with through analysis of game interfaces (Dyck et al. 2003).

User centred system design (UCSD) is an essential perspective in HCI. Key principles for the adoption of a user-centred development process that are based on existing theory, as well as research in and experiences from a large number of software development projects were identified by Gulliksen et al (Gulliksen et al. 2003). The current thesis is positioned in the human
and organisational side of HCI. It is about developing interactive Intranet-based tools that are accessible to a multitude of diverse users in a number of heterogeneous contexts.

Implementation of new technology is also an aspect that researchers and designers work with (Lapointe and Rivard 2005, McDermott and Stock 1999, Edmondson 2003). This thesis defines implementation as a way to implement the leadership strategy explored in an organisation. This understanding relates to a definition that is given in the Oxford English Dictionary. Here the concept ‘implement’ is defined as follows: ‘To complete, perform, carry into effect (a contract, agreement, etc.), to fulfil (an engagement or promise) (http://www.oed.com/).

Why do research within HCI? Why is it important? In order to inspire discussions on this issue, it will be shown how some scientists within this research area have motivated the importance of their contributions over the years. This fact is then related to the importance of the perspectives in this thesis.

Importance of HCI

Why is HCI important? Is it the size of the research field that makes it important, is it the content, the inclusion of both humans and technology or something else? HCI is important for scientists who do research in the area, otherwise they would not put effort into it, but this does not automatically make it important for others. Therefore, this thesis provides some examples of how the importance of HCI has been motivated by researchers. Also why this thesis is important as a contribution within HCI will be outlined.

Shackel regarded the inclusion of human factors as an important issue in research on interactions between (hu)man(s) and computers. For him it was important to emphasise what he regarded as a gap between new, possible systems and their success in everyday use. The importance of HCI for Shackel is the area’s function as a bridge-builder between technology developers and intended users. He showed that more focus on humans is one way to achieve this. He stresses this importance in the following way:

There are three basic reasons why Ergonomics is essential for modern industry, especially in relation to product and system design. First the complexity and sophistication of modern industrial technology sets continually higher demands upon the human operators and controllers; but complexity also causes designers to need too long a training and to be too busy with technical

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1 This presentation applies to the following definition of the term important: “an important event, decision, problem etc has a big effect or influence on people's lives or on events in the future” (http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/important).
problems either to deal with the human factors properly or to learn enough about how to deal with them. Second, there is a time and space barrier. The complexity of modern technology also separates designer and user, and thus usually prevents effective feedback from the user to improve the design. Therefore the ergonomist is an essential link who operates as a sort of preventive and predictive feedback channel. Third, there is a separation of responsibilities and of the cost consequences. A further problem which follows from the complexity is that often the designer, manufacturer/marketer, buyer and user are separate. (Shackel and Richardson 1991, 4)

Building of bridges between developers and users (but in the case of this thesis between leaders and employees) is still of on-going importance within this research area.2

Douglas Engelbart wrote that institutions’ adaptions to their environments require significant increases in the organisations’ ability to develop, support and integrate the intellectual power of individuals and organisations. Such ability, he continues, will depend upon advanced applications of interactive computers and multi-access computer networks. He emphasises the importance of increasing knowledge about complex systems in which humans are involved in order to build a technology that has potential to improve users’ abilities and experiences, tasks, environments and organisations (Engelbart 1970). This is an importance that is relevant for this thesis as well despite the number of years that have gone between the two research projects. The leadership strategy explored to improve leaders’ and employees’ abilities, experiences, tasks and environments and thereby develop quality in the organisation. In this perspective it can be argued that one importance of HCI is that it contributes to organisational development. This importance is related to the first aim of the thesis.

Given the above, what importance of HCI can be found in contemporary literature? One example is financial as Myers et al. discuss (Myers et al. 1996). Abascal and Nicolle deepen the context and user perspective with social and ethical views on computing through suggestions of inclusive design guidelines. These authors describe access to IT as an influential factor for a new type of social exclusion, the so-called digital divide. For disabled people this means not having full access to a socially active and independent lifestyle. Their paper broadens importance of HCI from management and work to benefits for the (disabled) individual as a social and independent person. The authors write that, since people who lack access to Information Technology will be affected socially, ‘Human-Computer Interaction (HCI) is playing an important role in the provision of social opportunities to people with disabilities’ (Abascal and Nicolle 2005, 485). This discussion is relevant for the thesis, but the word ‘disabled’ should be exchanged for a broad-

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2 The Interact Conference in Portugal 2011 had the theme Building Bridges (http://interact.ist.utl.pt/2011/index.html)
er and non-exclusive concept, for example ‘humans’. The issues that Abascal and Nicolle point out are important in order to prevent for example social exclusions. People do not, however, need to be disabled to face different kinds of issues and exclusions generated by technology. One importance of this thesis is that it points out potential excluding features in the leadership strategy explored.

Kamppuri et al. analyse culture as an aspect within HCI. They conducted a review of cultural related literature within this research area, and they argue that cultural diversity is a new challenge for HCI researchers (Kamppuri, Bednarik, and Tukiainen 2006). The issue of cultural diversity is of central importance in this thesis as well, since it explores attempts at ideological unity in a diversity of cultures. Implicitly, Kamppuri et al. refer to bridge-building as important, and their work attempts to enhance cultural knowledge and understandings within HCI. Both these perspectives, bridge building and enhanced cultural knowledge, are important in this thesis, whose aim includes promoting understanding of culture, both theoretically and empirically.

Ethnography is also related to cultural considerations. This subject within HCI is discussed in the next chapter.

**Ethnography and HCI**

Paul Dourish discusses how ethnography came to be of interest within HCI in the first place. He writes that the adoption of ethnography is associated with two trends within HCI. The first is the emergence of Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW) as an area of inquiry which increased interest in the social organisation of activity, and hence by methodologies by which social organisations could be understood. The second trend was Participatory Design (PD). Dourish (2006) argues that it was through these allied perspectives that ethnography became more familiar to HCI researchers. A characterisation of ethnography is given by Hughes et al. who write that

> We characterise ethnography as a research method, and consider the differences between undertaking it for strictly sociological or anthropological purposes by contrast with interdisciplinary and design purposes. (Hughes, Randall, and Shapiro 1993, 123).

For these researchers, ethnography is understood as a research method that is distinguished from its traditional research areas. They argue that this method ‘relies upon material drawn from the first-hand experiences of an investigator in some natural setting; a research engagement which can sometimes involve concealment of the research role’ (Hughes, Randall, and Shapiro
This is a limiting description, since it reduces ethnography to a method, but it is also enriching since it points out that ethnography within the social sciences and ethnography within HCI differ. They argue that

A key virtue of ethnographic studies is their focus upon the rich and varied ‘real world’ sociality recovered through a fieldworker’s participation in the social life of some setting. Directed toward system use and system design, this implies placing an emphasis on studying the functionalities of a technological system as they evolve from their incorporation into the socially organised work activities of those who use them, rather than, as in many cases, functionalities as the system’s designers might imagine them to be. (Hughes, Randall, and Shapiro 1993, 124)

The quote describes a traditional perspective in which researchers are involved and participate in daily lives in the environments studied. The ethnographer strives towards enhancing knowledge about hidden features that carry meaning. She or he asks questions like: what is it that forms daily lives in the context studied and how do people act according to this? What is the immanent logic among the members of the explored culture? In contexts where technology use and design are in focus, the meaning of ethnography sometimes shifts. Then it can be about studying uses and functionalities of a technological system in the work contexts and tasks it refers to. With such a goal, ethnography is valuable for HCI research. Harper writes that

it [ethnography] is useful and can uncover important materials that need to be taken into account when systems are being designed, implemented and evaluated; it can make the difference of good and bad, between the nearly good and just right (Harper 2000, 241).

Implicit in this view is that ethnography holistically is valuable for different aspects of technology use. This does not mean that Harper regards ethnography as a perfect research technique. Rather, he argues that it is ‘simply one way of looking at how people do their work. It is, and has been demonstrated to be a very valuable addition to the methods that have evolved over the years to understand and represent work’ (Harper 2000, 239). An argument in this thesis is that, instead of just regarding ethnography as a way of looking at how people do their work, researchers within HCI can create deeply-rooted knowledge through a procedural view of ethnography. They can also apply ethnographical aspects to technological devices, for example by writing descriptions of both the artefacts and environments hermeneutically.

Another way to create knowledge through ethnography is to make the familiar unknown, or as Ihde expresses it, ‘the problem of the inhabitant of any given “world”’ is that it is so familiar to him or her that little distance is to be found. The familiar is simply taken as the “true”’ (Ihde 1983, 19). Harper explicitly describes limitations of ethnography as well. For him it does
not capture how to get a perfect specification for a system, and it is not a unique technique that will enable managers to properly understand their workplace’s culture. He also argues that interpretations of ethnography have varied a great deal, and he offers a respectful historical overview of ethnography, in which he mentions influential researchers such as Goffman, Lynch and Lateour. He claims that

Ethnographic tools, techniques and presentational formats would appear, therefore, something of a collage, a mish-mash of things. Consequently, it is difficult to know quite what to make of claims that ethnography can help in ‘requirements capture’ or ‘domain specification’ in system design (…), for the simple fact that it is difficult to know what is meant by the term ‘ethnography’. (Harper 2000, 242)

Furthermore, ethnographers within HCI should have competence to communicate results from ethnographer to designer. Hughes et al. reason that

It is the ability of ethnography to understand a social setting as it is perceived by those involved in that setting (the archetypal users) that underpins its appeal to developers. However, it is not without its problems. There are, for example, those to do with presenting the results of ethnography in a form which is readily assimilable by designers. For many software engineers ethnography seems far too unsystematic a method, its results presented in a discursive form, design options are not clearly stated and do not attend sufficiently to engineering needs. Its virtues, in other words, become vices. (Hughes et al. 1994, 3)

Hence, communications of ethnographical results should be on the agenda when this research technique is utilised within HCI. Cooper et al. write that it is not exactly clear how ethnography, along with research techniques like ethnomethodology, conversation analysis and interaction analysis can be used in domains like, for example, HCI. Despite this hesitation, they define ethnography as a distinctive conceptual approach in which the relation between the researcher and object of study is radically reformulated. They describe what they regard as two historical variations of ethnography. One is the commitment to empirical study, and the other is a concern with the exotic and/or strange. In technology-related research, it has been important to emphasise the latter aspect, they argue. This is because: ‘a general thrust of SSK [Sociology of Scientific Knowledge] has been to challenge the taken-for-granted character of the technical capacities and characteristics of scientific knowledge and technology’ (Cooper et al. 1995, 12). It remains, however, a bit unclear what should be regarded as ‘the exotic and different’ when researchers within HCI do ethnography. Engelbart emphasises increasing knowledge about complex systems in which humans are involved in order to build technology (Engelbart 1970). In such complex systems, is it in the technology, in the context of use or in something else the exotic other should
be interpreted? Who and/or what is ‘the exotic other’? How can a researcher even know if there is any exotic other, and what about the influences of dynamics? It has also been asserted that HCI is a dynamic research area, and so are the objects of research. The Stockholm municipality is a good example of such dynamics. Indeed, Vision 2030 and TTM are a way for the city to handle dynamics and a growing city. Accordingly, ethnography within HCI can be a way to fulfill the bridging function of HCI through reflections upon phenomena such as, ‘the exotic other’.

Brown et al. argue that ethnography cannot be learned from books alone. They focus on the analytical work and on engaging students to move away from procedural understandings to an analytical understanding of ethnography. They examine how ethnography is ‘learnt and conducted as a practical enterprise, how that might be technically supported, and how it might be better taught’ (Brown et al. 2007, 412). For these researchers, the value of ethnography is broader than implications for a specific technology. When the authors describe the process, they write that the students’ first problem in the field was to recognise features that might be of interest for the research. This is a limiting way of doing ethnography, because it might be tricky to define what is of interest during the actual fieldwork, at least in an early phase. If researchers exclude little-noticed features in this research phase, there is a risk that information which is essential for the analytical work might be overlooked. The authors write that they would like their students to ‘learn seeing’.

This is ethnographical, but it should not include seeing and sorting during (an early phase of) the fieldwork. Despite this argument, their paper is valuable, because it points to ethnography as an enriching research technique that deserves to be developed in HCI. Räsänen and Nyce write that

The role of ethnography, other than as a research methodology, within HCI has been to point out the importance of understanding the social context, the routines of users’ workday, its practical management and organization. However, the use of ethnography in HCI-research and particularly in design is not unproblematic. (Räsänen and Nyce 2008, 397)

A problem these authors mention is that designers and developers tend to use ethnography instrumentally as a form of data collection. Results of ethnographic analysis are expected to feed directly into interests and issues related to technology development, and they argue that this misrepresents the role ethnography has within anthropology and the social sciences. This problematic and restrictive way of using ethnography can be related to HCI’s importance as a bridge-builder, or as Hughes et al. express it

Thus one of the roles an ethnographer can perform is to act as a bridge between the domain and the system designer; a task that can, in part, be achieved through supporting a dialogue between users and designers, either
as part of a design team which could include different kinds of relevant expertise or, as in our case, a very small team of developers. (Hughes, Randall, and Shapiro 1993, 137)

The quote illustrates a benefit of ethnography in HCI. Anderson describes ethnography as ‘a particular analytic strategy for assembling and interpreting the results of fieldwork gathered very often by participant observation. Designers have, by and large, been more likely to be interested in fieldwork in general than in ethnography in particular’ (Anderson 1997, 4).

For Anderson, ethnography is analytically distinguished from the fieldwork in which empirical results are gathered. He also describes confusion, saying that ‘Plans and Situated Actions is not an ethnography in the classical sense (…), from that point onwards, social science, and in particular ethnography, became the subject of much fascination and, sad to say, equal amounts of misunderstanding’ (Anderson 1997, 3).

Ethnography has been useful within HCI and related areas, despite the confusion. In particular, Suchman argues that ‘Workplace ethnographies have identified new orientations for design: for example, the creation and use of shared artifacts and the structuring of communicative practices’ (Suchman 1995, 61). Viller and Sommerville argue that ethnography offers useful insights into social aspects of work situations in which new systems will be introduced, but these authors see problems with this research technique as well. They argue that

Whilst ethnography has demonstrated its usefulness in these studies, there are a number of problems with the technique as an approach to requirements elicitation that limit its chances of being adopted more widely in industry. These include issues of communicating the insights gained by ethnographers, either through their direct involvement in the design process, or via the medium of their written reports. The time taken to perform an ethnographic study can also be prohibitively long. It is therefore difficult to integrate it with the tight schedules of most system development processes. (Viller and Sommerville 2000, 170)

They do, however, suggest ways to modify ethnography to better suit needs in requirement engineering. They describe what they call quick and dirty ethnography (which addresses time scale) and evaluative ethnography (which intends to evaluate existing designs) (Viller and Sommerville 1999). Hughes et al. argue that

if we are to take seriously the claim that more effective systems will result when their intervention ‘resonates’ with existing work practices, a method is required which both elaborates and explicates those practices. There is a prima facie case for considering ethnography to be particularly appropriate for this purpose. (Hughes, Randall, and Shapiro 1993, 125)
These opinions from design and computer fields reveal both critical views and misgivings. One judgment is that there are a number of problems using ethnography as an approach to requirements elicitation. According to Viller and Sommerville, the difficulties limit the chances of ethnography being widely adopted in the industry. Based in a literature overview, they establish the following problems with ethnography for Requirement Engineers (RE).

- Ethnography is typically a lengthy process, taking several months or even longer in some cases. RE simply cannot afford to make use of a technique that takes so long to produce results.
- Communicating the results of ethnographic studies to the design process is not straightforward.
- Language and cultural barriers exist between sociologists and technologists.
- It is difficult to draw abstract lessons in the form of design principles from a technique that is concerned with the concrete detail of a particular situation.

The success of an ethnographic study is dependent upon the skills of the individual fieldworker. (Viller and Sommerville 2000, 172-173)

Researchers have discussed ways to overcome these issues. For example, David R. Millen suggests techniques that can implement ethnography in HCI research in ways that limit use of time. These techniques are to narrow the focus of the field, to use multiple interactive observation techniques and to use collaborative and computerised iterative data analysis methods (Millen 2000).

The ethnographer is her own research tool in ethnographic research. This fact influences everything in the process, from choices of methods in specific situations to social interactions with respondents as well as the writing. Therefore, the reader needs to know what ethnography is for the specific ethnographer. (S)he needs to actually ‘know’ the researcher. This knowledge colours the next section in which the researchers ‘I’ is allowed to be present. In order to still make this usable for others, it is suggested that ethnography should be regarded as a whole process among HCI researchers who use this research technique.

Views of ethnography in this thesis

Certain requirements need to be fulfilled, as I view ethnography. First, to do ethnographic fieldwork is to have an open mind, to use all the senses, to observe and record first as much as possible and later on to do more focused observations. Fetterman writes that ‘Ethnographers are noted for their ability
to keep an open mind about the groups or cultures they are studying. However, this quality does not imply any lack of rigor. The ethnographer enters the field with an open mind, not an empty head’ (Fetterman 2010, 1).³

During the fieldwork the researcher does not know what will be important and what will not for the analysis and writing. The actual collection of data is not ethnography. It is a way to conduct ethnographic methods, even if this can be regarded as overlapping. Preissle and Grant argue that

Some methodologists view ethnography as the category of participant observation that focuses on culture. Others view participant observation as an ethnographic technique. We are discussing them as more-or-less parallel, even overlapping, research approaches to underline their disciplinary histories and their conceptual frameworks. Both developed as means of studying and documenting the lives of those presumed to be different from those either funding or conducting the study. (Preissle and Grant 2004, 166)

Ethnography is commonly conducted with interviews as well. Sherman Heyl discusses ethnographical interviews, arguing that ethnographic interviewing is a qualitative research technique that owes a major debt to cultural anthropology, in which interviews traditionally have been conducted on-site during lengthy field studies, while researchers from a number of other fields conduct in-depth interviews with key informants in certain settings as well. She questions whether these techniques are not ethnographic interviews as well. In this thesis, the

definition of ethnographic interviewing here will include those projects in which researchers have established respectful, on-going relationships with their interviewees, including enough rapport for there to be a genuine exchange of views and enough time and openness in the interviews for the interviewees to explore purposefully with the researcher the meaning they place on events in their worlds. (Sherman 2001, 369)

The analysis will occur when the researcher is back at the office, in the process of sorting and reading field notes, transcribing the interviews, and starting to write. Indeed, analysis and writing are essential parts of the ethnographical process. During this phase, the ethnographer starts seeing, understanding and reflecting on a deep interpretative level. Now she will discover hidden patterns, cultural features, sensemakings and so on. Hence, this thesis subscribes to the view of ethnography that is advanced by Sommerville et al. They write that ‘Ethnography is a process which was originally developed by anthropologists to understand social mechanisms in ‘primitive’ societies’ (Sommerville et al. 1993, 165).

Wolcott defined ethnography in a contrasting manner. He argued that:

³ Ethnography in the current thesis can be regarded almost as a reflection of Fetterman’s description in this reference.
1. Ethnography is not field technique.
2. Ethnography is not length of time in the field.
3. Ethnography is not simply good description.
4. Ethnography is not created through gaining and maintaining rapport with subjects.

The only requirement is that ethnography must be oriented towards cultural interpretation (Wolcott 1987, 38).

One way to interpret this is literally. Such an interpretation would be reductive, because it excludes important aspects within ethnography. Cultural interpretations can be permitted without actually experiencing the culture, but it would not be ethnography. For example, a cultural analysis of a text can be advanced. Another interpretation of these definitions is that neither of the features constitutes ethnography by itself. They are all needed if ethnography is to occur. I subscribe to this latter understanding. Ethnography cannot be done without fieldwork, and there must be some time spent in the field. The ethnographical description is one aspect, and the fieldwork includes interactions with respondents. The cultural orientation is included in all these aspects of ethnography.

Furthermore, throughout the whole process the researcher must work with reflexivity awareness (Hardy, Phillips, and Clegg 2001, England 1994, Easterby-Smith and Malina 1999). This means that she needs to reflect upon her own role, how she might influence people and activities in the explored context as well as how her own presumptions might influence the analysis. Reflexivity is not only recognising, but also doing, as Mauthner and Doucet argue (Mauthner and Doucet 2003). She must also notice the interplay between people in the field and herself as well as reflect upon her own subjective choices. Indeed, a rich ethnographic result includes the researcher in the process, not as a respondent but as a human being who affects interactions. It can be a kind of embodiment, a way of actually walking in their shoes. Savage argues that:

amongst practitioners of both nursing and participant observation there are those who suggest that interacting individuals can stand in each other's shoes and experience the world from the other's perspective. This 'standing in' for, or as, the other, however, is not purely a figure of speech, but refers to the capacity of the embodied self to understand those regarded as other through physical involvement in their world. (Savage 2003, 55)

It can also include observations of people, activities, physical room and routines as well as of the cultural and social environment. Later on in the fieldwork, cultural aspects like for example values, symbols, and rituals can be
involved in the observations. Thus, participative observation is a way to collect data in natural settings by ethnographers who observe and/or take part in the activities (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011).

The ethnographer’s position as her own research tool makes it important that the reader is afforded the opportunity to critically view the foundation of analysis. One way this is done is through so-called thick description, which is a detailed description of environments, people and actions. Clifford Geertz, an influential exponent of this view writes that ‘Doing ethnography is like trying to read (in the sense of ‘construct a reading of’) a manuscript – foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conventionalized graphs of sound, but in transient example of shaped behaviour’ (Geertz 2003, 150).

I regard the thick description as a painting, but a painting that speaks to all senses. It should allow the reader to really experience the context described. Furthermore, for me it is important to give feedback and present results to the field in which I do my research. One of my goals is to be helpful in development in the field. People in the field have the right to get something back for the offer and efforts they make. Ethnographic fieldwork is dependent upon the people who give the researcher time, trust and energy, and who are willing to include the ethnographer as one of them in their daily lives. It is common that they give the researcher insights into many aspects of their lives, including sensitive issues. Therefore, it is important that the ethnographer is aware of the efforts that respondents in the field make, and that she is as honest and as clear as possible about her intentions. Of course the respondents should be anonymous, but the respect must be much wider than that. Honesty and humility towards respondents are essential aspects in ethnography. It is likely that the bridge-building responsibility for researchers within HCI (Shackel and Richardson 1991, Dourish, Lamping, and Rodden 1999, Iversen and Brodersen 2008) will benefit these perspectives as well. Would it even be possible to build bridges without them?

How can an ethnographic process be carried out? In the foreword of the book Learning in the Field, Patton presents qualitative inquiry as a drama that captures peoples’ stories and weaves them together in order to reveal and give insights into what he calls real world dramas. He writes that ‘There is the story of how qualitative enquiry unfolds from planning and design, through field entry and data gathering, to the denouement of analysis, interpretation, and presentation of findings’ (Patton 2011, xiv). This procedure is how ethnography is elaborated in this thesis. It is regarded and used as a process, from planning and doing the fieldwork, writing hermeneutically, analysing and presenting results to the respondents as well as scientifically to HCI. However, there is one step more in the ethnographical process of this thesis which entails reflections upon comments and thoughts from people in the field that follow from research reports and presentations. This step can
also be used as ethnographic data in order to deepen the analysis further. Respondents’ thoughts are used iteratively.

Ethnography is commonly related to time. In traditional ethnography, the ethnographer usually lives in or at least takes part in the culture investigated during very long time, sometimes several years. Hammersly and Atkinson argue that ‘Fieldwork usually required living with a group of people for extended periods, often over the course for a year or more, in order to document and interpret their distinctive way of life, and the beliefs and values integral to it’ (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 1).

Long-term fieldwork is not necessary or even desirable for HCI researchers. I agree with Crabtree et al. who argue that ‘New approaches to and understandings of ethnography within systems design provide for an entirely different order of ethnographic study to those that have largely been employed in design to date (Crabtree et al. 2009, 879).

There are two reasons for this opinion. The first is that time needed for fieldwork must be connected to the specific purpose of the study. An HCI researcher is probably not interested in a specific culture or environment for the culture’s own sake. It is always connected to some kind of technology use or development. In a pure ethnological or anthropological investigation, the researcher usually wants to learn about deep, hidden cultural patterns in the context explored, patterns that can hardly be studied after only a month in the field. Therefore, the fieldwork and the analytical process are interwoven and continue in parallel with each other during a long time. In an HCI investigation, the purpose can include the discovery of cultural patterns that will influence the use of the technology investigated, but other and deeper patterns are not necessarily revealed. This kind of knowledge can be created in quite a short time through interviews and observations: for example, in the research that supports this thesis. Thus, a short period of fieldwork can be enough to create empirical material that can fulfill the required purposes. The second reason for the stance taken here is related to costs. To explore a certain field over years is costly. This thesis argues that time invested in the field is an aspect in which ethnography could be adjusted when being utilised in HCI research. The traditional kind of long-term research in the field to create the knowledge HCI researchers need is unnecessary. This is also a way to adapt the strengths of ethnography without the associated high costs.

This thinking is based in a curiosity and openness for exploring ethnography in new contexts, like Ehn and Löfgren does when they investigate how consultants work with ethnography among corporations. A willingness to learn what ethnography becomes when it is utilised outside the academia color their paper. They argue that:

In contrast to academic research that most often is rather slow and painstaking, commercial ethnography is said to be very fast. You do not have months and years to sit down and think about the complexity of your material. The
customers are in a hurry and expect speedy research and lucid results. In a short time you have to make yourself acquainted with a new and often strange context and at the same time you must be cautious and avoid making premature conclusions.

But compared to the world of business you are still working at a slower pace. The consultants often take two to three months to reflect on problems that the customers usually want to solve at once. The time constraints make it necessary to develop skills of tight budgeting of time and resources. Working with an eight-week assignment means that you constantly have to think about priorities and the keeping of deadlines – it becomes a highly disciplined way of doing investigations. (Ehn and Löfgren 2009, 39)

These authors argue that: ‘the need for tough time budgeting, teamwork and contrastive field sites may bring out some new research skills that Academia certainly could learn from’ (Ehn and Löfgren 2009, 40). It is such an approach this thesis has. A difference is that it does not compare ethnography in corporate consulting with Academia. Rather it explores ethnography within Academia but in an interdisciplinary research field, HCI. This thesis follows one of the lessons Ehn and Löfgren have learned; that more interdisciplinary cooperation is advisable to counteract monocular vision. Indeed they use an HCI example when they motivate this value. They argue that:

In the medical device project, the ethnologists took advantage of collaborating with the client’s designers that were very good at practical solutions. But sometimes these designers got trapped by their creative thinking and initial sketches. On the other hand, the ethnologists were good at looking at the problems from unexpected angles, but often got ensnared in the webs of critical thinking. However, together these two parties made a more effective team, ready to answer the tricky question of “So what?” (Ehn and Löfgren 2009, 44)

The understanding and enactment of ethnography as a process that is put forth in this thesis, is a similar search for new knowledge about, and benefits with, this research technique as Ehn and Löfgren strive towards in their research on consultants. It is about investigating an old research technique in new contexts.

Thus, I understand and undertake ethnography as a process, from planning via fieldwork, writing, analysis, feedback to the field and uses of comments as new data. Through reflexivity, I try to notice my strengths and weaknesses. Thick descriptions, deep interviews and a hermeneutical writing process aim to give new discoveries and thereby create knowledge of what elements are needed in order to improve TTM as well as the implementation process.

The analysis and the writing are a part of an ethnographic research process. This means that language skills might influence the quality of the text as
well as the analytical stringency, especially when the text and analysis are performed in a second language, as in this thesis.

Effects of language in ethnographical research

Language in ethnography is something very different from what it is in many other branches of the language sciences, and so is the status of gathering knowledge. There is no way in which knowledge of language can be separated from the situatedness of the object at a variety of levels, ranging from microscopic to macroscopic levels of ‘‘context’’ and involving, reflexively, the acts of knowledge production by ethnographers themselves. (Blommaert 2009, 266)

Language in ethnography has many implications, but this fact does not reduce the meaning of language as an instrument for expression. What happens with the analysis if the author lacks words and grammar in the language she uses in her writing? Choice of language has been a dilemma in this research. If this work is regarded only as research results that can strengthen the field, it would have been valuable to write in Swedish. However, it is not sufficient to write it in Swedish, because it also attempts to contribute to the literature within HCI. The choice has been to either deal with issues following writing in a second language or to limit the value of the thesis as a contribution within HCI. As is obvious, the choice was to write in English. The quality of the writing in English has improved over time, but it is certainly not perfect. It will probably never be as high quality as it can be in the Swedish language.

How have these obstacles been handled during writing of this thesis? Lack of words has usually been solved through thinking in Swedish and translations with the help of tools on the web. The synonymous function in word has been used frequently. Expressions from other authors with focus on their grammars have been used. Analytical thinking has also sometimes been performed in Swedish and translated into English.

A similar way to handle issues when writing in a second language has been examined by van Weijen et al. They examined writers’ use of language one (L1) while writing in language two (L2). They analysed whether L1 use varied between writers and tasks, and whether it was related to general writing proficiency, L2 proficiency and L2 text quality. The aim of their study was to determine to what extent certain conceptual activities occurred in L1 during writing in L2, whether L1 use was related to text quality and whether this relationship was mediated by general writing proficiency and L2 proficiency. Using a talk-aloud method with 20 participants, who were asked to write four texts each, these authors concluded that all writers used L1 to some extent while writing in L2 (van Weijen et al. 2009). The way issues
with L2 have been handled in this thesis seem to be common, at least according to the qualitative study referred to here. However, these authors also found that L2 proficiency does not influence the writing process and is only directly related to L2 text quality. This is a problematic conclusion for this thesis. The very essence of a process is its dynamics and fluidity. Can it be true that general proficiency of a language does not influence the writing process? Can an author capture every moment in a flow of developments and say that language proficiency does not affect the process? L2 proficiency has certainly affected the writing process of this thesis. In the first paper that is produced within this research, the process was slow, and lots of time was spent on translations from Swedish to English. Throughout the process, English knowledge improved. This improvement has thus freed the mind and the analytical thinking. Consequently, L2 proficiency has influenced the writing process in this thesis.

Without a research field it is impossible to do ethnographical research. This PhD investigation has been lucky in this respect, since the field is large and offers insights in many dimensions. The field is the Stockholm municipality.
The field

Figure 1. The history of Stockholm is not the story of a city that acquired a port. It is instead the story of a port that gave rise to a city. Stockholm, Sweden emerged as a port and trading place more than 750 years ago (www.stockholm.se). The picture above belongs to the City of Stockholm. Photographer: Jens Johansson

The city of Stockholm

The research in this thesis is put forth in the city of Stockholm that is the capital of Sweden. It is a big municipality. In December 2012 it had 881 235 citizens (http://www.statistikomstockholm.se/index.php/detaljerad-statistik). The municipality has 36,530 monthly employed municipal employees, counted 2012-12-31 (SwecoEurofuturesAB 2014), but it is a growing city that is expected to have one million citizens in the year 2025.

In this dynamic environment, each employee is obligated to engage in a steering document, Vision 2030, which aims to handle these growing demands in ways that not only keep standards of quality, but continue to increase qualities of services. In practice, this work is implemented with the help of Information Technology through the city’s Intranet. A multitude of activities, employees and leaders are included in this work. Persons who work pedagogically with small children at preschools, cleaners, employees at
care units for the elderly, civil servants, planners of infrastructures and leaders on all levels are affected. The large number of people involved is an inspirational source in this research, but the size of the field can be regarded as both a strength and a weakness. The strength is that the research results can promote development for many people who are engaged in different kinds of activities. The weakness is that only a part of the fieldwork participants can be included in the research. However, by incorporating all organisational levels, from top leaders to employees in practical work situations, parents and children in childcare along with different areas of activities, the presentation attempts to provide reasonable pictures of the organisation. It is complex and hard to illustrate and analyse such a huge and dynamic field, but the ambition is to picture it in a way that is empirically and theoretically correct, despite the difficulties. The research has been carried out in the city districts of Norrmalm, Spånga-Tensta, Skärholmen, Älvsjö and Hägersten-Liljeholmen.4

The focus of investigation is a steering document, Vision 2030 and the Intranet-based tools that are used to disseminate information of the vision to every employee in the organisation.

**Vision 2030**

![Vision 2030 - vår utmaning](image)

*Figure 2. This picture shows the interface in Vision 2030. The picture belongs to the City of Stockholm. Photographer: Yanan Li.*

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4 Why these districts were chosen is presented in the method section.
The background of the study’s focus, Vision 2030, is a political decision taken by the City Council of Stockholm in 2007.

The City Council had thus - according to municipal proposals - decided as follows. First; The proposal for a world-class Stockholm - Stockholm Vision 2030 is adopted (...). 2nd; the Municipality of Stockholm shall consider the vision in the preparation of the draft budget for 2008. 3rd; All committees shall be instructed to start from the vision in its long-term business planning and the development of strategic plans, programs and policies. 4th; Stockholm City Hall AB is requested to give all city companies the task to build on the vision of its long-term planning and the development of strategic plans, programs and policies. 5th; The Municipal is given the task to develop a communication plan and implement communication interventions for a world-class Stockholm - Vision Stockholm 2030th. 6th; Follow-up of a world-class Stockholm - Stockholm Vision 2030 is within the framework of the integrated system for the management and monitoring of the city's finances and operations (ILS). 7th; The Municipal is given the task of making comprehensive evaluation of the city and that all key partners work in the direction that the vision is implemented as a term. 8th; A world-class Stockholm - Vision Stockholm 2030 submitted to Stockholm County Council, Regional Planning and Transportation Committee, on the occasion of work on a new regional development plan for the county. (Utlåtande 2007)

Thus, the work explored in this thesis builds upon a democratic and governmental decision taken by a broad political majority. Therefore, there has not been a critical approach regarding the work, whether it should be realised or not or if it is a ‘good’ or ‘bad’ job. This approach is taken for quite pragmatic reasons. There is an expectation that this research will contribute to a development that will enrich and facilitate work for people in the field, from leaders in the city hall to caregivers at local workplaces. It does not matter whether or not they want to do it. It is an obligation that has been established within the municipal government. It will not make any difference for them if this thesis investigates and criticizes the social political processes and ideologies that have led to the quite common phenomenon of Visions within the Swedish society. Stockholm is only one among other municipalities that are working with a vision which is directed towards the year 2030. For example, Mariestad has a Vision 2030 (http://www.mariestad.se/Mariestad/Startsida-Mariestad/Toppmeny/Om-Kommunen/Vision-2030.html). Tyresö municipality also directs its ambitions towards the year 2030 (http://www.tyreso.se/Kommun_demokrati/Sa-styrs-Tyreso/vision-och-varderingar/Vision-for-Tyreso-kommun-2030/) as does Norrköping (http://www.norrkoping.se/organisation/mal-regler/vision/). This reasoning does not argue for a mindless and uncritical approach. Vision 2030 is formed with words, and language is a powerful tool to exert influence. An example of how language can be used to shape a general impression is found when
the city summarised results from a study that measured citizens’ experienced safety within the city. In summary

The majority of Stockholm’s adult population does not worry about being exposed to crime. Most people feel safe in their neighborhood after dark. The percentage who experience anxiety or fear has decreased in all cases, except for the concern of exposure to burglary or sexual harassment. The percentage who worry about becoming the victim of crime has fallen from 18 to 15 percent between 2008 and 2011. The percentage who are worried about being exposed to crime when it is dark outside or who do not go out because of concerns has declined from 10 to 7 percent, says Niklas Roth. (http://www.stockholm.se/-/Nyheter/Familj--Omsorg/SoF_Trygg-i-Stockholm/)

This quote presents facts and experiences concerning crimes within Stockholm, and it is obvious that choices of words intend to enhance the view of a city that is working actively and successfully against crimes and feelings of insecurity. It is said that the majority of the population does not worry. This sounds confident, but it excludes attention to the minority that actually does worry. It should be noticed that the minority in this case means thousands of citizens in Stockholm who are worried about being a victim of a crime or who do not dare to go out after dark. The same facts expressed in this way would give a completely different impression than does the quote. Accordingly, the choice of words and perspectives is used as a tool to present research results in a way that gives a generally optimistic impression. The quote continues, saying that the percentage that experience anxiety or fear has decreased in all cases except for concerns of burglary and sexual harassment. Again, the heavy focus is on the results that are affirmative for the city, while ongoing concerns regarding burglary and sexual harassment are presented as a kind of subordinate worry, since the negative picture is given less attention. Finally, the quote argues that the number of people who worry about being victims of a crime or those who do not even dare to go out when it is dark has declined as well. Language and presentation structure are used to illustrate results that offer a positive impression of the city. The results could just as well have been presented like this: ‘15 percent of our citizens worry about being a victim of crime, and 7 percent of our citizens do not dare to go out when it is dark’. This sentence presents exactly the same facts, but with a different linguistic focus that gives another general and contradictory impression. This use of language should be regarded when Vision 2030 is described. It should be understood for what it is, a steering document for Stockholm as an organisation to strive towards. It is not an accurate description of an existing perfect city without problems.

Independent of how the vision is interpreted and perceived, people who are employed within the Stockholm municipality will still have to work towards their version of Vision 2030, independently of whether or not the re-
search that is permitted here criticises this societal phenomenon. Therefore, the tactic has been: this is their reality and situation right now and in future work. How can this research contribute in a way that is beneficial for employees in local workplaces as well as for leaders on different levels within the organisation explored? The answer to this question has been socially directed. It can contribute by creating mutual trust between the researcher and people in the field, by being an engaged listener and having a humble attitude. It is about being respectful and trying to conduct a disinterested research climate in which employees and their criticisms of the vision are taken seriously by both the researcher and by leaders who work with the vision. Thus, a critical perspective is enacted, but it is not on a societal level. Respondents’ critique is important and viewed seriously. This motivation does not mean that societal and political perspectives should not be taken seriously as well. They certainly should, but that is another discussion and not the one that this thesis has undertaken. Given this, what is the content in Vision 2030?

The content in Vision 2030

Vision 2030 is presented on Stockholm’s homepage. It has five perspectives. In 2030 Stockholm will be the citizens’ city, it will be versatile and adventurous, it will be innovating and growing, it will be both a vision and reality and it will take a look into tomorrow. Under the headline ‘Citizens Stockholm’ it is stated that the city will be a human city that is democratic and safe and exemplify freedom of choice. It will offer active and safe aging and a large selection of homes. It will be a cohesive city and have well-functioning transport. The section ‘Versatile and Adventurous’ describes a living city with great opportunities for work, education and world-class business. It will be a variety of attractive urban environments and an outstanding city on water. It will be world renowned as well as diverse. The section ‘Innovative and Growing’ claims that it will be a creative city and a center for a strong and growing region. It asserts that Stockholm will be a world leader in knowledge as well as a region for international meetings. It will also be a sustainable urban environment. The section ‘Vision and Reality’ states that Vision 2030 is a strategic commitment and that regional cooperation as well as cooperation with industry is necessary in order to reach the vision. It will maintain city policies for sustainable growth and be a hub of international cooperation. Stockholm will be advertised as the city of Scandinavia and there will be symbols and values-based projects. Finally, the headline ‘A Look into Tomorrow’ describes concrete development projects within the city (www.stockholm.se/vision2030).

This presentation of the content in Vision 2030 can give an impression that this document is more like an advertisement for Stockholm as a city than a strategic commitment for a municipality. Indeed, it is explicitly stated that
“"Stockholm - The Capital of Scandinavia" is the Stockholm region's common brand. The brand can be used by anyone who wants to contribute to the development of Stockholm as establishment and tourist destination.’ (www.stockholm.se/vision2030).

The quote illustrates that the vision has an advertising ambition. However, the work with Vision 2030 is much more complex and dynamic than this first impression of the content suggests. There are a great many thoughts and interpretations about Vision 2030 in the organisation: among leaders on different levels and among employees and in different areas of activities. During the process, responsible leaders in the city hall have been interested in all kinds of opinions, both positive and critical. They have been open and willing to both listen to and implement employees’ standpoints and other research results in the development process.

The dissemination tools – The Together Modules

The content in Vision 2030 is disseminated via Intranet-based tools called The Together Modules (TTM). These modules consist of small videos, illustrations, pictures, interactive questions and surveys. The employees can work with them on the Intranet. Early in this work, they could do TTM on CD as well. A frequently used concept in TTM is ‘together’. Employees’ personal responsibility to strive towards Vision 2030 in their daily work is emphasised. It is said that this must be accomplished together with leaders and colleagues. It is about developing workplaces and activities in a similar way and toward the same goals. Vision 2030 focuses on togetherness, but the individual has a personal responsibility to strive towards the ambitions in the vision. Head of the City Manager's Mayor Irene Svenonius announces that ‘It might not be obvious for every employee, but what we are doing every day at work shapes Stockholm today and tomorrow. The tasks you and all employees are doing for our citizens every day are very important. I want to thank you for doing a fantastic job for Stockholm and for the citizens’ (Svenonius 2008:02). She also explains the interactive role of TTM, by saying that ‘It gives me an opportunity to get information about what you think of how the vision’s realisation works in the organisation, and it gives me feedback about what I can do in my daily task to improve the support in the realisation’ (Svenonius 2008:02).

Stockholmer in focus’ (2012, April), ‘New perspectives and smart coopera-
tions’ (2012, October) and ‘To be inspired if each other’ (2013, February). In
addition to these TTM films from a communication seminar, reporting from
a preschool is published.
Theory and Central Concepts

Theory as theory can be looked upon and used in different ways. In this thesis, a theory is regarded as a practical tool that can be used to see, understand and interpret empirical material. It is what a hammer and a saw are to the carpenter. With the theory a researcher forms and builds the analysis. In this thesis the ‘saw and hammer’ are constituted by the concepts culture, trust, lifeworld, sensemaking and sense unmaking. Furthermore, a carpenter needs a workshop to do her/his work in. The theoretical workshop that surrounds the analysis in this thesis is inspired by the academic traditions of phenomenology and hermeneutics.

Culture is an important concept for ethnographers. It would be limiting to do ethnography without reflecting upon cultural influences. Every individual is included in a number of cultures. The workplace is a culture. Children have their own culture when they interact with each other. Culture is present and influences every single situation in which humans are involved. Therefore, it is obvious that culture should be included in the theoretical toolkit. The concept ‘lifeworld’ is connected to cultural aspects. Individuals are influenced by cultures, but related to this influence they also have their own experiences. For example, at a childcare unit pedagogues and children spend their days together in the same rooms; they do activities together and so on. Seemingly, they spend their days in the same world, but on an analytical level their experienced lifeworlds probably differ. The motivation for using the concept lifeworld is that it supports analysis of how respondents’ experiences influence them, their culture, their thoughts, their activities and thereby also the work with TTM and Vision 2030.

The concepts ‘sensemaking’ and ‘sense unmaking’ help to deepen the analysis from culture and lifeworlds to the meaning people construct of them. In order to understand what culture and experienced lifeworlds really mean for respondents, their sensemakings should be explored. What meanings do they create of their cultures and experienced lifeworlds? Following this procedure, old sensemakings might influence new experiences in different ways. Therefore, it is relevant to reflect upon deconstructions of old sense makings (sense unmaking) as well.

The term ‘trust’ was not included in the theoretical toolbox from the beginning. It was identified as a significant concept during the first investigation, which was an interview study. When these interviews were analysed, it came clear that trust was an influential issue. One example is a leader at a
care unit for the elderly who relates the content of Vision 2030 to the circumstances she experiences in her daily life at work. In doing this, it is hard for her to trust that the vision can be reached. She says that ‘It has been very tough for us this year. Money has chiefly ruled, and then you feel that you cannot make these visions and dreams come true’ (Teres). This leader does not trust that they will encounter circumstances that make it possible to realise the vision. For her, this work was just an extra task.

Phenomenology and Hermeneutics

phenomenology suggests that there is a co-constitutive relationship between us and the phenomena we encounter in our engagement with the world. In this sense phenomenologists would suggest that to understand the technology/society relationship we need to reveal how they co-constitute each other—i.e. draw on each other for their ongoing meaning and sense (http://stanford.library.usyd.edu.au/entries/ethics-it-phenomenology/)

all phenomenological studies share at least the underlying view that technology and society co-constitute each other by being each other's reciprocal and ongoing condition or possibility for being what they are. As such they continually draw on each other for their ongoing sense or meaning (http://stanford.library.usyd.edu.au/entries/ethics-it-phenomenology/)

The quotes above point out a central aspect of this thesis: the relationship between technology and society and how they constitute each other. Phenomenology and hermeneutics are rich academic traditions that will not, however, be fully described in this thesis. The only attempt with the descriptions below is to shape the theoretical frame.

Very briefly the traditions can be described thus:

With a phenomenological approach, research begins with examining a phenomenon in itself. (Lindqvist 2007, 29)

Related to phenomenology is hermeneutics, the study of methodological principles of interpretation. With a hermeneutic approach, we can learn how to interpret and what it means to interpret, investigating interpretation from an epistemological perspective. (Lindqvist 2007, 30)

Using phenomenology and hermeneutics as a framework can strengthen the ethnographical approach in this thesis, because

When the form of ethnography known as critical hermeneutics is used (although this is not the only one), the findings can be rigorously scrutinized to allow for a thorough analysis of the processes of information systems prac-
Phenomenology and hermeneutics used as a theoretical framework and related to ethnography can promote creations of new knowledge in this research. This goal is reached by the interpretative approach it offers when empirical material is presented and analysed in a reasoned manner.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology can be regarded as a study of phenomena. Of course this is a simplified definition of a research tradition that emerged as a reaction against the then-dominant (positivist) view of philosophy and psychology (Ehrich 2005). However, as wrong as it would be to define phenomenology with so few words (and be satisfied with it), so difficult would it be to try to picture all aspects of this scientific tradition fully in this thesis. What will be done here is to sketch out some central perspectives along with the thesis, positioned within this tradition.

Phenomenology has been conceptualised as a philosophy, a research method and an overarching perspective from which all qualitative research is sourced (Ehrich 2005). A central person is Edmund Husserl, who has been referred to as the father of phenomenology (Bernet, Kern, and Marbach 1993, Pietersma 2006, Laverty 2003). Husserl had a critical view regarding the philosophy of that time. Indeed, he writes that

Instead of a unitary living philosophy, we have a philosophical literature growing beyond all bounds and almost without coherence. Instead of a serious discussion among conflicting theories that, in their very conflict, demonstrate the intimacy with which they belong together, the commonness of their underlying convictions, and an unswerving belief in a true philosophy, we have a pseudo-reporting and a pseudo-criticizing, a mere semblance of philosophizing seriously with and for one another. This hardly attests a mutual study carried on with a consciousness of responsibility, in the spirit that characterizes serious / collaboration and an intention to produce Objectively valid results. (Husserl 1992, 5)

Husserl talks about responsibility, which is important in this thesis. Ethnographers get close to respondents and the workplaces studied. People in the field confer a huge amount of trust by describing thoughts that they most likely would not say to everyone and everywhere. Husserl’s characteristics in the quote above are essential in such an academic environment.

Paul Dourish suggests embracing phenomenology as a basis for developing a new framework for design and evaluation in context aware computing. He concludes that
Phenomenology set out to explore how people experience the world—how we progress from sense-impressions of the world to understandings and meanings. Fundamentally, it put primary emphasis on the everyday experience of people living and acting in the world, and the ‘natural attitude’ toward the world that lets them easily and unnoticeably make sense of their experience. (Dourish 2001, 236)

He also argues that

phenomenology turns our attention to how we encounter the world as meaningful through our active and engaged participation in it, and so we can see that the underlying purpose of this sort of “more natural” approach to interface design is that it allows us to engage with technology in a different way—in ways that allow us to uncover, explore, and develop the meaning of the use of the technology as it is incorporated into practice. (Dourish 2001, 239)

Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics […] is not a well-defined field. In its broadest sense hermeneutic means interpretation and generally suggests the idea of a text as that which is interpreted – but there is no unified or agreed upon criteria for interpretation. (Ihde 1971, 6)

Ihde continues by rooting the quoted view in deep philosophical traditions. He argues that even in its historical uses the broadness of its meanings is suggestive (Ihde 1971). The American philosopher Kaplan writes that ‘What distinguishes hermeneutics from phenomenology is the rejection of any claim to immediate, intuitive knowledge of the world grounded in subjective self-certainty. Interpretation is always limited, prejudiced, linguistic, and contextual’ (Kaplan 2006, 43).

Hermeneutics is about interpretations, but it is also about reasoning with the text and thereby deepening the analysis. Rapport claims that a hermeneutical researcher ‘melds personal knowledge with emergent understanding, in effect, taking part in a ‘hermeneutic conversation’ with the text, to reveal new understandings underlying the words’ (Rapport 2005, 135). This is how hermeneutics constitutes a framework in this thesis. The analysis emerges through reasoning with the text through the lenses of theory.

This thesis is inspired by Kaplan’s view that researchers have no immediate knowledge about the phenomena explored. Rather, we are obliged to interpret their meanings in the context in which they appear.

Hermeneutics and phenomenology have previously been applied in the area of Information Technology. Butler, for example, made an overview of concepts from the related philosophies of phenomenology and hermeneutics in order to illustrate their application in an interpretative case study on information systems (Butler 1998). Coffin illustrated the hermeneutics in the
domain of Tangible and Embedded Interaction (TEI). She focused interde-
pendency and co-constitution. According to her: ‘The idea of design as a
hermeneutic circle can inform TEI in ways other than providing an under-
standing of overall process’ (Coffin 2011, 168). Thus; hermeneutic can give
other insights than understandings of the design process can provide. Boland
et al presented: ‘a framework for locating six techniques of exegesis (textual
criticism, linguistic criticism, literary criticism, historical criticism, Form
criticism and redaction criticism) in the hermeneutic circle and applying
them to some problems of interpretation that are central to information sys-
tems development and use’ (Boland, Newman, and Pentland 2010, 1).
Thus; hermeneutic can be applied in different perspectives within HCI re-
lated areas. An argument in this thesis, however, is that every researcher
must critically reflect upon her own interpretative approach in the actual
study and how it takes features such as contexts, people, and culture into
account in the analysis when this frame surrounds the analysis.

Critical theoretical reflections
An interpretative approach, such as hermeneutics, is about making invisible
patterns, cultures, thoughts and so on visible and also about trying to under-
stand these phenomena. It is about bridging the obvious with the non-
obvious that is hidden but influential. In the introduction to Gadamers’ book
Philosophical Hermeneutics, the editor Linge defines such an approach. He
argues that ‘the hermeneutical has to do with bridging the gap between the
familiar world in which we stand and the strange meaning that resists assim-
ilation into the horizons of our world’ (Gadamer 1976, xii). It is important to
give readers tools with which to be critical in interpretative research. The
researcher needs to be critical toward her own analysis as well. Otherwise,
the analysis will be condemned by someone else, as Martin argues (Martin
1972). If researchers do not try to find weaknesses in their own analysis,
someone else will. Researchers in general want to provide well-grounded
research results. To reach this end, one needs to be critical, and even this is
not enough. It is also fruitful to be critical towards the critique in itself, to
advance meta-critical reflections. How are we critical and for what purpos-
es? Prior research shows that pre-assumptions about certain phenomena are
likely to shape the object of criticism. Martin writes that ‘Assumptions es-
establish the boundaries of coherent critical discourse and constitute the very
object the critique sees, thus limiting his horizon and determining his percep-
tion’ (Martin 1972, 97). This process entails circularity. What the critic ulti-
mately sees and what he would reveal as existing is in fact implicit in his
assumptions. This is the so-called hermeneutic circle, Martin continues
(Martin 1972). It is, however, possible for the researcher to change a critical
assumption through the interaction with the text. Moustakas argues that ‘The
hermeneutic process involves a circle through which scientific understanding

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occurs, through which we correct our prejudices or set them aside’ (Moustakas 1994, 10). While Martin points out difficulties with critical reflections that follow the hermeneutic circle, Rapport associates the circularity with researchers reasoning with her text, which is how hermeneutics is practised in this thesis. Rapport advances the idea that

when a number of interviews are analyzed together, the variety of constructions that exist around the phenomenon may be brought into consensus to reveal the ‘essential’ quality of that phenomenon. This process includes ‘fusing horizons’, to compare and contrast a variety of ideas expressed and to arrive at a definitive understanding of the text. Koch (1998), citing Grenz (1996), describes this as an undertaking whereby the researcher has a ‘dialogue’ with the text – a hermeneutic conversation – to build on and reveal new understanding. The relationship is dynamic with a constant rhythm and has been linked to the ‘hermeneutic circle’ (understanding, explication, interpretation). (Rapport 2005, 135)

Self-criticism conveys the need for one to question one’s own presumptions. In an example below, questions following a picture on a computer for children are asked. One way to reach a deeper level of self-critique is to ask: what pre-conceptions are influential and shapes these questions, and how do these pre-conceptions influence the analysis?

The hermeneutic circle is also described as related to ‘processes of understanding and interpretations. Understanding is created through a process of studying the parts and the whole’ (Dahl 2007, 29). Seventeen years earlier Ast describe the relationship between the parts and the whole. He writes that

Not only the whole of a work, but also its specific parts and even its single passages, can be understood and explained only in the following manner: that as one comprehends the first particular, one is comprehending also the spirit and idea of the whole. Next, one explains the single parts and elements to gain an insight into the individual nature of the whole. Upon the cognition of all the particulars, the next step is to summarize everything into a unity which, with the cognition of all the elements, is now a clear, conscious, and in all its particulars, a live one. (Ast 1990, 46-47)

This process is at the core of the interpretative approach in this thesis. Details are studied, described and related to ‘the whole’ in the analysis, and the other way around. The whole is studied in the particular. However, circular understandings and interpretations can be problematic in a study that explores dynamics and fluidity, as this thesis does. Circularity contains a risk for essentialism with an assumption that what has been a certain way stays that way. However, even if ‘the particular’ and ‘the whole’ mirror each other, they are both dynamic. Therefore, the circularity is not essentialist in the analysis. Furthermore, a researcher is as influenced by her own experienced lifeworlds as anyone else, and it is as difficult for her to step outside herself
and question her own thoughts as it is for others. This will influence how she interprets within the hermeneutical circle. Therefore, it is important that the reader be given opportunity to form well-grounded, critical standpoints. Nonetheless, it is a challenge to make an interpretative research approach transparent. How can a reader critically review something that actually has been going on in the head of a researcher?

First of all, an interpretative approach is a combination of an open non-exclusive mind and asking oneself open questions about everything that is experienced during the fieldwork. Why is this placed here? Why do they sing this song instead of that? How have they discussed lunch routines? Where is the children’s computer placed? Why in that room? What does it say about evaluations of computers to children and so on? An interpretative approach is about searching for knowledge of hidden features and reflections within the hermeneutic circle. It is also to enlighten indirect information and communication.

The field is not entered with a hypothesis in this research. This approach would limit the mind. The interpretative approach in this thesis can be defined as openness, questioning and inclusion of lots and lots of impressions, but how is this thesis made transparent? This is where the ethnographic writing process is important. This thesis strives towards transparency by integrating the text with empirical results. Respondents’ opinions are presented in their own words as much as possible, and observations are described in detail. An example is the computer for children, which was placed in the inner corner in a small room located at the end of the building. It is an old computer with a small screen. It is not connected to the Internet, and it is used only for games. The interpretative approach inspires questions such as: Why is the computer placed in a peripheral position? Does this say anything about the interest in technology among pedagogues, or is this question a result of the researcher’s over-interpretation? How is the computer used, and does its uses relate to steering documents for Swedish preschool and to Vision 2030? These kinds of questions put the interpretative approach into play. A phenomenon is observed and questions about potential invisible cultural features that shape it, for example values, are asked. Can a computer’s position in a room and a building say anything about how IT is valued among responsible pedagogues and leaders?

Linge writes that, for philosophical hermeneutics, it is what happens beyond our willing and doing that is the question (Gadamer 1976). Despite a researcher’s ambition to be objective, she will never be able to free herself from her own experiences, from her ideology and from her subjectivity. She cannot step aside and reject being herself. The view influences the self-reflection in this thesis and it is applied to Linge’s view that

The familiar horizons of the interpreter’s world, though perhaps more difficult to grasp thematically, are as integral a part of the event of understanding
as are the explicit procedures by which he assimilates the alien object. Such horizons constitute the interpreter’s own immediate participation in traditions that are not themselves the object of understanding but the condition of its occurrence. Yet, this reflexive dimension of understanding has been all but completely ignored by the ‘science of hermeneutics’ during the last century. The result has been a distorted and one-sided picture of understanding and our relationship to tradition. (Gadamer 1976, xii)

It is an ambition in this thesis to elude the trap that is described in the quote. Self-reflection is one tool to avoid subjectivity. Another way is to offer the reader transparency, so the researcher’s ‘me’ is visible and open to criticism. In the introduction to Gadamer (1976), Linge writes that ‘Only a critical, methodologically controlled interpretation can reveal the author’s meaning to us’ (Gadamer 1976, xiii).

In a paper written in 2000, Gadamer discusses reflexivity. Its etymological meaning is derived from the Latin expression reflexion, which is familiar in optics and mirroring. It could not have developed to its newer meaning before the emergence of scholastic sciences, he writes. He also writes that Greek philosophy did not raise the objection that reflexivity is always a secondary phenomenon, compared to turning directly to some object. Thinking is primarily thinking of something, and only then thinking of thought (Gadamer 2000).

Striving towards being critical regarding one’s own thoughts and analysis is one ambition in this thesis, but both mentioned levels, thinking of something and thinking of thought are as well: can this be achieved? Gadamer argues that turning back on one’s own thinking is always only incidental. This is a trap for all authors. What influences this incidental shaping of thoughts, and how does this affect the results? These questions can hardly be answered in this thesis. They are asked rhetorically in order emphasise that the reader should be attentive to potential weaknesses in the analysis. Gadamer is demanding in his critique of the ideal of self-transparency and subjectivity. He writes that

My own works have proceeded in this direction, asking what interpretation in fact is when one goes so far as to fundamentally question the ideal of the self-transparency of subjectivity. This does not mean only that de facto one will always find every understanding to be limited. It also means that an unlimited understanding would cut away at – indeed, abolish (aufheben) – the very meaning of understanding, just as a perspective that sees everything would abolish the very meaning of perspective. (Gadamer 2000, 281)

What is interpretation if we question the ideal of self-transparency and subjectivity, Gadamer asks rhetorically. Understandings would be limited and the meaning of them would be abolished, he argues. This is severe critique, because if he is right, it has the potential to undermine the very ground of hermeneutic. However, it can be argued that he cuts to the bone in this rea-
soning. An interpretative approach needs transparency and self-reflection. His questioning could just as well be ‘do we need hermeneutics?’, because we cannot take a research approach and de-contextualise its very foundations and thereafter critically ask: ‘What happens now?’ It should be ‘take all or nothing’ in these kinds of theoretical choices. A searching, interpretative, transparent and reflexive technique is valuable in ethnographic research. How could an ethnographer manage deep insights in contexts explored and about her own presence in them without such an approach? Despite criticisms of hermeneutic elements, it is regarded as a valuable, enriching analytical perspective in this thesis.

To describe and analyse an Intranet strategy encompasses construction of meaning. It is likely that this affects how the communicated content is interpreted and anchored in daily routines. This is one reason why sensemaking is included as an interpretative perspective in this research. The other reason is that it is well-integrated in the theoretical framework, or, as it is expressed by Smith and Osborn, ‘The aim of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) is to explore in detail how participants are making sense of their personal and social world, and the main currency for an IPA study is the meanings particular experiences, events, states hold for participants’ (Smith and Osborn 2008, 53).

Central concepts

The analysis in this thesis is advanced via some central concepts that support interpretations and understandings of the empirical material. Fulfilment of the aims and answering the research questions constitute the overarching goal in the thesis, and it is this goal that guides choices of theoretical perspectives. Thus, the concepts presented below are not used in a sort of schematic order. Rather, they are chosen in relation to aims, empirical material and the train of exposition with the text. The concept that is most likely to increase understandings of a certain empirical bit of data is used. This offers a dynamic strength, but there is a weakness involved as well: that of subjectivity. Therefore, the reader is encouraged to question and be open to alternative choices and interpretations.

Lifeworld

The concept of lifeworld has its roots in the 19th century phenomenological tradition from Edmund Husserl and his student Alfred Schutz (Bäck-Wiklund 2000). A person’s lifeworld is how she/he experiences cultures and contexts. Technology is one aspect of this. Ihde glosses this view as follows: ‘A brief picture of an academic office routine will indicate how intertwined our lives are with technics. Not only is there a plenum of machines (…), but
these are so familiar to us that we simply live among them in a taken-for-granted way. We direct many of our emotions to or through technologies’ (Ihde 1983, 2). He gives technology a meaning in respondents’ lifeworlds. What, however, is a lifeworld? He explains that

Within the lifeworld concept, as many commentators have pointed out, there is a dual focus. On one side, the lifeworld is regarded by a basic level of prordial experience, itself explicated by the richly implicit complexity of primary perception. On the other side, the lifeworld is also the sum of what is taken for granted, the totality of implicit beliefs and operational assumptions by which we interpret our world. (Ihde 1975, 267-268)

Furthermore, the lifeworld includes the social and cultural world in which a person exists. Schutz and Luckman explain that

The everyday reality of the life-world includes, therefore, not only the ‘nature’ experienced by me but also the social (and therefore the cultural) world in which I find myself; the life-world is not created out of the merely material objects and events which I encounter in my environment. Certainly these are together one component of my surrounding world; nevertheless, there also belong to this all the meaning-strata which transform natural things into cultural Objects, human bodies into fellow-men, and the movement of fellowsmen into acts, gestures, and communications. (Schutz and Luckman 1989, 5)

This quote conveys that the lifeworld is experienced within a reality. Buttimer notes that ‘Once aware of lifeworld in personal experience, an individual should then aim to grasp the shared world horizons of other people and of society as a whole’ (Buttimer 1976, 281). For leaders and employees in the Stockholm municipality, this means that there is an interrelation between the subjectively experienced lifeworld and the shared world horizon of other people. The issue of lifeworld, however, is more complex than this, because, as Wildemeersch and Leirman argue (Wildemeersch and Leirman 1988), the lifeworld can be distinguished into three development stages: the self-evident, the threatened and the transformed lifeworld. The self-evident character of interpersonal communication patterns ensures that our everyday actions seem true, just and normal. It is a kind of a communication pattern that enables us to act and react in an automatic, stable way. This self-evident lifeworld often neutralises contradictions and reduces them to unremarkable conflicts. The safest place for the self-evident lifeworld is in the interpersonal life circle. This self-evidence becomes threatened when familiar interpretation patterns fail. This stage is the threatened lifeworld. In such cases, definitions of subjective reality and cultural reality are no longer complementary within the lifeworld. When this occurs, the contradictions become manifest and situational. At this point, the person needs to enlarge the circle of communication in order to find partners who may help disarm the power of threatening definitions and other stimuli. In cases in which people do not
immediately fall back upon the routinized, self-evident lifeworld, a process of lifeworld transformation may take place. The transformation of the lifeworld has a rational and a motivational dimension. The rational dimension is not limited to reflections of one’s own situation and experiences. The reflection process differs largely from reflection related to the self-evident lifeworld. The motivational dimension of transformation builds upon the thought that people involved should be able to rely upon their own capacities. Wildemeersch and Leirman argue that

The remembrance of these experiences of competence is important in eliminating feelings of dependency and lack of power. If there is no balance between need motivation and competence motivation, the people involved in a transformation process will easily fall back upon familiar evidence which is no longer fruitful in relation to new situations or experiences. If enough competence motivation is available, the transformation process may lead to a new action pattern which is reflection-directed and based upon transactional and discursive dialogue. (Wildemeersch and Leirman 1988, 23)

The very core of the work with Vision 2030 and TTM is its relation to dynamics and development in a multitude of cultures and diversities. In such an environment, it is likely that the development stages Wildemeersch and Leirman advance will be present among respondents in this research due to complexities and contradictions that occur between experienced lifeworlds, local workcultures and disseminated contents. All respondents in the field, leaders as well as employees, are parts of the same organisation, but they are also actors in diverse work cultures. Each individual affects and is affected by her/his perceived reality as well as of other actors within the local surroundings, the organisation and the society as a whole. Within these complexities, people need to create meaning that makes sense.

Sensemaking

‘sensemaking’ has to do with meaning construction and reconstruction by the involved parties as they attempt to develop a meaningful framework for understanding the nature of the intended strategic change. (Gioia and Chittipeddi 1991, 442)

Sharma argues that there are quite a few theories of sensemaking, and they are disparate and unconnected due to their roots in different fields (Sharma 2006). Sensemaking has been explored from a multitude of perspectives, as, for example: sensemaking as a narrative process (Brown 2000), development of sensemaking models (Cecez-Kecmanovic 2002), technology as triggers for sensemaking (Griffith 1999), and work practice effects on technology sensemaking and subsequent adoption patterns (Hsiao, Wu, and Hou 2005).
An inclusive view according to which each individual is an inherent social theorist is endorsed here, and this means that all humans are regarded as actors who create their own understandings. Dervin argues that ‘Sensemaking mandates respectful listening to users as theorists and knowledge-makers in their worlds, as actors who if asked can tell you at least something of what they need’ (Dervin 1998, 42). Utilising sensemaking this way includes an understanding in which the concepts ‘knowledge’ and ‘information’ are put into play in verbalised form. Dervin continues, ‘what is needed is a way of conceptualizing knowledge making and using which unleashes sensemaking for the realities of human situation-facing’ (Dervin 1998, 44-45). Therefore, eventual contradictions between respondents’ sensemaking opportunities, experienced lifeworlds, the objective reality and the content in Vision 2030 will be discussed in the analysis.

A concept related to sensemaking is ‘sense unmaking’, which is used by Dervin. For her, ‘sensemaking and sense unmaking is a mandate of the human condition’ (Dervin 1998, 36). The term, ‘sense unmaking’ is employed in this thesis, because the purpose includes opinions among respondents. It is likely that these opinions are affected by prior sensemakings. ‘Old sensemakings’ might be inappropriate for the content in Vision 2030. Therefore the concept ‘sense unmaking’ is included in the theoretical toolbox.

Sense unmaking

What is sense unmaking? Dervin writes that ‘The core of Sense making’s assumptions rests on the idea that knowledge made today is rarely perfectly suited to application tomorrow, and in some cases becomes tomorrow’s gap. In this view, attending to the unmaking of sense is as important as attending to its making’ (Dervin 1998, 41).

It is hoped that sensemaking and sense unmaking will help to create knowledge about how ‘old sensemakings’ influence the leadership strategy explored and about what phenomena that affect sensemaking and sense unmaking of distributed information and interactions on an Intranet. Sense unmaking is used as an analytical perspective in this thesis for two reasons. First, one of the aims includes opinions among respondents. It is likely that these opinions are shaped by prior sensemakings. Second, old sensemakings might not be suitable for the content in the leadership strategy explored.

Culture is an essential perspective in this research. Doing ethnography is to explore culture in itself, in the field as well as understanding and critically reviewing the researcher’s own cultural influences. Culture is also integrated into the aims as well as in the theory of the thesis. It would be limiting to explore phenomena such as the lifeworld and sensemaking without taking notice of the cultural circumstances in which they occur, exist, develop and change.
Culture

Culture is a complex term that probably has as many understandings as those who aim to understand it. The discussion below encompasses more than a definition for this thesis. It is an incipient positioning of this research in relation to the concept. What is culture? This is a rhetorical question since ‘culture’ is a multifaceted issue. Anthropologist researcher Räsänen, who works within the field of HCI, argues that ‘The concept of culture within the social sciences is contested and varies essentially. There is no precise way of defining culture, not even within anthropology, which can be seen as the home of culture’ (Räsänen 2007, 29). Even if no consensus of what culture really is has been (or can be) reached, some definitions and suggestions have been advanced. Geert Hofstede will be the main source for cultural inspiration in this thesis. He describes culture as ‘the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another’ (Hofstede 2001, 9).

The concept of culture is used, although it has been the target of criticism among ethnologists and anthropologists. Indeed, it has been accused of rendering possible the creation of a culture-grounded racist discourse in which unknown people are presented as ‘different’ and thereby out of place (Ekström 2010). Because of this accusation, some ethnologists prefer not to use the term. Indeed, ethnology Professor Blehr argues that, instead of culture, a variety of other terms can be used, for example: practice, discourse, structuring, performance, rituals, storytelling and materiality (Blehr 2010).

Nevertheless, the stance taken in this thesis is that the concept of culture is valuable for researchers who study humans and their interactions with computers. The cultural impetus in this thesis applies Hannerz’s view that the culture concept does not need to go (Hannerz 1996).

Four arguments for the cultural positioning in this thesis

First, ‘culture’ is both implicitly and explicitly present among users, among technology developers and in the interfaces when new technology is developed and implemented in new contexts. Furthermore, to think about culture as a phenomenon that is everywhere (Hannerz 1996) also enlightens the complexity of the term.

Second, in situations where users interact with technique, as in all other conditions, they need to create meanings and make sense of its contents, interfaces and so on. In such processes, culture is an influential factor. This stance is substantiated in an investigation by Ravasi and Schultz. They conducted a longitudinal exploration in which they studied organisational responses to environmental changes that induced members to question aspects of their organisation’s identity. In this exploration they conclude that
Our findings point to organizational culture as a central construct in understanding the evolution of organizational identities in the face of environmental changes, suggesting that collective history, organizational symbols, and consolidated practices provide cues that help members make new sense of what their organization is really about and give that new sense to others. (Ravasi and Schultz 2006, 455)

Third, knowledge about culture can contribute to successful interactions when we develop and implement technology which is designed to function in cross-cultural contexts. A similar view is advanced by Bhagat et al., who proposed a theoretical framework for understanding the significance of four transacting cultural patterns, defined in terms of the dimensions of individualism-collectivism and verticalness-horizontalness (Bhagat et al. 2002).

It is a commonplace that cultural differences are focused in HCI literature. Bourges-Waldegg and Scrivener argue that

Much research on cultural issues in HCI has focused on evaluating systems to discover ‘cultural factors’ and/or ‘cultural differences’, in order to outline common problem areas which are then used to develop internationalisation and localisation guidelines. (Bourges-Waldegg and Scrivener 1998, 290)


This focus on differences involves a dilemma. When researchers show differences and make them carriers of meanings, there is a risk that divergences are manifested rather than overcome. One way to avoid this trap is to investigate cross-cultural similarities as well as differences. An example in which such perspective is utilised is given in Pedersen’s book Counseling across Cultures. In the foreword of this book, Clemmont E. Vontress describes a process in which cultural minorities in the United States proclaimed and manifested their differences from the majority society. Paradoxically, the more they did this, the more they became like the people they declared to be their oppressors. Their demands for acceptance and equality resulted in the commencement of an imperceptible assimilation. Vontress claims that ‘although declarations of differences are still heard throughout society, there is simultaneous evidence of cultural similarities’ (Vontress 2002, x). The quote must not be interpreted as arguing for cultural assimilation. It certainly is not. It is used as a way to point out a need to investigate cross-cultural similarities as well as differences. The work with TTM and Vision 2030 is likely to face contradictions and obstacles due to diversities. The Stockholm city administration is a multi-cultural organisation with many different local work cultures. Searching for cross-cultural similarities in such a context could be one way to overcome contradictions. The perspective of cross-
cultural similarities is quite unexplored in Information Technology research in general as well as in HCI.

Fourth, culturally-loaded features, such as symbols and icons, are pragmatic tools for designers as well as users, given that they affect users’ understandings of the interfaces as well as the usability of the technological artefact. Onibere et al. write that

> Usability problems that can arise from cultural differences are mainly representational variations between cultures. Such variations can be found in colour, icons, character set, pictures, symbols, phrases/jargons, time format and abbreviations. These may vary between cultures due to factors such as language, taste and religion. (Onibere et al. 2001, 499)

Acceptance of culture offers a pragmatism that can be utilised in HCI work. Still, and this is very important, this cultural positioning does not imply opinions of culture or cultural groups as static. It is rather the opposite. Researchers and designers should bring cultural features into play, but they must be aware that symbolic meanings are contextual and situationally-dependent, dynamic and changing. Since the very ground on ‘culture’ is varied and varying, cultures and cultural groups must be regarded as fluid on all levels, from the highest level (parts of the world) to the lowest level (family, friends).

Some examples of how culture has been enacted in prior HCI research are presented below. It will also be revealed how culture, as it is viewed in this thesis, can contribute to HCI.

**Culture in prior HCI research**

One perspective in prior HCI literature is culture in an identification perspective. Hall states that

> There are at least two different ways of thinking about ‘cultural identity’. The first position defines ‘cultural identity’ in terms of one, shared culture, a sort of collective ‘one true self’, hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed ‘selves’, which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. Within the terms of this definition, our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as ‘one people’, with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history. (Hall 1990, 223)

Prior research has shown that cultural and other identifications can influence humans and contexts in different ways. For example, Van Der Zee et al. explored the influence of social identity and personality on work outcomes among business students who worked together in culturally-diverse teams. In their study, a negative effect of identification with one’s cultural background
and a positive effect of identification with the team on well-being were found under conditions of high diversity (Van Der Zee, Atsma, and Brodbeck 2004). Other researchers have explored influences of identifications as well. Ahearne et al. investigated antecedents and consequences of customer-company identifications. They found that customers do identify with the organisation, and that customer-company identifications impact product utilisation behaviour and extra-role behaviour even when the effects of perception are accounted for (Ahearne, Bhattacharya, and Gruen 2005). For further readings on identification and its influences, Dutton et al. is useful (Dutton, Dukerich, and Harquail 1994, Albert, Ashforth, and Dutton 2000, Sha 2006, DeRue and Ashford 2010).

Smith et al. created an abstraction of the design process, and they focused on what they call cross-cultural issues. Their practical standpoint is related to theoretical models of culture. They write that

> The problem is that people differ across regional, linguistic and country boundaries and user requirements are strongly influenced by their local cultural perspective. Crosscultural usability is about making websites an effective means of communication between a global website owner and a local user. (Smith et al. 2004, 66)

This description is one of many examples where HCI researchers sanction culture as differences. Nonetheless, the authors enact cultural divergences in order to facilitate communications between global-levelled website owners and end-users in local environments. Therefore, performances of culture could be regarded as a tool to increase communication in this case, but it also points out the importance of reflecting on potential cultural contradictions. If, as Smith et al. argue, cross-cultural usability is about making websites an effective means of communication between a global website owner and a local user, how can such technology avoid the appearance of cultural contradictions? There are complexities involved here that highlight the importance (and difficulties) of promoting the bridge-building function of HCI (Shackel and Richardson 1991). This is a pragmatic issue with negative consequences, and it becomes even worse when perspectives like contradictions occur between experienced lifeworlds, cultures and organisational changes. How can researchers within HCI build bridges that can bear such diversity of issues?

Kleinsmith et al. conducted a study in which they investigated how users from three different national cultures (Japan, Sri Lanka and the US) perceive emotions from whole body postures in avatars. Cultural disparities on perceived emotions in the avatars’ body postures were examined. The authors conclude that the results provide evidence to indicate that emotions are both universal and culturally specific (Kleinsmith, Ravindra De Silva, and Bianchi-Berthouze 2006).
Beu et al. describe a process in which they built an infrastructure for Intercultural Usability Engineering in the context of Siemens’ products (Beu, Honold, and Yuan 2000). After describing this process, they present some future challenges that are valuable for current research. First, they argue for establishing deeper intercultural competence through training seminars, joint workshops and regulative exchanges. Second, they suggest that the repertoire of methods should be expanded and enriched with culture-specific procedures. It is likely that these work strategies have the potential to point out contradictions that occur in development processes since they include joint activities and communications.

The concept of culture is commonly enacted as differences. This presents a dilemma, because, even if clarifications of cultural divergences as analytical instruments might contribute to clear designs, there is also a risk that such a procedure manifests cultural borders. One way to overcome this dilemma is to study cultural similarities (as well as differences) and implement such new knowledge in cross-cultural technology development and design as well as other areas. This cultural positioning can strengthen research within HCI by

- Revealing and handling cultural discrepancies and contradictions, and thereby fulfilling the HCI importance to build bridges.
- Investigating cross-cultural similarities (for example, common symbols) in order to develop interfaces that users from different cultures can identify with and are aware of potential contradictions that might occur.
- Developing culture as an aspect of sensemaking and thereby assisting designers and researchers in interpreting what meanings might be shaped by technology users.
- Increasing strategic uses of culturally-loaded features, such as symbols as elements in design. This procedure should be carried out in close communication with respondents and through cultural analysis of local cultures and experienced lifeworlds.

This approach is complex, however, because it is not obvious when an interaction becomes cross-cultural. A leader and an employee within the Stockholm municipality share a common organisational culture, and they are expected to engage in the same Intranet context. Nonetheless, they have different work cultures to which these interactions will be committed. Are such interactions cross-cultural, in-cultural (identify in the same cultural group) or both?

The concept of culture is suitable for the purposes in this thesis, since it offers tools to interpret empirical material, describe contexts, views, happenings, and so on. Geert Hofstede has made extensive studies on this subject. Based in an anthropological understanding of culture, he has completed both quantitative and qualitative investigations. In a huge international study by
the IBM company, he found five dimensions of national or rather societal culture. This was an international study in a number of countries. Later, he conducted an organisational study of different companies in two countries. In this research, he found six dimensions of organisational culture. It is not the dimensions, however, that are tools for interpretations in this thesis. Rather, it is his and some of his co-authors’ theoretical foundations and definition of culture that will be used. His work has not, however, been accepted without criticism from other researchers.

Hofstede’s work, critique and motivation of use
The work of Hofstede has been the target of extensive criticism (Signorini, Wiesemes, and Murphy 2009, Fang 2003, Baskerville 2003, Schwartz 1990, McSweeney 2002). Despite these negative opinions, his model is frequently used, according to Myers and Tan, who listed 36 studies of which 24 used Hofstede’s dimensional thoughts (Myers and Tan 2003). A reason to use his theoretical assumptions in this thesis is that they have potential to reveal influential cultural phenomena and thereby function as a tool to acknowledge cultural diversities, discrepancies and contradictions that TTM and Vision 2030 are likely to face. Using Hofstede’s cultural, theoretical thoughts can also be regarded as a contribution to bridge-building between quantitative and qualitative research. The work of Hofstede builds on extensive empirical material and it is quantitative. A common complaint about quantitative research – that it does not say anything about local levels (what is behind the statistics and numbers) – as well as that of ethnographic research (it cannot be quantified) can be overcome when his work is used as a practical analytical tool in ethnographic research. There is a scientific or perhaps even ideological positioning in this argument. The research community would benefit by overcoming the seemingly never-ending mutual criticism between quantitative and qualitative research, and instead accept that these two different kinds of research are mutually dependent. They are two halves of the same apple, and the apple can never be whole unless the halves are joined and should be regarded as complementary rather than mutually exclusive.

Hofstede’s understandings of culture
Hofstede et al. define culture as ‘the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others’ (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010, 6). Culture is important, because it is present everywhere and in every situation in which humans are involved. It influences us, our thoughts, our behaviours, our physical rooms and so on in many ways. Therefore, to understand culture is an essential way to understand ourselves: humans and the world(s) in which we live. Cultural understandings give us the competence we need to live in and create a functional society. Culture is regarded as an essence in everyday life and for every in-
Hofstede et al. (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010) define symbols as words, gestures, pictures, or objects that carry a particular meaning that is recognised as such only by those who share a culture. Heroes are persons, alive or dead, real or imaginary, who possess characteristics that are highly prized in a culture and thus serve as models for behaviour. Rituals are collective activities that are technically superfluous to reach desired ends but that, within a culture, are considered socially essential. They are, therefore, carried out for their own sake. Symbols, heroes, and rituals are subsumed under the term practices. As such they are visible to an outside observer. Their cultural meaning, however, is invisible and lies only in the way these practices are interpreted by insiders. The very core of culture is formed by values. These are broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others. Values are feelings, and they deal with pairings, such as evil versus good, dirty versus clean and so on. This understanding of culture will be used in the analysis in this thesis. Another aspect of culture is that the thesis applies to the view of culture as leveled and categorised (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010). This view is also inspired by Hofstede, but this thesis does not fully adhere to their definitions of cultural levels.

Cultural groups and levels

Most of us belong to many groups, but in our social and organisational society we also need to cooperate with members in other cultural groups. Skills in cooperation across cultures are vital for our common survival. Hofstede and his coauthors divide culture into the following levels:

- A national level according to one’s country (or countries, for people who migrated during their lifetimes)
- A regional and/or ethnic and/or religious and/or linguistic affiliation level
- A gender level, according to whether one was born as a girl or as a boy
- A generation level, separating grandparents from parents from children
- A social class level, associated with educational opportunities and with a person’s occupation or profession
  For those who are employed, organizational, departmental, and/or corporate levels according to the way employees have been socialized by their work organization. (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010, 18)

This thesis applies to the national, regional and organisational levels. Levels of culture are defined as pragmatic, concrete and somehow visible. Gender, generation and social class, however, are viewed more as theoretical lenses that can be used to explain phenomena within cultures than as cultural levels.
Individuals are influenced by all these cultural levels. Every level includes cultural categories, which are also influential on the individual. Even if this thesis applies to a leveled and categorised view of culture, it does not regard culture as definitely static but rather as highly dynamic. Cultures and subcultures occur, change and disappear, and new cultures are shaped. In some situations and contexts, societal culture is most influential, while organisational culture might be more influential for the same persons in other situations and contexts. It is a never-ending, on-going construction of new cultures and reconstructions of the once-already-existing culture. This fact leads to another view of culture: that culture is a construction made by humans.

**Culture is a construction**

Culture is *a construct*, that means it is "not directly accessible to observation but inferable from verbal statements and other behaviors and useful in predicting still other observable and measurable verbal and nonverbal behavior." It should not be reified; it is an auxiliary concept that should be used as long it proves useful but bypassed where we can predict behaviors without it. (Hofstede 1993, 89)

The fact that many cultural features are not directly observable motivates ethnographical and other culturally-focused research, especially when potential contradictions are noticed, analysed and discussed. However, there are visible cultural features as well, for example, uses of symbols. It is well-known that a flag is culturally loaded. Culture is visible, but the cultural meanings are not obvious. Values hidden behind the flag are situational and contextually dependent, fluid and sometimes not obvious. Cultural visibility should be understood in such a perspective. In what cultural context and situation is the flag used, and what is actually constructed?

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of the world</th>
<th>Europe, Asia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Country and society</td>
<td>Sweden, western society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation</td>
<td>IBM, Uppsala University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workplace</td>
<td>Employees, leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family, Groups of friends</td>
<td>Parents, children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 3. The table shows how cultural levels are defined in this thesis.*
Culture, heretofore considered, is pictured as both leveled and grouped. Interactions occur between people on different levels as well as between people on the same level but in different cultural groups. The issue of cross-culture was mentioned earlier, but what does this concept mean?

**What is cross-culture?**

It is usual that the concepts of culture and cross-cultural are enacted in literature where uses of technology are explored. Definitions of the term culture are given, but it seems to be a consensus concerning what cross-cultural interactions mean. Authors commonly use this term when they explore interactions between people in different countries and/or in different parts of the world. (See for example (Kleinsmith, Ravindra De Silva, and Bianchi-Berthouze 2006, Lee et al. 2002, Zhao and Jiang 2011). This kind of research contributes with valuable knowledge, but to use cross-cultural aspects only on these high cultural levels is limiting as well because cross-cultural effects on lower cultural levels are left unexplored and invisible. In this paper I wish to fill at least a part of the described gap by exploring some interviews from my fieldwork. Are they cross-cultural, in-cultural or both? (Löfström 2012, 408)

The quote is the introduction to a paper which was published and presented at the 4th International Conference on Applied Human Factors and Ergonomics Conference in San Francisco, 2012. Löfström argues that cross-cultural aspects are often used and interpreted as synonymous with cross-national or cross-societal interactions. This is problematic, because it conveys a risk that other cross-cultural influences will be overlooked. How do we know whether an interaction is cross-cultural, and what features are important to regard in such interaction? An experience in which researchers overlook cross-cultural aspects on other levels than the national and/or societal will be given here.

The conference mentioned was large, with about 1500 participants from all over the world. The track the referred paper was presented in was fully focused on cross-cultural aspects. Despite the similarity in cultural interests, a cultural clash was experienced by the author. The clash was due to the common view of cross-culture as similar to national culture and identification. At this conference, almost every speaker worked in a military context. All of them were ambitious. They seriously aimed at developing technology that would facilitate meetings between the American soldiers and the locals in the countries in which they conducted military activities. It was about teaching soldiers to show respect for the people they met. The presenters developed technology that would help to make meetings between the soldiers as Americans versus the locals as Afghans positive and constructive. The attributed identities were fully-based on nationality. Nobody asked the question what identification is it that actually dominates these meetings in the locals’ perspective. Is it the fact that soldiers are Americans, or is it
something else, for example, their military clothes and weapons? Does the local person from Afghanistan feel that he/she is meeting ‘an American’ or ‘a soldier’? How does the identification they experience affect the social interaction? The researchers at this conference would have benefited if they discussed what cross-culture really meant in the military contexts they were working in, rather than uncritically defining cross-culture as synonymous with cross-national. The assumption in this thesis is that cross-cultural aspects are much more complex than the national/societal perspective conveys. In the context of this thesis, the Stockholm municipality, many cross-cultural communications and interactions are going on. Leaders on different levels converse and consult with their sub-ordinate leaders and with employees. This is cross-cultural interactions in an organisational perspective. When parents and employees communicate, it is cross-cultural, if parents are regarded as a cultural group and the employee as another. Many such communications go on on a daily basis in the field explored here. Therefore, in this thesis, an interaction is regarded as cross-cultural if the actors have different cultural identifications in the specific situation and context. The very same interaction can be interpreted as both cross-cultural and in-cultural.

Another theoretical concept which evolved as influential during the interview study is trust.

**Trust**

Perhaps the most common consensus among scientists concerning the meaning of trust is that there is no consensus regarding what this term really means or refers to. Grandison and Sloman argue that

> Trust is a complex subject relating to belief in honesty, truthfulness, competence, reliability etc. of the trusted person or service. There is no consensus in the literature on what trust is and on what constitutes trust management (...), though many research scientists recognise its importance (...). The significance of incorporating trust in distributed systems is that trust is an enabling technology. Its inclusion will enable Internet commerce and seamless, secure agentbased applications. Despite the need to standardize trust and its related concepts, many researchers simply use and assume a definition of trust in a very specific way relating to topics such as authentication, or ability to pay for purchases. (Grandison and Sloman 2000, 2-3)

Olmedilla et al. do not simply assume a definition of trust; they write that ‘Trust of a party A to a party B for a service X is the measurable belief of A in that B behaves dependably for a specified period within a specified context (in relation to service X)’ (Olmedilla et al. 2005, 5). Artz and Gil argue that trust is only worth modelling when there is a chance of a different out-
come than what is expected or has been agreed upon. Methodologically they separate trust into four different areas: policy-based trust, reputation-based trust, general models of trust and trust in information resources (Artz and Gil 2007). Another definition is given by Fogg and Tseng who argue that ‘trust indicates a positive belief about the perceived reliability of, dependability of, and confidence in a person, object, or process’ (Fogg and Tseng 1999, 81). Categorising and creating models is common when researchers handle the complexity immanent in trust (Corritore, Kracher, and Wiedenbeck 2003, Kim, Ferrin, and Rao 2008, Abdul-Rahman and Hailes 1997, Lee and Turban 2001, Hoffman, Lawson-Jenkins, and Blum 2006, Tan and Thoen 2000/2001), or about studying initial trust formation with organisational information systems (Li, Hess, and Valacich 2008). It can also be about designing trust into online experience (Schneiderman 2000) or about exploring moral trust (Uslaner 2002). Friedman et al. suggest ten trust-related characteristics in online interactions that, according to them, have potential to cultivate the conditions for trust online. These are the following: reliability and security of the technology, knowing what people online tend to do, misleading language and images, disagreements about what counts as harm, informed consent, anonymity, accountability, saliency of cues in the online environment, insurance and finally performance history and reputation. They promote developments of interpersonal trust, through their contention that ‘in the interests of enhancing interpersonal trust, we need to develop tools that allow users to control what personal information is made known to others online’ (Friedman, Kahn Jr, and Howe 2000, 40). Trust has been identified as an important, influential factor in all kinds of contexts, technology related as well as in face-to-face interactions. For example, a commercial perspective is given by Wang and Emurian, who write that ‘Lack of trust has been repeatedly identified as one of the most formidable barriers to people for engaging in e-commerce, involving transactions in which financial and personal information in submitted to merchants via the Internet’ (Wang and Emurian 2005, 105).

If there are trust issues, there will be obstacles in interactions as well as in transactions. Another example of trust in commercial technology uses is mentioned by Siau et al., who developed a framework for trust in mobile commerce. These authors focused on values that lead to trust within their area of research (Siau, Sheng, and Nah 2003). Shankar et al. write that

Online trust is also intertwined with offline trust. It is important for firms to understand how online trust is different from offline trust, how the two are interconnected and how to improve online trust and overall firm performance. This is particularly important for organizations that have both online as well as offline presence, that is, multichannel organizations. (Shankar, Urban, and Sultan 2002, 326)
These authors argue that online trust is important for a firm’s e-business strategy and that many elements are common with offline trust, but it differs in that technology rather than just the organisational entity is an object of trust. Online trust is described as: ‘a multidimensional construct whose underlying dimensions include reliability/credibility, emotional comfort, quality and benevolence’ (Shankar, Urban, and Sultan 2002, 341).

GJ Hofstede et al explore trust issues in relation to culture on different levels. These authors propose a computational model to simulate the integrated effect of Geert Hofstede’s five dimensions on national cultures (Hofstede 2001) on decisions to deceive end trust in trade (Hofstede, Jonker, and Verwaart 2009). Corritore et al. suggest that investigations of online trust can start with studies of offline trust and that a first step is to identify a vocabulary with which to talk about online trust. Thereafter, we need to create a conceptual framework, they continue. Hence, there seems to be a relation between online and offline trust, as these authors see it (Corritore, Wiedenbeck, and Kracher 2001).

Riegelsberger et al. explore assessments of trust between people that interact in computer-mediated communications. They connect trust to the concept of ‘trustworthiness’. They argue that, when communication technologies replace face-to-face interactions, there is a danger of proliferation of low-trust interactions. This fact is due to the increased need for contractual agreements and external enforcement. This issue influences costs as well, since low-trust interactions are more costly than trust-based interactions, in the long run, due to the increased need for contractual agreements (Riegelberger, Sasse, and McCarthy 2003). A similar perspective regarding the need to mediate trustworthiness is given by Fischer-Hübner et al., who work with mediations of trustworthiness of service sides to end-users to enhance their trust in Prime-Life enabled applications. To accomplish this, they present a user interface development work of a trust evaluation function and what they call the PrimeLife Data track (Fischer-Hübner, Hedbom, and Wästlund 2011). Another perspective of trust explored in HCI is its implications for design, which is not an easy task. Marsch et al. argue that

The challenge for the HCI world is to unify the various attempts at bringing formal models of trust in information, technology and each other so that the technology can operate in a trusted and trustworthy manner in a human environment. (Marsch, Briggs, and Wagealla 2004, 1707)

Trust in relation to design has, however, been extensively and widely discussed. Importance of trust in security systems is discussed by Patrick et al who contend that a lack of trust will result in systems being ill-used at best, and not used at all at worst. They argue that a lack of understanding of trust, in both user and system, will result in the wrong decision being made in security contexts or no decision at all (Patrick, Marsh, and Briggs 2005).
Online trustworthiness was in focus by Egger, who developed a model of trust that describes what design factors affect consumers' assessment of online vendors' trustworthiness (Egger 2000). A similar intention is found in a paper of Riegelsberg et al who identified the factors that support trustworthy behavior. They also analysed how the presence of these factors can be signaled to allow the formation of well-placed trust. A frame of reference for the design of studies on trust in technology-mediated exchanges, as well as a guide for identifying trust requirements in design processes was suggested (Riegelsberger, Sasse, and McCarthy 2005).

Trust has been investigated in technology-related research. What is striking, however, is the difficulty in finding research that examines informants' own opinions regarding trust, how they regard trust, how they think it influences them and their work and if they think that trust is important. Despite the rich prior literature on trust, this perspective seems to be overlooked. This is a limitation for several reasons. One is that it is likely that researchers will have better intuitions to work with trust issues if they can apply their thoughts regarding trust to respondents’ opinions in the contexts explored. How can they design for trust without knowing what trust means for intended users? How can researchers explore trust online versus trust offline if they do not know what trust means for the people under investigation? Of course they can and will use common academic definitions of trust. Still, how do they know what these parallel respondents’ views upon trust are if they do not explicitly ask what trust is for them, and how they think it affects them? Knowledge of respondents’ views of trust increases opportunities to enhance quality of trust-related knowledge and development of the field and design in a way that suits the very people for whom our work aims to enhance quality. An explicit investigation of respondents’ views of trust has been conducted in current PhD research.

Trust as a theoretical perspective carries the same need for reflexivity as the concept of culture does. Such discussion is influenced by the researcher’s personality. Therefore, the researcher’s ‘I’ is present in the next section.

Trust, a reflexive discussion

It is hard to offer this discussion, because it feels like a disclosure of my private, or at least my personal, ‘me’. This is a doctoral thesis, which is a work in the professional arena. When I chose to discuss trust for me, it is unavoidable that I also erase some of the borders between ‘me’ as a person and ‘me’ as a professional researcher. Despite this, it is necessary to say at least something about this issue, since it will probably influence this thesis as well as its results.

As a person, I might be regarded as a bit naïve, because I have a tendency to think the best about people until they have proven unworthy this view. This attitude is valuable when I do fieldwork, because I find that it is easy
for me to win respondents’ trust. When it comes to what they say in interviews, however, I strive for a questioning approach. In that context, the researcher must dominate the personality. The respondents are in a situation that might influence them and what they tell me. They are talking to a researcher that is recording what they say, so they might want to shape the impression they give. Thus, I trust people but perhaps not everything they say.

This thesis investigates an Intranet-based leadership strategy. Therefore, leadership will be discussed and presented from three different perspectives, in the prior literature, as it is defined by the Stockholm municipality and as respondents in this research understand it.

**Leadership**

The concept of leadership permeates and structures the theory and practice of organizations and hence the way we shape and understand the nature of organized action, and its possibilities. In fact, the concept and practice of leadership, and variant forms of direction and control, are so powerfully ingrained into popular thought that the absence of leadership is often seen as an absence of organization. (Smircich and Morgan 1982, 257)

The quoted authors regard leadership as essential. Without leadership there would not be an organisation, they argue. However, the paper quoted above was written in the early 1980s, and societies have undergone huge changes due to computerisation and the Internet since then. Leadership has also developed over time.

**Perspectives of leadership in prior literature**

Winston and Patterson summarise 160 articles that focus on leadership from different perspectives. The goal is to construe a common and general definition of leadership as a concept. The paper is introduced with an extensive definition that is discussed line by line throughout the paper. A leader is described as a person that has good knowledge about the organisation’s objectives and goals as well as about employees’ capabilities. Leaders choose, equip, train and influence followers according to the organisation’s goals, so that the follower increases her/his emotional and physical energy in a way that is related to these goals. The leader shall promote every individual’s abilities in a way that gives the best possible benefits for the organisation, and that is inspiring for the individual as well. The authors write that the leader achieves this by mediating a vision of the future that suits the followers’ evaluations, and that makes it possible to interpret the future in current
time. This leadership shall be advance in a humble way. The leader presents a vision as a contrast to current time in this process. This is clear in the work with Vision 2030 and TTM. The city is growing and in an on-going process of change. Therefore, it will look different in 2030. The authors also write that a leader follows ethical approaches and she/he seeks the best for the followers so that he or she has a better quality if work after the interaction with the leader. The leader is also enriched by this interplay. She/he sees followers’ differences and achieves unity concerning values and directions, the authors claim (Winston and Patterson 2006).

Keith Grint investigates what it is that constitutes a leader. He does this in four different aspects, who leaders are, what they achieve, where they operate and how they get things done. In his discussion of leadership regarded as a person, he argues that if we reduce an ideal leader to his or her quintessential characteristics or competencies of the leader, the value of the leader competences are reduced as well. He also argues that if leaders per definition require followers we should regard leadership as shared through the organisation. It is a complex interaction between several individuals who contribute to the leadership. This view is relevant for the work with Vision 2030, because it points out potential difficulties that might occur during the practical work. Vision 2030 is a steering document with goals and frames, and leaders are supposed to implement them in the context of complex interactions that are coloured by aspects such as culture, trust and sensemakings. Grint defines the pitfalls with each of the leadership aspects presented. If leaders act on the basis of positions, then only those in formal positions of power will be recognised as leaders. As a consequence, followers will be discouraged from accepting responsibility, taking risks, or showing initiative. This attitude can produce a bureaucratic organisation, he concludes (Grint 2005).

If organisations consider leadership to be manifest largely through results, then this opens the way for metrics to be manipulated to generate the required outcomes. If we look at the process of leadership, it is unclear whether there are generic behaviours that apply regardless of context, or whether leadership requires exemplary behaviour. This fact might lead to leaders who ‘act’ rather than ‘do’ and that manipulate the image of the outcome rather than the outcome itself. The final conclusion is that we will still not reach a consensus if we look at the person of leadership, because leadership appears to require the interactions of humans and systems or ideas as hybrids in an improvised performance rather than a pre-written script (Grint 2005). The interpretation of Grint’s argument is that leadership benefits flexibility concerning leadership perspectives.

Smircich and Morgan discuss leadership as a hierarchic phenomenon. They argue that: ‘leadership situations may be conceived as those in which there exists an obligation or a perceived right on the part of certain individuals to define the reality of others’ (Smircich and Morgan 1982, 258). This
connection to rights and obligations is also central in their discussion of the leader. They write that ‘The leader exists as a formal leader only when he or she achieves a situation in which an obligation, expectation, or right to frame experience is presumed, or offered and accepted by others’ (Smircich and Morgan 1982, 258). Just like Grint, these authors focus on the interactive aspect of leadership. For them, leadership is a social construct that emerges through constructions and actions of both leaders and those led, as they express it. The mutuality aspect of leadership is central to this view. Leadership is dependent on individuals who are willing to surrender at least parts of their power to shape and define their own reality. This submission does not make the followers powerless or without their own will and impact. The authors argue that: ‘While individuals may look to a leader to frame and concretize their reality, they may also react against, reject, or change the reality thus defined’ (Smircich and Morgan 1982, 259). Consequently, one aspect of leadership is that it involves a process of defining reality in a way that is sensible to the led, as the authors express it. They also discuss leadership in formal organisations. The main distinguishing feature in formal organisation is that the way experience is structured and defined is built into a stock of meanings taken for granted that underlie the everyday reality of the organisation. They suggest that a formal organisation is premised upon shared meanings that define roles and authority relationships that institutionalise a pattern of leadership.

A pragmatic definition is given by Kouzes and Posner, who claim that:

Leadership is an observable, learnable set of practices. Leadership is not something mystical and ethereal that cannot be understood by ordinary people. Given the opportunity for feedback and practice, those with the desire and persistence to lead – to make a difference – can substantially improve their abilities to do so. (Kouzes and Posner 1995, Introduction)

Additionally, Barker presents a view of leadership that carries meaning for the leadership strategy explored. He argues that ‘Leadership scholars have always assumed that a “vision” or goal must be present first before the processes are shaped toward the achievement of the goal. Perhaps it would be more instructive to take the position that the “vision” emerges, at least in part, out of the dynamics of the unfolding processes’ (Barker 2001, 490).

This argument can be regarded as based in something ideological and desirable rather than as a scientific and intellectual building of theory. It lacks a root in practical function, at least as it relates to the organisation explored in this thesis. How could they build a common vision in Stockholm municipality, with its more than 40,000 employees, with a process such as the author suggests? Still, a common vision can be viewed as ideologically desirable in an organisation that promotes democracy and influence among employees, because it would give employees power to shape and formulate the organisa-
tion’s goals. This procedure might work in small organisations and at small workplaces, but probably not within larger organisations. All together this author strives towards reducing the leaders’ significance in order to favour a dynamically constructed leadership.

Based on the presentation so far, a leadership role could be defined with one single concept – complexity. It is likely that this complexity increases higher up in the organisation, because more and more factors must be integrated. The leader must have complete knowledge about the organisation’s objectives and goals, and she must be able to define and describe this for the employees, and at the same time create enough space for each individual to develop her own strength and competencies in a way that is beneficial for themselves, the activities and the organisation. Maybe the leader also needs to advance this work in a way that suits her/his personality and values?

Control is a common aspect of leadership. Alvesson and Kärreman discuss two forms of control within management. These are technocratic control and socio-ideological control.

In the technocratic type, management works primarily with plans, arrangements and systems focusing behaviour and/or measurable outputs. In the socio-ideological version, social relations, identity formation and ideology are basic ingredients. (Alvesson and Kärreman 2004, 425)

These authors argue that most research on management control in management accounting research has failed to acknowledge the distinction between the existence and the use of controls’, despite that control within management has much broader theoretical and practical spectra than that, according to Alvesson and Kärreman. In the conclusions they write that:

In particular, the paper questions common ideas on the existence of pure and alternative forms of control and the assumption that technocratic and socio-ideological controls are mutually exclusive and function in different organizations and situations. Looking at the cultural dimension of bureaucracy and performance measures—both in terms of what is communicated and how the messages are being interpreted—seems a productive way forward. (Alvesson and Kärreman 2004, 442)

The work with Vision 2030 can be interpreted as a sort of socio-ideological control since this steering document is highly influenced by values. Still, it can hardly be described as individual leader control, and since it has emanated from a democratic political decision, it is rather a societal control of values.

The municipality of Stockholm works actively with leadership development, and there are steering documents in this work. One such central document is called ‘Strategy for chiefs and leaders in the city of Stockholm’.
The strategy for chiefs and leaders in the city of Stockholm

In the budget for 2004 the municipal government was given an assignment to develop a strategy for leaders in the city, on all organisational levels and in all kind of activities. Before this phase, they had started an educational program for chiefs and leaders in the city, but there was still a need for further development. Employees should be given the opportunity to be influential and activities should be characterised by openness for employees’ ideas and viewpoints. High demands on developed work organisations and responsiveness follow these viewpoints. Based in these thoughts, the city created a leadership strategy. The overarching goals were formulated in the following way:

The leadership shall provide opportunities for employees to be influential, to work independently and it shall enhance their personal development. A leader shall have a clear view of the direction, and she/he shall be able to inspire the employees to reach the goals. (…) The city shall be a role model in flexibility concerning time, forms and organisation for leadership. An example is that time limited leadership and part time work shall make it possible for parents of small children to take on leadership assignments. (Ledarstrategi för chefer i Stockolm stad 2005, 18)

The quote is from a statement in 2005, in which the municipal government suggested that a defined leadership strategy should be resolved. The head office was urged to develop efforts to implement and follow up the suggested strategy. Concerning leadership, Vice Mayor Roger Morert notes that

Good leadership is shaped by individuals’ experiences and knowledge as well as of the environment of work. Different kinds of activities may suit different kinds of leadership. It is important that the city stimulate potential leaders and give them opportunities for responsibility and development, in order to promote more leaders from local activities. With leadership in public administration, great demands follow. It is about abilities to lead and inspire to independent work and development. (Ledarstrategi för chefer i Stockolm stad 2005, 3)

This presentation establishes a view of leadership that is both dynamic and contextually adjusted. Leaders’ personal experiences as well as a need for supporting them in their leadership are emphasised. It has been mentioned earlier that Stockholm is a growing city, which makes it important for leaders to work against insecurity that might follow the processes of change (Parry 1999).

Altogether, leadership is pictured as something complex and multifaceted. The city of Stockholm is characterised by dynamics and change. Employees are supposed to be influential in this flow of happenings and change, and leaders’ own experiences should be managed as well as possible. Leaders in the city should have a well-grounded picture of the city’s direction, but
she/he should also create space for employees’ autonomy within these frames. It should be noted that ‘employees in the city’ can hardly be defined as a homogenous group. Chong and Wolf write that factors such as culture and age influence how followers perceive their leaders, and so do the employees’ own experiences. The more experience an employee has, the less influence from leaders in the views of employees, according to these authors (Chong and Wolf 2010). The complexity is worse than this in the field explored, because Stockholm is a politically governed organisation, and thus ruled in an intersection between three different systems: the political, the professional and the citizens. A leader in this organisation needs to be able to work in a context that is created by interplay between these three systems.

The highlighted complexity is confirmed when the leadership strategy says that leadership is practiced by and in relation to people, in a specific situation and in a delimited environment. Everything is dependent on everything and is influencing everything, it is argued. Then, if everything is dependent on everything, what is it that makes a person a good leader? As far as the leadership strategy is concerned,

Many researchers have tried to answer this question without finding clear answers. The leader development projects that are regarded as most successful today have their springboard in developing and increasing awareness about the personal and situational leadership. This kind of leadership is flexible, dependent on situations where it is practiced and it is based upon the chief’s own personality. To develop leadership is about increasing understanding and insights rather than about developing different techniques. (Ledarstrategi för chefer i Stockolm stad 2005, 6)

Stockholm municipality describes and defines the leadership role as complex and with distinctions between leadership and being a chief as well as between the coaching and the humanistic role. Being a chief is defined as an organisational position that concerns steering and structuring, while leadership has to do with inter-human relationships. Leadership is about influencing others, about visions, inspiration and creativity. These two roles must interact, but the coaching role must be added as well. That role is directed towards increasing consciousness among employees whereas the human role concerns support, empathy and engagement. The leadership that is practiced in the city shall have a coaching character but it shall also give frames and create security and clarity concerning assignments and goals. It shall be a leadership that inspires learning, development and change (Ledarstrategi för chefer i Stockolm stad 2005).

There are also different aspects that leaders within Stockholm municipality should handle. As leaders they need to be able to communicate clearly and openly with the employees, an aspect which includes the ability to enthuse and encourage as well as to give and take constructive criticism and to handle conflicts (NordiskKommunikationAB 2006).
Methodology and empirical material

When this PhD research started there was a financed project with the aim of investigating virtual leadership strategies, but there was no established research field. Stockholm municipality was working intensively to develop their E-service programs. Therefore, it was likely that the municipality was interested in taking part in this PhD research. Leaders in the city were contacted, and after some meetings and discussions it was decided that cooperation between this project and the municipality should be effected and that Vision 2030 should be the focus of the investigation. This decision was due to two reasons. The first is that the dissemination strategy was fully web-based, thus the municipality could offer a research field that was constituted by an Intranet-based leadership strategy in a large, diverse and dynamic organisation. This fact was promising and related to the aims in this research. Such a diverse and lively context was likely to provide opportunities to fulfil the aims. There was good potential to advance ethnography in a local work environment as well, since leaders on a high organisational level were active in contact establishments. They helped in opening doors to the field. The second reason was that the work with Vision 2030 had started but it was in an early phase, and responsible leaders lacked knowledge about how the project would work out in the organisation. Consequently, they were interested in research upon this issue, which was promising for a well-functioning cooperation with mutual benefits.

The researcher and contact persons in the field decided together that the introductory study should be initiated in the city district of Norrmalm, partly because this district had not been active or involved with the work Vision 2030 so far, and partly because a new director of this district had been employed.

An interview study

Before a new research process takes form, it is strategically important to get a general overview of the field, so empirically relevant questions can be formulated. Therefore, current research started with observing, recording and listening to two meetings with leaders, in which Vision 2030 was described, discussed and motivated. In the first assembly the officer of communication described the content in Vision 2030, and why the city needed a vision
The audience on this occasion consisted of people who worked in the administration in the district’s head office. The second occasion was a meeting in which all leaders in the district explored were invited to listen to a presentation of Carina, who was a deputy mayor of Stockholm at that time. She gave a lecture on Vision 2030, its background, content and purpose. A method called ‘the snapshot method’ was effected during this meeting. The purpose with this method, in this specific case, was to create an empirically grounded starting point for upcoming interviews. This method requires that throughout a session of some sort participants are asked to write down their first association(s) when they hear something chosen by the researcher using this method. The prompt that built ‘the snapshot method’ during this meeting was the following: ‘Write down the first thing you think about when I say web-based cooperation between leaders and employees’. The notes were collected and saved. In current research these notes provided the first and general impressions of viewpoints among 50 chiefs and leaders in the field explored. The notes that were collected in this meeting were used as grounds for further discussions and questions during the interviews.

After these two introductory meetings for the research process, the interview study was started. The new director in the district explored offered a catalogue with names and phone numbers to all units. In order to allow randomness in the decision concerning units for investigation, the names of all units in each work area (preschool, care of elderly people and administration) were written on small notes and mixed. A colleague picked four notes for each activity. The notes were numbered and units contacted in the same order as they were picked. In two cases, the first picked workplaces could not take part in the study. Then the second was asked instead.

On the next level of selection (individual respondents in each unit) the head leaders were asked to choose respondents (one group leader and two employees). The decision was made according to the knowledge leaders had about employees. They knew who was reflexive and engaged, and therefore likely to be open with opinions. This decision was made despite the risk that leaders might pick employees they thought would say ‘the right’ things in order to give a neat but perhaps not truthful impression of the unit explored. However, in general respondents gave the impression that they wanted to give an honest picture of the unit, its activities and circumstances. They described what they regarded as good and they were critical towards different features. Positive as well as critical opinions were described. In some cases, respondents displayed lots of trust by expressing highly critical judgments towards the organisation. An example was Teres, who works as a leader at a care unit for the elderly. She was critical and stated that

When you are a municipal activity, there is a situation in which we are striving with old and worn out staff that might not be up to standard, while the
private sector, well, the worn out people do not go into the private sector, so they get the younger and stronger people. We have been forced to negotiate away these people. How much fun do you think that is? That is why one might become resigned concerning such nice things [as Vision 2030], but in the future there will be strong and healthy people or work, or? You actually do not know. (Teres)

Overall this was a successful approach since it resulted in interview material that illustrated diverse views, obstacles in the activities and so on.

The interview results are represented in three different categories, leaders, civil servants and employees, because this provides the opportunity to interpret viewpoints related to respondent’s positions. A disadvantage with this categorisation is the risk that different levels within each category will be overlooked. The reader is encouraged to consider this issue. In total the interviews are divided into two preschool units, two care units for the elderly and one administration unit.

The interviews were semi-structured, an interview form in which the researcher has a list of questions, but she also follows up respondents’ thoughts and associations:

They are generally organised around a set of predetermined open-ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee/s. Semi-structured in-depth interviews are the most widely used interviewing format for qualitative research and can occur either with an individual or in groups. Most commonly they are only conducted once for an individual or group and take between 30 minutes to several hours to complete. (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006, 315)

This choice was due to the interest in respondents’ personal reflections. It is likely that their associations are greater than the space offered by the researcher’s questions. Therefore, it would be limiting to strictly follow a list of questions without being open for other, deeper discussions. On the other hand, if the discussions only follow the respondents’ thoughts, there is a risk that perspectives that are important for the purpose and aims of the research are overlooked. Consequently, it was decided that semi-structured interviews should be used, since they can both offer free reflections for respondents and steer questioning towards the research aims of the researcher. All interviews were recorded and transcribed for two reasons. First, it was easier to get an overview of the interview material when it was written in text, and it allowed uses of certain sections for quotes and references. Another advantage was that the researcher had time and opportunity to reflect upon the results during the transcribing work. In this process, the empirical material was established in the mind, which facilitated the analysis during the writing process. A disadvantage was that it was very time consuming.

This interview study resulted in two recorded and transcribed meeting presentations, 21 recorded and transcribed interviews and approximately 50
notes with short reflections from leaders. When results from this fieldwork had been analysed and presented, it was time for the survey study.

A survey

Information about the survey was spread both verbally and textually. In some cases, meetings with leaders and/or with employees were visited by the researcher. Then she presented herself and the research project through face-to-face communications. All respondents were not met personally because some leaders wanted to inform their employees themselves. It is likely that this methodological difference influenced the results, since respondents that were personally informed by the researcher tended to write more detailed answers in the questionnaires. Nevertheless, all respondents were given information through a letter attached to the questionnaire. A simplified version was added after a leader criticised the information letter for being too complex.

The interview study in research phase one gave quite rich results concerning opinions towards Vision 2030 and circumstances to put this work into play at the work units explored. However, Stockholm municipality is a big organisation with 14 districts and the empirical results in research phase one was limited numerically as well as geographically. The results from the interviews did not say anything about opinions and circumstances in other districts and among other respondents. Therefore, the researcher and designated leaders decided that the field of investigation should be broadened, geographically as well as numerically. The purpose of the survey was to broaden the picture in order to improve reliability and trustworthiness of empirical results as well as of interpretations. The method was changed from semi-structured interviews to a survey with open and unstructured questionnaires in the city districts Skärholmen and Spånga-Tensta. These districts were chosen because their leaders had shown interest in engaging in this research. It was a pragmatic choice. Interest among leaders is likely to ease up access to the field. Contacts with leaders in the chosen districts were mediated via leaders in the City Hall. After some e-mail and telephone communications, two questionnaires were sent out. One was directed to leaders and the other to employees. The leaders distributed the questionnaires to some of the units in the districts. They had been asked to include units from different areas of activity. This constituted grounds for choice of local workplaces, but it was the leaders who decided which units to include in the study.

Responded questionnaires were divided into three categories: ‘very much’, ‘want to’ and ‘do not want to’ [work with TTM]. A similar classification concerning influences of trust was introduced as well. A categorisation of themes that were found in the questionnaires through an inductive analysis of the empirical material was stated during the writing process. This analysis
method was not planned prior to when the survey was advanced. It was enacted because of revealed themes in the responses to the questionnaires.

The survey resulted in 118 completed questionnaires of various qualities. Some respondents had written many thoughts on all questions, whereas most had answered all questions with few words. A few people had sent in almost unanswered questionnaires. In total the results are informative and provide knowledge that is relevant to the aims in this thesis.

Results from the first two field works illustrated opinions, circumstances at local workplaces, technological obstacles, other hindrances etc. The third investigation was a five-week-long fieldwork at a preschool unit.

Ethnographical fieldwork

An argument in this thesis is that ethnography is sometimes confused with methods, and that methods actually constitute one phase in the research process but not ethnography. Unstructured or semi-structured interviews are regularly used during the ethnographical process, as in current research. In contrast, surveys are commonly associated with quantitative research and therefore more or less regarded as ‘the other side of research’. This picture is only half true. Surveys that aim to collect numerical data belong to quantitative research, but a survey with open and unstructured question that allows respondents to freely express themselves can be successfully used in ethnographical research. Within ethnology, these surveys are usually called questioning-lists rather that a survey, but in practice it is the same method. This method can be looked upon as a kind of extended interview, at least when respondents are asked to write an e-mail address (anonymous or non-anonymous) if the researcher needs to ask follow up questions.

Ethnographical fieldwork is a highly empirical method in which becoming ‘one of them’ is important, because it facilitates recognition of everything from circumstances in physical rooms and cultural features to social interactions in daily lives. This way of working gives opportunity to take part of daily lives in a natural way, to become ‘one of them’, which means taking part in all activities, talking to people at the workplace explored in natural ways. At a preschool, it can require playing games with the children, reading to them, being together with them during meals and so on. Information is given everywhere and all the time in ethnographic fieldwork. Open minded activities and commitment to daily work activities were used as a method during the fieldwork in research phase three. This work approach was alternated with writing field notes, observing and doing interviews in the ethnographical fieldwork of this research. In order to interview the children, permission slips were distributed to the parents. Only children whose parents had given permission were interviewed.
How ethnographers write fieldnotes differs widely. Some carry a notebook. Other leave the activities for short moments in order reflect and write. The latter was the case in the current fieldwork. A camera was used to make small video sequences and to take photos. All interviews were recorded and transcribed.

The fieldwork structure in three investigations was planned and decided early in the research process. However, it was not known until after the second study that the cooperation with the municipality should develop into yet another but related project. The growth was initiated by the municipality, and concerned a long-term investigation of preschools in the city. During visits at some units, designated leaders at high organisational levels noticed that there were significant differences between preschools within the municipality. This observation made them interested and curious about whether these differences affected children in a long-term perspective. They asked if the HCI division at the IT-department at Uppsala University was interested in taking part in such an enhanced cooperation. After some meetings it was decided that the long-term project effects of preschools should be started through an ethnographical pilot study that aimed to identify questions for future studies. This pilot study and the ethnographical fieldwork were sewn together to ‘two for one’ field work. The enlarged cooperation was beneficial for this PhD work because it facilitated the access to a preschool unit and actually to a whole city district. The contacts were linked via leaders who work in the area of childcare on high organisational level. Together, leaders and the researcher decided that a five-week-long fieldwork should be undertaken at a childcare unit in the district of Älvsjö. Beside this ethnographical fieldwork, a one-day study was conducted at a childcare unit in Hägersten-Liljeholmen. The intention was to get some additional impressions from another city district.

Before the fieldwork was started, a personal contact with the chief at the specific childcare unit was established. Information about the researcher, the research focus, ethical issues, anonymity and contact details were sent out. A letter with information to parents was also written and sent.

The five-week-long fieldwork was complemented with some interviews with one leader of a childcare unit in another district, and with an interview of a high level leader in the area of childcare in the district where the comparative day-long study was conducted.

It is important to be methodologically flexible in ethnographical fieldwork, because it builds upon activities in real life settings which demand respect for people and situations. A childcare unit is a highly dynamic environment. Some children are playing, another is reading while others are drawing pictures, reading books or something else. This is an environment where many different activities are going on simultaneously. Some pedagogues are active with children while others welcome children and parents.
when they arrive at the preschool in the morning. This fieldnote illustrates this dynamic:

There are lots of movements. Some children are playing with sand, while others are playing with a ball and tennis rackets. The climbing frame is used actively by some children, and the tricycles are used as well. Small conflicts occur between children, and one child falls and starts crying. The adults stay close to the children, but the small ones are playing freely. (Fieldnote, 2012 04 16)

This dynamic and activity-intensive environment influenced how the study regarding parents was conducted. From the beginning the aim was to interview parents, but the situations when they dropped off or picked up their children were intense. They were filled with talk, searching for clothes, rituals and so on. It would have been disrespectful to ask them about interviews in these sometimes stressful and demanding situations. Therefore, a short questionnaire was made and left on the children’s shelves.

The ethnographical fieldwork resulted in 23 recorded and transcribed interviews with a timespan from five minutes (interviews with children) to a little more than an hour, one interview in which the respondent preferred to get the questions and write the answers; in addition, 24 responded to questionnaires from parents, and there were about 400 pictures and short videos, some drawings from children and 40 A-4 pages with observation notes.

A hermeneutic writing process is a kind of interactive reasoning with the text. Following this, the writing process in itself can be regarded as a part of the methodology, because it produces text that gives new insights and because it shapes a way of writing that is intuitive and associative. The issue of trust can be noted through this way of working. There is a risk that the reasoning with the text gives an impression that some theories are used more than others. There is, however, a ‘structure of thinking’ involved here. It starts with descriptive writing of the empirical results. After this initial interpretation, what theoretical perspectives are most constructive to apply to that specific material take is undertaken. Thus, the empirical material directs choices of theoretical tools for analysing specific sections.

In total, the empirical material consisted of 49 recorded and transcribed interviews, about 50 reflective notes from leaders, one written interview, two recorded and transcribed presentations by upper-level leaders, 118 questionnaire responses from leaders and employees, 24 questionnaire responses from parents, about 400 pictures and videos, 40 pages of written observations and 17 copied pages with comments on the social media function connected to Vision 2030 on the Intranet
The interview study

The purposes in this first section is to give a general empirical review, to start the problematising and to offer a springboard for following, describing and analysing the Intranet-based leadership strategy explored through a broad, dynamic and cultural perspective. Results from this first and introductory research phase are presented below. As a reminder, first a descriptive presentation is given. A section with analysis and interpretations follows, and finally a section with conclusions from this study is presented.

Developing the Intranet and TTM – where are the users?

This study resulted in two recorded and transcribed meeting presentations, 21 recorded and transcribed interviews with leaders on different levels and with employees at local workplaces and approximately 50 reflections from leaders via ‘the snapshot method’.

The work started with two interviews in Stockholm City Hall: one interview was with a communication strategist and the other with a web editor. The Intranet development in the Stockholm city administration was described. It had started with four departments, each with its own Intranet. The process started with building up the structure, and users could express standpoints about the functions. The Intranet was thought through from the beginning, according to web editor Inger, but users had opportunities to express viewpoints. Thereafter, the Intranet implementation continued from department to department. The process involved about six to eight departments at a time. In a usability perspective Inger says that

Usability is a matter of content, the structure, how you build in new pages and what content they have. This cannot be done by the design company. We must do it ourselves. They [the design company] can just create a good frame and we fill it with content, but they are very good at accessibility, to make sure that the Intranet is usable. Even if you have a problem with your vision or if you have other types of problems, it must be easy to navigate and we have followed guidelines for usability. (Inger)
The International Organization for Standardisation (ISO) defines usability as the ‘extent to which a product can be used by specified users to achieve specified goals with effectiveness, efficiency and satisfaction in a specified context of use’ (ISO 9241-11 1998). Inger’s description of a design process that built upon iterative work together with some of the intended users puts ISO’s definition of good usability into practice. The Stockholm administration is a large organisation with more than 40,000 intended users. How could they define specified users and a specified context of use in such a huge and multifaceted context? Still, Inger’s quote describes a process that has the potential to fulfil the view that ‘various aspects of the design must be balanced’ (Myers 1994, 75). Inger argues that it is hard for designers to develop a system by themselves. Indeed, they can just offer a framework. In contrast, users cannot develop usable systems without designers and technology developers. This is common knowledge among researchers within HCI, but there is an issue involved here. The view of usability processes that takes, for example, users’ opinions into account without exploring contextual complexities is limited.

Working towards satisfactory usability is a pragmatic process for technology developers (Buchanan et al. 2001, Chan et al. 2002) as well as for users. Inger says that ‘We thought that the Intranet should be a system for activities, to make sure that you find things you need in order to do your work’ (Inger). Here he points to an expected meaning of any technological system, to support daily work tasks. Furthermore, Karlsbjerg and Damsgaard argue that an Intranet must be successfully implemented among users (Karlsbjerg and Damsgaard 2001). This had been considered when Stockholm developed their Intranet. Inger remarks that

One of the most important things is to anchor it in the organisation. This is absolutely the most important... because if the employees do not apply and realise that this is something that makes our activities better, no one will use it, so I think this is the absolutely most important thing (Inger).

People in the organisation should have positive experiences when they use the Intranet. He describes a work practice that put Engelbart’s view into play. As early as 40 years ago, Engelbart noted that computer networks would have the potential to improve users’ abilities and experiences, tasks, environments and organisations (Engelbart 1970).

The importance of computer access, computer knowledge among users and interpretations of the design were discussed in the creation process of Pia, a communication strategist who states that ‘We always asked the questions: how will this be interpreted? You always need to get away from your own perspectives. It can be such simple things like scroll menus. So, in the development of an interactive language we must ask ourselves: how will this be conceived?’ (Pia).
Perspectives of users were on the agenda when the TTM were developed as technological entities, according to Pia. Common HCI issues such as usability, interface design and users’ computer knowledge were important as well. Hence, thoughts behind development of the Intranet within the Stockholm municipality are shaped by common HCI issues but, as mentioned earlier, there are complexities involved.

How do people in the organisation view uses of the Intranet as a tool for strategic leadership?

Views and strategies in the work with TTM and Vision 2030

In the interviews, respondents were asked how they interpreted Vision 2030 and the work with TTM. Elin, who is a receptionist at a care unit for the elderly, explains

Well, it is about the activities, about understanding it and I think that many [employees] do not even understand our organisation, and it is difficult if you have not understood how our organisation looks. It is very important to understand the whole, our unit. We know [name of boss] but persons who work in the district’s house for directions, what do they do? The administration… I think that is unclear for many. (Elin)

This quote describes Elin’s view of the purpose of TTM. For her, it is about understanding the whole the organisation. This correlates with Pia’s viewpoint. She says that the vision is painted with a large brush. All people who work in Stockholm must paint the contours and formulate what the vision means for their responsibilities so that they increase knowledge of the individual’s contribution to the whole, she continues. However, this intention might be hindered by to lack of discussion concerning the content. Elin says ‘it is obvious… it is the best and then we have moved on. We did not have any major discussions [about the vision and its content]’ (Elin). Still, employees work with TTM at Elin’s workplace. Conversations are held that fit in the vision, but they are not explicitly connected to it. The conversations concern local issues. Malin, who works as a pedagogue with small children at a preschool unit, observes,

We have done these modules, and I think the last one was a little more exciting and appealing to me because it was about preschool, about development, good environments and good cooperation. I certainly agree and I think that in our unit we have really raised these issues. We work very much to follow our values and this work draw parallels with Vision 2030. (Malin)
Sarah, who is an upper-level leader in a district of the Stockholm municipality, argues that the work with Vision 2030 and TTM demands daily activity and engagement. She says ‘You need to raise it on the agenda, talk about it and return to it all the time’ (Sarah). She says that the TTM were regarded as good, nice, fun and stimulating in her group of leaders. A way to increase engagement for the concrete work, according to her, is to keep information alive on the daily agenda, show how important it is and how others work. It is about finding a stimulating development, she argues.

Sarah is also asked if the web-based form affects her leadership methods. She answers that it makes the job easier, and it is cheap since you can do it without allocating time and energy. Still, if a leader does not want to work with TTM, it is easy not to do it. Therefore, she needs to check that the work is done, she continues. She says that ‘I invite them in groups, or I visit them and discuss how they have worked, where they are in the process. Before the visit I send them some questions. If they have not already finished this work, they get a week to do it’ (Sarah).

Pia presents Vision 2030 during a meeting among salaried employees who work with funding for care for the elderly. She starts her presentation with the following words:

I am so glad to be here. I have been here before, when Laila [exchanged name] was a boss. I visited a forum with leaders from all units and talked about Vision 2030 and about what we shall do together. Now I have understood that you work a lot with planning your activities, that you want to increase your knowledge of background and purposes with the vision and about how you can transform it in to your activities so it becomes pleasant and engaging. (Pia, Strategist of Communications)

Through this face-to-face strategy, TTM’s functionality as an Intranet-based leadership strategy becomes secondary. A strategy in which web-based work is promoted by real life work is pictured here. Sarah and Pia use the same coordination strategies. They both complement the Intranet-based communication with face-to-face meetings and discussions. For Sarah, there is a time aspect involved as well, since she gives her subordinated leaders one week to undertake work that has not been done.

One face-to-face event that had great influence on the work with Vision 2030 was a presentation given at a meeting for leaders by Deputy Mayor of Stockholm, Carina. In particular, a leader at a childcare unit remarks that: ‘Honestly I can say, pling plong… there it came clear to me’ (Ingela). In her presentation, Carina says that the aim of the lecture is to mediate that the vision is not anything extraordinary. The presentation is about clarifying the vision in relation to daily activities at the local workplaces. After this contextualisation, she describes why quality in each workplace is important for Stockholm in general. She says that ‘World-class management is more about schools and preschools. One thing is to think about advantages and effective
traffic, but leaders and employees whom management wishes to attract will ask: how is it in the preschools? How good are the schools and how safe is it’ (Carina).

The attempt to link the organisational cultural level and management thinking with the vision’s meaning was successful. It influenced Ingela’s leadership strategy, since she reused Carina’s presentation to implement the vision among her employees. She says that

I used some of Carina’s pictures at a meeting with my employees. I showed them, I tried to copy her presentation and I gave them my own interpretation of the mission. Then it became clear to them. Again… pling, pling, pling. It is this link, not to the vision, but to why it is important today. If this is important in 2030, how should we… how should I act today? It is this link to management that Carina made so clear. (Ingela)

Leadership clarity is improved here. It is an empirical example that realises the reasoning by West et al., who explored leadership clarity, team processes and innovations in care contexts. They conclude that ‘The research reported here reveals that in specialist health care teams there is a strong relationship between leadership clarity and team processes and that team processes in turn are strongly associated with team innovation’ (West et al. 2003, 407).

Clarity is an important aspect of leadership (NordiskKommunikationAB 2006, Ledarstrategi för chefer i Stockholm stad 2005). Respondents have talked about clarity in leadership as well. Laura, who is a leader at a preschool unit, is asked what is important in leadership, as she sees it. She says that

It is that I can communicate a clear assignment, that ‘this is where we are going. Thereafter, it is to find the means the employees can take part in and work with, but that it is clear, that I communicate clarity to the employees so I get them with me and so they understand what I mean (Laura).

Clarity in leadership is implicitly present in Carina’s presentation quoted as well, because the lecture itself is about clarifying Vision 2030. The view that Carina’s talk was influential is shared by Gunilla, who is a upper-level leader in this city district. She says ‘She [Carina] managed to give meaning to what I am doing at my department. She conveyed that we are part of a community, that we are there and that we are all included in this work’ (Gunilla).

Work content and the situation experienced are salient aspects as well. Tina, who is a leader at a care unit for the elderly, says, ‘Well, I think like this… we will not be alive by then’. This respondent expresses insecurity about this form of elderly care as well. She claims

‘It is not easy to think of the vision. It is very difficult to imagine: how will this kind of service look? It is 20 years until 2030. Let’s say… what if I would like this service. I don’t even think it exists. I don’t think so. Maybe I
Tina is critical regarding TTM and Vision 2030 in general. She describes a work situation in which employees do not want to do computer-based work and take part in meetings. They regard cleaning and shopping as the actual real work. Other tasks, like TTM and Vision 2030, are not regarded as a real job among the staff, according to this respondent. In this case, content of work and imagined view of the year 2030 hinder engagement to work with TTM and Vision 2030. It also suggests a difficulty in coordinating the work in a way that suits circumstances. The employees at this work unit work in the homes of the elderly, and their schedules are tight. Therefore, it might be difficult to coordinate the work in practice.

Sofia works with children at a preschool unit. Her work days are busy, a fact which affects the practical work with TTM and Vision 2030, but it does not affect willingness to adapt. Sofia says, ‘I don’t think anybody here does not want to use them [TTM]. I want to, but there is so much focus on other things. There are so many things we do, so this might not have the highest priority’ (Sofia). Despite the described obstacle, this respondent thinks everybody at her workplace wants to facilitate this work. One reason for this willingness is that Vision 2030 correlates with their other steering documents that they work with a lot, or, as she expresses it, ‘I think we work very much with our values and to follow our steering documents that I think go hand in hand with Vision 2030’ (Sofia). In this case, recognition and ease in identifying with other already-integrated obligations as well as with cultural aspects like values are a driving force to working with TTM and Vision 2030. This suggestion is supported by Sofia’s claim: ‘I think we do it all the time in our work if you consider that our mission is to form good citizens. It is about quality of life, about life sustainability. You do this for the future’ (Sofia).

Cathrine, who is a leader for four preschool units, wants to work with TTM and Vision 2030. Her experience is that it is integrated into the daily routines and the disseminated thinking. She asserts,

We have the circumstances every day to think Vision 2030 for our children. They will soon be there and then we must have prepared them. We must offer activities that give them benefits so they can function in life… that they shall feel pleasure. I think we have that, with or without money. (…) As adults we have a responsibility to provide the very best for the children, based on the situation they live in. (Cathrine)

This viewpoint is reflected in her willingness to work with TTM. For her ‘do not want to’ does not even exist. It is a specified mission, so it is natural for her to undertake this task, she says. She regards TTM as an opportunity to widen employees’ perspectives. Cathrine thinks the TTM are valuable to
gather employees around, to give them time to think forward and maybe even more, to reflect upon ‘what I do today means something for tomorrow’: to take that time to be at a standstill and think about this fact. Cathrine has an unconditional willingness to work with TTM. Her employees are given time for reflection once a week, which gives them time to outline details within the frame that Vision 2030 constitutes. So, reflection time is a coordination strategy to get this work done, but there are other ways as well. Pia points out this breadth, saying that

It has been everything from enacting a whole unit in a computer hall at an administration department so everybody can do this work at the same time too… we have made sure that users can do group registrations. Then the boss registers afterwards how many [employees] took part. (…) They look at the questions and follow the process together. (…) Then they assemble all employees, on the same occasion, and get an opportunity to discuss what this means for us. What is world-class for us, on our preschool or at our school? What is this actually about? (Pia, Communications Strategist)

This quote is Pia’s answer to the question whether leaders have used any concrete methods to support employees in the work with TTM and Vision 2030. She pictures group work as coordination among leaders and employees, and how group work is used as a tool to integrate Vision 2030 locally.

Sofia suggests that someone from the outside should challenge them to form focus groups, or as she expresses it:

I think that somehow it should be a work group for the preschool concerning [Vision] 2030. They would be some sort of pilots. There are so many tasks today. We have many focus groups so there has not been… I have not felt I need to create another one. It must come from somewhere else outside us, as an assignment. (Sofia)

Circumstances in which rigid daily routines affect the work with Vision 2030 are illuminated in the quote above, but Sofia says, ‘We get time to do it. We will act so everybody… well, it is important that everybody does this work because somewhere it is registered that we actually do it’ (Sofia). At Sofia’s workplace they coordinated the work individually. At civil servant Karl’s workplace, however, the work was undertaken in groups. They coordinated the work together due to an ambition to inspire dialogue among employees. Thus, the intended purpose with the group coordination strategy affects how local workplaces can formulate the vision, or if the meeting is a way to handle a controlled task. However, the group work was not unproblematic for Karl and his colleagues, because they had problems with the registration function. He says that: ‘it was impossible. We logged in on [leaders name] identity. Doing this we could not answer questions as a group. It was registered in her name only’ (Karl). In this case, the coordination method chosen encountered a registration pitfall that has two causes.
One is a lack of communication between leaders responsible for Vision 2030 and the users at this administrative department. These civil servants did not know that the boss was obliged to report who took part in the group work afterwards. The other impediment was that a technological-based obstacle blocked Karl’s main impression from the group meetings and it could not be reported.

Amanda, who is a leader of a care unit for the elderly, coordinated the work with TTM and Vision 2030 in groups in order to increase interest. She remarks that

> From the second [TTM], I think we did it. For the first [TTM] I don’t think so many had… no, it took such a long time to do that. There are so many reasons not to do it, so then we started… I am not sure but I think it was from the second [module] we started to do it in groups. Then it became a totally different thing. Then it was interesting to answer certain questions. (Amanda)

Hence, work in groups is one coordination strategy. Marta, who is an employee at a care unit for the elderly, describes circumstances that lead to another way of accomplishing this work. She claims, ‘It is good with cooperation, but we have done this work then and then and then and then. To sit down and take the time to really understand… we did not have this time. (…) This is a pity because I would like to calmly sit down but…’ (Marta).

Employees at this care unit are required by fully scheduled daily work routines to do this work individually. Marta and her colleagues try to coordinate the task by covering ordinary work for each other. Lack of time hinders reflections as well. Marta says that if she had time to sit down and work with TTM a little more ‘… reflect and maybe give some suggestions because it is interesting. It is interesting but one wonders, will it be that way [as the vision says]? ‘Will it be that way?’’, Marta asks rhetorically. The work situation has not reduced her willingness to engage in this work. She has a personal willingness to influence it and an interest in the actual content in the vision. She says that she would ‘like to think about it and maybe even give some suggestions, because it is interesting’. It is also about her personality and attitude. She wants to be generally positive. She states that ‘I am very positive. Anything can work if you just want it to. I don’t have that personality to say no. I often say yes to everything’.

Kerstin works at the same care home for the elderly as Amanda and Marta. She is responsible for the implementation process of Vision 2030 and uses of TTM. She says that they worked with the first TTM in groups. Thereafter, they used the CD because it felt more comfortable for employees than searching for the modules on the Intranet. She says that ‘during the years it has been… they [the staff] sign a list. Then I can see that most employees have done TTM one-by-one on the Intranet’ (Kerstin). In this case Vision 2030 and TTM are a controlled activity that will be done and marked
as finished more than it is a representation and implementation of a long-term vision. Kerstin describes this work as a pragmatic task among others. It is about doing it and then it is done. She even has a list where she can mark who has done it and who has not.

In an interview with Susanne, who is a leader at a preschool unit, discussions concerning TTM and Vision 2030 are embedded in a prior and general description that pictures the vast influence of work culture and daily routines. This interview starts with a description of an ordinary day with the children

When the children arrive in the morning, we welcome them outdoors. The pedagogues’ work days are related to the children’s so that we have a good crew. Before lunch the routines differ depending on which day it is. Mondays and Fridays the pedagogues have reflection time. We divide ourselves into groups. The other days we work with projects. We eat around eleven o’clock. Then the children sleep and the educationalists have a recess. After this the challenges continue. We work in groups and we think about good quality in activities. (Susanne)

In the quote, Susanne mentions challenging the children. This is also included in her leadership strategy regarding her employees. She wants to challenge them by asking questions like: what are these individuals’ competencies? She sees this talent. How can she help this employee to succeed in her/his missions? During this interview, Susanne was asked what good quality means in this childcare unit. She asserts,

Our foundation is the children. What shall we give them that correlates with our curriculum? We work with a philosophy called Reggio Emilia. This is where we get our inspiration, so, when we say good quality in activities, we assemble these terms and work in a manner that enhances the children’s competences. They are allowed to make their own choices. They will be involved and sometimes be allowed to govern their own day. This is done with the thought of personal development. (Susanne)

She also says that her main task is to give her staff the best circumstances to do their jobs. This high-level thinking is reflected in her strategic choice of communication form. She uses web-based communications when she needs to decide times for meetings or just to get in contact. No pedagogical issues are discussed in e-mail form. For Susanne, it is important that she is represented at meetings. She does not use the e-mail until everybody has given the specific issue a thought. This way of leading has coloured Susanne’s work with TTM and Vision 2030. She has used all available channels. They have talked about it at meetings with the staff. She explains ‘First, I described it in my group with leaders and thereafter in staff meetings. Each leader was allowed to decide how this work should be organised, since involvement is a part of the vision’ (Susanne). A practical effect of Susanne’s
flexible strategic choice is that the implementation practices have differed between departments in her units. Some have worked in groups while others have completed it individually.

General hindrances

The very core of the leadership strategy explored is that it is Intranet-based and thereby dependent on technology. Lisa, who works at a preschool unit, says that she is not very good at working with computers. She learns every day, but the computer access is limited. She points out, ‘We have only one computer that is connected to the Internet, and it is shared between two departments. There is always a queue for it. We get 15 minutes per person to check mail and we do it during our breaks’ (Lisa). At Lisa’s workplace, they have done the work with TTM individually. She declares ‘I am looking, but it feels that we are not there. It is so big’. Lisa points out a central issue here, which is implicit in Sten Nordin’s comment as well. He is Mayor in the City Council and argues that they must work purposely with embracing the challenges and opportunities of the growing city in order to secure the future. They can only do this together, he continues (Vision2030).

Respondent Marta has an optimistic view of this work and of her own work in general. She wants to do TTM and reflect upon Vision 2030. She says that she has no problem with the computer-based communication, but she mentions one issue that seems to be common, since it has been described by respondents in other areas of activities as well. This is lack of technological equipment, for example, headphones and problems with the sound. TTM can be viewed anyway, because there is a text, but as Marta phrases it, ‘You can read the text, but of course it is not the same [impression]’. So, lack of technology equipment is one issue. Lack of time is another. In Lisa’s case there is a lack of both computer access and of time to work with TTM. Indeed the employees are obligated to do it in their spare time, but she does not regard this as a problem. Mohammed, who works with home care for the elderly, faces the same obstacles. He asks ‘How could we have time to sit by a computer half an hour or 15 minutes every day? We have two computers and they might be occupied. We do not have time to wait until they are finished. Therefore, I feel a little skeptical. We do not have enough time’ (Mohammed).

Lack of room to carry out the work with Vision 2030 together in groups was revealed in Mohammed’s response. The following observation was made at his workplace

We enter a room where they usually work in groups with TTM. A big round table fills the floor. Computers with 17 inch screens are placed in two of the corners on a small metallic table with a chair in front of it. The wall between
the computer corners is filled by a White Board. The boss of this workplace tells me that when they are working with TTM eight persons gather around one of the two computers. It would have been easier if we had a projector instead of letting eight persons share one computer, but we do not have any money to buy it, this leader says. (Fieldnote, 2009 12 03)

The fieldnote shows that this workplace has limited room and access to needed technology. Teres says ‘Well, it becomes a kind of injustice in a way. It sounds as if they have invested a lot in care for the elderly. I mean, we have got so much resources and it feels like, okay, we have got a lot. I think it feels like we have got less but outwardly it appears as it has been invested in… it is odd’ (Teres).

Karin works at a care unit for the elderly. The content in TTM is relevant for her, but she also says that ‘first you need circumstances. Then you need visions. Of course we want to provide the elderly with world-class care. You cannot deny that, but I do not know if this is the best way to do it. The vision is very nice, but the modules…’ (Karin). The thought behind the TTM was that they should constitute a springboard for work, ‘but it has not been this way’, she adds. ‘It has been more like we will do this work and learn what they say’, she says. TTM should be adjusted to their specific activities if they are to be able to integrate it into their thoughts she argues. Thus, for her, the TTM lack perceived value for the workplace. She says, ‘it must contribute with something to our workplace. I think they have wasted this money’.

Marie, who is a leader at a preschool unit, says that when she has specific time for this task, for example in group work with other leaders, she thinks it is okay. Otherwise, she regards it as fun and motivating, but not necessary. Despite the fact that it is an obligatory mission to work with TTM and Vision 2030, it gives her a bad conscious to use time for this task. She says

Yes, it is a bad conscious because you do something that isn’t… so you get a feeling, okay, it is fun and it is a good thing to motivate people, but it is not necessary for me, because I am motivated in this work anyway. Thus, it is the children that motivate me, and the response you get from them, and sometimes from the parents, sometimes from the leaders… not the salary [laughs]. (Marie)

Marie is critical regarding the way Vision 2030 is implemented: that it comes completely from leaders above her in the organisation. She does not need this work for motivation but maybe others need it, she says. Marie finds motivations and meaning in prior experiences and knowledge as well as in the daily interactions with the children. This fact reduces her willingness to engage in the work with Vision 2030. She claims, ‘I do not think it is the best way to do it’. For her, the best way to realise this work would be

To give people higher salaries and more money to do the activities so we will not need to rush like an idiot when we lack staff. Every year we are prevented
from buying new things. We have a tighter economy. We are not allowed to hire substitute staff and it is a very stressful job. What is needed is more money for childcare, instead of this kind of stunt. (Marie)

Another aspect that is revealed in her critical opinion is non-virtual methods to enhance this web-based leadership strategy. She says,

> Our leaders say, you have to do this. They have control. Today my boss asked me how many of your staff teams have done the last module. I know that only one of four departments have done it, due to lack of time, because we have lots of documentation work at our meetings (Marie).

Marie argues that leaders at higher levels control their work with TTM and the vision. This is another example that contradicts the aim to let people at local workplaces paint the fine contours in the vision. Instead the work becomes a controlled task that should be done, a result which misdirects the discussions from how and what to ‘have you done it?’. It also misdirects the implicit intention that leaders within the organisation explored should promote autonomy among employees, as was argued in the section on leadership within the Stockholm municipality.

Marie mentions lack of time as a hindrance to work with the vision. This is not connected to the technological dependency the TTM include. The usability was good. It was accomplished very quickly and easily, she says. Instead, limited time is connected to the project and her own lack of motivation. Indeed, she says that if she was obliged to work with Vision 2030 and this was done with face-to-face information meetings it would be even worse than the web-based form, because TTM offer flexibility. You can choose when to do it. If a person informs you about it, a meeting must be held and time given to this. Concerning the content in TTM, Marie says,

> The content … we did not discuss the content. You do it by yourself or the last one we did in group, and the content was good because people speak beautifully of their activities and that can be inspiring, but it does not give me anything in practice (Marie).

Marie appreciates the content in TTM, because people valued their activities.

Sarah says that the TTM are technologically easy to use, that it does not cost anything to use them and that they are fast. Subordinate leaders do not agree with the view that the modules are not time-consuming. A leader at a childcare unit describes a hindrance that is caused by problems to log onto TTM. This makes it difficult for her to report the work progress to designated leaders in the City Hall. Marie confesses, ‘It has annoyed us a little bit. It takes half an hour to do each TTM and that time we must take from our planning time or from the children. We do not feel we have this time’ (Marie). Another reason for Marie’s critical view is financial. She would prefer
that her leaders spent money on salaries and activities, rather than on TTM and Vision 2030. This viewpoint is also revealed in an interview with Tina, a leader at a care unit for the elderly. She says, ‘It has been very tough for us this year because the money has been very tight, and then you cannot make all these visions and dreams come true’ (Tina).

Analysis and interpretations

The presentation above started with a discussion concerning usability of the Intranet within the Stockholm municipality. Web editor Inger was quoted, arguing that promotions of usability were on the agenda when Stockholm developed the Intranet. ISO’s definition of usability was quoted as well (ISO 9241-11 1998). It was argued that the definition might be hard to apply in such a huge and complex organisation as the Stockholm municipality, because there are so many and diverse users, cultures and intended tasks. Hofstede et al. define culture as leveled and categorised and thereby immanently complex. Following this, it can be argued that Stockholm as an organisation, with its more than 40,000 employees, had to face complexities within, as well as between, lots and lots of cultures on different levels when they developed the Intranet. They followed usability directions during the process, but empirical results in this thesis show that concrete circumstances as well as cultural issues in local cultures influence uses of the Intranet as well as of the TTM. Furthermore, complexities following local cultural specifics also have an impact on how Vision 2030 is implemented in the perspective of values. Hofstede et al. define values as the very core of culture (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010). The essence of Vision 2030 concerns values that politicians and high-level leaders aim to promote as a common direction within the municipality. Hence, the work explored in this thesis focuses on the Intranet that was developed according to usability standards, but which still faces obstacles due to the multitude of cultures and complexities among intended users and contexts. It also focuses on a steering document that aims to implement one framework of values in the diverse organisation described. Leaders responsible for the implementation of Vision 2030 intended that each workplace would draw the fine lines within this framework, but the descriptive section showed that this did not always work due to local circumstances.

This complexity establishes the bridge-building responsibility for HCI. Every single employee, from leaders at the highest organisational level to employees at the local work level are obligated to promote this work. It is not an optional assignment. One way research within HCI can contribute as a bridge builder in such a context is by describing and illustrating influential diversities. In addition, the complexity described becomes even more multifaceted when the perspective of the experienced lifeworld is enacted. This
The lifeworld can be distinguished into three stages of development: the self-evident, the threatened and the transformed lifeworld (Wildemeersch and Leirman 1988). Even if some respondents in this research would be willing (or forced) to reach the transformation stage and transform their lifeworlds according to the hasty development of the city in general and Vision 2030 in particular, there would still be a multitude of complexities within each one of the perspectives in ISO’s usability definition, as well as in the organisation explored. This makes it important to at least strive towards anchoring the Intranet under development among intended users. Such an intention was described by the web editor Inger who said that

One of the most important things is to anchor it in the organisation. This is absolutely the most important... because if the employees do not apply and realise that this is something that makes our activities better, no one will use it, so I think this is the absolutely most important thing (Inger).

Despite the insight that employees must apply to the Intranet and realise (as Inger expresses it) that it is usable, if it were used, the quote mirrors a simplified view of the ‘how’: how can this be reached? In the present form it lacks a holistic perspective that acknowledges diversities and complexities. Suppose that the ‘employees’ Inger mentions are reduced to only two individuals within one local work culture. It can differ how these two persons transform or do not transform their experienced lifeworld according to changes in the surrounding objective reality, and this concerns only two individuals. What happens when a huge number of individuals are included in the concept ‘employees’? Is the intention to anchor an Intranet in such a large organisation as the Stockholm municipality even relevant, or is it a utopia? If it is too hard to achieve an anchoring that includes all intended users, are there any alternatives? A lesson to learn for other organisations is that when one solitary feature, like an Intranet, is intended to be anchored in a multitude of diversities, dynamics and so on, it is valuable to reflect holistically upon potential obstacles.

During the Intranet development, an HCI perspective was at least implicitly present, because the anchoring mentioned is related to the bridge building functions of HCI (Shackel and Richardson 1991). However, even if the intention is to be user friendly, it lacks an answer to the questions ‘perceived by whom’? Hofstede’s cultural theory builds upon phenomena such as symbols, rituals, heroes and norms that are visualised by practices (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010). They express the fact that the cultural meaning is understood only by members of a certain culture. This limitation means that in order to be successful an interactive language, or any features in an interface, has to be designed according to an organisational cultural level that every intended user can recognise and somehow identify with as in-cultural. Otherwise, there is a risk that searching for a common interactive
language might fail. There is a complexity involved here as well, because even if designers successfully develop an interface which promotes an inter-cultural organisational identification, it cannot be taken for granted that users view the interface with the intended level of cultural identity. Indeed, the presentation above gave examples of uses that are based on a local organisational level. An example of this is the respondent Marie, who said that ‘it is fun, and it is a good thing to motivate people, but it is not necessary for me, because I am motivated in this work anyway’. Myers et al. argue that the HCI community can dramatically decrease costs and increase productivity (Myers et al. 1996). This is not the case for Marie. Rather it is the other way around. Leaders have put resources and efforts into the work with TTM, but it is not necessary for her because she already has the motivation she needs to do a good job. So, one importance of HCI that Myer et al. advance is not fulfilled in Marie’s case.

One aspect of cultural theory in Hofstede et al. is values. This perspective is immanently present in respondent Elin’s (the receptionist at a care unit for the elderly) viewpoints. She argues that it is very important to discuss activities and how to treat the elderly and each other, but she does not connect this work with values in Vision 2030. Indeed, she says that she has not even heard about it. For her, it is not relevant to make sense of the content in Vision 2030, since it is integrated into her ordinary tasks; it is already a way she considers their culture in daily life. She regards the content as obvious information, and moves on. This contradicts the work practice that Pia promotes, that every workplace will formulate the details in Vision 2030, in order to suit its local culture. How can they paint the contours if they just do the work and move on without reflection? In Elin’s case, the cultural identity is either changed or integrated into the vision, because the promoted culture is already there, so she sees no need to implement Vision 2030 into her daily work culture. For her, it is the other way around. She recognises the content in Vision 2030 as something that is already a part of her culture. Therefore, it does not apply to her. This reasoning is an expression of the first stage in Wildemeersch and Leirman’s first stage in lifeworld development, the self-evident stage that ensures that our everyday actions seem true and just (Wildemeersch and Leirman 1988). Therefore, we can act in a stable way. On the other hand, it contradicts the common theoretical view that cultural recognition enhances identification with a certain feature. This theoretical discrepancy should be noticed, since the issue of lifeworld and cultural theory is commonly used in the same theoretical toolbox, as in this thesis. How shall cultural researchers handle the discrepancy that has been highlighted in this analysis?

Elin’s recognition of the content in Vision 2030 as obvious and her practice according to this reveal a potential trap for culturally-interested researchers. They might easily become caught in the track of ‘how it usually’ is, that identification improves experienced-belonging, because, as Hall puts
it, one way to view cultural identity is to see it as a belonging to a shared culture, but in Elin’s case it was the other way around. She experienced the content as recognisable, and therefore she and her colleagues simply moved on without further discussion. This practice to just do the work and move on without reflection might influence integrations between respondents’ cultural identity and the vision, even if cultural identity is not static and therefore has the potential to change during the work (Hall 1990). How, then, does such theoretical discrepancy occur? If it is correct that cultural recognition commonly enhances integration, why does it have contradictory effects here? Maybe it is about activity? Frequently, cultural integration concerns identity constructions, but, in the work with TTM, it is more about practical work, discussions and thinking which demand concrete time and effort on an explicit level, whereas cultural identity is more elusive and is carried out on a more subtle level. If this is the reason, it can be argued that the discrepancy occurs in visible versus non-visible constructions of cultural meaning. Hofstede talks about cultural manifestations: for example, symbols and rituals, which are visible for all while more hidden features like values are visible only for members of a certain culture (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010). The activity can then be interpreted as a cultural symbol for already-present and recognised values. As such, the work with TTM and Vision 2030 does not need to be manifested, because its meaning is already there. If this analysis is correct, scientists might benefit from cultural analysis that notices where the cultural recognition actually occurs. Is it on a visible symbolic level, or is it on a deeper level where features like values are hidden for people outside the culture?

Another reason for Elin’s practice could be that she follows the first stage in the lifeworld process, while respondent Malin’s practice follows common cultural theory concerning cultural identification. For her, the presented content in TTM gives this work meaning. It describes a cultural environment similar to the one she is working in. Therefore, it makes sense to her. It appeals to her and her work. In contrast to Elin, her agreement with the content strengthens the cultural identification. In this case, identification and connection with distributed content affect what sense TTM and Vision 2030 make to the receiver. Malin talks about values and about drawing parallels with Vision 2030. It is about development for her. Her view can be associated with the transformative lifeworld stage, because she is willing to integrate the work as a development into her experienced lifeworld, and this is related to dynamics in the objective reality. On the other hand, it can also be argued that the similarities between the content in Vision 2030 and her experienced lifeworld gives her an opportunity to include these values into her lifeworld at a self-evident stage. It already makes sense, therefore she does not reach the second stage, the threatened lifeworld, despite changes in the objective reality. A conclusion of this reasoning is that leaders who use the web strategically for dissemination purposes need to understand how cultural or other
identifications among employees influence the work. When they have disseminated information, what effects do potential identifications convey? Does it shape a non-interest (Elin) or inclusion (Malin), regarding the leadership strategy?

How do discrepancies between cultural and lifeworld theory occur? If it is correct that cultural recognition commonly enhances integration, why does it have contradictory effects here? Perhaps it is about activity. Commonly, cultural integration concerns identity constructions, but, in the work with TTM, it is more about practical work, discussions and thinking which demand concrete time and effort on an explicit level, as Sarah describes, whereas cultural identity is more elusive and is carried out on a more subtle level. If this is the reason, it can be argued that the discrepancy occurs in visible versus non-visible constructions of cultural meaning. Hofstede refers to cultural manifestations such as symbols and rituals, which are visible for all while more hidden features such as values are visible only to members of a certain culture (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010). The activity can then be interpreted as a cultural symbol for already-present and recognised values. As such, the work with TTM and Vision 2030 does not need to be manifested, because its meaning is already there. If this analysis is correct, scientists might benefit from cultural analysis that notices where the cultural recognition actually occurs. Is it on a visible symbolic level, or is it on a deeper level where features such as values are hidden from people outside the culture?

Work activities might misdirect sensemaking among users of TTM, because it focuses on the assignment in itself rather than the content in Vision 2030. Kerstin, for example, described this work as a pragmatic task among others. She even had a list where she could mark who has done it and who has not. She did not spontaneously talk about reflections and thoughts about how to create meaning of the actual content within their work culture. For her, Vision 2030 and TTM are a controlled activity that should be carried out and marked as finished, rather than a representation and implementation of a long-term vision. Interpreted this way, it can be argued that, when the activity in itself becomes the main focus, it is likely that respondents’ questionings of their lifeworld’s relation to the culture are reduced, simply because no actual objective change occurs. Consequently, there will not be any new discrepancies between the experienced lifeworld and the work culture. Thus, it is likely that the focus on activity rather than on content leads to a static experienced lifeworld.

In the descriptive section, an employee at a preschool unit, Lisa, was quoted as saying that they do the work with TTM and Vision 2030 during breaks at her workplace. This observation reflects a cultural evaluation that it is okay to perform work tasks outside the ordinary, paid schedule. On a visual level, there are concrete circumstances that force employees to do this work. This is lack of time and of computer access, which might be a reason
for the highlighted cultural evaluation. However, regarded as a cultural construction (Hofstede 1993), the opposite is possible as well. Perhaps Lisa has the evaluation as a part of her cultural evaluative construction and therefore thinks it is okay to work outside her schedule? If so, she stays on the self-evident lifeworld stage (Wildemeersch and Leirman 1988) when she does the work, because the objective reality and her experienced lifeworld suit each other. Interpreted in this way, it makes sense to her that she must handle concrete obstacles by working in her free time. In the section on leadership within the Stockholm municipality, it was suggested that leaders in this organisation should promote employees’ autonomy. Is it really suitable to work autonomously in a situation in which obliged assignments do not even fit within the ordinary working schedule?

Respondent Karin, who is an employee at a care unit for the elderly, expressed criticism regarding the work with TTM and Vision 2030, because she experienced that they did not have the circumstances to work with it. There is a discrepancy between the vision and Karin’s experienced lifeworld. It might be that she enters the threatened lifeworld stage where she either needs to transform her lifeworld (third lifeworld stage) (Wildemeersch and Leirman 1988) or adjust concrete circumstances and thereby make the experienced lifeworld compatible with the vision. This adjustment would allow her to stay at the self-evident stage. Maybe this forced adjustment influences a cross-cultural perspective that is implicit in her reasoning? This thesis claims that culture is leveled and categorised (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010). She says that we (local cultural identification) should do this work and learn what they say (organisational cultural identification). Thus, the distinction between different cultural identifications, we and they, is explicitly present here. This view contradicts one of the core challenges with the vision: that every employee in the municipality shall strive in the same direction by experiencing togetherness with the municipality. What happens instead, in Karin’s case, is that the vision and TTM delineate borders between different cultural levels within the organisation because the vision clashes with the self-evident stage in her experienced lifeworld. Even if the content is congenial, as she sees it, the circumstances to realise the vision are lacking. Clashes between Karin’s experienced lifeworld, circumstances at the workplace and the content in Vision 2030 cause an exclusive rather than an inclusive identification with the organisational culture. It is difficult for Karin to make sense of TTM and Vision 2030, because she does not acknowledge if and how it connects to her area of activities.

Leader at a preschool, Susanne, on the other hand, claims that the children are the foundation of work and that personal development within daily culture is essential for her. The main task for her, as she describes it, is to give her staff the best circumstances to do their jobs. Involvedness, or the togetherness Vision 2030 promotes, suits common routines in this work culture, and therefore it is not hard to implement it in a way that is recognised by the
members of the culture. There was no ‘we’ (local work culture) and ‘they’ (the organisation) involved here. Karin’s and Susanne’s examples show that daily work routines at local workplaces are influenced if Vision 2030 and TTM are experienced as in-cultural or cross-cultural. These contrasting examples also indicate that the work with TTM can be either in-cultural or cross-cultural depending on features like cultural identifications and cultural routines.

It was shown that respondents Marie (leader at a preschool unit) and Tina (leader at a care unit for the elderly) experience challenging lifeworlds at work. For Marie, it is lack of time, and for Tina it is lack of financial resources. The consequence for both of them is that the work with TTM and Vision 2030 is putting pressure in their daily experienced lifeworlds. How could they make sense of the vision when discussions focus on whether or not the work is done rather than the content in itself? The work content influenced opinions concerning the long-term time perspective as well. In work with children, this aspect influenced a willingness to work with TTM and Vision 2030, because children are viewed as the future, and therefore the task in itself becomes a driving force to adopt a vision. There is an ongoing pattern of contradictions between the main ambition with the vision that each workplace is supposed to draw the fine lines and thereby make it suitable to their work culture, and circumstances at local workplaces where obstacles are revealed. This pattern has consequences for how the work with Vision 2030 is developing and implemented. The pattern constitutes an impediment to the progress.

A potential reason that people use the Intranet on local levels is influenced by local cultures. What if the motivation, the ‘why’, does not correlate with circumstances in the local work culture? Sometimes this is the case in care for the elderly, where respondents have expressed concerns like ‘I do not even know if I will be alive in 2030’. The local culture is shaped by the elderly who might not exist 20 years from now. The culture focuses on their ‘now’.

The strategic work with Vision 2030 is also influenced by the work culture. Sofia suggested group work outside her preschool, as a kind of pilots for the visionary work. Her suggestion could be a way to make sure that the work with vision 2030 becomes inter-directed between local work cultures and the organisational culture but only if the work group is explicitly aware of interactive influences in the organisation. There is, however, a cross-cultural issue operating here. Local work cultures are supposed to integrate phenomena from the higher level of cultural organisational, but a questioning approach about the other direction is lacking. If and when local work cultures make the vision theirs, how does this influence the organisational cultural level?

Empirical results revealed influence of work content at the local workplace as well. Lisa and Mohammed have different standpoints concerning
limited computer access. One of them regards it as a problem, but the other does not. An interpretation of this discrepancy is that their standpoints are coloured by their work cultures. Lisa works with children. They are born in an era in which Information Technology is an essential part of their daily lives. For persons who work in such a context, a lack of computer access for adult tasks might not be perceived as a problem. Computers are still present in the cultural environment, in children’s activities, in conversations, in computer games and so on. Lack of computer access might not be so obvious. On the other hand, Mohammed works with elderly people in their homes. In his daily routines, it is likely that computers and computer usage are vague. These cultural environments have no natural presence of technology. In his cultural environment, this lack of technology is a natural phenomenon.

Through a descriptive fieldnote of a home care unit for the elderly, it was shown that room space and the technology itself were insufficient. The workplace explored has limited room and access to needed technology, which becomes a cultural communicative clash between strategic use of an Intranet (need of technology) and concrete lack of technology. An empirical example of such a clash was found in Teres’ thoughts concerning Vision 2030. She said that it was a kind of injustice. She experienced that care for the elderly is less prioritised, but in the official agenda it seems as if they have the first priority, according to her. It becomes a cultural clash between her experienced lifeworld and the content in Vision 2030, as well as between the circumstances for her employees and the leaders who formulated Vision 2030.

A similar view of concrete investments was mentioned by respondent Marie as well. She argued that a way to fulfil Vision 2030 would be to give people higher salaries and more money. The standpoint suggests that concrete circumstances hinder the vision being reshaped into new sensemakings. This reconstruction of sensmakings could be promoted by practical enhancements in the work environment. However, the hindrance to make sense can also be interpreted as a kind of a struggle between Marie’s self-evident lifeworld, that becomes threatened, and a force in the objective reality to transform her own lifeworld into something new and different (for her) in order to better suit the objective reality. If both these suggestions are correct, it can lead to the conclusion that organisations that aim to disseminate a steering document like Vision 2030 would benefit from a discussion of the dynamics in a development process. What balance between changes among individuals and changes in the concrete reality is most beneficial for the organisation, for employees and for users of the service?

Gunilla, who is a upper-level leader in a city district, argued that mediated belonging to a bigger community through local work activities gives meaning to Vision 2030. Identification and experienced belonging increase shaping of meaning in this case. Hence, the link between Vision 2030 in local
work contexts and the city in general can be interpreted as a willingness to implement this work, because of increased meaning. Understood this way, clarifications of how implementation of Vision 2030 in local work contexts benefits the city as a whole entity constitute a driving force to work with it, due to the experienced togetherness with the whole. Regarded this way, one influence of leadership clarity, improved cultural belonging, is implicitly present in the work with Vision 2030 and TTM.

Amanda is a leader of a care unit for the elderly. She coordinated the work with TTM and Vision 2030 in groups. In this case, the togetherness that is offered in group work increased interest to do this work. It is likely that this coordination strategy affects peoples’ sensemaking, because interest inspires thinking, and thinking increases potential to shape meanings that make sense for the individual in her/his self-evident lifeworld and for the work culture. On the other hand, Amanda also argued that there are so many reasons not to do this work. Consequently, it is likely that the work is done just because it is an order from above, not because it contributes to quality enhancements in the local workplace. It is probably hard to create meanings that suit the person’s lifeworld when a job is done just because it must be done, not because of the content. Still, this respondent also says that it became a totally new thing when they had group discussions. Then, it became meaningful. What is found here are influences on sensemaking that are due to chosen work strategy, in which social interactions facilitate creations of meaning.

A described presentation by Deputy Mayor Carina pointed out the vision’s meaning for local workplaces and vice-versa. In cross-cultural interactions, as is the case in which leaders at a high organisational level interact with people in local work cultures, it is limiting if complex thinking is lacking. Impacts on organisations are interrelated. When the local workplace has adapted Vision 2030, things will start happening in the organisational culture as well, as Carina described in her presentation. This interactive perspective is lacking in general in the description of leaders’ coordination strategies. In long run, this lack might cause trust issues. How do people in local workplaces react and think if they adapt the vision, put in hard work to improve quality of activities in a way that suits the content and thereby offer willingness to actually make changes in their culture, if they experience that their effort is directed in one way? The link between the local and the organisational perspective is important for Carina. She argues that ‘World-class management is more about schools and preschools’ (Carina). After her speech, the listeners found a cross-cultural connection between their local activities and the organisational culture. Their identification with the vision was thereby clarified. The speech was a practicing and visualisation of organisational values which manifested this deep cultural phenomenon and thereby broadened the listeners’ culturally-levelled identification. The speech in itself became a tool to overcome the complexity that is a kind of essence in cultural
theory (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010, Smith et al. 2004, Kleinsmith, Ravinda De Silva, and Bianchi-Berthouze 2006). The success of Carina’s presentation was explicitly and spontaneously mentioned by many respondents during interviews. It became a sensemaking activity, because when people know why a task must be carried out, it is more likely that the assignment makes sense to them. On the other hand, this sensemaking is affected by agreements. If an individual disagrees with the given ‘why’, it is probable that it does not make sense to her/him despite the mediated knowledge of ‘why’. Following this reasoning, agreement or disagreement with the disseminated information can also influence willingness to engage or not to engage in this work.

TTM is an Intranet-based leadership strategy, but the empirical results revealed that it is complemented by face-to-face interactions. Leaders’ clarity of why and how they and their employees are obligated to work with TTM and Vision 2030 enhances interest in this work, and thereby probably the willingness to operationalise it as well. The view of leadership that a leader should have a clear view of the direction and she/he should be able to inspire the employees to reach the goals (Ledarstrategi för chefer i Stockolm stad 2005) is put into practice by this strategy. The same text also claims that the leadership should provide opportunities for employees to be influential and to work independently. Sofia’s description is an expression of this view. She says that ‘We get time to do it. We should act so everybody... well, it is important that everybody does this work, because somewhere it is registered that we actually do it’ (Sofia). This is problematic from a sensemaking perspective. Sofia’s argument of importance to do this work is that it is controlled. It is not a potential value of the content that is her driving force. It is hardly likely that control from high level leaders is what gives this work meaning for Sofia, and, if it is, we find another example where adoption willingness actually might cause the effect that one aims at with the vision, that local workplaces should make it theirs, is contradicted through the chosen coordination strategy. The main importance is to fulfil the assignment so it can be controlled. This interpretation is in line with Marie’s view. She says that leaders at higher levels control their work with TTM and the vision. This is another example that contradicts the ambition to let people at local workplaces paint the fine contours in the vision. Instead the work becomes a controlled task that must be done, which misdirects the discussions from how and what to ‘Have you done it?’. It also contradicts the autonomy that leaders within the Stockholm municipality are obligated to promote by providing opportunities to be influential and to work independently (Ledarstrategi för chefer i Stockolm stad 2005).

The spontaneous association when coordination strategy is discussed becomes leaders’ control of the work rather than discussions concerning the content and what this work leads to. There is no reflection upon cultural diversities between different workplaces and how these diversities might
affect individuals’ sensemaking. Independently, if the leadership strategy is advanced via the Intranet or face-to-face, the impetus is one assignment in one context.

The essence of TTM as a leadership strategy is its dependence on technology. It has been shown that respondents must work with Vision 2030 and TTM in a situation in which they lack needed technology as well as room space. It is likely that this situation, which is caused by a need for technological equipment, influences how employees and leaders at this workplace make sense of TTM and Vision 2030. First of all, this problem reveals an implicit communicative flaw. Uses of technology for communication have practical implication, but they also convey a culturally symbolic message that enhancements of new technology are important for development in the municipality. Situations in which eight people share one small computer will make it hard for the users to make sense of the dissemination strategy as well as of the content, due to communicative contradictions (Hoogervorst, van der Flier, and Koopman 2004). There is a risk that this discrepancy between explicit and implicit communication causes cultural clashes between different groups within the organisation as to how they view TTM and Vision 2030, because employees experience their own circumstances differently, and therefore identify with the content in dissimilar ways. This reasoning argues for practicing the suggestion of Hoogervoorst et al. that it is important to have consistency in communications because,

Given the close relationship between culture and behaviour, explicit communication that calls for quality and service oriented behaviour will have little effect if the existing culture is not similarly supportive. (Hoogervorst, van der Flier, and Koopman 2004, 307)

A cultural clash can occur between groups due to dissimilar cultural and personal experiences. Boyd and Correa argue that

It is this resulting cultural clash—between the factors that influence the perceptions of professionals and those that shape the perceptions of African American parents— that must be examined to produce more positive outcomes for both groups. (Boyd and Correa 2005, 4)

After the interview study, a survey was produced. Results and analysis from this investigation are presented in the next chapter.
The survey study

The background for the survey was the interview study which revealed issues with TTM and the work with Vision 2030, but the conclusions were based on a small empirical sample of material. Therefore the purpose of this exploration was to broaden results from the interview study and thereby improve trustworthiness of interpretations and conclusions. A survey with open and unstructured questions was implemented in two districts of the municipality, Skärholmen and Spånga-Tensta. The presentation below has a small break in presentation style for this thesis since it includes a numerical exposition. It should still be regarded and interpreted as qualitative research, partly because it is still based on a limited amount of empirical material, but more so because the questionnaires are open and unstructured: they invite free expressions among respondents. The presentation structure follows the interview study. First there is a primarily descriptive empirical presentation. Thereafter follows analysis and interpretations, and finally a conclusion.

Numerical results in the survey

The survey resulted in 118 questionnaire responses. Skärholmen sent in 76 questionnaires, Spånga-Tensta 36 and 6 respondents did not write which district they worked in. The questionnaires had various qualities. Some respondents had written many thoughts on all questions, whereas most had answered all questions with a few words. A few people sent in mostly unanswered questionnaires. In total, the results are informative, and they give enough information to assist in fulfilling the purpose of this thesis. Leaders as well as employees were included in the survey, as in the interview study. The questionnaires were divided into graded groups, depending on how much willingness they had shown to adapt the work with TTM and Vision 2030. The categories were: ‘very much’, ‘want to’ and ‘do not want to’. The table below shows how willingness to adopt an Intranet-based leader strategy is divided in Skärholmen and Spånga-Tensta.
Table 1. The number of respondents who wanted to adopt Vision 2030 and TTM was higher than those who did not want to do this work in Skärholmen. In Spånga-Tensta, a little less than half of the respondents wanted to do it.

Certain themes were revealed in the questionnaires. The themes are: experienced work situation, apprehensions of time, views of financial issues, computer access, technological equipment and physical room space, development and standardisation, interests and discussions, clarification of benefits and cultural belonging. They are presented and discussed below.

**Experienced work situation**

We are proud of our activities, and we want to be seen (leader at a care unit for the elderly).

This is a quote from a leader who is responsible for a care unit that has been presented as a good example in one TTM. The leadership strategy explored gives her an opportunity to draw attention to her work unit, its culture and its activities. The one-way direction of influences that was revealed in the interview study was interactive in this case, because this respondent’s local work culture was presented as an example for the rest of the organisation. This respondent is proud of their activities, and this has been strengthened due to the attention they have been given in one TTM. For others, the connection between the vision and their work culture is problematic. One person writes that ‘it does not feel anchored in reality; it is mostly nice words’. A similar opinion is described by a respondent who writes that ‘it feels a little silly with this ambition that is not reflected in my daily work. It is stressful and difficult for us to catch up’. Another respondent writes that ‘I think we colleagues view these modules as an invention from someone far away from our activities. They feel silly’.
Despite eventual willingness to adapt the vision, it might be difficult to integrate it into local workplaces. This view is described by a respondent who writes that ‘I do not understand how we should transform the vision into daily activities. It takes too long a time to develop details – you get tired of it and you forget what it is all about’.

An issue revealed through the leadership strategy explored is that respondents prefer to prioritise other work tasks. One respondent is really angry because he must include computer-based tasks in his work. He writes, ‘Think about how many hours it takes to work with the computer. Instead we could give this time to the users of our services, they who need our help. Instead, we are obligated to read all this shit that is sent to us’ (employee).

The interview results showed that willingness to apply the work explored is influenced by personality. Then there was a woman that experienced a number of issues, but she still wanted to implement the work, because, as she described it herself, she is a person who does not like to say no. She wants to be positive. The same type of personality is found in the survey, but with contradictory results. The quoted respondent has a personality that promotes work with humans. Technology is out of his personal interest, and therefore he does not want to work with TTM. However, the quote reflects an outstanding expression in the empirical material. Most respondents make more subtle distinctions, like the one who writes that ‘I work with people. It takes lots of time to read mail and make documentations. Who cares about them, the computers?’ Technology is not of primarily interest for these respondents.

An association to progressive work culture is described by a respondent who says that: ‘we are constantly working to improve ourselves and the activities, but we do this for the users of our services, not because of the vision’. A similar view is described by a respondent who writes that ‘We live so intensively to solve issues close to us. The quality demands are high. Therefore a vision 20 years from now does not feel obvious in our work, or rather it is difficult to make it obvious’. Another person writes that ‘it is not reasonable that I should engage in this assignment with my work load’. Experiencing a heavy work load is shared by a respondent who writes that ‘As a civil servant, there are many tasks to fulfil, Vision 2030 is one of them. It is good with visions and thoughts about the future, and to invite everybody to take part in this work, but it is not easy to get inspired’. Another respondent says that it is more important to analyse our work situation and how it affects our users. A leader writes that TTM is one task among other for her employees. They need to keep updated about what will happen and what is expected from them. As in the interview study there is a contradiction between the ambition that people at local workplaces should make the vision theirs by drawing the fine contours and how the vision is perceived by these respondents.
Opinions regarding the concrete work tasks differ among employees, from a description of what they actually do to a frustrated view of the leaders, saying that ‘it is good for them. They can delegate the work, read newspapers and chat with friends. It is us that do the job. They just sit down and have a good time’. Some workplaces have implemented the core of the vision in their thoughts. One respondent writes that ‘Sometimes we say that we shall be the best in the world’. However, even if an intention in the vision is to develop a world-class city, it is not the same as being the best in the world. In the social media function that is related to TTM, upper-level leader Ida-Marie argues that

World-class is not the same as the best in the world. Many [people, organisations etc.] can be world-class. For us who work in the city, it is about striving towards high quality in our services based on the citizens needs and on the conditions we have. We are a part in the shaping of the future Stockholm, and in this way we can contribute to a Stockholm of world-class. (Ida-Marie)

A perspective that was not mentioned in the interview study is the vision’s environmental influence. A respondent says that ‘One of the most important meanings of Vision 2030 for the activities at our workplace is environmentally focused work, for example sorting garbage and buying environmentally friendly products when shopping’. This respondent describes a concrete effect of the vision. The same respondent also writes that they have thought more about facilities for the disabled in general, for example at the movies, in stores, toilets and elevators etc. For this respondent, the vision has implemented thoughts that move beyond him as an employee and affect him as a private person as well.

A respondent that has not experienced any concrete benefits of the work explored writes that ‘it would be good to do some changes as well’. Despite her criticism, she trusts that it will ‘lead to a very good development to do a good job.’ Another respondent who works as a personal assistant (helping one person with disability or illness) claims that a benefit with Vision 2030 is the development of more effective and better ways to do the work. She thinks of the vision during her work days, she writes. It has been valuable to work with TTM collectively with colleagues for this person. This fact might be an effect of a work situation in which she is all alone as an employee. For her, this work provides an opportunity to meet colleagues and to exchange experiences and thoughts with them.

One leader writes that an effect of the vision is that they have a clear and common goal to strive towards. She writes that they always strive towards enhancements, but they do it in order to increase quality for the users of their services, not because of the vision.

Reflections upon the vision and its effects are common in the questionnaires. Some respondents do not see any effects at all, or as a person ex-
presses it ‘nothing… as far as I know’. This quote is an answer to the question ‘what meanings has Vision 2030 had for the workplace and activities?’.

One person describes this work as a source of annoyance due to its time-consuming effects. Another thinks it is irritating, because it steers too much in a certain direction. Some examples of affirmative opinions towards Vision 2030 are that this work means a lot for development, that it is pleasant with visions and that it is easier and more amusing than working with paper. Still, the same person who writes the above also claims that he does not want to work with TTM, because they have recurring problems that they strive to solve. They are constantly developing their work.

Apprehensions of time

Time perspectives in daily routines as well as in the long-term perspective 20 years from now are brought up, and they are described as an influential factor, or as a woman expresses it: ‘for me it is only a question of time and access’. For this respondent, time issues are more influential than choice of leadership strategy. She says that ‘It does not matter how information about Vision 2030 is spread, because it is very difficult to give such tasks time in the frame of ordinary activities anyway’. What is illustrated here is that the work with Vision 2030 and TTM is regarded as an extra task that takes time they do not have access to in their daily work routines. This complaint is similar to some perspectives that were revealed in the interview study. This issue, access to time in the daily agenda, is common. Visions are regarded as good but, ‘when shall we have time to do these modules?’, one respondent asks. ‘It takes lots of time and many other activities are going on’. One respondent writes that lack of time reduces chances to integrate the e-mailed information in one’s mind. Stress is also a factor mentioned, or as a respondent asserts ‘it takes time out of my already stressed life. I do not understand how this will benefit my workplace’. Still, the time it takes to work with TTM and Vision 2030 is accepted by some respondents who write that it is fun with a vision, but sometimes it is difficult to understand. It needs time and it might be good. Let it take time.

Thus far, views of current time have been presented. Opinions concerning the long-term time aspect in Vision 2030 are common as well. Concerning the long-term perspective, one respondent describes this work as a waste of money. The long-term aspect causes lack of motivation for a respondent who writes that it is too visionary and far away in time. Therefore, she cannot procure any interest and motivation. A similar opinion is expressed by a respondent who maintains that ‘most of us will have retired in the year 2030. I do not engage in this work’. One respondent writes that she thinks it is good to think in the long-term, but some are critical towards this choice of time perspective. They think the year 2030 is far away from today and em-
ployees who are older will not be working then. Respondents with this background think it would have been enough with 2020. One person asks the rhetorical question if she will even be alive in the year 2030. In contrast, one respondent states that ‘I try to follow this work even if I will retire soon and may not even be alive in 2030’. Due to the long-term perspective, one respondent describes this work as a waste of money. The long-term aspect causes lack of motivation for a respondent who suggests that ‘it is too visionary and far away in time’. Therefore, she cannot procure any interest and motivation. A similar opinion is expressed by a respondent who claims that ‘most of us will have retired in the year 2030. I do not engage in this work’. Another respondent points out that she tries to do the work, despite this influential factor. These results are in line with interpretations in the interview study, since the long-term perspective influences how the vision is viewed.

Some respondents appreciate the vision and regard it as good for future generations. Common claims are ‘I think it is a good project for coming generations’, ‘I think about the future of my children’ and ‘I want my grandchildren to have a good future’. An expression that mixes the short- and long-term time perspective is provided by a respondent who argues that ‘It [Vision 2030] forces you to think in long-term time, at least for a short moment’.

View of financial issues

Questions about whether the investment in a work like Vision 2030 and TTM is worth its cost were revealed in the survey. One respondent declares that it is provocative that so much money is ventured on it. ‘Improve now, not in 20 years’, this respondent urges. The intention that all workplaces will discuss what the vision means for them today and how their work today affects Stockholm as a whole now and in 20 years has not been established for this respondent. She is critical of this work in general, and regards it as a waste of money. On the other hand, another person writes that visions are good, but that they must be allowed to cost money. Now it is only reductions. This respondent is positive towards the vision, but she experiences a contradiction between Vision 2030 and resources at her workplace. In her view, the money needed to realise the vision is not provided.

A critical opinion is that lots of money is spent for fine words while it should be ventured on ordinary activities instead. A similar opinion is given by a respondent who states that ‘Vision 2030 feels like a silly advertising product’. She argues that these resources should be invested in the activities at the workplaces instead. However, in a small addition after the last question she writes that ‘now I have seen more modules and I am more positive’. In contrast to these opinions, one respondent regards this work as a cheap
way to reach everybody working in the city. The pragmatic function of TTM is appreciated by this respondent.

Computer access, technological equipment and physical room space

Regarding technology, the survey results show a common lack of computer access. This view is consistent with results in the interview study. For example, one respondent writes that employees who own computers had better circumstances than those who share one computer with their work group. Another writes that 22 employees share one computer, and this overload has greatly affected their work with TTM. Another states that technology knowledge and technology use are undeveloped at her workplace. A concrete connection between circumstances in the work situation (lack of technology knowledge and access) and leadership strategy are revealed in this case, because this leader has decided that her employees will not work with TTM at all. Instead, all information about the vision is transferred verbally via face-to-face communications. In the analysis of the interview results, it was argued that there is a discrepancy between the implicit meaning an Intranet-based leadership conveys (technology is important) and the symbolic meaning that a lack of technology entails. The survey results here mirror the same issue. An employee writes that ‘TTM have not affected activities at my workplace because we (20 persons) have only one computer with Internet access. Therefore, it is difficult for us to apply the vision’ (employee).

Lack of computer access complicates the implementation of Vision 2030. This issue is commonly mentioned in the questionnaires, and it affects TTM as a leadership strategy simply because all employees cannot take part in this work, or that they do it in a way that is shaped more by their circumstances than by the intention with the work.

Long log-in times have caused frustrations, and have made the work more difficult, a respondent notes. Up to 30 minutes to log-in is stated, but it is inspiring when you finally get logged in a respondent writes. Slow computers are also stated as a problem. One respondent who describes this issue claims that sometimes the technology does not work – ‘it takes time to do this’. On one occasion technological problems made it impossible to see TTM, but, aside from this, technology use has functioned for this respondent.

In addition, problems with sound are commonly described. There is no sound in the computers and/or they do not have any loudspeakers. This affects the general impression, and therefore most likely the eventual willingness to engage in the work as well. The meaning of a functioning technology
is expressed by a respondent who writes that it was interesting and instructive to know more about activities in Stockholm.

Another observes that it takes time, and it is limiting, if you do not have access to a projector. It is not only access to computers but also to other technological devices that affects the implementation. Due to such shortages, one respondent worked with all TTM on the same occasion. This fact contradicts the vision’s purpose to inspire discussions and reflections: local workplaces shall form the vision in a way that suits their local culture and activities. The picture that emerges here corresponds to results in the interview study, where it was revealed that lack of technology and of time are obstacles to advancing the work.

Circumstances affect choice of working strategies. One respondent writes that ‘group work has been committed primarily by those who lack computer access’. There is no social purpose with the group work. Rather it is forced by practical shortages in the concrete environment, and it becomes a difference between people with and without computers. The interview study revealed an on-going pattern of contradictions between the ambition with the vision in which each workplace is supposed to draw the fine lines and thereby make it suitable to their work culture, and the actual circumstances at local workplaces. It was argued that the pattern has consequences for how the work with Vision 2030 is developing and implemented and that it constitutes an obstacle to progress. The work strategies revealed here are a part of the same pattern, but it not only constitutes obstacles to the work. There is also a risk that it leads to work strategies that segregate members in the local work culture.

Thus far issues with computer access, long log-in times and sound problems have been described. Another common issue is lack of computer experience among some intended users. One respondent observes that ‘unfortunately too many who work in my occupation have little or no experience of using computers’. At this workplace, employees did not use TTM at all. Instead, they talked about Vision 2030 in face-to-face meetings. This scenario is another example in which a circumstance, users’ lack of computer skills, influences the choice of leadership strategy. In contrast, it is also an example in which a weakness actually leads to a leadership strategy that has potential to enhance the progress. Face-to-face meetings mean that the employees are given time for the specific task. It also gives the opportunity to discuss the vision’s content together with others. Thus, an obstacle affects the leadership strategy, and actually promotes the development by reducing other obstacles, for example, limited time.

Even if technology use has worked and the leader of a unit has described the vision at meetings, there is one step further to go: the implementation. A respondent describes it thus: ‘I have read some modules on CD. Our leader has informed [us] at a meeting. We still do not know how to work with it’. Another comments that ‘The difficulty is to break down the vision into con-
crete ways of working without losing focus. The goals are high so there is a
tendency that it becomes diffused’. These respondents express a difficulty in
operationalising the vision in the work practice. A central aspect of Carina’s
influential speech was to show that much of the work is already a part of the
vision. Leaders’ intention to point out that quality development work at local
workplaces already constitutes operationalization of the vision is unclear.

Development and standardisation
Vision 2030 as a program for progress towards development and standardi-
sation has been described as positive by respondents. It is argued that this
work implies development on both a personal and material level and that
good development leads to successful opportunities. It is regarded as im-
portant to develop the city of Stockholm, and it is exciting to be a part of the
development of Stockholm. ‘A world-class Stockholm is good’, a respondent
writes. Another believes that they shall strive towards development and im-
provements and that it is good that there is a willingness to develop quality
and freedom of choice, since they are competing with other countries. An-
other respondent asserts that she wants to do her part in the development of
quality, environment and so on, while another points out the standardised
direction of development, saying that this method makes them increase their
movement in the same direction. One other maintains that she believes in it
[the vision] if everybody works in the same direction and towards the same
goals, while another respondent argues that they will work with it together,
Vision 2030. One expresses this commonality in terms of language. The
vision is about getting a common ‘language’ in the city, she says. The stand-
ardisation factor creates a cultural togetherness for these respondents.

Finally, almost as a little anecdote, a unique interpretation of the vision is
directed to computer-use in itself. Vision 2030 is described as a Vision about
how computers will be used in activities in the future.

Interests, discussions and clarifications of benefits
Interest in TTM and Vision 2030 affects willingness to engage in this work.
One respondent observes that TTM can easily be ignored by people who
lack interest. Another claims that there is no/almost never any interest in
working with TTM. ‘Vision 2030 has not been discussed at all by us’, a re-
spondent writes. Another person declares that she does not want to work
with the TTM because she is not interested in them. In one case, this lack of
interest has the effect that TTM and Vision 2030 is not governed at all in
practice. As in the interview study, these respondents describe that they did
the work and then moved on without discussions. The influence of personali-
ty was revealed in the interview study, and a factor such as interests can be related to this influence.

The quality of local work is prioritised by a person who says that she is more interested in how they will develop their work as well as possible for the users of services. This view is related to the issue of standardisation (or rather non-standardisation here), because the respondent’s interest is on a local cultural level. So is her personal interest to enhance quality for the users of the service.

One respondent claims that it is good to have a vision. Then they know what to strive towards and what ‘rewards’ are waiting for them in the future. Respondents also describe the leadership strategy explored as a way to clarify future goals such as increased quality, enhanced insights in the city of Stockholm, improved environments through reducing use of paper and inclusion in other units’ results.

Clarifications of benefits influence opinions about TTM and Vision 2030. This fact is related to the issue of standardisation because it is clarifications of Stockholm’s goals and future directions that are mentioned. However, for others it seems as if such communications did not succeed. A respondent writes that her leaders did not mention what it means for them in five, ten years and so on. and another posits that she cannot connect TTM with the changes they are being made because she did not read them yet. For some respondents, it is unclear how Vision 2030 affects their workplace. They express the opinion that they do not think it affects their workplace and that they have no idea [if the modules have affected the activities at the workplace], because they just think about the job. The connection between the vision and the respondent’s actual work is not clarified.

Every employee has been obligated to take part in the work with Vision 2030. In the interview study, this work was all new for respondents, and opinions about the vision varied and were contradictory. Some respondents were positive while others were critical. A common feature was that respondents related the work with Vision 2030 to their situation at work. Respondents who experienced heavy workloads, stressful daily work, poor technology access and knowledge, and lack of finances and resources were more critical of the project. Some of them regarded it only as another obligation coming from above in the organisation, and believed that it had no benefits at all. Rather, it was perceived as pure advertising for the city. They who are ‘up there’ have no idea how it is for us, some respondents said.

In the interview study, the issue of trust was highlighted as influential. Therefore, it was explicitly explored in the survey.
Views upon trust in the survey

Lack of belief regarding the possibility of reaching Vision 2030 was revealed during the interview study. An example is Teres, who is a leader at a care unit for the elderly. She says that

It sounds so nice and it is so good everything [the content of the Vision], but if we talk with our employees who work out there it does not feel that way. They are working very hard. I mean this investment that we shall work in computer environments when we actually need more hands and feet in the giving of care; it is contradictory. (Teres)

Due to these kinds of opinions among respondents, it became clear that trust was an influential factor of success or non-success in the work with Vision 2030. Thus this concept of trust became of interest in this research and was included in explicit questions in the survey.

Before the questions of trust were asked, respondents were given an explanation of why this issue was regarded as important. In the survey, it was clarified that ‘I think that the result of the work with TTM and Vision 2030 might be influenced if employees and leaders trust or not trust that it leads to something good. Therefore, I have some questions about this’ (survey). It was not unproblematic to ask questions about trust. For example, some respondents did not understand why trust should be asked about at all, or what it had to do with the other questions and with Vision 2030. There was also a risk that respondents perceived these questions as evaluative, that they were expected to feel trust. These issues led to critical standpoints from respondents regarding this perspective well as towards discussions and explanations in communications with them. Still, the benefits with explicit questions of trust were richer than the disadvantages.

The survey results revealed a common opinion among respondents: that trust is mutually dependent. It is to trust that someone, trust yourself, as a civil servant expresses it. He experiences trust if his leaders give him trust, so for him getting trust creates trust. Another respondent describes trust as ‘a stable leadership towards concrete goals’ (leader). Another description is that trust is to be listened to. However, not all employees assume that upper-level leaders listen to their thoughts. One survey respondent writes that ‘I am stressed at work. You talk about savings. The workers toil. Leaders have lots of time for free thoughts and luxury’ (employee). Despite this opinion, she trusts that the leadership strategy explored will result in good development. However, when she describes how she understands the word trust she claims that she has no idea. ‘Maybe it is something fuzzy’, she suggests. Another respondent connects trust to stable employment and the salary. If she is paid, she is willing to do almost anything the leaders tell her to do. Other definitions in the survey were willingness and power to perform tasks, and that
persons are doing meaningful necessary chores. Finally, engagement was offered as an understanding of trust.

Corritore et al. suggest that investigations of online trust can start with studies of offline trust and that a first step is to identify a vocabulary with which to talk about online trust. Thereafter, we need to create a conceptual framework, they continue (Corritore, Wiedenbeck, and Kracher 2001). Mutuality and stability are concepts that respondents in this research associate with trust. Trust as mutuality is surprisingly invisible in prior research.

Friedman et al. mention interpersonal trust, which has connotations of mutuality, but they also mention a number of one way aspects (Friedman, Kahn Jr, and Howe 2000). On the other hand, respondents’ definitions are based on a physical non-technological environment, whereas Friedman et al. focus on online trust.

Shankar et al. discuss differences versus similarities with trust on-line versus off-line. They argue that:

Two types of trust exist: (1) offline trust that involves the offline activities of the firm (such as direct sales, channel sales, and other communication and transactions) and its relationships with its customers and other stakeholders and (2) online trust that involves the firm’s business activities in the electronic medium, and in particular, its Web site. Although online trust is similar to offline trust in many ways, there are some important distinctions. In offline trust, the object of trust is typically a human or an entity (organization). In online trust, typically, the technology (mainly the Internet) itself is a proper object of trust. (Shankar, Urban, and Sultan 2002, 327)

Furthermore, a numerical summary on trust in the survey results was advanced as well. This analysis gave the following results.

**I very much want to work with The Together Modules**
In this category, 21 respondents trust that this work will lead to good development; one does not feel this trust while one other person does not know.

**I want to work with The Together Modules**
Among the respondents who want to work with TTM, 25 trust that this work will lead to good development, two do not feel this trust and two perhaps feel it. In a comment, one of the respondents writes that it takes more work from leaders to make the vision concrete. Another points out that it might be trustworthy if everybody is engaged in this work.

**Maybe I want to work with The Together Modules**
In this category, one respondent trusts that this work will lead to good development, five do not feel this trust, one says maybe and one does not know.

A comment from a respondent who does not feel trust adds that there have been so many directions and changes that have always faded away.
Another writes that good development can be enhanced from above (in the organisation), but it must start at local level. ‘Our leaders’ trust toward their leaders is what we need’, one person notes. ‘It is not anchored in our group yet’, and ‘I do not know if the modules can lead to good development in the future’ are other comments.

I do not want to work with The Together Modules
In this group, one respondent is hesitant in feeling trust. Eight feel trust, while 12 do not feel trust. Six persons do not know if they feel trust in The Together Modules and Vision 2030.

One person feels trust on the condition that they can find a personal way to work with it, a way that employees experience as honest.

Comments on trust
One person writes that she maybe feels trust, if Vision 2030 can be realised. A view that affects levels of trust is respondents’ opinions about their own knowledge. They write that they probably do not [feel trust] as little as they know and that they do not feel involved enough in what it really means; maybe in the future. Another issue that affects levels of trust is how well the vision is integrated at the workplace, or, as a respondent expresses it, ‘It does not feel anchored in the work group right now’. She does not know if the modules will lead to a positive development in the long-term. One person believes that she thinks it is good for work with environmental issues, but that social work is too influenced by political changes. The level of personal work methods is described by one person, saying that she trusts it only if they can find a personal way to work with it and that employees’ experience [it] as honest. Resources are another issue related to trust, or as a respondent expresses it: ‘I hope we get the resources we need to do a good job for our families, but trust and resources are not the same thing’ (leader). The virtual presentation form is criticised by one respondent who states that personal meetings are needed to foster trust.

Analysis and interpretations
A viewpoint revealed was that Vision 2030 is not anchored in respondents’ reality. They describe the work situation as stressful and that it is difficult to actually keep up with the work. Respondents who experience such stress also perceive clashes with the content in Vision 2030 versus their local work culture. For example, one respondent describes the leaders’ work situation as luxury. This negative construction of ‘the others’ culture is used as a border marker in order to strengthen the evaluation of, and identification within, ‘my’ local cultural belonging. Common historical experiences and shared cultural codes provides continuous frames of reference and meaning, Hall
argues (Hall 1990). The cultural construction of leaders as ‘the other’, the luxury people, is a way to strengthen the frame Hall mentions, because a frame does not only include ‘us’; it excludes ‘the other’ as well. According to Wildemeersch and Leirman’s view of lifeworld stages (Wildemeersch and Leirman 1988), the cultural construction can be understood as a way to handle an experienced threatened lifeworld stage as well. The work with TTM and Vision 2030 is due to a rapid development within the city, and this influences many phenomena at local workplaces. Following such dynamics, a situation might occur in which daily work routines and local culture no longer suit the self-evident lifeworld. If this happens, the person experiences a threatened lifeworld stage, in which the choice is to either transform the lifeworld or stay at the self-evident stage. This insecurity of lifeworld experience might be a reason for cultural markers, as the one revealed above. Whatever the reason is for the cultural border marker described, the current situation does not make any sense for respondents to promote a way of working that does not suit their reality. Images or lack of images of Vision 2030 in respondents’ local work cultures affect sensemakings, or, rather, a lack of sensemaking, because it will be hard for them to develop a meaningful framework for understanding the nature of the intended strategic change (Gioia and Chittipeddi 1991). Indeed, this leadership strategy and its content are described as silly by respondents who do not experience such replication.

Searching for cultural features that are common to most local workplaces and that reduce cross-cultural borders within the organisation, or prioritises the organisational cultural level of identification, can be a way to reflect the vision in respondents’ work cultures and experienced self-evident (or transformed?) lifeworlds. Hofstede et al. establish a cultural level: ‘For those who are employed, organisational, departmental, and/or corporate levels according to the way employees have been socialized by their work organization’ (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010, 18). Uses of explicit cultural manifestations that belong to this level can be a way to endorse organisational cultural identities. However, values are defined as the deepest core in a culture, according to Hofstede et al. The empirical results show that even when respondents subscribe to the values Vision 2030 enhances, their acceptance clashes with circumstances in their local work cultures. It becomes a kind of contradiction between forcing local phenomena and cultural organisational evaluations. Searching for cross-cultural phenomena within the organisation explored is a challenge. Still, the ambition in itself can lead to some reflections at some workplaces and thereby strengthen the work with Vision 2030 as well as employees’ secure position as experienced on a self-evident lifeworld stage. Such an example in which lifeworld security actually worked was cited by a respondent who proudly announced that her work unit was presented as a good example in one TTM. The common one-way direction of information that TTM imply became cross-cultural with a direction from the local cultural towards the organisational level in this case.
As noted, local workplaces are supposed to paint the fine lines in Vision 2030 in order to make it suit their activities. This task is not easy. It is unclear how the transformation of Vision 2030 into daily work activities could be put into practice. When such essential features as the actual transformation from verbal information into concrete practice is uncertain, it is likely that it is hard to make sense of the content. Why is the vision important if it is perceived as only beautiful words, and nothing more? How can respondents construct their culture if the transformation into practice is unclear? Even if respondents are actors in their culture (Dervin 1998), they need concrete tools to develop a meaningful framework (Gioia and Chittipeddi 1991).

A cross-cultural hindrance is revealed here, because it is hard for respondents to identify with the vision, when it clashes with their experienced lifeworld. There is a risk of continuous constructions of ‘we’ and ‘they’, which was made explicit by the respondent, who viewed leaders as people who delegate work while reading newspapers and chatting with friends. Leaders within the Stockholm municipality have a responsibility to promote clarity of the municipality’s goals and directions (Ledarstrategi för chefer i Stockholm stad 2005). The opinion of this respondent reveals another issue that should be clarified within this organisation: mutual knowledge of positions other than one’s own. Why? Because if respondents think negatively of upper-level leaders, they do not trust that something good will follow from directions. The empirical results on trust in this thesis have shown that there is a view of trust as essential for a functioning organisation. Without increased knowledge of what other people in the organisation actually do, there is a risk that leaders’ clarity of directions and goals will fail, simply because they are not regarded as trustworthy.

As in the interview study, the survey showed that willingness to apply to the work explored is influenced by personality, but there were contradictory effects. While one respondent in the interview study wants to work with TTM, because she has a generally optimistic attitude, another respondent in the survey exemplifies a personality that promotes work with humans. Technology is outside of his personal interest, and therefore he does not want to work with TTM. However, there is an issue involved in this analysis, and this is the individual level. At least for some of the respondents, this level is concretely influential. It affects their work practice. For one of them, the work makes sense, but for the other it does not. There is a dilemma involved here. The individual level will make the complexity extreme and perhaps impossible to handle for leaders, at least at large workplaces and even more within complex organisations. On the other hand, leaders are positioned on different levels. They are expected to notice followers’ differences and achieve unity concerning values and directions (Winston and Patterson 2006).

The individual level is important for the leaders as well, since leadership is shaped by individuals’ experiences and knowledge as well as of the envi-
ronment of work (Ledinstrategi för chefer i Stockholm stad 2005). It is likely that this level impacts how the work explored is introduced into the culture. Visualisation and clarification of benefits for local workplaces could be one way to go. Then these approaches should take notice of individual differences. Such clarification would be beneficial because some respondents do not see any effects of TTM and Vision 2030 at all. For them, the vision does not threaten the self-evident stage of the lifeworld, because it simply does not influence the work culture. On the other hand, it does not reach the aim of the vision either.

A respondent writes that they always strive towards enhancements, but they do so in order to increase quality for the users of their services, not because of the vision. A goal with TTM and Vision 2030 is to elucidate that local quality enhancements are organisational improvements as well. While a respondent has her/his prior cultural identity in the local workplace, effects on the organisational cultural level remain hidden. Hofstede et al. define, for example, rituals as visual cultural manifestations (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010). It is not surprising that when such practice is advanced locally it is easy for in-cultural people at the local workplace to identify with it, but it is harder to recognise how cultural manifestations in one local-work cultural influence another cultural level. This difficulty should be noticed by leaders who aim to overcome borders between different levels within an organisation by uses of TTM-like tools. How can they promote cross-cultural recognitions of a certain feature? One way to achieve this could be by pointing out concrete and visualised effects.

Under the headline work experience it was described that environmental improvement was an appreciated effect of the visionary work. Theoretically this functions as a base for sensemaking, because it gives new insights. It becomes a construction of knowledge, which unleashes sensemaking for the realities of human situation-facing, as Dervin expresses it (Dervin 1998). In the mentioned case, the effects of Vision 2030 have influenced other cultural identifications than this work actually is directed toward, because it has affected the private cultural arenas as well for this respondent.

A concern in the empirical results was related to time, in daily life as well as the long-term time perspective that the vision promotes. The long-term time perspective causes lack of motivation because it is regarded as too visionary and far away in time. Experienced lifeworlds are pressured by a stressful social and cultural world in the everyday reality (Schutz and Luckman 1989). This pressure becomes an obstacle to work with a vision that is directed towards 20 years from now.

The cultural identification is pressured to be locally focused, because issues that are close to the work culture demand so much more effort that there is no space for embracing the organisational culture as an identity as well. Following this reasoning it can be argued that leaders who use a dissemination strategy like TTM increase opportunities to be successful by supporting
daily work and, if possible, release employees from some obligations. They
could also discuss cultural identifications explicitly, because the empirical
material showed that persons who ‘change identification’ by regarding chil-
dren’s future found the long-term time perspective valuable. A third way to
enhance cross-cultural identifications, and thereby enhance success of a
leadership strategy like TTM, is to promote the perspective and value of a
progression towards development and standardisation, which is mentioned
by some respondents.

Furthermore, a perspective that was discussed by some respondents con-
cerns finances. For example, one person states that visions are good, but also
that they must be allowed to cost money. Currently they are facing only
reductions, this person argues. It becomes a cultural clash like the one Boyd
and Correa define (Boyd and Correa 2005), because the content and values
in Vision 2030 contradict experienced lifeworlds and concrete circumstances
for some respondents. It is also a discrepancy between theory (the vision)
and reality (no money budgeted for the work). This fact should be noted by
leaders who aim to work with TTM-like tools. How can they handle eventual
inconsistencies between disseminated theoretical content and concrete facts
such as reduced finances?

The technological perspective was also discussed among respondents.
Many obstacles were revealed, such as lack of technological equipment,
limited computer skills among users, long log-in times, problems with sound
and so on. A discrepancy is found between implicit communicated infor-
mation that technology is important (therefore we use the Intranet as dissem-
ination tool) and a reality in which numerous technologically-based obsta-
cles hinder the work in practice. This is a communicative obstacle similar to
the one Hoogervorst et al. describe concerning implicit unintentional com-
munication. An issue like this is serious, because it jeopardises trustworthi-
ness of the explicit information communicated, according to the authors
(Hoogervorst, van der Flier, and Koopman 2004).

The technological shortages affected choice of working strategies. For ex-
ample, one respondent writes that ‘group work has been carried out primari-
ly by those who lack computer access’. Leaders within the Stockholm mu-
nicipality should point out the direction Stockholm is developing towards,
but they should also provide opportunities for employees to be influential, to
work independently and to enhance their personal development
(Ledarstrategi för chefer i Stockholm stad 2005). The empirical results show
that practical phenomena, such as lack of technology, steer what communi-
cation strategy leaders and employees at local workplaces should work with.
This fact contradicts the endorsed autonomy. Therefore, leaders within the
municipality explored should investigate eventual discrepancies between the
vision’s intention and potential concrete hindrances. However, according to
some respondents the leadership strategy explored is a way to clarify future
goals like increased quality, enhanced insights in the city of Stockholm, im-
proved environments through reduced use of paper and inclusion in other units’ positive results. A question for future work is to explore where, how and why these differences occur. Such knowledge would increase opportunities to succeed with an Intranet-based leadership strategy like TTM.

Hofstede et al. argue that values constitute the very core of culture (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010). Vision 2030 is related to this concept, because it is highly based on evaluations concerning the municipality’s development. Therefore, it can be interpreted as a culturally-influenced document. This interpretation carries a meaning for some respondents. For example, one person maintains, ‘I believe in it [the vision] if everybody works in the same direction and towards the same goals’. As in the vision, there is a cultural evaluation of collective movement in the same direction involved here.

Trust was noticed as influential on the work with TTM and Vision 2030. A common understanding of trust among respondents was trust as mutuality. Indeed this is a general agreement in the empirical material of this thesis. This contradicts the lack of consensus revealed when prior literature is related to each other (Grandison and Sloman 2000, Olmedilla et al. 2005, Artz and Gil 2007, Fogg and Tseng 1999). The inconsistency between the consensuses found in the empirical material versus the diversity in understandings in prior literature is remarkable, because, even if the empirical material is numerically limited, it represents a diversity of people on different organisational levels, with different tasks and in two city districts. Despite this disparity, a consensus of trust as mutually dependent could be found. However, this does not make the concept of trust an easy task to work with, because, even if there is a consensus, there are lots of complexities involved as well. It can be a perceived lack of knowledge, that the content is not experienced as anchored at the local workplace or that it is hard to find a personal way of working with the vision. It is reasonable to argue that trust as mutuality can be regarded as a springboard for consensus concerning trust among researchers, but also that the complexity Grandison and Sloman (Grandison and Sloman 2000) mention is influential and therefore important to reflect upon. This reasoning confirms the challenge Marsch et al. point out for the HCI community, which is to unify the various attempts at fostering formal models of trust in information, technology and each other so that the technology can operate in a trusted and trustworthy manner (Marsch, Briggs, and Wagealla 2004). This is important, because, as Wang and Emurian point out, lack of trust has been repeatedly identified as a barrier to engaging in e-commerce via the Internet (Wang and Emurian 2005). It is important to advance analysis of user contexts, since online trust is intertwined with offline trust (Shankar, Urban, and Sultan 2002).
The purpose of this third fieldwork research is to explore a local work culture, since the prior investigations showed that this influenced the work with TTM and Vision 2030. It is also to create empirical material to fulfill the ethnographical aim of this thesis. This chapter is directed towards both aims of this thesis. Ethnography will be operative in practice, by focusing on culture through participant observation (Preissle and Grant 2004) and by permitting ethnographic interviews (Sherman 2001). This fieldwork resulted in 23 recorded and transcribed interviews of five minutes’ length (children) to a little more than an hour with 24 questionnaire responses from parents, about 400 pictures and videos and a little more than 40 pages with fieldnotes from observations.

The structure follows prior chapters: first an empirical presentation is given. Thereafter follows a section of analysis and interpretations, and finally the conclusions of this fieldwork are presented.

Employees, children, parents and leaders on different levels were included in this study. The fieldwork was prepared by establishing contact with people at the preschool explored. General information on the preschool’s homepage was studied, but no more information was established beforehand. The senses were open during the visit to the first preschool, Sunflower, and thereafter during the fieldwork as well. The author’s ‘I’ will be visible here, because she constitutes the research tool and thereby influences the empirical presentation.

The preschool Sunflower

I arrive at the preschool Sunflower at nine a clock in the morning, the first day of fieldwork. I had read some general information about this workplace, but I have no deeper knowledge about the preschool I am about to explore. My intention this day is just to see what happens and what the impressions will be. I try to be as open-minded as possible, while at the same time being focused on the environment, activities and other potentially relevant features. The aim this day is to work in agreement with Fetterman’s dictum that ethnographical fieldwork combines an open mind and rigorous concentration (Fetterman 2010). The door is locked when I arrive, so I ring the doorbell. In less than a minute a pedagogue comes. She says ‘welcome’ and lets me in.
Thereafter, she guides me around the preschool while at the same time informing me that they know I am coming, but they had not got any more information than that. She expresses interest regarding my visit and the research, but she also seems a bit anxious about it. I try to explain as well as I can because I want to create trust between us (Fogg and Tseng 1999, Hoffman, Lawson-Jenkins, and Blum 2006). Creations of trust are important, because trust facilitates the social integration that is needed in order to become ‘one of them’, to stand in their shoes, as Savage expresses it, as easily and as quickly as possible during the fieldwork (Savage 2003). Due to this social ambition that will enhance my access to the context explored, I sit down with some children directly after the pedagogue had shown me the preschool’s facilities the very first hour of my visit there. My first impression of these children’s interactions with each other is encouraging. They show high social skills in their interactions, which the following fieldnote shows:

I sit down with two boys who are around three years of age. Boy one has a soft toy, a dog. The other boy asks if he can borrow one of them, which he may, but after a while the first boy wants to get his toy back. Boy two wants to borrow the toy a bit more. Instead of returning it, he offers boy one to borrow a smurf toy instead. The interaction between these two boys is listening and negotiating. I am surprised by these small children’s social competence. (Fieldnote, 2012 04 10)

When a first impression in a new culture is positive, as in this case, it might happen that an ethnographer loses some of her/his critical distance and thereby fails to notice contradictory impressions in other interactions. Willis and Todorov conclude that:

As minimal an exposure time as a tenth of a second is sufficient for people to make a specific trait inference from facial appearance. Additional exposure time increases confidence in judgments and allows for more differentiated trait impressions. However, the judgments are already anchored on the initial inference. (Willis and Todorov 2006, 597)

In an HCI focused research, it is probable that the first impression is dual, one of physical cultures and another impression of technology. Thus, strength of the first impression in ethnographical fieldwork carries meaning for the second aim in this thesis.

The preschool Sunflower has two departments, one for children up to three years of age and one for children between three and five years of age. The number of children at the preschool is less than forty, and the ratio is 6.7 children per full-time employee. This preschool is KRAV-certified, which means that they buy and use environmentally friendly food, detergents and so on. It has one employee who is responsible for the kitchen and who does
all the cooking. The children at this preschool are served homemade food every day. The two sections are linked by a corridor with offices, kitchen, staff room etc. The children have their shelves for clothes in the hallway. Here there is a board with a calendar of weekly planning and sometimes the parents are given information via letters on the children’s shelves. The space for the children’s shelves is shared with a dinosaur area and a space with costumes. The room inside the hallway functions as a dining room, and as an area for activities. It is divided into three sections: one for playing with math and science-related material, another for language and a third for hobbies, drawings and so on.

Figure 4. A section of the preschool that challenges learning activities

The next room is a room for playing and building. It has a home area, an area of mixed toys and a construction area. The last and smallest room is a room for reading, listening to music and other calm activities. A computer for children is placed in the inner corner of this room. It is an old computer that the staff kept when Volvo-IT took over responsibility for the digital technology within the Stockholm municipality as a whole.
The pedagogues have one laptop that they use for pedagogical documentation, one camera, one printer and one computer for administration. The department for small children has a similar structure, but it is more adapted to small children’s basic needs. All toys and working material are placed in a way that they are reachable for all the children, including the one-year-olds. The outdoor environment consists of a yard that is structured with a climbing frame in the centre, sandboxes, toys, flowers and so on. There is a big play area and a small forest in the neighborhood. This area is frequently used by the section with small children and sometimes by the other section as well.

There are many cultural symbols at the preschool, on a visible as well as on an evaluative communicational level. This preschool has children from almost all countries over the globe. It is a highly multi-ethnic and international environment, which is mirrored by cultural symbols in the physical room as well as in the activities. For example, a number of flags, one for each country represented by the students, decorate a shelf in the corridor.
Another symbolic cultural meaning is found in an activity on the preschool examination day. This is an occasion when the children who are completing their time at the preschool and starting regular school are celebrated.

Before the ceremony, families and pedagogues have a feast to which the parents bring food from their native countries. Altogether, it becomes an international buffet. Flags from all the countries decorate the feast.

It is common that children play quite freely at the preschool investigated. According to Lpfö98/2010, which is a governmental steering document for Swedish preschool, ‘children shall be free to form their days and activities in an environment that promotes learning’ (Skolverket 2010). The pedagogues’ primary task is to function as co-researchers in the children’s investigating and learning activities. The days at Preschool Sunflower are both structured and unstructured. They are structured through breakfast, lunch and a meal around half past two, but between these meals the children decide what to do.

Another structuring feature is a long-term project that shapes activities, which is mirrored in the culture. The subject for the long-term project during the fieldwork is ‘movements’. The following fieldnote illustrates one way that the project colours activities and communications:

It is lunchtime. The children eat fruit which is served every day after lunch. A girl starts playing with her apple by spinning it around on the table. A boy takes after her, so now there are two children who are playing with their fruit. A pedagogue says that they are not allowed to play with the food. The boy replies, saying ‘It is movement’. The pedagogue laughs and says that they [the children] are funny. (Fieldnote, 2012 04 11)
The ethnographical aim in this thesis is to advance an ethnographic research process and thereby explore uses of ethnography within HCI. Here one such way is found, because empirical results like these presented here can be used by ethnographers to study the specific elements that are actually likely to transform projects into a common feature in the general culture, and thereby suggest similar ways to convert created knowledge into technology design and implementation. In the next step, one can suggest how to transform the design into a general culture. Regarded this way, one can effect an iterative process that connects users, their cultures, circumstances, goals and needs with designers’ expertise.

Children are commonly free to choose activities at the preschool Sunflower. One popular thing to do is to play games on the computer. When it comes to uses of the computer, however, the freedom of choice changes and the activities become controlled and structured by the pedagogues. It is the adult that determines if and when the children are allowed to use the computer and how long they are allowed to do it. This fact is illustrated in the following fieldnote:

A boy wants to play a game on the computer, but they [the children] are not allowed to do it this day (I do not know why). Usually they are allowed to play some of the preschool’s games that are pedagogical. The pedagogues use an egg timer to control the time children are playing at the computer. Each child is allowed to play for fifteen minutes. A pedagogue says that the games do not work so well because the computer is very old. (Fieldnote 2012 04 10)

The restraint on children’s self-determination and the poorly-functioning technology contradicts Vision 2030 as well as Lpfö98/2010. Both of these steering documents advocate that children shall learn to interact with technology. However, uses of technology are not obvious for the pedagogues, as the following fieldnote points out:

A pedagogue tells the other that a parent brought a Wii that he wanted to give the preschool for free. She said no thanks without asking the other, because she was sure that they did not want it. If they want to dance, listen to music or work with this kind of exercise they do it together with the children. It is they, not the computer, that shall decide when to exercise. The other pedagogue agrees when she says this. (Fieldnote 2012 05 11)

This discrepancy reveals a responsibility for an ethnographer within HCI. That is to find ways to facilitate pedagogues’ inclusion and uses of technology and thereby reduce the gap between children’s interactions with computers versus their non-technological activities. One way this can be done is revealed in the following fieldnote:

A four-year-old boy is playing with a calculator that usually is placed among toys, games and books. He pushes buttons and the numbers become millions.
For every new number he asks me to tell him the new amount. He also tests the buttons +, - and =. There are also a number of buttons with symbols, and he asks me to explain the symbols to him. He uses the calculator around ten to fifteen minutes and he continuously talks about numbers, signs, how much this addition is and so on. (Fieldnote 2012 05 09)

By simply letting the calculator be placed where the children can see and use it freely, it caught this child’s attention and aroused his interest, which resulted in a learning activity based on his self-determined activity. Maybe this is one way to go, just letting technological devices be present like one tool for activities among others?

Now, why does the described discrepancy occur? Somehow it seems like pedagogues perceive interactions with technology as something else and different from other activities, for example when children play with building blocks or draw pictures. The pedagogues determine children’s interactions with the computer in another way than they do in other activities and interactions. This fact was mirrored during a meeting in which the pedagogues aimed to discuss pedagogical documentation. This method means that the children are documented with pictures when they are doing a certain task, for example working with clay. The pictures are saved on a computer. After this, the child and a pedagogue discuss the pictures together, how the child interprets her/his doings and so on. The discussion is documented and used practically as tools to inspire a kind of intellectualised thinking among the children. It is not a documentation of pedagogues monitoring of the children’s doing that are relevant, but it is the children’s own interpretations and discussions. This work is dependent on uses of a camera and a computer.

During the meeting referred to, the pedagogues are using literature as a source for inspiration. One of the pedagogues points out a description of a preschool that was equipped with a computer, a scanner and a printer. The children used drawing and writing programs, but they did not have any computer games. When the pedagogue tells us about that section of the book, she covers the whole page with her arm and says that: ‘I do not look at this. We have not come this far (pedagogue)’. Another pedagogue continues, saying that: ‘It is a matter of costs as well. It is very expensive with printings in colour’(pedagogue). So, the financial issue is another reason for the unwillingness to let children use the computer freely. This incident illustrates that the approach to ‘being one of them’ creates knowledge that is revealed through daily activities and conversations. The bridge-building responsibility for an ethnographer within HCI is emerging here, because it is not enough to inform designers and technology developers about features in the culture that could enhance usability of the technology under development. She should also point out more invisible cultural evaluations (or hard facts?), such as the technology is too expensive to use so it does not matter if intended users have access to it or not. It is irrelevant for the pedagogues quoted if a printer
for pedagogical uses is user-friendly or not, it will still not be used due to financial reasons. This reasoning responds to the second aim of this thesis, because it shows that a useful aspect of ethnography within HCI is its ability to create knowledge that is external from the device, but that will affect uses of it. In this case, it concerns finances, or rather views upon this issue.

The preschool has technologically-inspired toys, like cameras and mobile phones, but these artefacts are not real technological devices. There is a difference for children between playing with ‘real things’ versus toys, according to one of the pedagogues. In a course she is taking, they have the task to change something in the environment. She decides to rearrange the restaurant corner where the children can play cooking, eating and so on. In this case, they were told to exchange toys and instead use real things. Before this, they had toys and the children’s playing was sometimes chaotic, she says, but when she put real plates, glasses, a flower, a tablecloth and so on in this corner, she noticed that the children’s way of playing changed radically. They play washing up, and then they put the plates back on the table in the same order as they were before, she says. This substantiates the suggestion above. If children play in a different and more careful way with real artefacts in comparison to toys, it is likely that difference this is true for technological toys versus real technology as well. It is likely that children playing with a toy camera do not handle a real one in the same way, if the pedagogue’s impression exemplifies the general way that children handle toys versus real things. This fact is another aspect of the bridge-building responsibility ethnographers within HCI have. Investigations of how children play with ‘real’ technology versus ‘technological toys’ can create knowledge that facilitates both development and implementation of new technology.

In one conversation with a pedagogue, I ask if I can watch and ask questions while she is doing a TTM. She explains what a pedagogue is doing at that moment, and encourages me to join her. When I enter the office where the pedagogue is doing this task, I ask if I can join her, which I am welcome to do. I sit down beside her and just observe. She is looking at a film/TTM about support to relatives and how important this is. For a while she sits quietly and just watches. Then the following conversation takes place:

P) I get so annoyed when I look at this.
A) Why?
P) Well, it seems so… so nice, but the reality does not look this way. We have children that we send away from here, that do not get any support at all. We work with them here and it starts getting better for them. Then when they start school there is no support at all for them. They just pass through school, and then prisons are filled with people who should not need to be there.
A) What could you do about it? I have contact with a leader on the second highest organisational level. What do you think I should say to her? What can she do?
P) They should employ people higher in the organisation. These persons should have the responsibility of visiting schools and study what is happening there. There should be an amount of money that is external for the schools, because the problem is not that the schools do not want to. There is no money for taking actions in the schools. You should also organise it better. Everybody has their own responsibility and they view things like this [limits her vision with her hands and looks down on the desk] and there is no cooperation between the units. When the children are starting school, we tell them that this child has extra needs, but then nothing happens. The child does not get any extra support at school. If [the parent] does not know what needs your child has, you do not get any support. That is why I get annoyed when I see this [points toward the computer screen]. It is not the reality.

The way she is doing the work in practice shows that the work with TTM has developed technologically. Now it is easily accessible without obstacles that were described in the interview and survey studies. However, the respondent quoted expresses annoyance regarding this work, which is consistent with prior results.

Interviews are a common method in ethnographic fieldwork. This method was used in this study as well.

Interview and survey results

This presentation is structured in the following order. First I present and analyse opinions among parents, and thereafter among leaders and employees. Finally viewpoints among children are presented. How do they look upon the preschool and their days there? The interviews are conducted according to Sherman’s definition (Sherman 2001).

Views and thoughts among parents

We have talked a lot about it, with friends who have children in other preschools, because they have asked me why I am always so pleased with the preschool. What is it that makes us talk so well about the preschool all the time? I have been thinking a lot about this the few last weeks. What is it that makes us so happy with the preschool? I think it is that the pedagogues actually enjoy being there. It is the feeling you get, that they enjoy their jobs and that they meet the children in a loving way, that they listen to the children, that the child is in the center of attention and that they meet the children on their different levels. It feels like they have a set of values that they follow in their daily lives. (Siri, mother of a child at the preschool Sunflower)

This quote can be regarded as an implicit reflection of the goal of Vision 2030, which is to provide good quality service that the citizens are satisfied
with. This is one case in which the content in Vision 2030 corresponds with the culture at a local workplace. Why is it such a reflection? Of course it is possible to find pleased parents, among so many. It is a reflection of Vision 2030, because of the respondent’s motivation. She describes a culture in which the children are in focus and the pedagogues mediate cultural evaluations of children. They are worth listening to, and they are worth being met at their own level. The work culture mirrors the vision’s content.

Peter, who is a leader at another preschool unit, describes how parents had studied preschools through physical observations of the buildings and the outdoor environments when they were in the process of deciding which preschool they wanted to have their child in. In one of the preschools, these parents noticed a blind that was hanging crookedly in one of the windows, and over a period of time it was not fixed. This detail made the parents choose another preschool for their child. A spontaneous reaction might be that it is ridiculous to choose another preschool just because of a crooked blind, but, viewed in a symbolic cultural perspective, it is logical. If a small detail, like this blind, is ignored, how can the parents know that other features work at the preschool? Interpreted this way, seemingly small details become symbols of and for the culture. If details do not work, there is a risk that other things do not work either, and what does that say about values? Is the environment not worth putting efforts into? In the case presented, it had concrete consequences. The parents choose another preschool. Based on this reasoning, it can be argued that a use, or rather a responsibility for ethnography within HCI is to identify and point out similar pitfalls in technology design. If there are details in the design that symbolise some sort of non-function for the design in relation to user contexts in a holistic perspective, it is likely that intended users might choose not to use it. If this happens, resources and efforts have been invested that face a risk of weak outcomes. This observation is one way ethnographers can contribute to the financial importance of HCI that Myers et al. mention (Myers et al. 1996).

Another mother interviewed, Siri, has a similar view of the preschool as the previously-quoted respondent, and just like her it is closely related to social aspects. She says that

I have full respect for the preschool. They are doing an amazing job. I have recommended this preschool as well, so now one of our neighbors has her child here. (…) I still think it is good [after a time at the preschool]. We are treated nicely and these small conversations we have, I think it is good to discuss and reflect together. (Mathilda, mother to children at preschool Sunflower)

The importance of social aspects has been reflected upon in the survey results as well. One of the questions was ‘Why did you choose this preschool’? Kind treatment was commonly pointed out by responding parents. Examples
of this are that it showed kind treatment and we liked the staff and the children. It would be beneficial for ethnographers and designers to discuss this strong influence of social interactions. The very nature of technology use is that it is constituted by non-physical interactions and communications, but it is common knowledge that it carries meaning of social aspects in physical contexts as well. The extension of social media in management as well as private spheres makes clear that social, digital and physical interactions become increasingly intertwined. Positive effects are, for example, new friends via Facebook, while tragic effects are, for example, cyber-bullying, which, in the worst case scenario, can lead to suicide among children.

Parents’ views of technology for children were also treated in the survey. The two questions were: ‘What technology (computer, mobile phone, camera etc.) does your child use at home?’ and ‘Is it important to use technology (computer, mobile phone, camera etc.) in the preschool? Yes, No, I don’t know’. Nineteen parents responded to the first questions. Two of them write that their children do not use any technology at home. One reports that their child watches movies on the computer, but she does not actually use the computer herself. The rest of the children have access to and use different kinds of digital technology (computers, mobile phones, cameras, mp3 and DVD) in their homes. A very young age is a motivation for not letting the child use technology. In contrast one parent claims that ‘My child is only eighteen months but she is fond of the computer and the mobile phone’. A vast majority of the children in the survey have access to and use digital technology in their homes. These results will be linked to answers to question number two, because perceptions of children’s technology access and use at home constitute arguments both for and against technology at preschools. While one parent states that it is not important because the children learn it at home anyway, another respondent believes that it is important because the children have different circumstances in their homes. Concerning importance of technology in preschool, ten respondents think it is important, seven think it is not important and three do not know. Respondents are diverse in their opinions, and they give different rationales for their opinions. One parent writes, ‘Yes, it is important because technology means the future’ (parent), while another writes, ‘No, the children are so small. There are other things that are more important. Technology becomes more important in school’ (parent).

Vision 2030 and TTM-views among leaders and employees

During the research process TTM has progressed from a work that suffered from a number of issues like technological obstacles to stressful work situation, limited time, limited resources and so on to dissemination through films sent as links via e-mail. Early in this work, leaders on different levels were obligated to control the work fairly strictly, but during the process responsi-
ble upper-level leaders loosened the control. This development is illustrated in the following quote from an interview with Martina, who is a leader at a preschool unit:

M) Now we get films. I get it and you get it on the e-mail and then you just look at it. It is a little nice as well
A) So it comes individually on each e-mail?
M) Yes, to everyone who has a log-in among permanently employed. (…) You need a log-in as a locum tenens as well because it gives access to mail, to write e-mails, to apply for leaves, care of sick children and so on. You need to have, you are actually forced to have a log-in address and I guess that everyone in the city gets these films (TTM), so Vision 2030 lives in another way as it did from the beginning.
A) Yes, then the district management office contacted leaders to clarify that their employees had not done TTM. How does that looks today?
M) It is not like that at all. No control like that. I should think that most people read, but there are probably people that just delete it as well… but then it was like that. It was leaders’ responsibility that every employee looked at the modules. (…) Then you had a check list so you could control and highlight who has done it

The dissemination strategy in itself has developed and changed, which has been noticed by Rune who is an upper-level leader in a city district. He argues that ‘Well, I think I dare to say that if we should make a drive on this now it would be negative for the people, because employees are already on this train. Yes, it is established so I think it would be damaging to start pushing it again’ (Rune). He also argues that it should be visible in ways other than the films, because

It feels like you see an advertisement. (…) It is very good the first time you see it, the second time it is okay, the third time, then you buy the product and after that you do not want to see it any more. It is the same thing. I think you should watch out for this trap, maybe, but otherwise it is established and people get it. People believe in it and then there is a big possibility that a vision comes true. (Rune)

Upper-level leader, Jesper, mentions a problem that somehow contradicts the reduced control that is described above. He says that

What I think has been a scarcity however, is that I as a leader on this level, and as someone responsible for long-term strategic issues does not get so much feedback about what response other levels in the organisation have delivered on these questions. It is more that you do a marking. Now we have done this module and seen that enough have responded, but there is too little following up and feedback concerning generated results. (Jesper)

Together these quotes illustrate the work with Vision 2030 and TTM as a process that has shifted from controlled work to one that is self-propelling
but that still needs to be enhanced by increased feedback and communications of results to people in the organisation.

As in the two prior studies, the long-term perspective is still an issue. Magnus, who is a leader for another preschool unit in the same district as Laura, mirrors a critical standpoint. He says that

It is about being a world-class preschool, or a world-class governmental activity. I think it is good to create such visions and ambitions, but I do not know if it is correctly implemented, because you hear lots of jokes about it. Many react to it, saying that I will not be in these activities by then. I will be retired and so on. I think many people have had difficulties in embracing the vision in such a long [time] distance. It would have been smart to have some milestones in this work as well, to be more strategic in that thinking as well. It is possible that it has been this way, but I am not engaged enough, and I do not have enough knowledge to know about it. (Magnus)

Another aspect to develop in this work is to make sure that motivation for Vision 2030 reaches employees. Respondents frequently did this work just because they were obligated to do it. Anne-Marie, who is a pedagogue in ethnographical fieldwork, mentions that ‘I think it is 4-5 years now. We have almost not worked with this. [We have] just watched the movies on the Intranet because our leaders have said that everybody shall watch and listen to them [the films]’ (Anne-Marie). This respondent views Vision 2030 and TTM as something that should be done because the leaders say that they should do it. This attitude is consistent with results in the interview study and the survey. In this perspective, there has not been any progress in this work. However, there are corresponding features between content in Vision 2030 and the work culture she defines. For example, she describes a typical workday with the following words: laugh, play, thoughtfulness, care, project work, wonderment and challenge. All these concepts can be regarded as expressions of good quality, which is the core of Vision 2030. The content in Vision 2030 corresponds with the work culture described, but this link is unclear among employees. This slow progress is visible in opinions about Vision 2030 and TTM as well. Similar diversities in opinions that were revealed in research phases one and two are still present in the third research phase. Consider the following conversation between Martina and Daniella:

M) Well, how do we think about it [Vision 2030, she laughs a little]?
D) Well, it is a vision and it is a vision about the future that I think is, it is actually a little cool that the city has a vision that is so far in the future, and that you slowly can work towards, reach milestones because this is followed in the modules, from the beginning until today.
M) It is very broad so of course we apply to it, that we want to have world-class preschools. That is what we need to grip [from the vision]. Then, what do we need to get the best preschools in the city? (Martina, Daniella)
There is still uncertainty concerning what is actually needed to reach Vision 2030, but Martina and Daniella like the vision. Caroline, who works as a pedagogical leader, says that

C) Before this meeting I thought, it is not much I remember of them [TTM]. What I carry with me is that I have worked with this, worked with quality development for example, so this is what I immediately think about, what parts are included but I cannot say that I...
A) It has not given any lasting impression then?
C) No, not if I am honest. [I become] pretty bored when I listen to them, so it seems that it has not been established, because I try to think: what parts does the vision include? I do not remember.

Caroline connects the work explored with quality development, but the work and the content in Vision 2030 did not make any impression that was worth remembering for her. Her only impression is boredom. She also mentions an obstacle that was commonly revealed in the first and second research phases: that the circumstances do not really permit putting time and effort into Vision 2030. She says that

I have to say that we have had an incredibly lot to do, so this [Vision 2030 and TTM] has not been a focus that I have got into deeply and thought about. The focus has been on making the work function in all the preschools, but at the same time I think that Vision 2030 is to secure quality at the preschools, so it is in line with the vision, but I cannot say that I know all thoughts in it, I do not. (Caroline)

Intense circumstances are obstacles to making Vision 2030 one’s own through reflections and efforts. Generally, the connection between common quality enhancements and Vision 2030 is established for this respondent. This point has not been explicitly connected together with employees through discussions at the unit explored, which the following conversation illustrates:

A) When you have had this work and looked upon the modules on the Intranet, did it lead to discussions sometimes?
C) No
A) It has been that you did them [the modules] and then you kind of move on?
C) Yes, we have so many other things to talk about [laughs]. No, I don’t think so… no.

This way to ‘just do the modules and move on’, is in parallel with results in the interview and survey study. It seems that work and discussions concerning the vision have not progressed. One the other hand, viewings of Vision 2030 as a natural part of the practical work seems to be established. The leader for preschool Sunflower, Laura, connects the vision to other steering
documents for preschools. She argues that it would be enough with Lpfö98/2010, because

If we worked towards the best possible preschool according to Lpfö98/2010 we would not need anything else, so for me it is about refining, not putting too much focus. (…) Vision 2030 is our vision and we shall work towards it. It is enough that we include it periodically when we are working with something. (Laura)

For her it is about weaving it together in daily conversations or when they communicate. It should not be more complicated than that. She thinks it is incredible that so many of the pedagogues think that they work with the vision. It is because they hear about it, but they cannot create another track to follow in their work, Laura says. Rather, they must do what they are already doing, and do it as well as possible, she continues. This integration of Vision 2030 as a natural part in daily conversations and thinking is one of the goals with TTM as a leadership strategy. Regarded as practical integrated work, it can be argued that Vision 2030 and TTM have been successful at this unit, but, as theoretical knowledge, it has not. Sabina, who is a special pedagogue in another city district, says that

Well, I think that this with, it is too much theory, too much theory. It is a big work to have a vision. (…) All political or all municipal activities rely upon a willingness among citizens to pay taxes and I feel that this does not work well enough sometimes, that resources to preschools are not in relation to the vision sometimes. Sometimes I think so, but it is very good that there are visions and to be ahead in ambitions, absolutely, but well, it can be too theoretical. (Sabina)

This issue has been criticised earlier. Views of Vision 2030 in relation to resources at local workplaces have not progressed since earlier research phases, at least not in the views of this respondent. Sabina argues that there is no development without visions, but ‘Lpfö98/2010 has already a little difficulty to be anchored, because all activities build upon an economy in balance. The economy is superior to everything’ (Sabina).

**Perspectives of quality**

Like Sabina, preschool leader Laura, describes the belief that the budget is superior to quality. She says that

L) I have much more upon me if I do not maintain the budget, than I have if I have low quality of activities on for example surveys to parents.
A) Is it that way?
L) Yes. Yes, and follow up and so on, but if I have low quality in surveys, for example these surveys to parents or surveys to employees or whatever it can be on a specific preschool. Then I do not have…
A) What happens then, if you get a low quality?
L) Nothing happens, at least not so far. I have [low quality] in one [pre-
school] but no, nothing has happened so far. (Laura, Anette)

This hierarchisation of importance between budget and quality reveals a
discrepancy between theory and practice for leaders and employees in the
organisation. The theoretical steering promotes quality of activities as a goal
through Vision 2030, while maintaining the budget is more important in the
practical and concrete steering from leaders. Sabina makes this inconsistency
explicit when she defines quality. For her this is

Trust. Openness. Humility. (…) What I see and hear shall match steering
documents for preschool. (…) I shall be able to see the theoretical in the prac-
tice. That is quality for me, that documentation, environment, that there is
uniformity in the activities. When I visit preschools I recognise that it is not
always like this. I can see stuff on the walls, copies from Lpfö98/2010. There
are lots of fine theoretical steering documents with lots of theoretical writing
in the activities, as I see it. So quality for me is that steering documents and
practice walk hand by hand and that there is openness, humility and a will-
ingsness to be curious among pedagogues. (Sabina)

This discrepancy might result in suspicion concerning the basic evaluations
in Vision 2030, and it is a general issue that should be discussed when or-
ganisations use Intranet tools like TTM. Are there contradictions between
theoretical and practical steering from leaders? If so, how can the discrepan-
cies be handled? How can theoretical steering documents be realised when
they are contradicted by hard facts like keeping to the budget, independently
of quality?

Realisation of steering documents as an understanding of quality is point-
ed out by pedagogical leader Caroline, who says ‘Quality for me is that you
follow Lpfö98/2010 but also that you follow the work plans you have done,
but also that you live in a changing process, that you want to develop and
that you constantly look at how do we do this today, and how can we do it
better?’ (Caroline). During an interview with Jesper, who is a upper-level
leader for preschools, I ask him how he defines quality. He answers that

In a longer perspective and in the view of children, it is about giving them an
opportunity to experience activities that give them a good start in life and that
give them good prerequisites in school. It must be that they have an experi-
ence that it pays off to be curious and to question things that teachers some-
times might regard as a bit inconvenient but that are a part of the assignment
as a teacher. (Jesper)

Quality for Jesper is a preschool that prepares children for future life. For
pedagogue Åsa, quality in preschool is to have educated pedagogues who
have a goal, who want to advance their own development and who want to
enrich the children with new experiences. She says that quality is to have a groundwork that is good, pedagogues with a good education and willingness to work and move forward. Respondent Rune discusses quality in a questioning and reflecting manner. He says that they discuss this issue in leader groups, but it is not an easy task because who is it that actually defines what good quality really means? He is referring to a conversation he had with another upper-level leader who had said that

What strikes me from time to time is that as a professional I am completely certain that this preschool has a fantastic quality. They are doing everything they should do in a good way, in a right way and I have been there and seen for myself that it is brilliant, but the parents do not think it is good quality. What is quality in this situation? Is it what the professional thinks, what the children think or parents or what the Swedish Schools Inspectorate thinks or choose whoever you like; who determines what quality is? (Rune)

Rune also says that quality is a blurry concept, which it is. When professionals and parents disagree about what quality means in such a delimited cultural context like a specific preschool, it can be reasonable to argue that Vision 2030 promotes different kinds of quality that are dependent on heterogeneous circumstances and opinions within the municipality. This fact might cause disparities when they work with Vision 2030 within the organisation, as well as within local workplaces, simply because there is no common definition of what quality means. Laura makes this difficulty explicit by a distinction between experienced quality and hard factors, and she grounds her reasoning in features like respect for the child as a unique individual. She says, ‘Treatment, respect… it includes a lot. It is an experienced quality for me, but it is often linked to the hard factors as well. If you have a high experienced quality, there is usually a good economy as well. Mostly it is not a good economy’ (Laura). Pedagogue Linda has a similar understanding of quality. She says that

Quality is physical and mentally engaged pedagogues, a good, worthy and respectful approach towards all children, colleagues and parents. [It is] very important, because it is basically… I mean, if that is not stable it is nothing. The leadership is important, incredibly important but I think the other part, it is the support, thereafter the leadership. (Linda)

Magnus regards quality at preschools as a dynamic and value-loaded concept. He says, ‘At first it might be some value concepts, based in our steering documents that are related to learning, but I also think that quality is that you dare to have a process where you continuously follow up, reflect and discover how we can do this in a better way’ (Magnus).
After quality, another central perspective in this thesis concerns technological aspects.

**Technological aspects**

An issue that has been revealed is how technology is interpreted. Most respondents spontaneously talk about digital technology, when I ask them about technology for children at preschool. An example is Åsa, who is a pedagogue at a preschool unit. When I ask her about children’s access to technology, she says, ‘We are privileged in this preschool. We are getting iPads. We have a Smartboard. We have a projector, a big screen and computers. We have Laptops and wireless Internet’ (Åsa). Another example is Lotta. When I ask her how the best world at preschools would be from a technological perspective, she says, ‘There would be laptops for the children, and iPads that are accessible for the children so they can use them when they want to’ (Lotta). A third example is the upper-level leader, Jesper, who says

I am very positive towards it [technology in preschool]. I cannot see any problem at all with technology access for children. I think I had another standpoint earlier when the IT-development war in another era and I had small children myself. I was a little restrictive. Not more than 15 minutes per day and bla bla bla, but I have changed opinion here. (Jesper)

The majority of respondents interpret technology for children as synonymous with digital technology and IT. Preschool leader Laura has another definition. She says

It is both but it is very much how you raise an interest for technology from a young age. It is about building and constructing and about letting the imagination flow and how we use different materials and… I am not an expert on that. I am sure there is very much more definition, but in particular when you are talking about technology with the children so is it not the digital technology we are talking about. Then it is about how you raise… well, that is in line with mathematics and natural science, how you raise an early interest to work with this. (Laura)

Laura defines technology for children as non-digital building and constructing and as an aspect of mathematics and natural science. Even if Laura’s definition is unusual in the empirical results, it points out that the technology concept would benefit from a common definition within the municipality of Stockholm. Otherwise, there is a risk that children’s access to, use of and understandings of technology will differ depending on which preschool they use and local cultural views upon technology at each specific preschool.

Another technological aspect that was discussed in the interviews is views of the importance of technology in preschools and for children. In general, this is regarded as important, or as Rune who is the Director for a city district expresses it, ‘Of course it is important with IT-technology in preschool!'
The ‘innovative’ power among us humans and IT might begin to disappear in about five years of age, so it is important with IT in preschool’ (Rune). Preschool leader Daniella has a similar view. She says

I think it [technology at preschools] is very important. Today everything is done digitally and with technology. Children are exposed to much technology very early. You see a two year old that takes an Iphone and knows how to do, how you scroll and find pictures. We need to join them and explore with [them] and follow them in the development. [It is] very important. (Daniella)

Daniella thinks it is very important with technology in preschool, and so does upper-level leader for preschool, Petra, who says, ‘It is very important’ (Petra). Pedagogical leader Caroline says,

I think you should use everything that is a part of the society, absolutely but it should not be supreme, because I think that the most important thing is that children may use their hands and their…, but I am positive towards it as a part of learning, reflecting and collect knowledge. (Caroline)

Preschool leader Magnus thinks it is very important, but he adds that it is lousy within the Stockholm municipality, and this is due to the IT-contract the city has with a company. He says that there is no intended user-group for children up to six years of age in the contract. This troubles him a lot, he says. He describes technological circumstances to work with TTM and Vision 2030 as almost a fiasco in an early phase. It was problems with, broken CD-devices, sound problems and so on. He thinks the technology works better today because of the computers they have got access to through the IT-contract.

Thus far results concerning leaders and employees have been presented. Now some views of technology among children will be illustrate and related to the second aim of this thesis.

**Technological skills among children**

Children today grow up in a highly technological society and they constitute a user group within HCI. Druin claims that

we need to question how we can build new technologies that respect children for their ability to challenge themselves and question the world around them. We need to understand how we can create new technologies that offer children control of a world where they are so often not in control (Druin 2002, 2).
Druin points out an issue: that children often lack control. Because of this, it is relevant to explore views of children as potential users among adults. It is likely that this will influence children’s access to and use of technology. Thus, one way ethnographers can contribute to research on children and technology within HCI is to explore how adults who work with children view their technological competence and relate it to children’s descriptions of technology. The text below is such a contribution.

It is a special kind of interview when small children are respondents, because they have other experienced lifeworlds than the adults. This is shown in the following conversation with Ronja, who is five years of age. In the interviews I ask the children about their views of technology, like computers, mobile phones and so on. I also encouraged two girls who wanted to be interviewed more than once to draw a picture of something technological, and thereafter describe what they had drawn. The following conversation follows one girl’s picture:

A) I gave you an assignment to draw a picture of something technological. You drew this one. Can you tell me about it?
R) It was difficult to draw a telephone so I draw a mobile phone instead. It is much easier to draw a telephone instead.
A) Can you tell me what kind of telephone it is, when it isn’t a mobile phone?
R) It is just an ordinary telephone, an Ice Age telephone.

Adult respondents to this research view children as IT competent, almost as if children were born with a natural gift of technological knowledge. The following quotes illustrate this:

They [the children] are very good at it. They are born with it I was about to say, so they understand very fast how the technology should be used. So there you see that, well it is not difficult for them. They take it for granted. This is things that they learn. They understand exactly. (Sabina)
You see a two-year-old who takes an Iphone and knows exactly how to do, how you scroll and how you find pictures. (Daniella)
I think that children are open towards IT and they can conquer it in a completely different way. (Caroline)

This common view of children as IT-competent made me curious. Are they really this competent, or is it a presumption among adults? When I ask Åsa if she sees the children as IT competent she says

Å) Absolutely, They are, they have Iphones, but they have parents that have Iphones so they are well equipped.
A) Do they [the children] know what they can be used for?
A) Games
This limitation of knowledge was revealed when children were asked what they can do with a computer, more than playing games. The following conversation was gone through with Maryam, who is five years of age:

A) What are you doing with it [the computer]
M) Playing, watch movies
A) Yes, can you do something more with the computer?
M) Yes
A) What?
M) You can play together as well.

When I ask Lovisa, five years of age, what you can do with a computer she answers that she is allowed to look at pictures sometimes. Nils, who is three years of age, is asked if there is anything more you can do than playing games on the computer. He answer is, ‘I don’t know’.

There is too little empirical data to draw any conclusions out if this, but it is a subject that should benefit from further ethnographic investigations because it might influence features like children’s access to technology as well as their use of it. If adults have an unrealistic or at least an unquestioned presumption that children are IT-competent, and if this is not fully accurate, how does this influence uses of technology for children? They are, after all, as Druin points out above, not so often in control.

A use for ethnography within HCI is that it can explore children’s IT competence, and thereby point out presumptions that may not be true but that probably influence several aspects of technology for children, their interactions, development and design of artifacts, invested resources and so on. If there is a discrepancy between adults’ presumption of children’s technological competence and the competence they actually have, how does this affect children’s access to and use of technology? These are open questions that will not be answered in this thesis, but they illustrate one way ethnographic results can be transformed into practical HCI.

Meanings of trust, the preschool study

Due to the results on trust in the survey, it became even more obvious that trust was an influential factor to notice in research about Vision 2030. Therefore, this was discussed in interviews during research phase three, and it was asked about in the survey to parents.

Views of trust among parents

In a questionnaire one parent defines trust as: ‘a confidence that I give or get’ (parent). A common understanding of trust is experienced security. Parents need to be comfortable and rely that their children are well taken care of, or as a parent express it, ‘[trust is] to rely on the staff and the activities
and to feel secure and comfortable’ (parent). Another described understanding of trust is to listen, to try to understand in all situations and to show respect. Trust is also understood as mutuality, which is in parallel with the results from the survey in research phase two. For responding parents, trust is to rely on another person and that other person relies on oneself. It is to be honest towards each other, parents and staff, and to show each other mutual respect. The common opinion of trust as mutually dependent is mirrored here.

Trust is given different meanings and understandings among respondents, but there is a consensus without exceptions that trust is an important and influential factor in childcare. For example, a parent writes that: ‘It [trust] is a building block in every relation’. Another parent writes that trust means everything. She would never have her child in a preschool if she did not trust anyone in the staff, she writes. A respondent writes that if parents do not feel trust towards the pedagogues, it doesn’t work. Social relations are also an aspect of trust, according to a parent who writes, ‘I think that trust in preschool is important because it will make it easier for the child to develop relations with new persons’ (parent). Trust also carries the meaning of self-confidence among children, or as one parent writes, ‘[Trust is needed] for children to have courage to be themselves’ (parent).

These empirical results reveal a contextually-defined difference between the survey and the ethnographical study. Empirical results in the survey showed that trust influences but does not determine respondents’ views. In a child-focused context like a preschool, trust becomes more (if not fully) deterministic. Parents would simply not have their child at the preschool they did not trust. The survey results show that trust is more than important for responding parents; it is totally essential. Without trust they would not leave their children in the pedagogue’s care, so the governmental childcare would not have any children to take care of. It simply would not work without trust.

Thus, a user-context perspective should be added in future research on influences of trust. In what contexts is trust deterministic and in what contexts is partially influential? What happens when the online environment is analysed as the common contextual arena

Views of trust among leaders and employees

Trust’s relation to mutuality was reflected here as well as in prior results. An example of importance of mutual confidence is given in an interview with a leader at the explored childcare unit. Trust, for her, is that she relies on the staff and that they fulfil their obligations, but it is also that they trust that she is there to support them. Caroline, who is a pedagogical leader, defines trust more as a belief. For her trust is ‘that you all the time believe that people are doing their very best depending on their circumstances’ (Caroline). This
view is shared by pedagogue, Åsa, who says that she does not trust if she
does not believe in the other person. This employee contextualises trust so-
cially. She says, ‘We work a lot with that in our groups of children. Empa-
thy, trust, group strengthening, how you act together with friends. You shall
dare to say if something isn’t okay, and you shall be able to tell the adults,
but also other children. You shall respect each other. We have worked a lot
with this’ (Åsa).

Jesper, who is an upper-level leader, says that if trust begins to break
somewhere in the organisation, problems will occur. He describes trust as
interdependent between people with different roles and positions in the or-
ganisation. For him, trust is like a chain that connects people from the direc-
tor of the city, all through the organisation and out to the employees. He says
that trust is fundamental for him. He needs to trust that everyone takes re-
ponsibility for different situations that occur. Sometimes this does not work,
and leaders whom he is responsible for become overloaded with problems.
Then they need to trust that he supports them, he continues. Again we find
the relation between mutuality and trust. Another example of the great mean-
ing of trust is expressed by pedagogue Lotta who says, ‘[trust is] incredibly
important. If the children cannot feel trust it will be difficult to make it work
since it is a foundation’ (Lotta). Pedagogical leader Caroline has a similar
view, noting, ‘If trust lacks, it might cause feelings that I don’t have the abil-
ity to do different things, because no one thinks I can. Lacks of trust can
cause a lot, it influences development, learning and comfort’ (Caroline).

So far it has been shown that respondents regard trust as incredibly im-
portant in childcare. It is also a fact that in all the interviews, without excep-
tions, respondents spontaneously describe trust in affirmative terms. There-
fore, they were explicitly asked whether there are any disadvantages with
trust in childcare.

Disadvantages with trust
When respondents were asked about potential disadvantages with trust, it
was common that they became silent and thought for a short moment, but a
majority of them came to the conclusion that trust can be problematic in
some respects. For example, it needs to be connected to responsibility, or as
pedagogical leader Caroline expresses it: ‘If I give you trust, I also give you
a responsibility’ (Caroline). Another revealed disadvantage with trust is that
it might be influenced by evaluation of individuals. Preschool leader Laura
says, ‘You might not be objective when you regard a person depending on
who it is. Then you might give less trust’ (Laura). A child-related disad-
vantage is revealed by parent. Siri, who says, ‘my son builds a strong rela-
tion with the pedagogues and it might be hard when they disappear out of his
life’ (Siri). In this case, trust-building with persons that will be separated in
the future is a disadvantage. However, she also says, ‘you would not want to have four years without trust in preschool just because it will be hard to separate’ (Siri).

Analysis and interpretations

The empirical presentation started with a description of the Preschool Sunflower. A culturally-loaded feast, the preschool examination day, was described as well. Culturally symbolic communications are visible this day. During this feast, it is directly visible that foods from different countries represent the children’s and/or their parents’ origin. So do the flags from all children’s home countries decorating the room. Seeing the flags and the practice of enjoying food from different countries has dual communicative functions in a culturally symbolic dimension: one visible and one implicit. It is directly visible that these are the countries the children come from. There is a cultural evaluation going on at an invisible symbolic level as well. The food and the flags are a symbolic representation of the ethnic cultural belonging of children and parents, but these culturally-loaded phenomena also symbolise that the children’s backgrounds are regarded as important. They are worth seeing. Thus, an implicit cultural evaluation and communication is visible through practice (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010). This is that the pedagogues communicate implicitly that ‘We think your backgrounds are important and interesting, and we want to learn about them’. This can be interpreted as a reflection of Vision 2030 in this local culture, because the vision says that Stockholm shall be a diverse city. This vision is promoted by a culturally loaded feast like the one described. When Intranet tools like TTM are utilised, ethnographers can point out features that realise the content, and thereby contribute to enhancements of the strategy.

Implicit cultural communication, like those described here, can be transformed by ethnographers into technology development, design and implementation processes by describing and analysing cultural phenomena, and suggesting how similar symbolisms can be transformed into HCI-related work. This is nothing new. What is new, however, is that the analysis also shows that the common critique regarding ethnography within HCI, that it is time-consuming because of long hours of field work (Viller and Sommerville 2000) is not always true. The view that it is time-consuming builds upon the traditional anthropological ethnography where the researcher actually lived in the field for months or even years. This kind of fieldwork is not needed within HCI. The analysis above required two hours at the described feast. What is needed, however, is well-functioning communication between the ethnographer and the designer. The ethnographer must be able to make clear not only what is implicitly communicated, but also how it is communicated and what features intended users want and need (Hughes et
The ethnographer’s bridge-building responsibility is put into play here (Hughes, Randall, and Shapiro 1993). Furthermore, this reasoning also strengthens the argument that ethnography is an on-going process that starts before the fieldwork and continues afterwards. It is during the analysis that the highlighted symbolism becomes transformed into knowledge that can be used by designers and technology developers within HCI.

Unintentional cultural evaluations and stereotypes can also be recognised in a culture. An example at Preschool Sunflower is when the pedagogues noticed that girls played in the home section whereas boys played in the building and construction section. They wanted to work against these gender stereotypic play patterns among children, so they decided to take away the home section, and thereby hopefully make the girls play in the building and constructions area instead. The only result, however, was that the girls completely stopped playing in the room. On a cultural evaluative level, this way of facing gender issues aimed to oppose gender stereotypes, but what actually happened was that both male and female societal norms were even more saliently manifested. It was the boys’ activities that were kept and thereby reinforced as a gender-based cultural norm for the girls to follow, and the other way around: boys’ rights to equality in the home sphere are contradicted in practice. This might be an effect of cultural familiarity that follows taken-for-granted assumptions (Ihde 1983). There is no taken for the granted assumption that boys should play in a homelike playing room, but it is expected that girls should take part in (the stereotypically-viewed) male work context. Ethnographers can fulfil their bridge-building responsibility by pointing out these kinds of unintentional versus intentional cultural effects of stereotypes, and suggest how this issue can be avoided when technology is developed and implemented. This is an example where, as Harper expresses it, ‘[ethnography] is useful and can uncover important materials that need to be taken into account when systems are being designed, implemented and evaluated’ (Harper 2000, 241). A potential weakness in this analysis is that the ethnographer might over-estimate effects of such decisions that are described here, and that she is (‘I’ am) influenced by her own cultural values, gender-associated experiences and so on when I do the estimations (Hardy, Phillips, and Clegg 2001, England 1994). It is impossible for an ethnographer to free herself from her own familiar horizons (Gadamer 1976).

It was stated that children shape their own days and control their activities at the Preschool Sunflower. This is manifested symbolically (everything is easily accessible so you are welcome to use it), as well as practically (children can use things on their own initiative) through the physical environment that provides opportunities for diverse activities for the children. There is also a cultural evaluation involved here. Children are looked upon as competent, and they have a democratic right to form their own days. This is an example where the Swedish cultural norm, which has a high level of individualism; see the table in (Hofstede 2001, 215). However, it was also
shown that the freedom is restricted when the activities are about children’s use of technology. The pedagogues were insecure about their own skills concerning technology. Indeed one of them said, ‘we have not come this far’ (pedagogue). Children’s restricted freedom to use technology is not due to the technology in itself; it is emanating from the adults’ lack of sense-making in their self-evident lifeworlds concerning technology. By controlling the children’s freedom to use technology, these pedagogues avoid transforming their lifeworld by including technology in it in a way that makes sense to them. Thus, the pedagogues’ experienced security in the self-evident lifeworld makes them act in ways that contradict Lpfö98/2010 as well as Vision 2030’s promotions of children’s use of technology.

How, then, do contradictions like these occur? New technology causes cultural dynamics that force the pedagogues to advance sense unmakings in their self-evident lifeworld, more or less against their will. Technology for small children at preschools is a quite new phenomenon. These pedagogues have developed their sensemakings in children’s play with physical toys, not in digital activities. At the same time, they are living in a time of rapid technological development that engages more and more humans, children included. So, the culture is dynamic and technology plays a significant role in the changes, whereas the pedagogues’ lifeworlds are shaped by stability and sensemakings that build on well-recognised non-technological playing for children. There is a clash between forced cultural changes versus desired stability in the lifeworld. One way the pedagogues could handle this is through sense unmakings, because ‘old’ sensemakings no longer suit the objective reality when technology is introduced into children’s culture. However, this suggestion placed great responsibility on the individual pedagogue. What can leaders do to reduce the defined discrepancy? One way could be to make the discrepancy explicit by asking employees how they experience changes that force them to change their own way of working and thinking. Even if they cannot answer the question immediately, it is likely that reflective thinking will emanate from the question in itself, and this thinking might facilitate their sense unmakings. The analysis here is another example where ethnography viewed as a process is established, because new discoveries are found external to the actual fieldwork. The described clash could not have been found during the fieldwork or without theoretical lenses. It also constitutes another example of ethnographical contributions to HCI, because it illuminated an obstacle to introducing technology in a way that allow children to use it as freely as they use physical toys and choose activities at the preschool. Thus, the ethnographer can point out clashes that cause obstacles to fulfilling targets in paragraphs about technology in steering documents. This is important because, ‘The ‘innovative’ power among us humans and IT might begin to disappear at about five years of age, so it is important with IT in preschool’ (Rune)
There is no evaluation regarding the pedagogues in this analysis. Their lifeworld should be respected. It is, however, an obstacle to fulfill some of the targets stipulated in paragraphs in steering documents for the preschool. Therefore, it should be noticed because it is unlikely that these pedagogues are unique in their views of technology. Future research should explore whether this a general pattern, because, if it is, it influences steering documents transformation into practice in a way that affect’s children’s development of technology skills. There is a risk of inequality of children’s opportunity to enhance their technological skills, because it is dependent on adults’ interest and skills more than on the content in steering documents. Furthermore, the empirical results also showed that technology, as such, needs to be defined. What is technology at a preschool?

In the empirical presentation, a quote was provided that described a pedagogue’s use of a TTM. She was annoyed because the content felt so nice, but it did not match the reality, according to her. This opinion was revealed in the interview study and in the survey as well. The content does not make sense to her because of this discrepancy. From this perspective, it seems that development has not progressed during this research process. There are still inconsistencies between the disseminated content and at least this respondent’s experienced lifeworld. It is likely that it also reduced trust regarding this work, because employees listen to information that is not mirrored in their own experiences at all. How could they trust that the true intentions are good for them and the activities when they do not mirror their culture and experienced lifeworld?

One phenomenon that has changed is leaders’ control of who has done the work or not. Early in this work, leaders on different levels were obliged to pretty strictly control that the work was done, but during the process leaders loosened the control. Upper-level leader Jesper described this as a problem. He has responsibility for long-term strategic issues, but he does not get so much feedback about what responses on other levels in the organisation have indicated regarding TTM. For him, there is too little follow-up and feedback on generated results, as he describes it. The socio-ideological control that TTM and Vision 2030 describe becomes contradictory (Alvesson and Kärreman 2004). The content is a socio-ideological control of values that should dominate the organisation, but weak feedback on its results to leaders who are responsible for long-term strategic work reduces the opportunity to explore how promoted values in Vision 2030 are apprehended among leaders and employees. So, Vision 2030 and TTM both promote a socio-ideological control, and yet do not.

As in the interview and the survey study, a discrepancy between the theoretical content in TTM and Vision 2030, versus practice at local workplaces, has been revealed. An example was given by pedagogue Anne-Marie. She said that the work had been going on for four to five years, but they had almost not worked with it at all. They just watched TTM and moved on. The
only reason they did this work was because the leaders had told them to do it. If the only reason to advance an assignment is because you are obligated to do it, it is likely that you will not make sense of the content, simply because it does not signal any value for the individual’s experienced or self-evident lifeworld. On the other hand, viewings of Vision 2030 as a natural part of the practical work have been established. An example is when a respondent described a typical workday with the words: ‘laugh, play, thoughtfulness, care, project work, wonderment and challenge’. Based on these descriptions, it is likely that the work culture promotes a social climate that is pleasant and that creates pleasant feelings in respondents’ lifeworlds. All the mentioned concepts can be regarded as expressions of good quality, which is a core in Vision 2030. However, the link between these high quality experiences in the local culture and the vision is not clarified. This contradicts leaders’ intentions to point out that quality for users of service at local workplaces also is quality for the organisation and a fulfillment of the vision. Ethnographers’ bridge-building responsibility should be put into play here, by making the link explicit and communicating it to employees as well as leaders. A lesson to learn for other organisations that aim to work with TTM-like tools is that relations between local and organisational quality development might be unclear when a steering document is disseminated through TTM-like tools. One way this can be accomplished is by connecting the visionary work to other steering documents, as a leader for a preschool, Laura, argued. She said that, if they worked towards the best possible preschool according to Lpfö98/2010, they would not need anything else.

The work with TTM has been presented in terms of three investigations. In order to achieve an overview of the process, a summary of the process and of the social media function that this research has contributed to by promotions of increased interactive communication between high level leaders and employees is given.
The Intranet-based leadership strategy – a process

The decision concerning Vision 2030 in the City Council of Stockholm (Utlåtande 2007) was a starting point for a process that has continued since then. Pia, who was a Strategist of Communications at this time, says, ‘It was there it begun, with the starting point that all employees need information and knowledge about… yes, good attitudes, that are to say become ambassadors if we shall be able to make the vision about Stockholm being in world-class come true’ (Pia).

During this interview, Pia says that the decision was due to a growing population, or as she expresses it:

How can we continue to deliver a world-class service 20 years from now when we are so many more citizens, and when the demands and needs change and develop? People live longer. We get more elderly people with different needs. We get more citizens with different ethnic backgrounds. The result is high demands on our organisation. It is about quality of life. (Pia)

She continues, describing the beginning of the process, saying that, based in world surveillance, a very active phase took place. Representatives from the city, from organisations and from public authorities in the region were involved in this effort. An implementation plan took form, and for the first time in the city’s history it would be fully web-based, even if verbal dialogues also were regarded as important means for implementing the vision into daily routines. In this interview, I asked Pia what she regards as the dream scenario in relation to Vision 2030. The ambition she designates can be viewed as an expression of Winston’s and Patterson’s description of how their leadership definition can be achieved, through mediation of a vision of the future that suits the followers’ evaluations, and that makes it possible to interpret the future in current time (Winston and Patterson 2006). She says:

The dream vision is that it should feel natural for everyone working in the city that we have a vision and that the vision is a Stockholm of world-class. That she as an individual shall be involved in the discussions so much that the own engagement, the own motivation [makes her want to act according to Vision 2030]… thus that she acts according to the vision in the daily work. That it feels completely natural to reflect on one’s own work as if she really
wants it to be world-class for the citizens in today’s Stockholm and in tomorrow’s. That it is something she carries with her today. (Pia)

Pia also says that

A person employed in the city of Stockholm shall regard it as natural that he contributes to a world-class Stockholm in the future, but here and now as well. What he does today affects the children around them tomorrow as well. He can see the interplay between parents and other activities in the city, that he contributes. (Pia)

Vision 2030 is described as a portrait, painted with a broad brush. The employees are expected to pencil in the details, thus to formulate what it means for them and for the tasks they are responsible for. It is about increasing knowledge about the individual’s contribution to the whole.

The first study was advanced between the publication of TTM number four and five. The empirical results from this study were used partly as an empirical base for results in this thesis, and partly as a tool for development of the work with Vision 2030 and TTM. Consequently, in March of 2010, the first report was sent to the responsible leaders in the City Hall (Löfström 2010). They were also given a verbal presentation of the results. In August 2012 a leader responsible for it, Susanne, who had taken over the work after Pia, presented an overview on how the work had progressed in relation to the previously-referred report.

When the interview with Susanne took place, she had worked with ‘the together project’ for two years, but then they did not call it a project any longer, she says. It was a project for three years. At that time, it had been integrated into other communications. She says, ‘My task now is to work with the vision internally in different ways and with a ground in films and moving media [prior TTM]’ (Susanne). Following this, she adds that a lot has happened since I spoke to them in the beginning of this research. She continues, saying, ‘when I have looked a little at the conclusions and recommendations in your report it is obvious that we have done things. This is partly due to that I have looked at these conclusions’ (Susanne). After this she tells me that in 2010 they focused the work on leaders, and therefore they made modules directed to leaders this year. It is the modules (TTM) that have been the core in this communication, she says. They have been the main carrier of the messages, so everything has applied to them. In 2011 the city concentrated the work on all employees again. However, now responsible leaders had made mayor changes in the format, due to different reasons. One is technological. Earlier they had a technical solution that was not included in their ordinary Intranet. It was very hard, and they had faced problems, for example accessibility and problems with technology in local workplaces. Based in this, they thought about how they could solve these problems. How could they get a better statistical evaluation? How could they
decrease the costs and integrate the work into their own systems, they asked themselves. The solution was a web TV function that was sent out as a link in an e-mail. Statistics are now registered automatically and it is possible to do group registrations. This was one of your conclusions in the report, she adds. She continues looking at another conclusion in the report. Doing this she says,

You have suggested that managers should be able to discuss dilemmas in special chief encounters. It is something that has been implemented by means of including dialogue screens. This is a discussion model, one can say. (…), with a dilemma described. You can do this in different ways, of course. In this case it was the dilemmas described in advance, and managers discuss them in groups. It circulates around this screen and makes a stepwise effort to move forward on this’. (Susanne)

The next suggestion is to have better opportunities for interactivity in the modules. Now they have a model that is very close to, or actually significantly similar to social media. Susanne says

We have developed a function for the viewers to comment about the content in the film. This has been developed in steps, or phases, and now we have even thought that you should get a little e-mail notification when someone has commented on your own post in order to further increase interactivity. So if you have written something and someone writes a comment in the comment feature, then it is a small ding in your mailbox, so then you know it. So this is a further step we have taken [to increase interactivity]. (Susanne)

One suggestion in the report (Löfström 2010) is that TTM should be more directed towards groups. This has been promulgated. Today there are opportunities to work and register in groups. Leaders responsible have worked intensively with information that this work should be committed during meetings at the workplaces, or in other forms of meetings. It is good if the leader stimulates discussions about Vision 2030. Many users log-in in groups and watch at the film together, according to Susanne.

The next part she reads in the report is a suggestion to clarify the link between daily lives today and the year 2030 in work that people already do, and how they can come closer to the vision with small steps. Susanne says

I agree with you, and this has also been discussed in focus groups and so on. There is a need for feedback and confirmations, and it is a challenge to give this centrally. It is better that it is envisioned locally, that now we have come this far, or to make sub targets that makes it possible to have follow ups during the journey towards 2030. (Susanne)

Finally Susanne reads a suggestion in the report that meanings of so-called good examples in TTM should be clarified. Her answer to this is that
This is an ambition we have and that we have implemented as well. I think this might be why the latest films have been more appreciated in the broad layers than before. We have taken up parts of the work that may not have been so obvious in vision development that you might not have your place in the vision in the same way. (Susanne)

The development described here shows that technological solutions, the content of TTM and the interactive communication function have been developed according to the research results. This illustrates one potential way HCI researchers can transform results of qualitative research into concrete HCI issues like customised and user-influenced uses of technology. This transformation from results into HCI is dependent upon well-functioning communication, like the one Hughes et al. describe (Hughes et al. 1994), between the researcher and leaders responsible for it.

Viller and Sommerville argue that ethnography is typically a lengthy process, taking several months or even longer in some cases. Thus, requirement engineering simply cannot afford to make use of a technique that takes so long to produce results (Viller and Sommerville 2000). The empirical results here show that ethnography can be useful in technology development without long-term investigations in the field as in traditional ethnographical research. They also argue that it is not a straightforward process to communicate the results of ethnographic studies to the design process (Viller and Sommerville 2000). The development process of TTM and Vision 2030 shows that such communication issues can be overcome.

The communication on the social media function creates an empirical material for this research. The comments are deleted after a while on the Intranet, but they have been saved and treated as empirical material in this research. There is an ethical dilemma involved here. When people wrote these comments, they wanted to communicate with leaders responsible and colleagues. They did not know that their comments could be used as empirical material in a research project. However, despite this issue using them empirically is motivated for two reasons. First, the comments are used anonymously in this thesis and they are ultimately deleted on the Intranet. Therefore, uses of this empirical material cannot harm the people who have written the comments simply because it will be difficult to identify them. The second reason is that their opinions fulfill the illustration of the development process. Thus, they can contribute to future development that will benefit both themselves and others within the Stockholm municipality.

Vision 2030 is no longer regarded as a project, as Susanne notes above. Today, it is one way of working among others, and TTM are now called films. In an e-mail communication with a leader responsible at the upper organisational level, Ida-Marie, she describes how they plan to carry out this work in current and future work. She writes
The films have been a quick way to reach out with the change (sense of urgency). Now we are moving on with other methods as well, more traditional, groups of leaders, communicators etc. at administration offices and companies. We have gigantic challenges ahead of us, but all of us must see that. Leaders further out in the organisation and employees have, as you say, another perspective than for example I have. We need to create tools to help everyone to see. Most people want to do a good job, and they need tools for it. Looking upon cultures can be one way, different internal cultures, among different Stockholmers and so on. (Ida-Marie)

Looking upon cultures could, as Ida-Marie says, also be a way to develop a leadership that increases understandings and insights, rather than developing different techniques, as is described in Stockholm’s municipalities for chiefs and leaders (Ledarstrategi för chefer i Stockholm stad 2005).

The Intranet use in this area has become interactive through the social media function which is designed in direct relation to the films. Today this functions as a forum for discussions between leaders and employees.

Vision 2030 and the films- a social media function

An opinion revealed during the interview and the survey studies was that TTM and Vision 2030 were looked upon as propaganda for Stockholm, maybe even more than it was regarded as a steering document and as an official commitment. This viewpoint is brought up in a comment on the social media function, where a man writes

This film is informative and the tone is serious and factual. Unfortunately, I (and others) perceived the tone of parts of previous movies as almost propagandistic or aiming towards mutual admiration among employees within the municipality. I think we who work in the City of Stockholm are trying to do as good a job as possible. It [content in TTM] can actually be offensive. Sometimes the films repeatedly urge us to put the user in focus and to discuss how we develop our operations to meet the demands of its citizens. That's what we do every day! Continue on the factual, informative way! It works better than empty words and beautiful phrases. (Man)

This person is critical because the films urge them to put the users of service in focus because they are already doing this every day. High level leader, Ida-Marie, answers his comment. She writes

Hello! [It is] nice that you have a positive impression of the film. One reason to do the films is that we in our gigantic organisation can see and get to know more of each other's daily lives through movies. Maybe you want to share your stories from your work? The hasty growth changes the city in many
ways. If we talk about it with each other, it helps us to prepare for tomorrow. (Ida-Marie)

How does the rapid change on the organisational level influence work cultures locally? This perspective is equally important for the realisation of Vision 2030. It is thought about by responsible leaders. In an e-mail communication on this subject, Ida-Marie says

I definitely think that it goes in both directions. Hard pressure on children in preschool (size of departments, lack of educated pedagogues), difficulties to find housing affects our city district administration offices and the ‘hard’ administration offices. Many new languages are required, among new Stockholmers as well as among employees. Parks and recreation areas are torn by more people, food etc that suits more cultural habits are needed in schools. There is a need for a clear communication when it suits my needs (as a citizen). The list can be made incredibly long. I think that we all are affected in different ways but the change is advance step by step and maybe some people do not see what is behind. Some people want to stay in yesterday but that time does not exist anymore. (Ida-Marie)

The connection between dynamics on local workplaces and the growth of the city might not, however, be obvious at local workplaces. An example of this importance is found in an interview with a leader of a preschool, Selma. When she is asked about the circumstances to work with Vision 2030 and TTM, she says:

The timing with the vision has been a bit bad for us. It came while we went through a lot of change in the unit, and it has been clear that the change process has absolute priority, so the vision has not taken so much room or time. For us it has been working without a wall and without material, moving a wall. (…) We have expanded the unit twenty percent this year. (Selma)

This example illustrates that interactive analysis of influences should be promulgated. It is not a coincidence that the timing between Vision 2030 and the expansion of the preschool clashes. It is due to the same phenomenon: the city is growing. The effect on local levels becomes even more obvious when the respondent says

We've have built one more preschool in the same location. It is not an isolated project. We have brought in 20 percent of the existing premises so all my four kindergartens have been busy thinking educational environment and receive new colleagues, recruit new colleagues, change their behavior and have a good quality while so they have had head full of it. (Selma)

She describes a process where growth has influenced numerous aspects locally, from recruiting new colleagues to thinking about the educational environment, but this is not connected to the city as a whole.
Another aspect that is mentioned in a comment on the social media function is need for encouragement. This comment reveals a practical distance between leaders and employees. It is a woman who writes

It would be good with more encouragement. The director in our district got a reward for her/his work with health issues for employees, but as usual this does not influence us teachers. We can never get our hour per week for exercise, because our work does not permit it. It would be fantastic if we could take an hour walk in daytime once a week!! (Woman)

She receives a response from a woman who says, ‘An hour for health care? Does that exist? Our leaders say it does not’ (woman). This illustrates that the social media function gives employees opportunities to discuss their realities with each other as well as with leaders, and they can do this in a forum that is read by responsible leaders. This forum also offers an opportunity to express criticism. A serious criticism is offered by a woman who describes the films and her reality as almost two different worlds. She writes

After seeing the movie, and especially after listening to the city Director in the end of the film, I really want to point out that what is described here does not match reality at all in many of the city’s highschoois.

1. We must manage the service of today and prepare for tomorrow’s needs. In many of the schools in the city, definitely at my workplace, we cannot manage today’s demands of knowledge concerning uses IKT demands. My students do not have access to computers. They do not have opportunities to develop their competences concerning searches for knowledge and their competence concerning presentation techniques in an active learning environment at school-to give some examples. Because of a dramatic under financing- as we and many other understand the numbers mostly because of the hasty IT costs for the VolvoIT-contract- forces us to savings that reduce quality until next school year.

2. There is no equality between highschoois in the city concerning IT. The only thing it seems like everybody has is hasty increasing costs, but the number of functioning computers per student varies a lot.

3. The Director says that it is important, and difficult, to always examine and change how we use the city’s money when it is needed in order to give the citizens the best service- education in my case. I experience that willingness to change decisions in the department of education does not exist at all and to discuss it is almost just as impossible. Prestige and hidings of difficulties seems to be legio. I have spoken with people in many different roles. Nobody wants to be open with their names, but everybody speaks about huge difficulties and lots of things that should/must be reconsidered and changed, especially this enormously expensive IT-contract, but because you get into real trouble if you oppose against the leader for the highschool and other leaders at the department you keep quiet. This is deeply alarming. It screams inside me of willingness to sign this with my name- but of course I cannot do that.
4. Finally it is spoken about being proud of our activities. I am proud of being a teacher in many ways, of my wise and engaged students with a willingness to learn, of my wise and engaged colleagues with a willingness to learn and develop- but I am not proud about the way the city of Stockholm handle the highschools.

I have sent lots of mail to some civil servants, but I do not get any answers. I expect to get some sort of answer, and hopefully with the insight that we need to work together if we shall reach a Stockholm of world-class, and we must use willingness, engagement and knowledge from everybody, not least from the activities themselves. (woman)

This comment is quoted in full, because it not only exhibits explicitly stated problems, but implicit issues are also revealed: democracy problems for example. If this person’s standpoint that many people are critical, but that they get reprimands if they advance explicit criticism is correct, there is a serious problem that should not exist in the Swedish society. It also contradicts the part of Vision 2030 that aims towards a Stockholm that is constantly working to improve local democracy and equality of citizens. If her viewpoint that students access to technology differs between schools is correct, there is an equality problem between students. If she tries to communicate with civil servants and they do not answer, there is a communication problem. Here criticism of the contract with Volvo-IT is commonly heard, but unfortunately this cannot be changed because it is a signed contract. Therefore, this discussion should be: ‘how can we handle this in the best possible way?’ Nonetheless, the purpose of this thesis is not to try to resolve who is right or who is wrong. What is important here is that the actual communication tool has developed into a platform where employees can express standpoints, and where the standpoints are read and sometimes responded to by high-level leaders and/or colleagues. This platform is used for communicating cultural aspects as well. One man describes a discussion with an employee with a foreign background who said that she do not want world-class. She wants to have Swedish-class. This is the reason that she came here. The world she comes from has much worse situations in preschools, care for the elderly, and care for the disabled as well as worse social services. This man continues, saying that this was an eye-opener for him. He had explained to the employee that world-class does not mean the same class as the rest of the world. It means best in the world, and sometimes we are best in the world in Sweden, he finishes up his comment. This comment reveals that there is still no common definition of what world-class really means in Vision 2030. This man interprets it as best in the world, whereas Ida-Marie defines the term like this: ‘world-class is not the same as best in the world. Many can be of world-class, for us in the city it is about continuing strive towards a high quality in our services in the perspective of the citizens needs and based in our circumstances’ (Ida-Marie).
The social media function is not only used to advance critical standpoints. Encouraging comments are given as well. One person writes, ‘It is fantastic when we think about the film, and how it is possible to change and renew methods and a new thinking. It is inspiring’ (woman). Another comment is, ‘It is important that my work makes a difference for other, for all preschool children in [name of district]! The film is informative and it has a good tone; it is lovely to see other activities in the multiplicity that the city offers its citizens’ (woman).

Analysis and interpretations

In the presentation above, a person expressed a criticism of the films urging them to put the users of service in focus because they are already doing this every day, he argued. This person identifies disseminated information with his lifeworld and culture, and therefore he is reluctant to include it in his daily work cultures. Why should he? It is already included as a feature in his ‘collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people [the local culture here] from others [the organisational culture]’ (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010, 6). For him, it like being told to do what he is already doing, and therefore the identification with disseminated information becomes offensive. This analysis implies the common view among culturally-focused researchers, that cultural identification facilitates inclusions should be questioned or at least used in a critical manner. If leaders tell you to work in a certain way, it might be offensive rather than developing the message depending on which cultural identification that is dominant. For this man, concrete facts and information in TTM make more sense than (what he calls) beautiful words and phrases do. Smircich and Morgan argue that: ‘The leader exists as a formal leader only when he or she achieves a situation in which an obligation, expectation, or right to frame experience is presumed, or offered and accepted by others’ (Smircich and Morgan 1982, 258). TTM is an Intranet-based leadership strategy that emanates from physical human leaders, but what actually faces employees and leaders within the organisation is information that comes from a TTM through a computer. The actual ‘meeting’ is an interaction between a human and a computer, not a face-to-face meeting between a leader and an employee. In such a leadership context, it might be hard for employees to define a subject that personifies the formal leader Smircich and Morgan define. Even if Irene Svenonius is present and visible in TTM, most employees never meets her in real life. She is a distance leader that becomes ‘close’ through TTM. This might explain the importance the man that is mentioned above puts on the distinction between ‘beautiful words’ and ‘facts’. He accepts TTM as a kind of transformer of Sveonius’s role as a formal leader only if the content can be presumed, because it frames his experiences in the local
culture. ‘Beautiful words’ cannot reach this, but information he experiences as facts can. Based in this reasoning, this thesis argues that it becomes more important to ‘disseminate facts rather than use certain words and illustrations’ when a leadership strategy shapes acceptance of a formal leader (and thereby of her/his disseminated content) through interactions between a human and a computer instead of face-to-face meetings between leaders and employees.

As a response to the employees arguing that is analysed above, high level leader Ida-Marie writes that: ‘The hasty growth changes the city in many ways. If we talk about it with each other, it helps us to prepare for tomorrow’ (Ida-Marie). The employee has his identification on a low cultural level (workplace, doing the practical work) while the Ida-Marie’s perspective is on an organisational level (gigantic organisation, rapid growth). The city is changing in many ways, she writes. This is correct from an organisational perspective, but, if the same perspective is adopted on a local cultural level, it might lead to the offense the man describes. For him, it is not the cultural habits and values in his lifeworld that are changing, it is the general organisational culture, and this is not his primary identification, at least not in the quoted complaint. This complexity should be discussed among responsible leaders. The films aim to disseminate the content in Vision 2030 to local workplaces, but the motivation is based in a rapidly changing organisational culture, the municipality as a whole. These two perspectives can be integrated if leaders discuss the changing city and its effect on local workplaces. The communicated content should be complemented with the question: ‘how do these changes in the city affect your workplace?’ It is disseminated that individuals’ contribution to local workplaces is a contribution to the city as a whole, but the other way around is not discussed. How does the rapid progress in the municipality influence local work cultures? So far the perspective has been more or less directed in one way, meaning of quality on local workplaces for the city as a whole.

This thesis has two purposes. One is to follow, describe and analyse an Intranet-based leadership strategy through a broad, dynamic and cultural perspective. Recommendations given in this section are related to this aim. The other purpose is to conduct ethnographic research and thereby explore uses of ethnography within HCI. Findings that are related to this purpose are discussed below.
Towards adjusted ethnography within HCI

The second aim in this thesis was to effect an ethnographic research process and thereby explore uses of ethnography within HCI. Thus, it was a kind of a meta-research that aimed to reflect upon ethnography within this research area. It was shown that there is an interest in ethnography among researchers within HCI, but also that there are issues following this research technique. For example, it was argued that ethnography is commonly understood as a method, and that ethnography within HCI differs from ethnography in other research areas because it is directed toward system use and system design. This reasoning followed Hughes et al. who argued that ethnographic studies focus upon the ‘real world’ sociality recovered through a fieldworker’s participation in that context. Directed toward system use and system design, this implies placing an emphasis on studying the functionalities of a technological system as they evolve from their incorporation into users’ socially organised work activities (Hughes, Randall, and Shapiro 1993).

Another issue was that it is difficult to draw abstract lessons in the form of design principles from a technique that is concerned with a concrete detail of a particular situation (Viller and Sommerville 2000). Harper argued that ethnography is ‘simply one way of looking at how people do their work. It is, and has been demonstrated to be a very valuable addition to the methods that have evolved over the years to understand and represent work’ (Harper 2000, 239). Ethnography is regarded as valuable, but there are also uncertainties about how empirical material from ethnographical studies should be used in practice, or as Harper express it:

Ethnographic tools, techniques and presentational formats would appear, therefore, something of a collage, a mish-mash of things. Consequently, it is difficult to know quite what to make of claims that ethnography can help in ‘requirements capture’ or ‘domain specification’ in system design (...), for the simple fact that it is difficult to know what is meant by the term ‘ethnography’. (Harper 2000, 242)

Thus, views regarding ethnography within HCI are contradictory. It is looked upon as valuable but also as difficult to draw abstract lessons from in forms of design principles from it. It is regarded as valuable in addition to methods, but it also appears as a mish-mash of things, according to the quoted authors. The meta-exploration of ethnography in this thesis has led to
thoughts and recommendation that can reduce some of these uncertainties and misapprehensions.

**About time spent in the field**

Ethnography is sometimes associated with long-duration fieldwork within HCI (Viller and Sommerville 2000). This thesis argues against that standpoint, and it underscores the approach in practice through the fieldwork that went on for five weeks, not for several months. The empirical results from these weeks were enough to create material to fulfil the two purposes of this thesis and to initiate another research project as well. These authors have addressed the time issue by suggesting adjustments of ethnography towards what they call ‘quick and dirty’ ethnography (Viller and Sommerville 1999). However, a short term in the field does not make the ethnography ‘dirty’. It is still an approach with high scientific demands. Vision 2030 was highlighted in a number of perspectives through a short-term fieldwork. The empirical material gathered and knowledge that was produced during the weeks of fieldwork were enough to fulfill the aims of this thesis. The implications of this are that the length of the fieldwork in this research together with the knowledge it created underscores that ethnography can be utilised within HCI without long and expensive fieldwork. This is ‘clean’, not dirty, ethnography.

How, then, can bridges between ethnographers and other professions within HCI be improved in practice? This could be realised by raising intentions with ethnographical fieldwork higher up on the agenda and by discussing development of an adjusted ethnography that suits this research area that strives towards a commonly-defined and generally-accepted role of the ethnographer. With such an approach, the issues Räsänen and Nyce point out can be overcome. They argue that the role of ethnography is to point out the importance of understanding the social context, the routines of users’ workday, its practical management and organization, but this has not been unproblematic, according to these authors (Räsänen and Nyce 2008).

**About representation of visible versus implicit symbolic communication**

Visible versus implicit symbolic communication is represented in local cultural environments. An example is that pedagogues on the preschool Sunflower showed what countries the children and/or their parents come from by flags on a shelf. A cultural symbolic interpretation of this was that the exhibition of the flags had dual meanings, one concrete and one symbolic. In the analysis, it was argued that on a concrete level they showed the children’s origins and on an implicit level they exposed a cultural evaluation that the children’s origin is regarded as important.

A suggestion that emanates out of this analysis is that ethnographers could inform design processes by illuminating explicit and implicit symbolic communication and how it can be promoted or avoided in the interfaces. For
example, the city of Stockholm uses a picture of a happy mother and son to illustrate Vision 2030 (www.stockholm.se/vision2030). Explicitly this symbolises that people within this city are happy, but it has an implicit symbolic message as well. The mother and son are obviously of foreign origin. Therefore, they symbolise an acceptance of intercultural inclusions in this municipality. However, it can also be interpreted as a representation of a limited view of intercultural aspects as synonymous with inter-ethnic, which is an understanding that has been criticised in this thesis. Culture is so much more than ethnicity. This is probably an unintentional symbolic element following the choice of picture. Viller and Sommerville claim that it is difficult to draw abstract lessons in the form of design principles from a technique that is concerned with a concrete detail of a particular situation (Viller and Sommerville 2000). The abstract lesson to learn here is that ethnographers can reveal intentional as well as unintentional meanings and communications with chosen design features through the lenses of cultural theoretical analysis.

About details as cultural pitfalls in technology design
A cultural pitfall was shown in an example where an awkwardly hanging blind (louvre) at a preschool functioned as a cultural symbol for a potential weakness in the preschool’s environment in general. An interpretation of this was that, when a small and casual detail, like this blind is ignored, how can the parents know that other, more important features function at the preschool? Interpreted this way, seemingly small details become symbols of the culture, and they have concrete implications on user willingness to access them. The parents in this example chose to use another preschool. Ethnographers could build bridges between technology developers and users by identifying culturally communicative features and by pointing out similar pitfalls in technology design. If there are details in the design that symbolise some sort of non-function for the technological device, or for the device in relation to users, cultures, tasks and so on, it is likely that intended users might choose not to use it.

About transformation of cultural values in user environments versus technology development
Hofstede et al. describe values as the core of culture. The implication is that our first years in life are important in terms of values. They elaborate thus: ‘Remember being a small child? How did you acquire your values? The first years are likely gone from your memory, but they are influential’ (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010, 10). In the empirical material from Preschool Sunflower, the content in Vision 2030 was mirrored in a parent’s experience of high quality, because she described a culture where the children are in focus and where the pedagogues mediate evaluations of children. The children are worth being listened to, and they are worth being met at their own
level. The influence of values that Hofstede et al. define is transformed into practice at the Preschool Sunflower. This is what makes the respondent pleased. Indeed this parent had explicitly reflected upon the preschool, and why they are so satisfied with it. She said

What is it that makes us so happy with the preschool? I think it is that the pedagogues actually enjoy being there. It is the feeling you get, that they enjoy their job and that they meet the children in a loving way, that they listen to the children, that the children is in the center of attention and that they meet the children at their different levels. It feels like they have a set of values that they follow in their daily lives. (Siri, mother of a child at the preschool Sunflower)

What has this got to do with HCI then? How can these non-technological results be altered into issues that are of interest within this area of research? Children today are born in a technologically-shaped era. They will face technology and be forced to use it, independently of whether they want to or not. This is not only a concrete fact. It also mirrors a cultural evaluation that technology is and will be a natural part of our culture in general as well as in children’s present and future. Growing up in such a society will influence the children, according to the reasoning of Hofstede et al. It is likely that this development is mutual, that the children will influence how technology is developed and implemented as well, because they are, after all, a huge user-group. Ethnographers’ bridge-building responsibility is put into play here, by identifications, descriptions and mediations of values in user cultures as well as among designers and technology developers. What if values embedded in designs clash with values in the users’ environment? One way such a pitfall can be avoided is by ethnographic investigations of values among both users and technology developers.

About integrations of technologically-focused content in steering documents into practice
The empirical results and the analysis showed that one way technology can be introduced as a natural element in children’s daily culture is to simply let technological devices be present as one of the other artefacts and phenomena in the physical environment at the preschool. The example was a child that played with a calculator, which inspired him to practice mathematical terms and to handle the device in practice. This situation and the child’s activity is an expression of the steering document for Swedish preschool, Lpfö 1998/2010, which says that the children shall: ‘develop their mathematical skills to follow and advance reasoning’ (Skolverket 2010, 10). It is also said that the children shall develop their abilities to distinguish simple technology in their daily lives, and to find out how it works. By letting a technological device be present for free use in the environment, these aspects in the steering document were fulfilled. An assignment for ethnographers within HCI
can be to illustrate how uses of and access to technology in daily lives mirror or do not mirror content in steering documents and to suggest how the integration between these two aspects could be enhanced.

**About definitions of technology**
Empirical results revealed inconsistency concerning how respondents interpret what technology really means at preschools. An example is found in respondent Åsa’s versus respondent Laura’s descriptions. Åsa said, ‘We are privileged in this preschool. We are getting Ipads. We have a Smartboard. We have a projector, a big screen and computers. We have laptops and wireless Internet’ (Åsa). She described their technology in digital terms, while respondent Laura said

> It [technology] is both [IT and mechanical] but it is very much about how you encourage an interest for technology from a young age. It is about building and constructing and about letting the imagination flow and how we use different materials and… I am not an expert on that. I am sure there is more to define, but in particular when you are talking about technology with the children so is it not the digital technology we are talking about. Then it is about how you encourage… well, that is in line with mathematics and natural science, how you encourage an early interest to work with this. (Laura)

A majority of respondents define technology as digital features, but it can also be interpreted as building and construction. Hence, there is a lack of consensus among respondents regarding what technology really means at preschool. An assignment for ethnographers within HCI could be to explore what technology as a concept really means among users as well as among developers. Are they talking about the same things, and if they are not, how can ethnographers and designers overcome discrepancies in interpretations?

**Designing for trust**
Trust understood as mutuality has been exposed as the most common feature concerning trust in the empirical results. It is to trust in someone trust, upon yourself, as a civil servant expressed it. The literature overview showed that there is no consensus about what trust really means in prior literature (Grandison and Sloman 2000). A commonality, however, is that the researchers, not respondents, define understandings of trust. Ethnographers within HCI could explore how intended users define trust, and what they (intended users) think is needed for trustful and trustworthy interactions with and through technology. Respondents, ethnographers and designers should develop ‘trust as mutuality’ in technology together.

What implications that can be a contribution to the research field and to other organisations has the thesis led to? What is the pragmatic point about its results?
Implications for practice

This research has been like a journey with a basis in the governmental decision to implement Vision 2030 in the Stockholm municipality. Following the establishment of this steering document, a new leadership era with seemingly promising use of new technology took form. But… how has it turned out?

Recommendations for Intranet-based leadership strategies

The first aim in this thesis was to follow, describe and analyse an Intranet-based leadership strategy through a broad, dynamic and cultural perspective. Such perspectives have been presented and can be read as a synthesis in the short ‘to sum up’ and conclusions. However, if new knowledge and insights are to be concretely useful, they should be transformed into practice. This chapter suggests how results in this thesis can be implemented, by presenting recommendations for other organisations to reflect upon if they want to use the Intranet and TTM-like tools strategically in their leadership.

Can TTM-like tools be recommended as usable and efficient ways to disseminate information in organisations other than Stockholm? The answer to this question is both yes and no, because it depends on how the work is advanced and if it manages to take diversities into account. The empirical material in this research has revealed both gains and drawbacks TTM as a leadership strategy. Lessons that can be learned from the results, and that can be beneficial knowledge for other organisations to reflect upon are suggested below.

About usability

The development of the Intranet within the Stockholm municipality implies that ISO’s definition of usability would benefit by being applied in a flexible way, because the user group consists of more than 40,000 persons in a diversity of multifaceted cultures and contexts. It is likely that the practical development of the Intranet in Stockholm promoted features in ISO’s definition, since the municipality involved users in the process, but, despite this involvement, effects of the organisation’s diversity were exposed in empirical results. It was revealed that uses of the Intranet depend on circumstances at
local workplaces. For example, lack of access to both time and computers was described by Mohammed, who stated, ‘How should we have time to sit by a computer half an hour or 15 minutes every day? We have two computers and they might be occupied. We do not have time to wait until they are finished’ (Mohammed). Thus, for some workplaces within this municipality, it would not even have mattered how well designers succeeded with usable and structured interfaces when they developed the Intranet, simply because a number of respondents had no access or very limited access to computers and/or time to use them. Therefore, a suggestion is that Stockholm could develop a holistic definition (understanding) of usability that suits their large and diverse organisation. The respondent described how they tried to follow guidelines for usability, but it can be questioned if it is even possible to do this when there are 40,000 intended users? Are there any alternatives?

**Recommendation on usability**
The first recommendation for organisations that aim to work with TTM-like tools on the Intranet is to discuss usability related to diversities within the organisation. How can they strive towards a usable definition of usability that includes potential non-technological obstacles that hinder uses of the Intranet?

**About influences of work routines on cultural identifications**
It was revealed that daily work routines influenced whether Vision 2030 and TTM were experienced as in-cultural or cross-cultural at local workplaces. Karin, who works at a care unit for the elderly, had the opinion that the content in TTM was relevant, but it did not match her circumstances. She said, ‘First you need circumstances, and then you need visions’ (Karin). Following her criticism she constructed a cultural border between herself and upper-level leaders, saying, ‘We should do this work and learn what they say’ (Karin). Thus, the distinction between different cultural identifications, ‘we’ and ‘they’, became explicitly present. The work was experienced as cross-cultural for Karin. In contrast, preschool leader, Susanne, described a work culture that is shaped by flexibility and challenges. She explicitly connected the way of working with the content in the vision. The togetherness Vision 2030 promotes suits common routines in her work culture and therefore it was not hard to implement it in a way that is recognised by the culture’s members. There were no cross-cultural ‘we’ (local work culture) and ‘they’ (the organisation) involved here. It will be noticed, however, that cultural identification is not a guarantee of successful dissemination of information. Empirical results showed that it can also have contradictory effects, that it is perceived as obvious so it is just a matter of moving on. This view opposes the theoretical standpoint that cultural identification makes it easier to apply to a certain phenomenon.
Recommendation concerning cultural identification
Organisations that would like to work with TTM-like leadership strategies could explore the influence of work routines on cultural identification. A course for leaders concerning in-cultural versus cross-cultural thinking within an organisation is recommended.

Searching for a common cultural phenomenon that reduces cross-cultural borders between local and organisational culture can be one way to improve a vision in local work cultures and vice-versa. However, influences of such cross-cultural activities on disseminated content should be discussed as well. Does it make it easier to include or does it promote thoughts that we are already doing that so we can just move on?

About influences of circumstances at local workplaces to put the work into play
Empirical results revealed a pattern of contradictions between the ambition within the vision that each workplace is supposed to draw the fine lines and the obstructive circumstances at local workplaces to actually accomplish this ambition. For example, preschool leader, Marie, said, ‘I know that only one of four departments have done it, due to lack of time, because we have lots of documentation work at our meetings’ (Marie). Tina, who is a leader for a care unit for the elderly, said, ‘It has been very tough for us this year because the money has been very tight, and then you cannot make all these visions and dreams come true’ (Tina). These respondents point out that circumstances do not allow respondents to put enough time and resources into this work. This is in line with a number of respondents who have described that they just did TTM and moved on without further discussions. Therefore, they can hardly draw the fine and locally-adjusted lines in the vision.

Recommendation concerning potential contextual obstacles
Organisations that aim to develop TTM-like tools should explore influential circumstances at local workplaces. What opportunities do employees have to work with Intranet-based modules and to apply, as well as adjust, the disseminated content to suit their local work culture?

About contradictory communications
A contradiction between implicitly communicated meanings that an Intranet-based leadership strategy conveys (signaling that use of technology is important for the municipality’s development) and what is communicated through the actual situation when employees at some workplaces do the work despite obstacles such as lack of time, computer access etc. (signaling it is not important to have good technology) was discovered. This incongruity influences sensmakings and trustworthiness regarding strategic Intranet uses. This reasoning is in line with Hoogervorst et al. who argue that
next to explicit and intentional forms of communication, also other, more implicit forms of communication exist. These other forms can be both intentional and unintentional. In the latter case, signals can be voiced which are in conflict with ‘the official’, explicit communication. Not only does the organisation transmit inconsistent signals, but also more fundamentally, the trustworthiness of the explicit communication is seriously jeopardised.

(Hoogervorst, van der Flier, and Koopman 2004, 288-289)

**Recommendation concerning implicit and explicit communications**

Leaders and Intranet developers could explore potential contradictions between explicit and implicit communication. Giving lectures and/or workshops on this issue to leaders within the organisation could be one way to go. What is signalled implicitly versus explicitly and how contradictory communications can be avoided should be determined.

**About contradictions between budget and quality**

A contradiction between the core of Vision 2030 and what happens when quality faces budget issues in practice has been exposed. Quality of service and activities is promoted as essential in the vision, but this has not always been the case in practice: keeping to the budget is valued as more important. Laura, who is a leader at a preschool unit, exemplified this by saying, ‘I have much more upon me if I do not meet the budget, than I have if I have low quality of activities on for example surveys to parents.

**Recommendation concerning contradictions between budget and quality**

A recommendation for organisations that work with quality development by the establishment of steering documents like Vision 2030 is to explore what actually happens when theory meets practice. What are the relations between financial reality and cultural evaluations on a municipal and on a governmental level, and how does it influence employees’ and lower-level leaders’ evaluations of local workplaces? How influential is a visionary work if leaders experience more trouble if they do not meet the budget, than they do if the quality is considered to be low among users of service?

**Is a vision the best way to go?**

A dilemma between the individual’s right to create and recreate meanings and the vision’s goal that everyone shall strive in the same direction was revealed in an interview with Marie, who is a leader of a preschool unit. She said that the best way to fulfill the vision would be ‘to give people higher salaries and more money to do the activities (…). What is needed is more money for childcare, instead of this kind of stunt’ (Marie). The standpoint suggests that concrete circumstances hinder the ‘reshaping of the vision into new sensemakings. It was argued that this could be promoted by practical enhancements in the work environment, but also that the suggestion is subjective and prioritises leaders, in Marie’s point of view. Maybe she wants to
keep her old sensemakings and fit new missions into these meanings, rather than the other way around? This issue was presented as a dilemma between Vision 2030 and her rights to personal sensemakings. If movements toward the same goals in different areas of activities in such a large organisation as the Stockholm municipality are to be attainable, individual sensemakings might hinder the process. On the other hand, employees are individual humans with rights to create and recreate their own sensemakings. This issue points out a potentially antidemocratic problem with visions regarded as a trend in the Swedish democratic society.

**Recommendation concerning individuals’ rights versus organisations’ needs**

Politicians and leaders should discuss whether a vision is the most constructive way to work with quality development in a large, multifaceted organisation, or if other strategies would be more suitable. If people in the organisation experience the described dilemma, how should they and leaders handle the issue? If a vision is decided as the right way to go, what is a good time perspective?

**About clarification of quality development**

There is on-going work with quality development at respondents’ workplaces, but this work is not always linked to the ambition of the quality development in Vision 2030. The vision could function as a bridge-builder between local and organisational quality development if this were clarified.

**Recommendation concerning a vision as a bridge-builder between the local workplace and the organisation**

Leaders and employees could explore how on-going quality development can be linked to and clarified in relation to disseminated content.
Discussions and conclusions

A short overview of HCI and its three waves was provided after the introduction. The importance of HCI as it was revealed in the prior literature was explored after this and the importance of a thesis like this was discussed as well. It was argued that one important factor in prior literature as well as of this thesis is the function as bridge-builder. In the literature, this connection was between developers and users, and in this thesis it is between leaders and employees. A second identified factor of importance in HCI as well as of this thesis was associated with the work of Douglas Engelbart. This is to increase knowledge about complex systems in which humans are involved in order to build a technology that has the potential to improve users’ abilities and experiences, tasks, environments and organisations. The intention with TTM was to improve leaders’ and employees’ abilities, experiences, tasks and environments and thereby develop quality in the organisation. Therefore, it was argued that an important factor is the contribution to organisational development.

The next section provided a discussion concerning ethnography within HCI. Opinions regarding this research technique vary from positive to severely critical. Examples of viewpoints were that ethnography is useful and that it can uncover important material that needs to be taken into account when systems are being designed, implemented and evaluated (Harper 2000). Viller and Sommerville argue that ethnography offers detailed accounts of how work is accomplished in practice, rather than how it may be specified or how workers might report their actions in an interview (Viller and Sommerville 2000). Examples of critical standpoints were that it is not exactly clear how ethnography, along with research techniques like ethnomethodology, conversation analysis and interaction analysis can be used in domains, for example, HCI (Cooper et al. 1995). This thesis illustrates one way this can be advanced, through shorter fieldwork and trustful communication of results back to developers and designated people in the field.

Ethnography regarded as a process was defined, which applied to Sommerville et al.’s view (Sommerville et al. 1993). In this thesis, the ethnographic process was described as planning and designing the research, fieldwork, analysis, writing and reporting back to the respondents to the fieldwork. It was argued that subjectivity can hardly be avoided in ethnographic research. Therefore, it is important to be reflexive (Hardy, Phillips, and Clegg 2001, England 1994, Easterby-Smith and Malina 1999) and to let
empirical material offer transparency, as Linge argues in the forward of Gadamer, 1976 (Gadamer 1976, xiii). It was also argued that one view is that ethnography needs lots of time in the field (Sommerville et al. 1993), but the research process in this thesis shows that this is not necessary within HCI. It is ethnography regarded as a process that constitutes the ethnography, not the amount of time the researcher spends in the field. It was argued that ethnography’s social aspects, to try to be ‘one of them in the field’ (Savage 2003) was beneficial, since it made it possible to come close to respondents and win their trust.

Language within ethnography is also important, but it is something different from what it is in other branches of language science, because language cannot be separated from the situatedness of the object (Blommaert 2009). Language issues have been handled with the help of the synonymous function in word. Expressions from other authors with focus of their grammars have been used, and some analytical thinking has been performed in Swedish and translated into English. It was described that proficiency in language two has influenced the process in this thesis, since improvements in the English language has freed the mind, which is essential in ethnographic research and writing.

A presentation of the field, the Stockholm municipality, Vision 2030 and The Together Modules (TTM) followed. The theoretical toolbox was also established and culture, trust, sensemaking, sense unmaking and the life-world were defined as analytical tools, whereas phenomenology and hermeneutic constitute the theoretical framework, the workshop of thought. Leadership in prior literature as well as in the Stockholm municipality was defined and discussed, since this topic constitutes the focus of the investigation. It was shown that leadership is a broad and diverse research field with many perspectives and different kinds of leadership styles. Leadership within the Stockholm municipality corresponds with descriptions in prior literature. Chiefs and leaders are not only obligated to outline the organisation’s objectives and goals, but also to make space for employees’ autonomy within this frame (Ledarstrategi för chefer i Stockolm stad 2005). This is the leadership context in which leaders were supposed to implement Vision 2030 in their own area of activities as well.

The fieldwork was carried out in three studies. The first was an interview study, the second was an open and unstructured survey and the third was ethnographical fieldwork for five weeks at a preschool. The section below presents conclusions from these three studies.
Conclusions of the Intranet leadership focused aim

The first aim in this thesis was to follow, describe and analyse an Intranet-based leadership strategy through a broad, dynamic and cultural perspective.

The developers worked with factors in mind, such as usability, interface design and anchoring among employees, when the Intranet was developed in the Stockholm municipality, but a number of difficulties were revealed despite this attempt. The empirical material in this research manifests ISO’s usability principle (ISO 9241-11 1998). ISO also mandated that planning for usability as a part of the design and development of products involves the systematic identification of requirements for usability, including usability measures and verifiable descriptions of the context of use. This provides design targets which can be the basis for verification of the resulting design (ISO 9241-11 1998, 2).

This approach can hardly be used by a municipality like Stockholm, because there is no context of use (singular). Rather there are lots and lots of diverse and multifaceted users and contexts. Every employee is still obliged to use the Intranet and to work with TTM, despite the fact that some of them do not even reach a level of use where eventual usability can be measured, for the simple reason that they lack access to technology and/or time to use it. Highlighted obstacles in the empirical material together with developers’ intention to follow usability guidelines suggest that the approach ISO defined is not enough for a municipality like Stockholm. There is too much variety involved.

At a face-to-face presentation in a meeting for leaders, Deputy Mayor Carina associated Stockholm as an organisation with management. This was a successful dissemination strategy, because it clarified the purpose of Vision 2030 as well as the leadership strategy for the listeners. Respondents felt an enhanced engagement in this work after the lecture, which contradicts a common empirical impression in this thesis, that the local work culture is usually most significant for employees at local workplaces. Therefore, cultural analysis in a large organisation should be multi-facetted in a cross-cultural perspective. Through the speech and its’ perspective, the listeners found a cross-cultural connection between their local activities and the organisational culture. Their identification with the vision was clarified, and the speech in itself became a tool to overcome cultural complexity, as Hofstede et al. defines cultural theory (Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010). The speech was interpreted as a culturally symbolic activity for already pre-
sent and recognised values. As such the work with (TTM) and Vision 2030 does not need to be made manifest, because its meaning is already there.

A cross-cultural issue between respondents’ cultural identity and upper-level leaders’ identity was revealed. To be more precise, upper-level leaders tend to have an organisational identity, whereas employees have their main identity at the local workplace. Work culture and cultural identification influence respondents’ experience. Problems with technology access was experienced in contradictory ways by two respondents who work in different work cultures, one with the elderly and one in child care. Generally, the empirical results show that daily work routines at local workplaces influence whether Vision 2030 and TTM were experienced as in-cultural or cross-cultural at local workplaces. The work with TTM can be either in-cultural or cross-cultural depending on features such as cultural identifications and cultural routines. One conclusion is that organisations that use TTM-like tools would benefit from methodological flexibility in which the technological dissemination strategy is complemented by human-to-human interactions. Another conclusion is that when researchers advance cultural analysis in an organisation, it should be multi-faceted in a cross-cultural perspective. Cross-culture is much more complex than its usual enactment within HCI, as cross-ethnical.

The work with TTM and Vision 2030 was coordinated in different ways, through group work, time for reflections and individually. Driving forces to take part or not take part in this were leader’s clarity, agreement or disagreement with the vision’s content and clarifications of local workplaces’ meaning for the city as a whole. Driving forces were also connected to work cultures. It was easier for people in child care to apply the work to a future-directed steering document than it was for employees in care for the elderly. Work content can influence both willingness and unwillingness to engage in the work. Cultural evaluations and connections to other steering documents are incentives to participate in the work. Leaders’ control and technological obstacles had the effect that the work assignment rather than the content was spontaneously brought up by respondents, a fact which reduced the opportunity to make sense of the vision.

Lack of technology and lack of time were obstacles to advance the work, which affect the experience. For example, listening to TTM and just reading a text were experienced differently.

A coordination strategy was that employees cover the ordinary work for each other. Then the TTM were done individually. Reflections were hindered because of limited time. A cultural evaluation that it was okay to do the work during breaks was revealed, but this way of doing the work was forced by a concrete circumstance at the workplace. One respondent discussed whether it was okay to do enforced work assignments during breaks as a part of her cultural construction, or if it was forced by circumstances. Leaders within the Stockholm municipality should promote employees au-
tonomy, but is it really suitable to work autonomously in a situation in which obliged assignments do not fit within the ordinary working schedule?

Hence, multiple factors influenced how TTM and Vision 2030 were viewed as well how it had been implemented. This finding conveys complexity as a central concept when TTM-like tools are used strategically by leaders. It should be further developed how organisations can deal with this difficulty when an Intranet is used strategically for dissemination purposes.

Dissemination of Vision 2030 from above and down in the organisation obscures how local development influences in the other direction. This fact contradicts a motivation with the vision, that quality at local workplaces influences the organisation. Thus, mutuality of influences is unclear. One way to secure inter-directed influence could be to engage a work group that is explicitly aware of mutual influences in a complex organisation.

A contradiction between implicitly communicated meanings that an Intranet-based leadership strategy conveys (uses of technology is important for the municipality’s development), and what is communicated through the actual situation when they do the work (it is not important to have good technology) was revealed. This discrepancy might influence trust in the work explored. There is also a risk of cultural clashes between different groups within the organisation, because the cultural integration of technology differs among local workplaces. If such a clash occurs, explicit communication will have little effect on the existing culture. Poor adjustment to the local workplace in TTM’s content reduced experienced contribution of this work tool.

An on-going pattern of contradictions between the main ambition with the vision – that each workplace was supposed to draw the fine lines and thereby make the vision suitable to their work culture – and circumstances at local workplaces was revealed. This pattern had consequences for how the work with Vision 2030 developed and was implemented. An example of such a consequence is found in the choice of work performance. In respondent Marta’s case, they covered ordinary work for each other, whereas respondent Mohammed and his colleagues shared a computer with a small screen and did it together on one occasion. This pattern constituted an obstacle to the progress.

Organisations that aim to disseminate a steering document like Vision 2030 would benefit from a discussion of the dynamics in a development process. What balance between changes among individuals and changes in the concrete reality is most beneficial for the organisation, for employees and for users of service? Respondent Elin illustrates that the cultural identity is either changed or integrated in the vision, because the culture promoted is already there, so she saw no need to implement Vision 2030 into her daily work culture. For her, it was the other way around. Since she recognised the content in Vision 2030 as something that was already a part of her culture she did not attend to it. Consequently, the activity TTM and Vision 2030 promoted could be interpreted as a cultural symbol for already-present and
recognised values. As such the work with TTM and Vision 2030 did not
need to be manifested because its meaning was already there.

Thus far, a number of concerns have been pointed out, from concrete ob-
stacles, such as technological hindrances, to more abstract features such as
cross-cultural issues between people at different workplaces and on different
organisational levels. An overarching conclusion is that it is difficult for
leaders to notice and adjust the leadership strategy to influential details in
local cultures. Therefore, one suggestion to leaders in other organisations
that want to develop tools similar to TTM is to advance qualitative fieldwork
in some local workplaces, in order to identify influential cultural features.
Analysis of the relationship between individual users’ lifeworld dynamics
and changes in the work culture is one perspective that could provide in-
sights into how the implementation will work out.

Conclusions in the survey study

The empirical section started with a numerical presentation of respondents’
willingshess to adopt and adapt the work with TTM and Vision 2030 into
their work culture. In Skärholmen, 43 persons out of 76 wanted to, or wanted
very much to do this work, while 18 did not want to do it and 15 did not
respond the question. In Spånga-Tensta, 13 persons out of 36 wanted to do
it, or very much wanted to work with TTM and Vision 2030, while 15 did
not want to do it and 8 did not respond the question. Thus, there was a little
higher interest in this work in Skärholmen than in Spånga-Tensta, but there
was also resistance towards it in both city districts.

A number of themes were revealed in the survey. These were: experi-
enced work situation, apprehensions regarding time, views of financial is-
ues, computer access, technological equipment and physical room space,
development and standardisation, interest and discussions, clarifications of
benefits and belonging.

When the work with TTM and Vision 2030 was interactive because of at-
tention to the local workplace, the view of the work was optimistic. On the
other hand, when the work was not reflected in the local work culture, the
viewpoints regarding the work were more critical. Some respondents even
expressed annoyance concerning the work. In contrast, others argued that it
meant a lot for development and that it was positive with visions. A difficul-
ty or rather an insecurity about how to transform the Vision into practice was
revealed as well. Other work tasks were prioritised.

Willingness to adapt the work explored was affected by personality
among employees, and could have contradictory effects. One case increased
willingness, while it was decreased for another respondent. Technological
dependency became an obstacle for persons who wanted to work with peo-
ple. It was the humans, not technology, that was their primarily interest.
Therefore, some of these respondents hesitated to work with assignments like TTM.

A perceived discrepancy between the quality work that was implemented locally and the quality development Vision 2030 promotes was revealed. The leaders intention to clarify that quality improvement of local workplaces also constituted improvements for the organisation was unclear. A revealed hindrance to implementation of this work was a heavy workload’ experienced in daily work life.

Viewpoints concerning Vision 2030 and TTM varied among respondents, from frustrations towards the work too optimistic opinions and experiences of being the ‘best in the world’. However, the vision is not about being the best in the world. It is about being world-class.

The empirical material provided an example in which the work explored influenced environmental thinking, and this was extended outside the work culture and into the private sphere as well.

The focus of activities at local workplaces influenced views upon the work. For example, it offered personal assistances opportunities to socialise with colleagues in an otherwise lonely work situation.

Critical viewpoints that the work with TTM and Vision 2030 was steered too much by leaders were expressed.

Issues of time were an influential factor, concerning both opinions regarding TTM and the vision as effects on the practical work. This issue involved both access to time in daily life as well as the long-term time perspective Vision 2030 was directed towards. The work explored was regarded as an extra task among some respondents who already perceived their work as stressful. Visions were regarded as good by some respondents, but they also expressed the view that they did not have time to do the actual work. This concern was also connected to insecurity regarding how the visionary work was beneficial for the workplace. Despite these issues, the time it took was accepted by some respondents, who wrote that it was fun with visions even if it was hard to understand sometimes.

Criticism was expressed in regard to the long-term time perspective in Vision 2030. It caused lack of motivation because it was regarded as too visionary and too distant in time. Another viewpoint was that it was good to think in the long-term even if there was criticism of the chosen time perspective. Some employees expressed the opinion that they did not even know if they would be alive in 2030, while other regarded the project as progressive for future generations.

Some respondents expressed viewpoints about the cost of the project. The money should have been invested in ordinary work instead, according to a respondent. It was described as a waste of money, while others thought the cost should be accepted.

Technologically based obstacles were revealed. Lack of computer access and limited computer skills among intended users were common. This influ-
enced the work strategy, because it was advanced through face-to-face meetings. As in the interview study, a discrepancy between implicitly and explicitly communicated meanings of technology was revealed. The technologically-based leadership strategy implied that technology was regarded as important but the technological limitations of local workplaces contradicted this motivation. The technology complicated the work explored, simply because all intended users could not get access to it. For example, one respondent worked with five of the TTM on the same occasion. This procedure was not how the work was supposed to be done.

Respondents expressed a feeling that it was difficult to know how to break down the vision into concrete ways of working. Thus, the implementation practice was not fully sufficient.

A common direction and a standardised development were experienced as positive by respondents. It was also shown that interest in the work influenced willingness to engage in the work explored. Clarifications of Stockholm’s goals and future directions were described as influential, but this communication was not always successful.

Trust was revealed to be an influential factor in the interview study. Therefore it was investigated in the survey. It was problematic to ask explicit questions about trust, because it was unclear for some respondents why this perspective was included in the survey, and there was a risk that it would be perceived as evaluative, that people were expected to feel trust. Despite these problems, the benefits were greater than the problems. The survey results revealed a consensus among respondents, that trust was regarded as mutually dependent. It was ‘to trust that someone ourself’. A stable leadership, employment and salary were also defined as trust-related perspectives. An experience of being listened to was highlighted as well. Willingness and power to solve tasks and meaningful chores were mentioned as influential on trust.

A numerical presentation on trust that Vision 2030 and TTM would lead to a positive development in relation to willingness to do this work was put-forward: 21 persons in the category ‘very much’ said that they felt trust, one person did not feel trust and one person did not know. In the category ‘want to’, 25 persons felt trust regarding the work, two persons did not trust it and two persons perhaps felt trust. In the category, ‘Maybe I want to’, one person felt trust, one said maybe and one do not know. In the category ‘do not want to’ one person hesitated about feelings of trust, 8 people felt trust while 12 did not feel trust. Six people did not know if they felt trust in this category. There was a pattern between levels of trust and willingness to implement the work explored. There was a generally higher willingness to do the work when trust levels were higher. However, there were eight people among those who did not want to do the work. There was a complexity concerning trust and other influential factors regarding willingness to engage in the work with TTM. Leaders who aim to use TTM like tools would benefit from explorations of trust issues, as well as from other influential factors. In com-
ments, respondents stated that factors such as local anchoring of the vision, dependency on political influences, level of personality and experienced honesty, resources had influenced trust. Prior directions that had faded away reduced trust as well.

The analysis showed that constructions of ‘the other’ were used by respondents as border markers for strengthening the evaluation of, and identification with, local cultural belongings. Since the empirical results showed that Vision 2030 was not reflected in respondents local work cultures’, it was argued that searching for cultural features that were common for most cultural levels within the organisation could be one way to reflect the vision in respondents’ work culture and self-evident lifeworlds. It was argued that uses of explicit cultural manifestations that belong to the organisational cultural level Hofstede et al. establishes can be a way to endorse organisational cultural identity among employees. Still, it was also argued that adaption of disseminated values in Vision 2030 was hindered by circumstances at local work cultures in some cases.

Discussing perspective was how leaders could use TTM-like tools in order to overcome cultural borders within an organisation, and how they can promote recognition of a certain cultural feature. It was suggested that one way could be to point out and visualise concrete effects at local workplaces. Cultural identifications are pressured by local demands, which make it hard to embrace organisational identifications. Following this, it was argued that leaders who use TTM-like tools for dissemination would increase opportunities to be successful by supporting daily life activities. Another way could be to discuss cultural identifications, because the empirical material showed that people who ‘changed identification’ by regarding the future for children found the long-term time perspective valuable.

When content in Vision 2030 clashes against respondents’ experienced lifeworld, there is a risk of continuous constructions of ‘we’ and ‘they’ within the organisation. There is a need for increased knowledge about other persons within the organisation. Otherwise there is a risk that leaders’ clarity of directions and goals will fail, because the leaders are not regarded as trustworthy.

Conclusions in the preschool study

Results in the interview and survey studies showed that the work with TTM and Vision 2030 commonly was implemented because it was an obligation, but it was usual that it did not lead to discussions and development for respondents. The progress in the transformation of Vision 2030 from theory into work practice was weak in the ethnographical results as well. However, corresponding features between content in Vision 2030 and the work culture was described. For example a typical workday was described with the
words: laugh, play, thoughtfulness, care, project work, wonderment and challenge. All these concepts can be regarded as expressions of good quality, which is a core in Vision 2030. One conclusion is that even when the transformation of Vision 2030 from theory to practice was explicitly successful there were corresponding features between the vision and the described work culture. This link was unclear among employees.

Flags and food at a feast had one visible and one implicit cultural symbolic communicative function. This practice makes the countries of the children’s origins directly visible. Implicitly the features symbolised that the children’s backgrounds are regarded as important. Hence, an implicit cultural evaluation was visualised through practice at this feast. This fact was interpreted as a reflection of Vision 2030 in this local culture, because the vision says that Stockholm should be a diverse city. It was argued that this paragraph is promoted by the diversities the culturally-loaded features like the ones described implicate.

Contents in Vision 2030 were found in both visual and implicit enhancements of improvements in practice at the Preschool Sunflower. Ethnographers can point out features that realise the content in local work cultures, and thereby contribute to enhancements of the strategy. They can also point out unintentional cultural and stereotypical features, like when traditional gender patterns are followed, even though the intention is to actually break them.

Quality as a concept was discussed, but there is no consensus concerning what it means. This fact might cause confusion during the work with Vision 2030, that is, what is it that should actually be developed? What is quality?

Examples were found in which the connection between local quality development and the vision was clear for leaders, but it was not reflected upon together with the employees. Respondent Caroline exemplified this fact by defining Vision 2030 as a security of quality in preschools while at the same time saying that it did not lead to discussions. Furthermore, the empirical results revealed a problem that had not been pointed out in the two earlier studies. This is a hierarchic evaluation between budget and quality, where keeping to the budget is deemed to be more important than it is to maintaining quality. This discrepancy contradicts the visions intention to increase quality.

An issue exposed in the first two studies was that circumstances at local workplaces did not permit respondents to put time and effort into the work explored. This problem was noticed in the ethnographical fieldwork as well. Circumstances at the preschools explored hindered the work with TTM and Vision 2030.

An observation and conversation with a pedagogue when she was doing a TTM showed that this work has improved technologically. It is easily accessible without obstacles that were described in the interview and survey studies. However, the respondent quoted expressed annoyance regarding the
content, because she experienced a clash between what was communicated and her experiences of how children with extra needs are (not) being supported. This frustration is consistent with results in the prior studies.

A quote by a mother who was very pleased with the preschool was given. It was argued that her experience is an implicit reflection of the goal with Vision 2030, to provide good quality service that the citizens are satisfied with. It is a reflection of Vision 2030, because of the respondent’s motivation. She described a culture in which the children are the focus and the pedagogues mediate cultural evaluations that are good for the children. This is a practical realisation of the vision’s content.

The work with Vision 2030 and TTM as a process has shifted from controlled work to a process that is self-propelling but that still needs to be enhanced by increased feedback and communications of results to people in the organisation.

Trust understood as mutuality was reflected in the ethnographical study as well as in prior results. The survey showed that trust influences, but does not determine respondents’ views. In a child-focused context, however, trust is totally essential. Lack of trust can affect a great number of factors: it influences development, learning and comfort, a respondent argued. Without trust, parents would not leave their children in the pedagogue’s care. It simply would not work without trust. A user-context perspective could be added in future research on influences of trust. In what contexts is trust deterministic and in what contexts is it partially influential? What happens when the online environment is analysed as the common contextual arena?

Conclusions of the ethnographic aim

The ethnographic aim was to carry out ethnographic research and thereby explore uses of ethnography within HCI. This aim was explored only in the third study.

Earlier analysis has shown that cultural identity is neither changed nor integrated in the vision, because the promoted culture is already there so the respondent does not apply to it. It is in line with the first stage in lifeworld development, the self-evident stage that ensures that our everyday actions seem true and just. Therefore, we can act in a stable way. On the other hand, it contradicts the common theoretical view that cultural recognition enhances identification with a certain feature, and therefore it is easier to integrate it into the culture. This theoretical discrepancy should be noticed since the issue of lifeworld and cultural theory are commonly used in the same theoretical toolbox, as in this thesis. How shall culturally interested researchers handle the discrepancy highlighted?

As in the interview and the survey study, a discrepancy between the theoretical content in TTM and Vision 2030 versus practice at local workplaces
was revealed. On the one hand, it was shown that viewings of Vision 2030 as a natural part of the practical work had been established. However, the link between experiences of high quality in the local culture and the vision is not clarified. This fact contradicts leaders’ intention to point out that quality for users of service at local workplaces is also quality for the organisation and a fulfillment of the vision. Ethnographers’ bridge-building responsibility could be put into play here by making the link explicit and communicating it to employees as well as leaders. A lesson to learn for other organisations that aim to work with TTM-like tools is that relations between local and organisational quality development might be unclear when a steering document is disseminated through TTM-like tools. One way this can be improved is by connecting the visionary work to other steering documents.

During the fieldwork, an ongoing project concerning ‘movements’ as a perspective was going on at the Preschool Sunflower. This influenced daily activities as well as children’s interactions and thinking. It was suggested that such empirical results can be used by ethnographers to study what specific elements actually transform projects into a common feature in the general culture, and thereby offer suggestions regarding similar ways to convert created knowledge into technology design and implementation. In the next step, the ethnographer can suggest how to transform the design into a general culture. Regarded in this way, an iterative process that connects users, their cultures, circumstances, goals and needs with designers’ expertise is implemented.

A culturally communicative function of details was mirrored by a description of a blind that was hanging awkwardly in one of the windows over a period of time. It was argued that seemingly small details become symbols of the culture. This detail signaled a non-functioning preschool, because the blind actually made parents choose another preschool. Based on this reasoning, it can be argued that a responsibility for ethnographers within HCI is to identify and point out similar pitfalls when it comes to uses and development of technology. If there are details in the design that symbolise some sort of non-function for the technology in relation to users, their needs and their tasks, it is likely that they might choose not to use it. If this happen, resources and efforts have been invested that face a risk of weak outcomes. Consequently, pointing out meaning-carrying details is one way ethnographers can contribute to the importance HCI has in dramatically decreasing costs and increasing productivity.

It has been argued that implicit cultural communications can be transformed by ethnographers into technology development, design and implementation processes by describing and analysing cultural phenomena, and this fact suggests how similar symbolisms can be transformed into HCI-related work. This is nothing new. What is new, however, is that this can be done without long-term fieldwork, which is a traditional criticism of ethnography within HCI. A well-functioning communication between the ethnog-
rapher and the designer is needed. The ethnographer must be able to clarify what is implicitly communicated, how it is communicated and what features intended users want and need.

An aspect that was discussed in the interviews is that of the importance of technology in preschools and for children. In general technology this is regarded as important. A criticism that there is no user group under six years of age in Stockholm’s IT contract has been expressed. Furthermore, interpretations of what technology really is for children in preschools differ. Most respondents associate the concept of technology with IT, but it has also been understood as physical artefacts like (playing with) building blocks etc. Children’s use of technology is promoted in both Vision 2030 and in the steering document Lpfö2010, but technology is not defined. It is likely that diversity in interpretations of the technological concept causes diversities in children’s use and development of technological skills. It will depend upon adults’ interpretation at the local preschool. A task for ethnography within HCI is to investigate how technology is interpreted and utilised in practice at preschools, in order to increase fulfillment of steering documents. A recommendation is that municipalities in Sweden discuss this issue and search for an interpretation that reflects a consensus within the organisation.

Empirical results and the analysis showed that adults’ interest in technology influences children’s use and access and that the pedagogues determine children’s interactions with technology in another way than they do in other activities and interactions. One way to resolve this issue is to simply let technological devices be present, so children can use them freely. This suggestion emanates from an empirical example in which a child used a calculator, and thereby practiced mathematical numbers, symbols etc. Observations of such uses are a way ethnographers can act as bridge-builders between factors among the adults’ and children’s uses and access. Another way an ethnographer can contribute to research on children and technology within HCI is to explore how pedagogues view their own technological competence and explore these viewpoints in relation to children’s actual use and their thoughts concerning technology.

It has been shown that a hindrance to children’s use of technology is pedagogues’ views of costs. It was regarded as too expensive to let children use devices such as printers. This attitude makes it irrelevant whether or not a printer is good: it will still not be used because of financial considerations. This reasoning shows that a useful aspect of ethnography within HCI is its ability to create knowledge that is external from the device, but that will affect uses of it. In this case, it concerns finances, or rather views upon this issue.

An aspect to investigate is adults’ common view of children as almost naturally IT competent. The section in which children’s knowledge concerning uses of computers was discussed revealed that their IT competence should be explored scientifically, because there might be a discrepancy be-
between adults’ view and the competence they actually have. If adults have an unrealistic or at least an unexamined presumption that children are by nature IT-competent, and if this is not fully accurate, how does this influence uses of technology for children? Children are not so often in control. This is a research perspective in which ethnography can enrich HCI by exploring children’s IT competence and investigating presumptions in relation to children’s actual skills and knowledge.

In an analysis, it was shown that new technology causes a clash between dynamics in the work culture and stability in the pedagogues’ self-evident life-world. It was argued that pedagogues could handle this issue through sense unmakings but also that this suggestion puts great pressure on the individual pedagogue. Leaders should explore what they can do to reduce the clash identified. One way could be to ask employees how they experience changes that force them to change their own way of working and thinking. This analysis establishes ethnography viewed as a process, because new discoveries are found external to the actual fieldwork. The clash described could not have been found during the fieldwork or without theoretical lenses. It also constitutes another example of the ethnographic contribution to HCI, because it illuminates an obstacle to the introduction of technology in a way that allows children to use it as freely as they use physical toys and choose activities at the preschool. Thus, the ethographer can use theoretical lenses to point out clashes that cause obstacles to fulfilling the visions found in paragraphs about technology in steering documents.

Empirical results showed that children play differently with ‘real’ things versus ‘toys’. Therefore, it was suggested that ethnographic investigations of how children play with ‘real’ technology versus ‘technological toys’ can create knowledge that facilitates both development and implementation of new technology.

The analysis of empirical material from the social media function of TTM implied that the information and films can be perceived as offensive rather than enlightening. It was argued that concrete facts and information in TTM makes more sense than (what a person who has written in the social media function calls) beautiful words and phrases do. The distance between Irene Svenonius and people in the organisation was stated as a potential explanation of the importance that the distinction between ‘beautiful words’ and ‘facts’ was given by one respondent. It was argued that it becomes even more important to ‘disseminate facts rather than use certain words and illustrations’ when a leadership strategy shapes acceptance of a formal leader (and thereby of her/his disseminated content) through interactions between a human and a computer instead of face-to-face meetings between leaders and employees.

No respondent spontaneously talked about trust in critical terms. On an explicit question, some potential disadvantages were stated. These were that to give trust is also to act responsibility, and that trust might be influenced by
evaluations of individuals. A child-related disadvantage is that children build strong relationships with pedagogues who disappear out of their lives. This is an area in which ethnographers are useful in HCI research. If strong but fluid relationships are a disadvantage that follows trust, how does this influence trust with and through technology for children?

The author’s self-evaluation

I decided quite early in the process that this research should be advanced through three field studies in order to explore TTM and Vision 2030 from a broad perspective. This plan was not changed during the process. What was changed, however, was the ethnographic aim that was established somewhere in the middle of the process. So was the issue of trust that was noticed empirically during the analysis of results in the interview study. Thus, the process has been both planned and open to flexibility. This approach offered strategically structured work as well as an opportunity to deepen creation of new insights. The flexibility provided an opportunity to include new perspectives such as the issue of trust. On the other hand, the flexibility also meant that the structure of the manuscript was decided upon quite late in the process, so if someone had asked ‘Where will this thesis land?’ early in the research, it would have been hard to answer. It also means that this research is an ongoing work. The analysis has revealed insights that inspire new research questions.

Many thoughts, perspectives and discussions have been on the agenda during this research and studies. One of these issues concerns scientific critique. It was decided that the impetus to this research should be pragmatic instead of rehearsing critical discussions about visions as societal phenomena in general as well as in the Stockholm municipality. This choice has been criticised by other researchers, who argue that the thesis should have questioned visionary work as such. However, the choice to start from exploring Vision 2030 as an established fact has influenced the research results in a constructive and encouraging way. By starting ‘here and now’ people in the field were shown that this research seriously tried to grasp their situation. This is where you are, and the work explored is an assignment that you are obligated to do. How can we make the best of it for as many of you as possible? Indeed, if a critical approach towards the visionary work had been chosen, there would have been a risk that the criticism would have been destructive for the results, because the chosen research approach builds so much on social relations and trust that comes from experiences of being listened to. A critical approach regarding visionary work as such might have misdirected the discussions with people in the field, whose reality was that they actually should do this work, independently of whether they wanted to do it or not. In contrast to this reasoning, is not a critical approach a responsibility of re-
searchers? The answer to this question is an unequivocal yes, but actually the chosen pretext does not contradict a critical standpoint; it just takes it in another direction. How can I make this claim? Because the chosen approach includes a standpoint that researchers should have a critical view towards the critique. We should be critical in a reflective way. This could be described as a kind of meta-critique. If researchers do not question their own critique and discuss why they are critical, towards what and what effects the critique might have, there is a risk of the limiting consequences that are described above. There is a risk of a critique that is critical just because it should be critical, not because of constructive reasons. Discussions and thoughts upon critique in this thesis have asked questions like: why are researchers critical towards what and how? How can critical perspectives be used constructively in this research? The answer to the last question was pragmatic. Employees’ critical viewpoints were presented for upper-level leaders in reports and verbally at seminars. Respondents’ pragmatic critiques were thereby influential on the development.

A difficulty that has been experienced is the breadth of this research. I, the author, am an ethnologist doing a PhD in the area of HCI. My supervisor is a professor within Informatics and Media with a background in Business Studies. The potential of approaches has been very diverse, because the research borders perspectives from the humanities, social sciences and HCI. This diversity made it hard to find a scientific identity early in the studies. Who am I as a researcher? Where is my position within HCI? This breadth has influenced the thesis results, because the chosen approach was to stay broad by keeping an ethnographical identity and root the thesis within HCI through exploring and using ethnography. This approach has been both a strength and a weakness. The strength is that this thesis can contribute to development in organisations, and to developing ethnography within HCI. The weakness is a lack of depth. If I had chosen a smaller field, made some case studies and used other qualitative methods, such as talking aloud in specific user situations, I would have gained deeper insights into the actual use of technology. Thus, the choice to be broad has given certain insights, and the cost has been lack of depth concerning the technology and actual uses of it.

My personality has influenced this work in different ways. The discussion concerning scientific critique is one such aspect. Even if my methodology is well-motivated, and I stand by it, I am aware that some researchers probably disagree with my discussion about scientific critique. Indeed it would not be unfair to claim that the decision is predisposed by one of my personality traits, that I am a ‘kind’ person that easily sees ‘the good’ in people and situations. This is a weakness in a scientifically critical perspective. On the other hand, it is also a strength that offers advantages because it supports creations of trustful relations with respondents and key persons in the field. It thereby enhances opportunities to create a rich empirical tapestry as a database.
The thesis has argued that ethnography regarded as a process is usable within HCI. Time in the field can be adjusted to suit HCI and its purposes without losing the values ethnography offers. However, future research should make critical explorations of potential pitfalls with this consideration. Investigations of how other researchers experience such integration of ethnography in HCI should be advanced as well. A research question in future work could be where the balance is between shortened time in the field versus financial costs and knowledge that might be overlooked when the fieldwork is short and intensive. Is there a border where the amount of time in the field is so short that the results have severe shortages? If there is, how can we develop methods to find that border in every specific study without facing the risk of permitting a meta-study that takes time and effort in itself?

The thesis has shown that transformations and communications of ethnographical results into HCI practice should be improved and discussed. Prior research has indicated that there are communication obstacles between ethnographers and technicians. A future research question to explore could be: How can we improve communications of ethnographical results between ethnographer, designer and people in the field?

Adults’ views on what technology really is are varied, a fact which might influence transformations of steering documents into practice in a way that affects children’s development of technology skills. If this happens, there is a risk of inequality of children’s opportunity to enhance their technological skills, because it is dependent on adults’ interest and skills more than on the content in steering documents. Future research could explore effects of adults’ understandings of technology, and how this influences uses and access for children. Does it influence how steering documents concerning technology for children are fulfilled in practice?

Empirical material has revealed that complexities and diversities make it hard to follow guidelines in ISO when a technological system is developed in a complex organisation like the Stockholm municipality. How can this be handled? Questions for future work could be: Can alternative definitions and approaches to usability that are so general that they provide space for diversities be found and defined? HCI is in the third wave now, which includes the private sphere. Can this influence such a generalised definition? If it can, how can this be advanced? A provocative question to explore and discuss could be whether the concept of usability and its approaches are even usable
when an Intranet or tools like TTM are developed and used in a complex organisation such as the Stockholm municipality. Perhaps it is time to search for a new concept that can be a complement to usability? This could be a theme in future discussions among researchers within HCI.

Discrepancies between the vision’s intention and potential concrete hindrances have been revealed. A question for future work is to explore where, how and why these differences occur. Such knowledge would increase opportunities to succeed with an Intranet-based leadership strategy like TTM.

Multiple factors have influenced how TTM and Vision 2030 have been looked upon as well how they have been deployed. This view conveys complexity as a central concept when TTM-like tools are used strategically by leaders. How organisations can deal with diversities when an Intranet is used strategically for dissemination purposes should be further developed.

Trust is significantly influential, as respondents see it, but there are other persuasive features as well. There is a complexity concerning trust versus other factors regarding willingness to engage in the work with TTM. Future research could explore this complexity and to what degree trust is influential. Understandings of trust could be investigated as well. The empirical results in relation to prior research have revealed discrepancies. It is usually the researchers that define this concept in research, but what if people under investigation have other understandings of trust, as was the case in this thesis? A question to explore in future research could be what trust means for people under investigation versus researchers. Are there any discrepancies, and, if there are, how does this influence respondents, cultures, uses of technology etc.? How is trust understood as mutuality, stability and meaning of tasks influenced by technology-based communications?

The empirical results revealed a discrepancy between adults’ views of children’s IT competence and the actual knowledge the interviewed children manifested. It was argued that this inconsistency might influence children’s use of and access to technology. A future task for ethnographers within HCI could be to enact their bridge-building responsibility by exploring children’s use of and thoughts about technology and relate this to adults’ views of children’s assumed skills. If adults have an unrealistic or at least an unexplored presumption that children are by nature IT-competent, and if this is not fully accurate, how does this influence uses of technology for children?

A problem with ethnographic research within HCI that has not been solved in this thesis is the dependency of the ethnographic fieldworker’s personality, subjectivity and skills. Even if it has been argued that a detailed way of writing and presenting empirical material is a feasible method, this is still an issue that should be continuously approached and discussed in future ethnographic works.

Finally, an argument in this thesis is that cross-cultural perspectives should be broadened when ethnography is utilised within HCI. It is often used as synonymous with cross-ethnical within HCI literature. Cross-cultural
analysis is much more complex than that, however. A future project for ethnographers within HCI is to create new cultural insights by interpreting Intranet-based communications between leaders and employees as cross-cultural in an organisational perspective.

We are moving on, you and I
We are close to each other, but still far away
We are moving on into an unknown future
What shall we do?
How shall we do it?
Let us communicate… but how?

Anette Löfström
Svensk sammanfattning


MDI illustrerades som en mångfacetterad vetenskaplig disciplin, som har utvecklats i tre vågor. Användbarhet, design och användarcentrerad design är vanliga centrala begrepp i det här ämnet. Vidare diskuterades varför MDI är viktigt. En central aspekt är funktionen som brobryggare mellan designers och användare. En annan anledning inspirerades från Engelbart, som skrev att det är viktigt att öka kunskapen om komplexa system som involverar människor, för att bygga en teknik som har potential att öka användares förstånd, erfarenheter, uppgifter, miljöer och organisationer. Andra aspekter som gör HCI viktigt är reducerade kostnader och ökad produktivitet samt sociala aspekter. Ett perspektiv som är viktig i den här avhandlingen är att den belyser excluderande faktorer i den studerade ledningsstrategin, till exempel ojämlik tillgång till teknik, tid m.m.


Studiefältet
Stockholm stad utgör studiefältet i den här forskningen. Stadsdelarna Norrmalm, Spånga-Tensta, Skärholmen, Älvsjö och Hägersten-Liljeholmen har

**Teori**


Meningskapande handlar om individers konstruktion och rekonstruktion av mening, genom försök att utveckla ramverk för att förstå naturen av en avsedd strategisk förändring. I ett meningsskapande perspektiv ses människor som skapande aktörer. Omskapande av mening bygger på idén att meningsskapande idag kanske inte passar imorgon.


Tillit har studerats ur olika perspektiv. Den här avhandlingen ifrågasätter att begreppet tillit oftast definieras av forskare. Därför har respondenter i den här forskningen frågats om vad tillit är för dem.

Ledarskap definierades som en samling av observerbara praktiker som kan läras in. Begreppet ledarskap genomyrar och strukturar organisationers teori och praktik, och därigenom även de sätt på vilka vi formar och förstår organisatorade handlingar och deras möjligheter. Ledare väljer, utrustar, träna och influerar följare i enlighet med organisationens mål, så att följare ökar sin energi på ett sätt som relaterar till målen. Synen på ledarskap i Stockholm stad är i linje med dessa beskrivningar, även om medarbetares inflytande och chefers coachande roll betonas i en högre grad.

**Metod och material**


Anpassad etnografi i Människa-Datorinteraktion

Implicationen för praktiker
Begreppet användbarhet som det är definierat i ISO är svårt att använda i en komplex organisation som Stockholm kommun. Därför är en rekommendat-
ion att organisationer som vill utveckla och använda TTM-liknande moduler bör diskutera mångfald, och hur de kan finna en användbarhetsdefinition som inkluderar icke-teknologiska hinder.

Organisationer som arbetar med TTM-liknande ledaromtestrategier bör utforska arbetsrutiners påverkan på kulturella identifikationer. Kurser för ledare i inomkulturella och gränsöverskridande kulturella perspektiv rekommenderas. Studier av gemensamma kulturella fenomen som minskar interkulturella gränser mellan lokala arbetsplatskulturer och organisationskultur kan vara ett sätt att utveckla en vision i lokala arbetsplatskulturer och i organisationskulturen. Vidare bör ledare undersöka influerande faktorer på lokala arbetsplatser. Vilka förutsättningar har medarbetare att arbeta med Intranätbasera moduler, och att applicera såväl som justera innehållet till sin lokala arbetsplatskultur?

Ledare och utvecklare av Intranät vinner på att undersöka eventuella motsägelser mellan explicit och implicit kommunikation. Föreläsningar och seminarier i dessa frågor är ett sätt att hantera detta. Vidare rekommenderas organisationer som arbetar med kvalitetsutveckling genom att etablera styr-dokument som Vision 2030 att undersöka vad som faktiskt händer när teori möter praktik. Hur ser relationen mellan finansiell verklighet och kulturella värderingar på olika organisatoriska nivåer ut?

En frågeställning för politiker och ledare att fundera kring är om en vision är det bästa sättet att arbeta med kvalitetsutveckling i en multifaceterad organisation, eller finns det andra mer passande arbetssätt? Om en vision bedöms som det mest passande arbetssättet, vilket tidperspektiv är mest konstruktivt? Hur kan pågående kvalitetsutvecklingsarbete kopplas till- och förtydligas i relation till innehåll i en vision?

**Slutsatser**


Arbetet med TTM och Vision 2030 har genomförts med olika strategier som grupparbete, individuellt, reflektionstid och genom att täcka upp ordinär arbete åt varandra. Exempel på drivkrafter att ta del av arbetet är ledares tydlighet, den lokala arbetsplatskulturen och arbetets innehåll, kulturella värderingar, koppling till andra styr-dokument, om personer instämmer i eller
inte håller med om innehållet och förtydligande av den lokala arbetsplatsens betydelse för staden som helhet. Ledares kontroll och tekniska hinder ledde till en fokusering på uppgiften i sig snarare än på innehållet. Brist på tid och tillgång till teknik utgjorde hinder att arbeta med TTM och Vision 2030.


En övergripande slutsats är att det är svårt för ledare att anpassa TTM som ledningsstrategi till påverkande detaljer i den lokala kulturen. Därför rekommenderas kvalitativt fältarbete, samt analyser av relationen mellan dynamik i personers livsvärldar och förändringar i arbetsplatskulturen.

Ett antal influerande teman synliggjordes i enkätstudien. Dessa var: upplevelse, upplevelse, syn på personliga aspekter, tillgång till dator, teknisk utrustning och rum, utveckling och standardisering, intresse och diskussioner samt förtydligande av vinster och tillhörighet.

att bryta ner vision till konkreta arbetssätt. En gemensam riktning uppfattades som positivt av respondenter.


En erfarenhet att lära för organisationer som vill arbeta med TTM-liknande verktyg är att relationen mellan lokal och organisatorisk kvalitetsutveckling kan vara otydlig. Etnografer överbryggande funktion kan vara behjälplig här. Vidare kan etnografer studera vilka specifika fenomen det är som transformerar projekt till kultur och därigenom föreslå liknande sätt att konvertera ny kunskap till design och implementering av ny teknik. Belysande av culturella fällor i design är också ett ansvar för etnografer. Etnografiska studier inom MDI kan genomföras på förhållandevis kort tid. Studier av vad teknik faktiskt är, som respondenter uppfattar det, kan utföras av etnografer som därigenom förbättrar möjlighet att följa innehåll i styrdokument. Studier av betydelsebärande faktorer utanför tekniken i sig, samt att beskriva hinder att fullfölja styrdokuments uppmärkningar kring teknik är ett ansvarsområde för etnografer.


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Empirical material
The empirical material is saved by the author
49 recorded and transcribed interviews
About 50 reflection notes from leaders
One written interview
Two recorded and transcribed presentations by high level leaders
118 responded questionnaires from leaders and employees
24 responded questionnaires from parents
About 400 pictures and videos
40 pages written observations
17 copied pages with comments in the social media function that is connected to Vision 2030 on the Intranet

List of respondents
Amanda, Leader for a care unit for the elderly
Anne-Marie, Pedagogue at a preschool unit
Carina, Deputy Major of Stockholm
Caroline, Pedagogical leader at a preschool unit
Cathrine, Leader a preschool unit
Daniella, Leader at a preschool unit
Elin, Receptionist at a care unit for the elderly
Gunilla, High level leader in a city district
Ida-Marie, High level leader
Ingela, Leader at a Preschool unit
Inger, Web Editor
Jesper, High level leader in a city district
Karin, Employee at a care unit for the elderly
Karl, Civil Servant
Kerstin, Employee at a care unit for the elderly
Laura, Leader at a Preschool
Linda, Pedagogue at a preschool unit
Lisa, Employee at a preschool unit
Lotta, Pedagogue at a preschool unit
Lovisa, five year old girl at a preschool unit
Magnus, Leader at a preschool unit
Malin, Pedagogue at a preschool unit
Marie, Leader for a preschool unit
Marta, Employee at a care unit for the elderly
Martina, Leader at a preschool unit
Maryam, five year girl child at a preschool unit
Matilda, Mother of children at the preschool Sunflower
Mohammed, Employee at a care unit.
Nils, three year old boy at a preschool unit
Peter, Leader at a preschool unit
Petra, High level leader for preschools in a city district
Pia, Strategist of communications
Ronja, five year old girl at a preschool unit
Rune, High level leader in a city district
Sabina, Special pedagogue at a preschool unit
Sarah, High level leader in a city district
Selma, Leader of a preschool
Siri, mother of a child at preschool
Sofia, Works with children at a preschool unit
Susanne, Leader at a preschool unit
Susanne, Strategist of communications
Teres, Leader at a care unit for the elderly
Tina, Leader at a care unit for the elderly
Åsa, Pedagogue at a preschool unit
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