

Moving through, by and with development corridors: livelihood and mobility impacts of the Kampala-Jinja Expressway in informal settlements in Kampala, Uganda



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For my trusted guide and friend, Christopher Ronald Kaweesi, who unfortunately and unexpectedly passed away on September 25th, 2020.

He was a father, husband, friend to many and advocate for positive change in his community.

My thoughts are with his family and friends and may he rest in power and peace



Abstract

Development interventions are increasingly aimed towards development corridors, particularly across Africa. Although these corridors are framed in win-win narratives, local impacts often remain unclear. Especially urban informal settlements, where livelihoods are vulnerable, are expected to be affected negatively by these large-scale infrastructures. However, livelihood and mobility impacts of such projects are understudied. The mobility-livelihood nexus forms the backbone of this research, analysing potential impacts of a development corridor in an informal settlement context.

This study looked at the impact of a large-scale infrastructure project, the Kampala-Jinja Expressway (KJE), on three informal settlement communities: Kinawataka, Banda and Kasokoso in Kampala, Uganda. In doing so, the mobility practices and livelihood strategies of inhabitants facing displacement or living in adjacent areas were looked at. Qualitative mixed-methods field work incorporating a mobility focus allowed for an in-depth analysis of differences in current livelihoods and mobility within and between these three communities. Furthermore, a special focus was put on the expectations of the communities with regards to their livelihoods and mobility post-displacement.

Three typologies of mobility were developed: people with localized mobility patterns, people who use mobility as means to an end and inherently mobile livelihoods. It was found that generally, livelihoods and mobility did not differ greatly between the three communities. However, differences within communities were profound, leading to different expectations with regards to displacement. People with very localized mobility patterns were more vulnerable to displacement since they relied on local connections or proximity. Those with integrally mobile livelihoods might be more flexible in the face of displacement, but impacts are expected to be differentiated along the lines of gender, income, employment and land tenure status.

These mobilities should be taken into account more in order to ensure people are not worse off in this project or others, and future research should consider integrating micro- and meso-mobility practices in order to incorporate a mobility justice perspective to better understand how people living in informal settlements might be impacted differently by such projects.

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Cover image (p.1): a marking placed by the Uganda National Roads Authority on a building in Kinawataka that is next to the right of way for the Kampala-Jinja Expressway. Taken by the author on August 12th, 2020

Image above: Central Kampala's old taxi park. Wherever you have to go in Kampala or outside usually takes you through this busy park where all the taxis come from near and far to drop off passengers.

List of abbreviations

AfDB	African Development Bank
DFID	Department for International Development
DID	Development-induced displacement
DIDR	Development-induced displacement and resettlement
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
FAPO	Follow-along participant observation
FDI	Foreign direct investment
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
KCCA	Kampala Capital City Authority
KJE	Kampala-Jinja Expressway
LLDCs	Land-locked developing countries
NOWO	No One Worse Off
NSDFU	National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda
ODA	Official development assistance
PAPs	Project-affected persons
PPP	Public-private partnership
ROW	Right of way
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UAL	Urban Action Lab
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UN	United Nations
UN-DESA	UN – Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UN- Habitat	UN–Human Settlements Programme
UNRA	Uganda National Roads Authority
WB	World Bank
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development

1. Introduction

The world is becoming increasingly urbanized. More than half of the global population now lives in cities, and this urban population is expected to increase by another 2.5 billion people by 2050 (United Nations – Department for Economic and Social Affairs (UN-DESA), 2018). Whereas higher-income countries already have high urbanization rates, much of the current growth is now concentrated in the Global South. In Africa alone, the urban population is expected to increase from the current 548 million to 1.26 billion by 2050 (ibid.). Due to massive urban expansion, many cities in the global south have been unable to keep up with infrastructural, housing and service needs, leading to most growth occurring in informal sectors (Smit et al., 2017). This has led to the formation of large informal settlements in many cities. These informal settlements, also referred to as slums¹, challenge the assumption that urban growth leads to more prosperity, having led instead to more deprivation and inequality within urban areas (UN-DESA, 2018; Pieterse, 2014). About a quarter of the world’s urban population lives in such informal settlements and for Africa it is estimated that more than half does (United Nations – Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), 2014). Livelihoods in informal settlements are considered precarious, with many slum dwellers having to survive from day to day, facing challenges of poverty, housing and limited access to basic services (Pieterse, 2014). The question of slums, and sustainable urban development in general, has been recognized as one of the main developmental challenges for the 21st century, first in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and now in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs, see Figure 1, UN, 2019).



Figure 1. The United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals. Goal 11 explicitly deals with slums in the question of sustainable cities and communities (UN, 2019)

Since the end of the 20th century, the concept of sustainable development has become increasingly important, focusing on development that meets the needs of current-day society without compromising future generations' ability to meet their own needs (WCED, 1989). Although this sustainable development paradigm has led to large investments into more economically, socially and environmentally sustainable projects, it is still based on the assumption that economic growth will

¹ Although the UN and most organizations use the term slum, the term is contested due to negative connotations and historically derogatory nature of the term (UN-Habitat, 2003). However, due to the common usage of the term slum, both in academia and policy documents, the terms slum and informal settlements will be used interchangeably in this research. For more on this debate and for a further conceptualization of informal settlements, see section 2.2.3.

trickle down and lead to benefits for all, despite historical evidence of continuously increasing global inequality. In this idea of sustained economic growth, infrastructure is often framed both as a way to achieve positive development outcomes and as the result of these development interventions. Large sums of capital and knowledge have been invested into the development of infrastructure, especially in Africa where there is an alleged infrastructure deficit (Enns et al., 2019). Infrastructures can be defined as “built networks that facilitate the flow of goods, people or ideas and allow for their exchange over space” (Larkin, 2013, p. 328). For rural areas, infrastructural developments are usually justified to enable extractive industries’ access to natural resources (Enns et al., 2019). In the urban sphere however, infrastructural interventions are assumed to lead to economic growth, decongestion and other socio-economic benefits because accessibility of urban services will improve and productivity enhanced (Pieterse, 2014; Bindandi & Williams, 2017). These infrastructures are assumed to help obtain SDGs 9 and 11 and ultimately, SDG 1 (poverty reduction) As such, the sustainable development paradigm itself has led to significant investment in infrastructures, where infrastructure is assumed to contribute to sustainable development.

1.1. The Kampala-Jinja Expressway

In Africa, infrastructure investments are increasingly directed towards development corridors (Enns et al., 2019). A development corridor is a transport route facilitating social and economic development activity (Hope & Cox, 2015). This research will look further into one such development corridor project and its implications, specifically for informal settlement inhabitants. The case study is the Kampala-Jinja Expressway (KJE), a highway that will form part of the East Africa Northern Corridor², which connects the Kenyan seaport of Mombasa to South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda (EC, 2016b). The KJE connects two Ugandan cities: the capital Kampala and Jinja in the East (see Figure 2) and it will ease access to Mombasa port in Kenya (European Commission (EC), 2019b). With Uganda being a landlocked country, Mombasa is already an important point of access for Uganda (Hanaoka et al., 2019). With plans for a railway connection along the Northern Corridor and preparations for the KJE underway, the Northern Corridor is expected to increase in importance for the region and provide opportunities for growth in Uganda and surrounding countries. Although a rail connection would greatly improve connectivity between Kenya and Uganda, the higher cost for such a connection makes the expressway more viable, with similar expected benefits (Hanaoka et al., 2019).

The KJE is part of Uganda’s ‘Vision 2040’, where infrastructural corridors are realized through public-private partnerships (PPPs). The KJE is an essential part of Uganda’s second National Development Plan 2015-2020, which aims to “strengthen Uganda’s competitiveness for sustainable wealth creation, inclusive growth and job creation” (AfDB, 2018a). PPPs provide opportunities for funding but also complicate the process as stakeholders with diverse interests are involved. The main financiers of the KJE are the African Development Bank (AfDB), the European Commission and the Agence Française de Développement (French government development agency). The AfDB is a multilateral development finance institution which has pledged 229.5 million USD to finance the first phase of the project (AFDB, 2018a). As part of the 2016 ‘Annual action plan for Uganda’, the EC pledged €274,9 million to aid Uganda’s development (EC, 2016a), of which 66 million euros dedicated the KJE (EC, 2016b). The

² In project documents referred to as Northern Corridor, so this name will be used in the remainder of this research

involvement of multiple actors exemplifies the complexity of capital flows entering infrastructural developments.



Figure 2. Route of the KJE (AfDB, 2018b)

The EC identify three stakeholder groups relevant for the KJE: The East African Community (EAC) members, the Ugandan government, and development partners such as AfDB. The omission of the local population as a stakeholder is not surprising, as the locally affected people tend to be ignored in the design of such large-scale infrastructures. Furthermore, the benefits mentioned in the AfDB's Environmental and Social Impact Assessment (ESIA; AfDB, 2018) (attraction of FDI and GDP growth, reduced travel time and congestion, tax and toll revenue, efficiency and connectivity) do not necessarily align with interests of local populations. Although the population might not directly contribute to the project, they are likely to be the most affected. It is not specified how the KJE could have positive impacts for sustainability and people's livelihoods locally. Instead, the project could have negative implications on local livelihoods, particularly due to development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR). According to the ESIA, an estimated 29,983 residents from 6,177 households live in the right of way³ (ROW), of which 67% lives below the international poverty line of earning at least 1.90 USD per day (AfDB, 2018c). In fact, 43% of people living in the ROW reported earning less than half of this amount. Furthermore, the ROW passes through several informal settlements, whose inhabitants are considered vulnerable within the project (ibid.). Next to the positive (national) effects that are anticipated with the coming of the KJE and used to justify the project, the construction phase of the road will thus also have strong impacts on the local community level.

³ The Right of Way is a term used in project documents about the KJE and commonly heard in the affected communities as well. In the remainder of this thesis, right of way or ROW will be used to refer to the area that is gazetted for eviction and clearing when the KJE is constructed.

The KJE is an example of a large-scale infrastructure project that involves multiple stakeholders. Due to the nature of donor funding in contemporary development, requirements and safeguards form an integral binding factor to qualify for funding. Such a road project with safeguards to protect and restore vulnerable livelihoods is the first of its kind in Uganda. The safeguards in the project are operationalized through the No One Worse Off (NOWO) project, conducted by several NGOs cooperating with UNRA. Connecting with NOWO stakeholders created an opportunity for the researcher to study three of the informal settlement communities affected by the KJE and involved in different extents in the NOWO project: Kinawataka, Banda and Kasokoso. Considering how the KJE is part of a larger development corridor, cuts through several informal settlements and has safeguards attached to the funding, the project makes a relevant case to study to better understand how vulnerable populations are affected by the corridor agenda.

1.2. Problem statement & knowledge gap

Development corridors have become a “hype” both in academia and development policy and practice (Zoomers & Van Westen, 2011). Although the realization of development corridors is justified with assumed trickle-down benefits of economic growth, the effects of displacement caused by infrastructure on local communities remain unclear (Enns et al., 2019). Considering the rapid growth in investments in African corridors, Enns et al. (2019) find that livelihood impacts of these corridor developments have remained surprisingly unaddressed. Even though livelihood impacts of development projects have become a focus of development studies research, mobility of affected people in infrastructure projects has not come under much academic scrutiny, even though infrastructure is inherently mobility-related. Transport infrastructures such as the KJE are primarily built to facilitate and ease movements, but existing mobility patterns on the ground are not considered in the planning of such projects. Even though there are significant effects associated with infrastructure development and DIDR, efforts to restore livelihoods of project affected people (PAPs) largely focus on livelihood restoration and resettlement plans. Conventional livelihood approaches, though significant and relevant to address issues of poverty and development have been criticized for being too static (Zoomers, Leung & Van Westen, 2016). In this research, mobility approaches will form the missing link to complement, contextualize and spatialize conventional livelihood-based development research. As Enns (2018) argues, incorporating mobilities helps shed light on *what and who moves through corridors* and *what and who does not*. In order to better understand the extensive impacts that displacement can have, this research will look at mobility of informal settlement dwellers, examining how they move around and how they construct their livelihoods based on different kinds of mobility and vice versa. The research aim here is to analyze how mobilities are anticipated to be impacted differently within and across informal settlements affected by the KJE. Since the KJE has not been constructed yet, this might be the only time to study people’s expectations, as well as how they are being involved in the process.

Furthermore, corridor research so far has mainly focused on the rural sphere (e.g. Laurance et al., 2015 & Enns et al., 2019). People in urban informal settlements, typically lacking tenure security, face disproportionately negative livelihood effects from DIDR (Cernea & Maldonado, 2018). Furthermore, although people in informal settlements are generally disproportionately negatively affected by infrastructural interventions, the inter- and intra-slum dynamics often remain unaddressed. Differences between and within informal settlements are not considered in the planning of such projects, nor are they the focus of post-intervention evaluations. Upon further investigation, no earlier

scientific study focusing on livelihood and mobility impacts of displacement caused by a development corridor, specifically in an urban informal settlement setting, was found. This knowledge gap will be addressed by focusing on inter- and intra-slum differences in livelihoods and mobility in connection with the KJE. This research thus contributes to the growing body of literature on development corridors by extending the debate to the urban sphere, looking at mobility and livelihood impacts of an infrastructure project in informal settlements.

1.3. Research design and questions

To analyze potential impacts of the KJE, first an understanding of the livelihoods and mobility of those facing displacement is required. Fieldwork in the form of participant observation during community events as well as interviews with gatekeepers and key informants provided such a starting point. Then, semi-structured interviews with affected and non-affected community members enabled a more in-depth analysis of the dynamics within and comparison between these communities. Furthermore, methods such as cognitive mobility mapping and transect walks will incorporate mobilities and add a spatial component to the research. Ideally, findings from this research can be used to inform policymakers and implementing stakeholders of the possible mobility and livelihood impacts that the community expects the KJE will have, in order to ensure the project considers the most affected. Since construction on the project has not started yet, this might be the only time to still influence outcomes or other future projects. In order to get a better grasp of how different geographical contexts can have different outcomes, thus addressing the previously identified knowledge gap, comparative case studies will be executed. By looking at differences in current and potential mobility and livelihood (changes) between and within different communities, a focus on intra- and inter-slum dynamics can nuance the image of 'the slum'.

Following from the above, the main research question is

How can mobility and livelihoods of informal settlement inhabitants facing displacement be considered in the planning of large-scale infrastructure projects such as the Kampala-Jinja Expressway?

This main question guides the research towards a practical policy outcome of scientific research to address some of the above-mentioned concerns about mobility not being considered in the planning of large-scale infrastructure projects such as the KJE. This question focuses on the mobility-livelihood nexus, looking at how mobility and livelihoods are interconnected and how people in these communities use those to complement each other. This guides how the remainder of the sub-questions and the thesis will be structured. In order to answer the main question, first current mobility and livelihoods of informal settlement inhabitants must be examined, leading to the first sub-question:

1. *What is the current situation with regards to livelihoods and mobility practices of residents of informal settlements along the KJE corridor in Kampala?"*

With this first question, an exploratory assessment will be done to find out what current mobility patterns and livelihood strategies people living in the settlements facing displacement employ. The next sub-question will serve to make a comparison between and within the settlements:

2. *How are mobility practices and livelihood strategies differentiated within and between the different informal settlements along the KJE in Kampala?*

Finally, the last question combines the two earlier aspects of mobility vis-à-vis livelihoods, but looks at it in a potential sense, examining instead how these are expected to be impacted by the KJE. This question thus focuses on the expected changes as expressed by the residents:

3. *How do inhabitants of informal settlement communities expect their livelihood and mobility to be impacted by the KJE and how does this differ within and between informal settlement communities?"*

In the remainder of this thesis, the research process and findings will be elaborated upon. In order to do this effectively, first the main concepts that informed the research will be looked further into in chapter 2. This study employs the mobilities paradigm as a main theoretical backing and a brief literature review on the main concepts of development corridors, DIDR and informal settlements is conducted in the second part of chapter 2.

In chapter 3, the methodological process of the research is outlined, by first reflecting on the research design and strategic choices related to operationalization, after which the specific research methods are introduced. In this chapter, sections about the limitations and positionality of the researcher are followed by some notes on case and participant selection, as well as some general descriptions of research participants.

Then, chapter 4 will provide an insight in the regional context of Uganda, Kampala, and the three informal settlements that form the study area: Kinawataka, Banda and Kasokoso.

In chapter 5, the main findings of the research will be elaborated upon, drawing insights from the primary collected data from the field looking first at current mobility practices and livelihoods, then at inter- and intra-community differences and lastly incorporating the effects of impending displacement on these mobilities and livelihoods.

Chapter 6 will offer a discussion of the findings, employing insights from literature and reflecting on the research process.

Finally, chapter 7 will conclude this thesis with lessons learned, ending with recommendations for future research and for the project and development policy and practice.

2. Theoretical framework

In this chapter, the different concepts will be outlined and reviewed, looking at evidence from literature to inform the research. The main theoretical approach chosen for this research is the mobilities approach. This theoretical framework will be developed in section 2.1, in which the relevance of mobility in relation to livelihoods will be elaborated upon. The concepts of development corridors, development-induced displacement and informal settlements will be discussed in section 2.2, providing a review of the literature on these concepts to create a better understanding of these complex and multilayered concepts. Finally, the concepts will be combined in a conceptual framework in section 2.3, synthesizing the mobilities approach with the above-mentioned concepts from section 2.2.

2.1 Mobility

In this sub-chapter, the mobilities paradigm will be introduced upon, providing the main theoretical background that informed the remainder of this research.

2.1.1. The mobilities paradigm and mobility justice

Since the last 20th century, globalization has increasingly shaped geography and other social sciences to incorporate complex mobilities into research topics (King, 2012). As part of a broader 'cultural turn' in social sciences that for example drew attention to migration as a fundamentally cultural act, the 'mobility turn' broadened conceptualizations of migration and movement. Mobilities research, according to Hannam, Sheller & Urry (2006, p. 9-10) encompasses "*studies of corporeal movement, transportation and communication, capitalist spatial restructuring, migration and immigration, citizenship and transnationalism, and tourism and travel*". Mobilities research thus incorporates mobilities of many forms, scales and practices (King, 2012). It transcends boundaries of corporeal mobilities such as migration or even dancing and commuting to include other forms of mobility such as virtual or even imaginative travel through imagery and ideas of people and places (ibid.). Generally, mobility is seen as something positive, indicative of progress or modernity (Sheller & Urry, 2000). Sheller & Urry (2006) argue that whereas social sciences used to be more static, the mobilities paradigm undermines sedentarist biases and builds upon theories of liquid modernity, redirecting research away from static structures of society to focus on systems of movement instead.

However, a mobility perspective should not be heralded as the onset of unlimited hypermobility for everyone. King (2012) argues that this hypermobility perspective draws attention away from the essential corporeality of migration and movement. Cresswell (2010) conceptualizes this physicality and corporeality of mobility in *moorings* that are required to facilitate mobility, such as physical infrastructure. Overestimating and generalizing the effect of mobility to a global scale risks overlooking the reality that most of the world's population is severely limited in their freedom to move (King, 2012). Sheller & Urry (2006) also reject the notion of a grand theory narrative of mobility, fluidity or liquidity, instead emphasizing the role of the mobilities paradigm as a set of questions, theories and methodologies. According to Sheller (2018), mobilities research can bring many forms of unequal mobilities into relation with each other, addressing the ways in which everyday mobility practices are embedded in larger socio-technical systems. Questioning this is inherently political and requires paying attention to social injustices built into people's livelihoods. Focusing on practices of movement and on infrastructures that enable or disable mobility and meanings attached to these make inclusion of mobility vis-à-vis associated immobility imperative. Hence, to understand mobility requires incorporate a *mobility justice* perspective. Although it could be assumed that in this increasingly

interconnected world mobility is indeed a crucial factor constituting people's livelihoods, the exact link between mobility and local development requires further study (Steel, Winters & Sosa, 2011). Indeed, research has shown that overall, there is no causal relation between mobility and local development, as for example De Haas (2005) argues that migration does not necessarily lead to local development as is often assumed (De Haas, 2005). In order to contextualize mobility studies, case studies (e.g. Steel et al., 2011) are an appropriate way of advancing the debate.

When looking at development corridors specifically, the mobilities approach has been mentioned by Charis Enns as a suitable way of examining local impacts. According to Enns (2018), mobility research can contribute to a better understanding of development corridors by incorporating a mobility justice perspective:

“employing the new mobilities paradigm – which emphasizes the interdependent relationship between mobilities and immobilities – helps to make sense of what and who moves through corridors and what and who does not, as well as who benefits and who loses as a result of these mega-developments. In addition to enabling researchers to theorize about uneven and conflicting mobilities along new corridor routes, the new mobilities paradigm also serves as a lens to examine how trajectories of power are enacted through corridor development. (Enns, 2018, p.105).

Enns (2018) suggests 3 ways of using the mobilities approach to examine local impacts of development corridors to improve understanding of them. First, looking at who and what moves *through* development corridors and who and what does not enables research to uncover what these corridors are really meant for and who benefits from them. Secondly, mobility research can focus on who and what is moved *by* development corridors. Corridors come with large-scale displacements, but not only the people but also their movements themselves can be displaced by the corridors leading to new mobility patterns. Finally, looking at who and what is moving *in response to* corridors improves understanding of long-term impacts of development corridors. Those who migrate to development corridors in search of better opportunities also leave behind those who do not have capabilities or aspirations to migrate. Corridor research can thus be ‘mobilized’ by incorporating mobility into core concepts for research.

2.1.2. Mobility as a livelihood asset

Where investments into infrastructure are assumed to lead to benefits for all, research shows that this is not commonly the case. According to Zoomers & Otsuki (2017), large-scale land investments, which are necessitated by large-scale infrastructure projects, only contribute to inclusive local development if all the aspects of people's livelihood security are addressed. Furthermore, different groups should be differentiated between as they are unequally affected by these flows. Livelihood approaches have potential to assess these developmental impacts, although trans-locality and mobility should not be forgotten when using these approaches (Zoomers et al., 2015). To understand the role of mobility in livelihoods, it is important to first study what livelihoods (approaches) encompass.

In 1999, Amartya Sen coined the term “development as freedom”, defining development as “the freedom of people to live the lives they value and have reason to value”. Sen's idea of development focuses on the capacities and capabilities of people and formed the basis of livelihood approaches which analyzed these capacities and capabilities. The concepts of livelihoods and sustainable

development have now become mainstreamed in development policy and practice in the sustainable livelihoods approach and framework (SLF, for an overview see Figure 3).

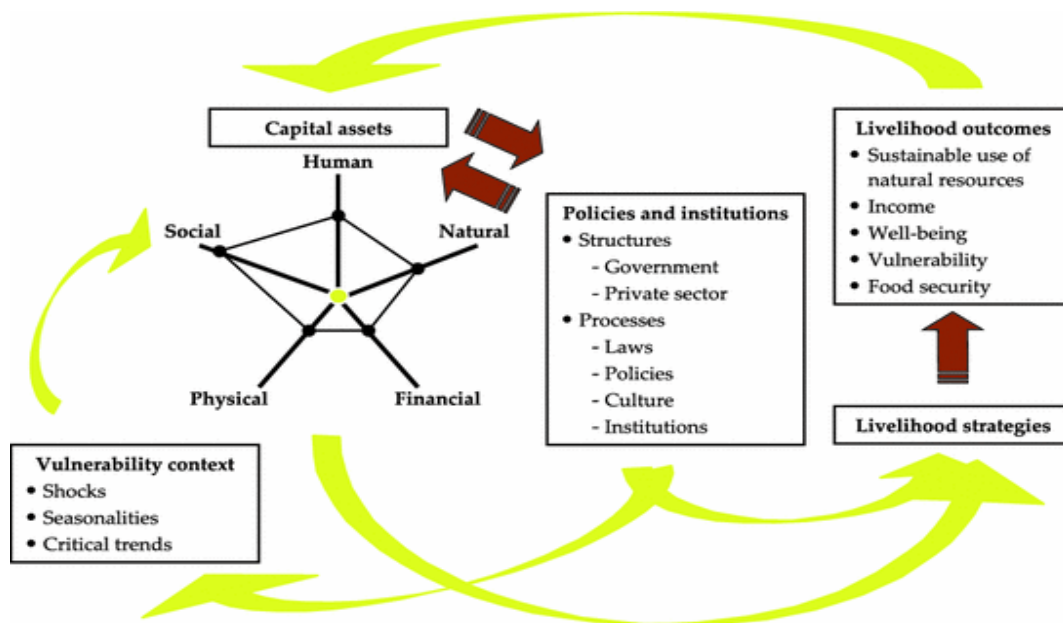


Figure 3. The sustainable livelihoods framework (Serrat, 2017)

For a livelihood to be sustainable, individuals or communities should be resilient to crises, indicated in the vulnerability context. Furthermore, sustainable livelihoods should be maintained or improved in the long run without compromising the supply of natural resources, indicated as livelihood outcome. The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework has been derived from Sen's livelihood approaches, in order to understand the various interacting factors which can affect livelihoods. Although the SLF facilitates identifying priorities for development, they cannot replace other tools such as participatory approaches (Serrat, 2017). Despite this, livelihood approaches gives people agency by focusing on what they have instead of focusing on what they lack. The following 'capitals' (see Figure 3) form the basis of people's livelihoods: human capital (skills and education), social capital (networks), financial capital (money), natural capital (land, water, minerals) and physical capital (houses, livestock, technology). Instead of a priori categorizing different types of capital and scoring livelihood impacts with indicators, these capitals together also make up the earlier-mentioned capabilities, assets and activities required to make a living. Livelihoods include both income as well as social-institutional relations, and during stress or changes different capitals can be substituted or combined (Zoomers & Otsuki, 2017).

Zoomers et al. (2016) call for a "re-spatialization" of livelihoods approaches, in order to better consider the effects of globalization in an increasingly connected and fragmented global society. The mobilities approach is well-suited for this re-spatialization, being an approach that is in principle concerned with movements and spatial patterns. Livelihoods are increasingly shaped by all sorts of trans-local flows and linkages. According to Zoomers et al. (2016, p.57), development is, rather than about accumulating capital in spatial isolation, about "jumping on the right train in order to benefit from increasing interconnectedness and mobility." Instead of merely looking at people's livelihoods in local isolation, we must thus acknowledge the influence that globalization has in shaping people's lives.

Kaufmann, Berman & Joye (2004) argue that mobility is a capital alongside such capitals as financial or social capital since it can be exchanged for other types of capital and is constrained by contextual factors. Mobility can be considered not just one of the new livelihood capitals, but rather a new approach to livelihoods altogether. People’s mobility includes their movements to and from work, socio-economic mobility required to maintain social relations and improving livelihoods, but also people’s aspirations in terms of imaginative or virtual mobilities and potential mobilities. However, as mentioned, mobilities are not always voluntary and we must also consider forced mobility or immobility, especially in displacement processes.

2.1.3. Mobility practices and motility

Mobility is not only a theoretical approach, but also an asset that we use in our day-to-day life to construct and sustain livelihoods (Steel et al., 2011). For this theoretical framework, mobility as a means to negotiate livelihoods and vice versa is theorized in two ways, following Joshi (2014) and Kaufmann et al. (2004).

Mobility is conceptualized by Joshi (2014) as a social practice in their research on mobility of the urban poor in India. Looking at mobility in this way involves social practice theory based on Giddens’ structuration theory. Although going into the full breadth of social practice theory is beyond the scope of this section, Joshi provides a relevant framework for looking at mobility practices as manifestation of larger social structures (for more on the connection between social practice theory and mobility, see Joshi, 2014). Social practices such as mobility patterns become routines which can be studied to gain a better understanding of people’s daily lives. Looking at mobility practices in this way goes beyond looking at mobility for conventional transport or accessibility studies, focusing instead on why the urban poor practice and experience mobility in a certain way and how these practices are a way of negotiating their livelihoods in poverty. Examining how residents navigate the city can also improve our understanding of experiences of the everyday lives of the urban poor, so that these experiences can be considered better in development (McFarlane & Silver, 2017). *“Practices are established ways of doing things, which change or get replaced over a period of time. They are being produced out of the interactions between the given materials (resources), individual know-how (competence) and (social) meaning.”* (Shove, Pantzar & Watson, 2012, as quoted in Joshi, 2014, p. 68). In Figure 4 below, a schematic overview of these factors is given.

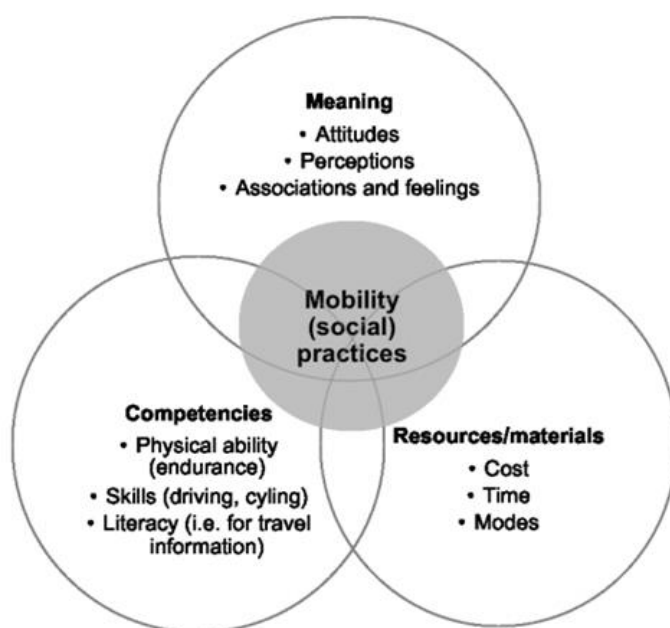


Figure 4. Constituents of mobility related (social) practices (Joshi, 2014)

In order to better understand this, a practical example will be provided. *Boda-boda* drivers are informal motorcycle passenger and delivery drivers in Uganda. The practice of being a *boda-boda* driver consists, among many other factors, of the vehicles, the knowledge of street layouts, skills of driving the motorcycles, traffic norms and meaning attached to being a *boda-boda* driver. The driving requires bodily and mental competencies required to navigate the cityscape of Kampala, and the identities attached to being a *boda-boda* driver might be defined along lines of gender (e.g. driver-passenger dynamic, *boda-boda* drivers are most commonly male). Furthermore, with the onset of digital media to mediate transport like the ride-hailing app *Safeboda*, further distinctions in access and use of mobility become apparent (e.g. having access to technology). The resource (the bike), competencies (driving it and navigating) and social meanings together shape the mobility practice of *boda-boda* driving. According to Joshi (2014, p. 70), “these three constituents are often overlapping and mutually reflective categories”

However, there are even more holistic ways of looking at mobility. According to Kaufmann et al. (2004), mobility research tends to focus on movement in space-time rather than on interactions between structures, actors and context. Since actors are central to mobility, as are specific contexts that limit or enable movement, these actors and contexts influence how structures (whether physical or social) are used for mobility. Furthermore, mobility studies tend to limit their scope by describing actual and past mobility, although *potential* movement will reveal new aspects of the mobility of people “with regard to possibilities and constraints of their maneuvers, as well as the wider societal consequences of social and spatial mobility” (Kaufmann et al., 2004). The concept that sees spatial and social mobility as indicators of a more comprehensive potential form of mobility was coined as *motility* by Kaufmann et al. (2004). According to Joshi (2014), motility differs from conventional ways of looking at accessibility by focusing on an actor’s action and the underlying reasoning, instead of merely seeing actors as rational utilitarian decision-makers. Motility encompasses the following interdependent elements: *access* refers to the range of possible mobilities differentiated by place, time and contextual constraints; *competence* includes skills and abilities that may directly or indirectly relate to access and appropriation, mainly physical ability (e.g. able-bodiedness), acquired skills (e.g. licenses, knowledge of terrain) and organization skills (e.g. planning); *appropriation* refers to how actors interpret and act upon perceived or real access and skills (this can also be non-action as a response). Joshi (2014, p. 70) integrates these three aspects of motility into the mobility social practices framework as follows: “(access to) resources, (skills or) competencies and meaning (or cognitive appropriation)”. Hence, motility, as well as mobility-related social practices, looks at individual strategies regarding mobility in a different way, both of which will be used in the remainder of this research.

2.2. Literature review on key concepts

In this section, the three remaining main concepts of this research, development corridors, development-induced displacement & resettlement and informal settlements will be reviewed, looking at the evidence in literature that relates to the research topics of mobility and livelihoods.

2.2.1. Development corridors

A development corridor is a transport route facilitating social and economic development activity (Hope & Cox, 2015). These corridors can take the form of a physical transport corridor, but they can evolve into full-fledged international economic corridors that incorporate hard (physical) infrastructure as well as soft infrastructure such as institutional arrangements (ibid.). Such development corridors can connect sites of production or extraction with the outside world, but they can also enhance (regional) mobility (Enns et al., 2019). Despite being responsible for ecosystem

destruction, development corridors have become the new dominant development strategy, justified to increase agricultural production, mineral exports and economic integration (Laurence et al., 2015).

In the age of globalization, connection to and positionality within global networks of goods, people and knowledge are of utmost importance for local development (Zoomers et al., 2016). Land-locked developing countries (LLDCs) often lack essential access to global trade networks (Hanaoka et al., 2019). Lacking infrastructure, inefficient border controls, high transport prices and lengthy trips limit economic growth in LLDCs (ibid.). Hence, there is a need for developing infrastructural transit corridors to connect LLDCs with seaports, granting them access to global networks. Cross-border corridors are one way of reducing transport time and costs for LLDCs and corridors can increase opportunities for transit countries, granting them better positions within global networks (Hanaoka et al., 2019). According to Enns et al. (2019, p. 1), *“a high-return narrative has been attached to investment in Africa’s development corridor agenda, as corridors have been framed as an effective way of driving socio-economic development at local, national and regional levels.”* Development corridors are thus framed as ‘win-win’ solutions, promoting economic development by creating an attractive investment environment, as well as driving local development (Enns, 2018). The African Development Bank (AfDB) frames development corridors similarly, stating that they promote development and market access for LLDCs, providing *“for the crosscutting issues of economic, social and environmental sustainability”* (Mulenga, 2013, p. 1). Although development corridors have become anchored in this win-win narrative, a growing body of research (e.g. Shannon et al., 2018; Cernea & Maldonado, 2018; Steel, Van Noorloos & Klaufus, 2017) has found that infrastructural interventions often lead to extensive displacement in both rural and urban areas. This development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) is particularly present in the African context, but the true scope and extent of the issue remains under-researched (Shannon et al., 2018). It is therefore important to focus on the KJE as an example of a development corridor to investigate how the displacement affects people living in informal settlements.

2.2.2. Development-induced displacement & resettlement

One of the effects of development flows and linkages particularly experienced at the local level is the development-induced displacement and resettlement that often accompanies large infrastructural interventions. In this section, the notion of DIDR will be explored in more detail.

According to Shannon et al. (2018), urban infrastructure development is predicated on the assumed availability of land, which in African urban contexts is always someone’s land, be it formally or informally. Much of the global land rush debate has focused on the rural sphere, ignoring the context of an increasingly urbanized world (Zoomers et al., 2017). However, in urban areas land acquisitions for infrastructural development are just as relevant, often leading to even more extensive displacement (Steel et al., 2017). Whereas large-scale land acquisitions have come under popular and academic scrutiny since the global land rush, the accompanying infrastructure development has not received similar amounts of attention (Otsuki, Read & Zoomers, 2016). Interestingly, infrastructural development creates multi-faceted impacts besides environmental destruction and human displacement, since the process involves complex planning, implementation, management and uses of these infrastructures differentiated by the diverse actors involved (Otsuki et al., 2016).

The impacts of development-induced displacement have increased significantly as illustrated by Cernea & Maldonado’s (2018) review of World Bank (WB) development projects. In 1994 an estimated

10 million people were displaced globally by these projects, compared to a current estimate exceeding 20 million people displaced annually by WB projects. About a quarter of the WBs projects between 1999 and 2010 included forced displacement. Furthermore, there is a growing trend compared to earlier projects, with a 3.5 times increase in WB projects expected to lead to displacement currently as compared to projects that had finished by 2012. This development is ominous, because generally research has found people's livelihoods tend to be affected negatively by DIDR (ibid.). The World Bank has drawn up guidelines in response to evaluations and negative publicity surrounding displacement caused by their projects. However, resettlement policies are generally only aimed at restoring people's livelihoods rather than improving on them as guidelines promise. In about 50% of the projects between 1990 and 2010, the WB failed to achieve livelihood restoration, leading instead to further impoverishment and marginalization after displacement (Cernea & Maldonado, 2018). Recreating or improving people's mobility patterns so they might restore or improve upon their already existing livelihoods is not mentioned in guidelines or resettlement plans.

Regarding the almost 30,000 people that are to be displaced by the KJE, the Africa Development Bank states that: *"It is recommended that no construction related activity shall be undertaken [...] resulting in displacement of Project Affected Persons (PAPs) without the relevant compensation payments."* (African Development Bank, 2018b). Furthermore, PAPs should be given prior notice. This might sound good in theory, but the practice remains unclear as of now as construction of the KJE has not commenced yet. As the project continues to be further developed, it is of importance to see whether this principle set by one of the KJE's main stakeholders will be upheld. The most vulnerable groups in society, such as informal settlement dwellers, are usually the most negatively affected by DIDR (Cernea & Maldonado, 2018). Since the KJE will mainly displace people in slums, it is important to examine informal settlements and the impacts that DIDR has on such communities.

2.2.3. Informal settlements

With exponential urban growth and inadequate provision of infrastructure and services, informal settlements have sprouted up in cities around the world. Informal settlements are communities characterized by (land) tenure insecurity, competition for space, services and entitlements and generally poor housing and living conditions. In some cities, especially megacities in the global south, more than half of the population resides in such slums (UN-Habitat, 2003). In fact, an estimated 61.7% of the African urban population resided in slums in 2014 (UN-Habitat, 2014). Particularly cities in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) have large slum populations, with SSA as a region currently housing an estimated 189 million people in slums (UN-DESA, 2018). Although slum populations have relatively decreased in numbers, from almost 40% of the global urban population residing in slums in 2000, to less than 30% in 2014 (World Bank, 2019), the absolute number of slum dwellers has continuously increased (UN-Habitat, 2014). The unprecedented scale of this issue raises questions about these settlements, as their number of inhabitants are expected to increase, particularly in (Sub-Saharan) Africa.

Given the scope and scale of informal settlements globally, it can be hard to define them. Some typologies are based on common challenges faced by slum dwellers, as for example operationalized in the 'five deprivations' typology by the UN, where people lacking one or more of the following are characterized as living in a slum: access to improved water, access to improved sanitation facilities, sufficient living area, structural quality/durability of dwellings, and security of tenure'. These deprivations negatively affect the lives of people living in informal settlements. However, defining slums involves many more characteristics, such as recognition by authorities, access to infrastructure

and basic services (UN-Habitat, 2003). From a literature review previously conducted by the author on studies evaluating interventions targeting basic service improvements in informal settlements globally, it was found that the (land) tenure situation and recognized/formal status of the settlement influenced living conditions and effectiveness of development interventions targeted to improve these. For example, differences in formal status of slums led to highly differentiated access to and quality of water and sanitation in different Mumbai slums (Subbaraman & Murthy, 2015; Subbaraman et al., 2012). Informal settlements are highly diverse even within similar context, as Angeles et al. (2009) showcase for Bangladeshi slums. It can thus be concluded that informal settlements are complex, highly varied and that intra- and inter-slum differences can have influence on how development projects affect the settlement. Still, development policy and practice is generally aimed at (exclusion of) slums as a whole, without context-specificity as a concern.

Before these relatively recent understandings, “the” slum has previously been defined, for example by the Government of Maharashtra in 1971 as “a source of danger to health, safety or convenience of the public of the area [...] being an insanitary, degraded place, overcrowded or otherwise” . Although such definitions have been more nuanced recently, this derogatory view of informal settlements has led to slum dwellers being more marginalized and disregarded by their representatives, resulting in more limited access to basic services and tenure security than other urban dwellers (UN-Habitat, 2003). Authorities have been typically hesitant to acknowledge slum dwellers’ de facto occupation of land, fearing that this will undermine their own exclusive policies towards informal settlements (Devkar et al., 2017; Subbaraman et al., 2012). Slums are regarded as a challenge to urban prosperity and urban growth (UN-Habitat, 2012). This leads to the disregarding of slums in investments in the urban context, again leading to more marginalization and exclusion from development processes for informal settlement inhabitants (UN-Habitat, 2003).

This exclusion is often rooted in disregarding of the informal sector in general, and particularly informal settlements. Informality is often problematized by (urban) governments, even though it can be used as a coping strategy for the urban poor to have more control over their livelihoods (Richmond, Myers & Namuli, 2018). Informality expands to many parts of slum dwellers’ livelihoods, such as lack of land tenure, coping with private service providers and informal employment. Informal settlements can therefore be considered spatial manifestations of informality, where people compete for scarce space on the fringes of the formal economy (Richmond et al., 2018). In many cities, such as Kampala, the informal sector has become so large and intertwined with the formal sector, that they together form the interdependent fabric of the city.

Since the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and human rights-based development approaches, informal settlements have become more prioritized within the development agenda. Although both the millennium development goals (goal 7, target 4: achieve substantial improvement in the lives of a minimum of 100 million slum dwellers by 2020) as well as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs; goal 11 sustainable cities and communities(UN, 2019)) explicitly target improvement of slum dwellers’ livelihoods, success up until now has been limited (Devkar et al., 2017). Furthermore, communities have been disregarded as the problem, instead of acknowledging their resilience and ingenuity in “*retaining their place in the city, despite the odds against them.*” (Pieterse, 2014). Involving slum dwellers in development interventions can empower them in the process and hopefully lead to more sustainable and inclusive outcomes, which is also being attempted in the KJE project.

2.3. Conceptual framework

The previous sections together form the theoretical and conceptual framework that guides this study. In Figure 5, an overview of the different concepts and their relation is shown.

Although development corridors are often seen as intrinsically positive, leading to improved connections and more opportunities arising from these network relations, the underlying power dynamics and resulting immobility must not be forgotten. Although mobility and livelihoods might be improved upon by the implementation and construction of these corridors, they require large-scale physical infrastructure to be built leading in turn to development induced displacement and resettlement.

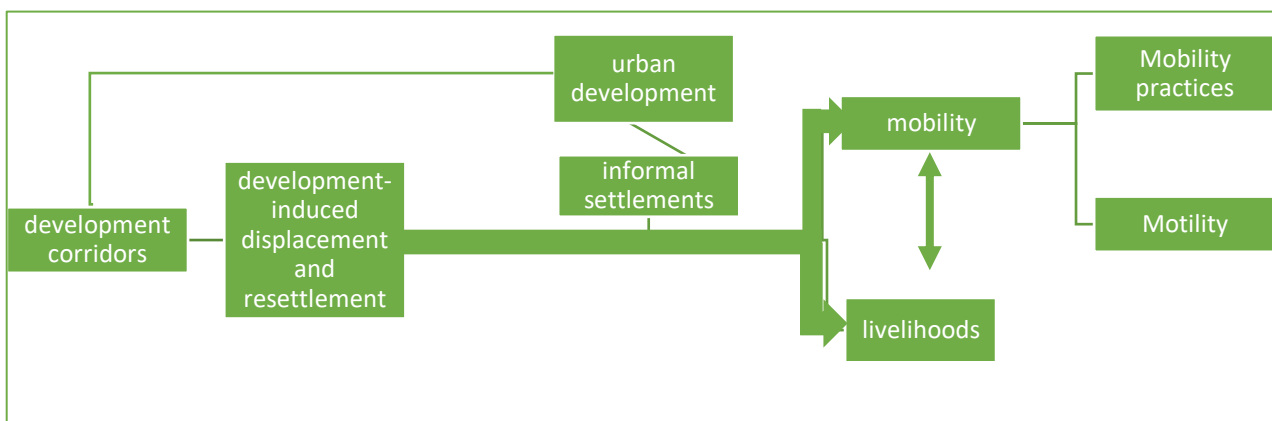


Figure 5. Conceptual framework

At the same time, urbanization and rampant forms of urban development have led to the forming of informal settlements, as described in section 2.2.3. Processes of urbanization and economic growth however also lead to the implementation of development corridors, with these being justified with benefits such as local development, decongestion and increased accessibility, as described in the introduction and section 2.2.1. In this research, urban informal settlements form the (vulnerability) context. Since it has been established that living in these informal settlements influences how the displacement process leads to certain mobility and livelihood outcomes, they are established as a specific focus of this research in and of themselves. As the people residing in these settlements are usually more vulnerable in the face of displacement, they tend to benefit less from development interventions and can even be worse-off as not only they, but also their livelihoods and mobility patterns are displaced in the process. Furthermore, they are generally excluded from development policy and practice. Compensation schemes, if in place at all, do not necessarily account for the complex mobility and livelihoods of slum dwellers. Displacement processes will inevitably have effects on mobility and livelihoods, which are interconnected as discussed in section 2.1.2. In section 2.1.3. mobility has been explored in further detail, arriving at the notions of mobility practices and motility as two manifestations of people's mobility. These concepts are further operationalized in chapter 4.

Finally, we must realize that informal settlements are incredibly diverse, but urban development policies such as infrastructural projects and the implementation of safeguards are based on assumptions of homogeneity in these communities. The inter- and intra- slum dynamics are omitted from development policy and practice but form one of the foci of this research.

3. Methodology

This research employed a mixed methods qualitative framework to analyze current mobility patterns and livelihoods, as well as expected livelihood and mobility impacts caused by the KJE. In this chapter, the research design and methodology will be examined. Section 3.1 elaborated upon strategic choices regarding the research design, justifying the choices made for methods to answer each of the sub-questions. Then, the conceptual framework introduced in section 2.3 will be operationalized into different concepts that can be analyzed using these methods in section 3.2. In section 3.3, the actual methods used for data collection and analysis will be described. Section 3.4 and 3.5 respectively elaborate upon how the case studies and participants were selected and what kind of sample was obtained. This chapter will end with reflective sections on positionality (3.6) and limitations of the research (3.7).

3.1. Research design

Qualitative methods were used to gain a better understanding of people's mobility in informal settlements. Qualitative methods may be preferred when exploring people's everyday behavior (Silverman, 2013), as is the case with mobility patterns as a social practice as elaborated above. Quantitative assessments regarding the KJE have already been made in the ESIA (AfDB, 2018c), but an in-depth study of people's expectations has not been conducted yet. According to Joshi (2014), mobility is usually (superficially) understood through transport systems which can be assessed objectively. However, it is important to look at the day-to-day practices of people's mobility in order to warrant a human-centered approach. Since DIDR leads to complex livelihood outcomes and since the context of informal settlements is complex and multi-layered, in-depth qualitative methods can uncover the dynamics behind such processes better than a quantitative generalized approach.

In order to answer the first sub-question "*What is the current situation with regards to livelihoods and mobility practices of residents of informal settlements along the KJE corridor in Kampala?*", a better understanding of the communities was required. In order to do so, in-depth interviews with key informants such as local formal and informal leaders, and community workers were conducted. Then, semi-structured interviews were administered face-to-face with inhabitants of the three informal settlement communities. This research strives to gather qualitative insights from the affected communities. Hence, insights gained not only relate to mobility practices as in literal patterns of movement, which could be assessed quantitatively, but also to the meanings attached to these practices to get a better idea of how mobilities are negotiated by the urban poor. The interview guide used for the interviews can be found in Appendix I and included a brief section on mobility practices to assess how people move, incorporating general mobility aspects such as mode of transport, distance and time. Further probing and questioning the answers given to these questions made sure more qualitative aspects such as perceptions of mobility were incorporated as well. Besides the interviews, cognitive mapping of people's day-to-day movements served to better understand people's mobility patterns.

The second sub-question is "*How are mobility practices and livelihood strategies differentiated within and between the different informal settlements along the KJE in Kampala?*" Mainly comparison of the above-mentioned methods served to answer this question. By understanding what the mobility practices of informal settlement inhabitants are, these can then be compared across and within communities. It is important here to link the findings on mobility and livelihoods to contextual factors, since they impose structural constraints or enabling factors on livelihoods and mobility. Explicit questions dealing with contextual factors such as quality-of-life and general perception of the

community helped answering this sub-question, as it focuses not only on the actual difference in mobility practices and livelihoods but also on underlying factors.

For the third sub-question, “*How do inhabitants of informal settlement communities expect their livelihood and mobility to be impacted by the KJE and how does this differ within and between informal settlement communities?*”, interviews and cognitive mapping again served to get an idea of what communities think might happen when the KJE is constructed. By comparing the current and expected post-KJE situation, which was uncertain for many participants, an idea was obtained on how participants expected the project might impact their life. Certain questions were aimed at explicitly asking how people expected their mobility to change or what their plans were after displacement. It was also attempted to make expected post-KJE mobility maps, but since many people’s future was so insecure and unknown at the point of doing the interview, most participants did not draw a post-KJE mobility map.

3.2. Operationalization

Several multi-faceted concepts form the main research topics of this study. As explained in chapter 2, the concept of mobility involves many different parts of people’s lives beyond physical, corporeal movements and could thus be misinterpreted as all-encompassing. For the scope of this research, mobility was limited to people’s movements using various modes with additional attention paid to current and potential or expected mobility. Due to the lack of studies focusing on mobility of the urban poor there are limitations in forming hypotheses about mobility of the target population. It is however important to further define and operationalize mobility into perceivable or measurable concepts, for the sake of being able to explore this notion through empirical field work methods as described above.

Social practices can be defined as resources, competencies and meanings that together form the practice. In terms of mobility, this can be operationalized as motility. As explained in section 2.1.3, motility and mobility practices are strongly related, and the definitions can be merged following Joshi (2014) where motility can be divided into (access to) resources, (skills or) competencies and meaning (or cognitive appropriation). A practice-based approach is well-suited for looking at how people construct their movements, rather than using a system based-approach which imposes a transport system on society, where (some) people might be excluded (Joshi, 2014). There can be such a system in place independently of individual negotiations of it, but users of transport systems bend and shape this system to become suitable for their use, they attach meanings to it and develop attitudes towards it, which may in turn change the system entirely. This is what we can see as *meanings* of mobility practices, which can be researched by looking at how people view their own mobility in terms of attitudes, perceptions, feelings and associations. However, people also negotiate mobility through the essential *resources* that they use to be mobile, which could be money to pay for transport, the mode of transport and the time they use to move around. Finally, people also need certain skills or *competencies* to be mobile. This includes, but is not limited to, degree of able-bodiedness (to be able to move around safely), navigational and driving skills (if moving around autonomously) and literacy (to understand travel signage if applicable). In table 1, an overview of the operationalization of the concepts as described above is given.

Table 1. Operationalization of mobility as mobility practices

Concept	Sub-concepts	Definition	Example
Mobility practices	Resources	Access to resources that people use for mobility	Cost (Money), time, modes (vehicle)
	Competencies	Skills that people use for mobility	Skills, (driving, navigation), physical ability (able-bodiedness), literacy
	Meanings	Meanings that people attach to mobility	Attitudes, perceptions, associations and feelings

As explained in section 2.1.3, motility could be defined as a capital among other forms of livelihood capitals such as financial or social capital. Hence, it is important to look at people's access to, competence surrounding and appropriation of current and particularly *potential* social and spatial mobility. There is an explicit link with livelihoods, because resources (e.g. financial or natural capital) and skills (e.g. social or human capital) are part of people's livelihoods. Consequently, these resources can be used to access mobility, such as money for accessing transport or time used for moving around. Mobility can be studied at a micro-level by looking at individuals' capacities and skills that influence and knowledge that relates to spatial and social mobility, directly or indirectly (Kaufmann et al., 1995). Furthermore, access to relevant tools or networks might facilitate mobility (consider the example given in section 2.1.3 about *boda-boda* drivers and the app *Safeboda*). Mobility can however also be studied at a meso-level, by looking at the association between social and spatial mobility in terms of social networks within families or communities. For this research, both the micro (individual) and meso (community) level analyses were used to identify different groups of people that exhibit different kinds of mobility.

When it comes to livelihoods, these can be studied using the SLA capitals, but this is also a rather quantitative approach which might over-simplify or quantify people's complex livelihoods. Furthermore, going into each capital and 'assessing' participants based on the capital they have or lack goes beyond the scope and aim of this study. Instead, a more open approach allows for inclusion of what participants deem important with regards to their livelihood vis-à-vis their mobility. Livelihoods have hence been analyzed in a more inductive explorative way, rather than a top-down scoring on indicators.

3.3. Research methods

As mentioned, this research will employ mixed qualitative methods to get an in-depth understanding of people's mobility practices and livelihoods. Mixed data collection methods often refers to mixing quantitative and qualitative methods, but can also indicate a combination of different qualitative methods, as is applicable to this research (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011). In this section, the research methods used for this study will be elaborated upon, as well as the data analysis methods.

3.3.1. Data collection methods

Participant observation

First, participant observation was conducted to get a better understanding of the informal settlement communities. Since the community dynamics were highly complex and unknown to the researcher, observing in these settlements provided an essential contextual understanding to the findings of the research (Hennink et al, 2011). Building a deeper connection with participants through repeated presence in the community helped building rapport, which led to opportunities like having access to

the participants' networks for further research. Advantages of observation include its relative unobtrusiveness and ability to observe how people (inter-)act in certain social situations (Hennink et al., 2011). During this research, observations were mainly conducted during participatory events organized by local NGOs and implementing partners of the No One Worse Off project relating to the KJE (see Figure 6), and by walking around the settlements and talking to community members.



Figure 6. A typical community meeting where participant observation was conducted, in this case a settlement forum in Banda zone 3

Transect walks

A transect walk is “a systematic walk along a defined path (transect) across the community/project area together with local people to explore [...] conditions by observing, asking, listening, looking and producing a transect diagram” (Keller, 2020). Transect walks are commonly conducted during the initial phase of fieldwork by the researcher and local community members. The information collected during the walk is used to draw a diagram of map which can be used to have discussions with the participants about (ibid.). Interestingly, transect walks can show the diversity of the study area and highlight issues in the community. In this research, transect walks were conducted along the right of way in the affected communities to see what current conditions are in the most affected areas. The maps were drawn up afterwards in collaboration with the field guides (see Figure 7 below).

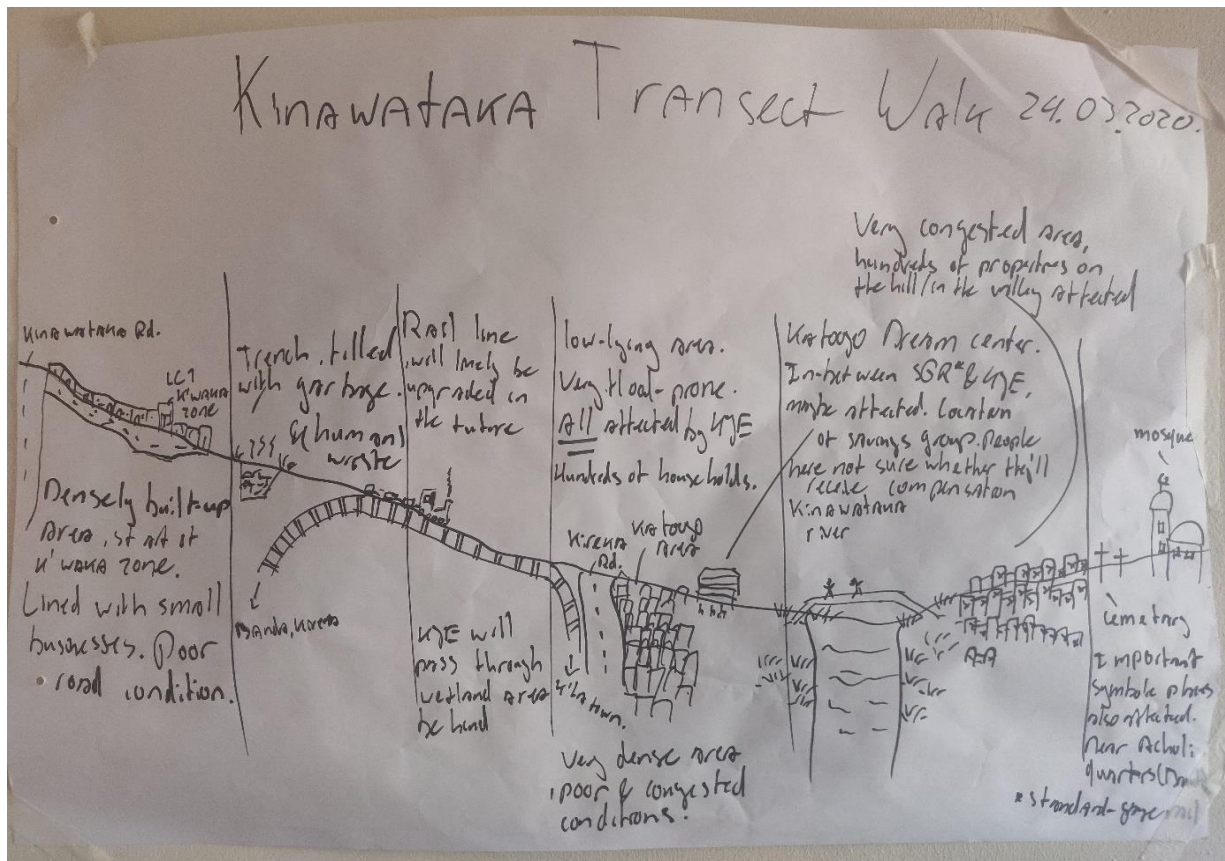


Figure 7. Transect map of the transect walk conducted along the right of way in Kinawataka on March 24th

These transect maps and corresponding findings did not necessarily directly relate to answering the research question, but they were a good additional introduction into the communities and their spatial lay-out and characteristics, aiding in drawing up a regional thematic framework (see Chapter 4.3.)

In-depth interviewing

The purpose of in-depth interviews is to seek people’s personal perceptions and experiences (Hennink et al., 2011). Furthermore, it can serve to gain a better understanding of the context in which the interviewee lives. In this research, interviews were used as the main data collection method since the research focuses on people’s individual mobility practices and livelihoods and how they anticipated the KJE might impact those. Furthermore, interviews are well-suited for dealing with sensitive topics, since there are no group dynamics and a personal connection of trust can be formed if enough rapport exists between the interviewer and the interviewee. This method served to gain detailed insights into issues of mobility and the KJE from the perspective of the participants themselves, following an emic perspective (Hennink et al., 2011). Semi-structured interviews using an in-depth interview guide (see Appendix 1) were conducted with the help of field guides, who usually also translated, with participants from all three of the settlements.

Cognitive mapping

Cognitive maps can be defined as “a person’s organized representation of some part of the spatial environment” (Downs and Stea, 1977). Cognitive mapping is a technique in which participants draw maps of how they perceive their environment. There are many different types of cognitive mapping. For this research, cognitive temporal mapping was used to provide an interesting insight in how participants experience present and future desired or expected environments (Fenster, 2009). Conducting in-depth interviews, drawing maps and having dialogues can help inform the planning

process by incorporating essential local spatial knowledge from the participant (ibid.). For this research, participants were asked to draw two maps: one of their current daily mobility, and one of how they expect their mobility to change after the construction of the KJE. However, due to uncertainty about the situation post-KJE, the second map was only drawn by some people. Instead, questions and probes were used to ask people about their expectations with regards to post-KJE mobility.

3.3.2. Data analysis methodology

During the finalization of the data collection and after wrapping up the last interviews, the data processing and analysis phase of the research took place. All notes taken in the field were written out and compiled in documents organized along the type of engagement, i.e. community meeting notes, informal conversation notes and interview notes. Then, all interviews were transcribed. After transcribing, deductive inductive coding was done both by using in-text comments and highlights and by using Nvivo 12 software. During the coding process it was the goal to reach a point of saturation with regards to the findings, but new insights kept popping up, so it was important to keep analyzing the data. Inductive and deductive codes were developed after which themes were found which guided the findings chapter.

No specific method for analyzing cognitive maps was found. Instead, the differences between community members with regards to their mobility was looked at by simply comparing the maps of different community members. Each map was examined and key characteristics such as distance, mode of transport, spatial awareness and style of mapping were noted down. By coding interview transcripts, comparing cognitive map and doing in-depth cross-comparison of different results, analysis of different mobility patterns and livelihood strategies was conducted.

3.4. Cases and participant selection

When it comes to the methodology for this research, one of the main questions is which communities to research, Informal settlements served as case studies to illustrate the mobility impacts of the KJE. Generalizations based on case studies must be handled with caution, since they usually are not representative (Mikkelsen, 2005). However, representative case or random sample might not lead to the richest data, given that the case was selected randomly. Instead, Flyvbjerg (as quoted in Mikkelsen, 2005) argues for using atypical or extreme cases, where more information can be revealed due to the richness of findings from these cases. Following from this, the cases as described in Chapter 4.3 have been selected as interesting cases in collaboration with Urban Action Lab at Makerere University and NGO ACTogether Uganda and the National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda (NSDFU), all of whom have extensive experience working with and conducting research in informal settlements in Kampala. Furthermore, implementing partners of the NOWO project already had access to these settlements, allowing the researcher access to community members as participants for the research.

The case studies, Kinawataka, Banda and Kasokoso, are located in the south-east of Kampala and bordering each other, effectively forming one study area. However, differentiated contextual factors lead to interesting differences in livelihoods and mobility, making the settlements relevant cases for inter- and intra-community comparison. Furthermore, considering the trans-locality of development impacts, instead of looking at direct and local impacts only, makes the inclusion of areas outside the ROW imperative.

When it comes to the selection of participants, a specific sampling strategy to obtain a representative sample was not possible, given that getting a representative sample size for the 30,000 inhabitants in the KJE corridor was not viable given the constraints of the research. Instead, participants were approached by field guides within the communities, either randomly through door-to-door sampling or through snowball sampling from existing social networks of field guides or participants. The aim was to get a diverse as possible sample of the people living in the three communities, with about 50% within and 50% outside the Right of Way of the KJE corridor.

In total, 122 interviews were held with 125 participants. Most interviews were held one-on-one, but some involved small groups of two or three people, lasting for about half an hour on average. On four occasions, a participant was interviewed twice. The returning participants were either local leaders or people involved in participatory projects surrounding the KJE somehow. Of these interviews, 101 were semi-structured interviews using the in-depth interview guide, of which 89 were recorded and transcribed. For the other 12 semi-structured interviews the participant refused recording due to suspicion or privacy concerns, so for those interviews notes were taken. An additional 21 informal conversations were held of which only notes were taken. In seven cases, participants refused to participate in an interview, because they were not interested or due suspicion.

3.5. Description of participants

Out of all the participants, 80 were women and 44 were men (Figure 9). This overrepresentation of women is also present in the findings, which will be discussed later during the results. A further three times, mixed groups of both men and women were engaged. By far most of the people interviewed were residents of Kasokoso, one of the three studies communities (Figure 8)

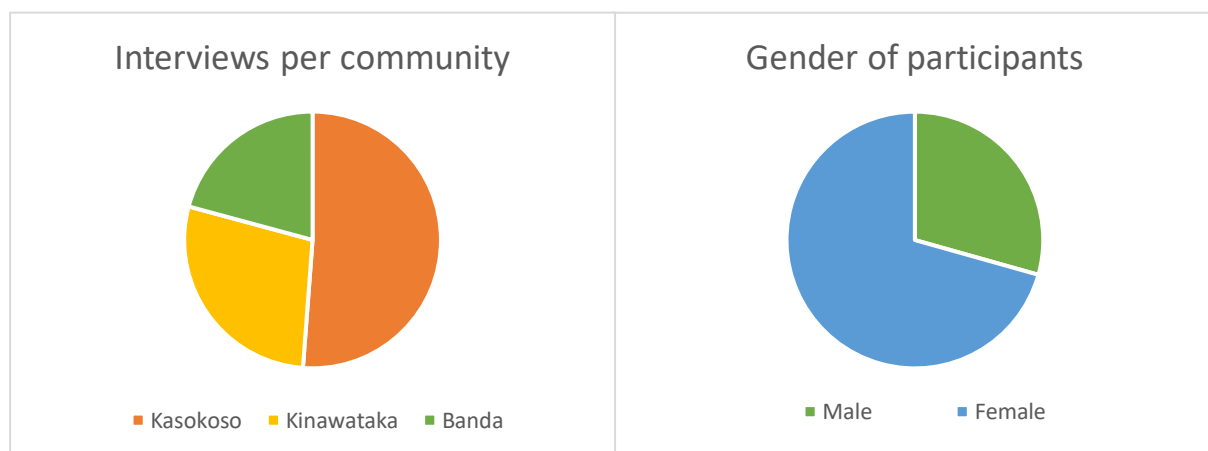


Figure 8. Interviews held per community

Figure 9. Gender of participants

In Kasokoso, 63 people participated in interviews, partially because of a proactive and engaged field guide who provided improved access into the community for the researcher. Banda, with 24 interviews, was harder to reach because the local chairperson of the most affected area did not provide permission to do field work in their area and did not cooperate in the research besides giving one interview themselves. Finally, Kinawataka was the community which took more time to reach due to logistical issues with field guides. Kinawataka was also the community that was harder to permeate because of strong mistrust of outsiders. In the end, it was still possible to have 35 interviews with community members there.

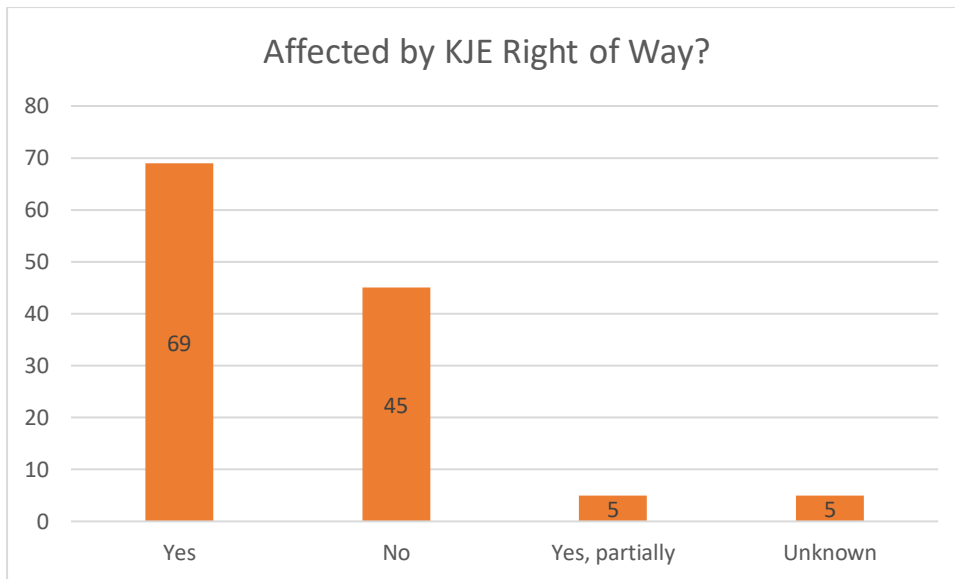


Figure 10. Amount of participants that are affected by the KJE Right of way

Out of all participants, 74 indicated being directly affected by the KJE right of way (Figure 10). The degree to which people are affected by the ROW is differentiated between the communities, which will be looked further into in chapter 5. Five of these participants were only partially affected and in most of those cases it was not clear for them what was to happen to them and their property. Forty-five people indicated not being directly affected by the KJE right of way. However, given the proximity to the future KJE (all participants lived at least within a couple hundred meters from the ROW), they are likely to be affected indirectly in different ways.

A total of 57 cognitive mobility maps were drawn with participants. Some participants were not interested in drawing a map or said they were not able to. In these cases, mobility was discussed through interview questions. Most people initially misinterpreted the question and started drawing the layout of their surroundings, rather than how *they* moved around. This could be due to translation or misinterpretation errors through the field guide, but also indicates that participants were not used to thinking about their movements or mobility in their day-to-day life, as movements are often so self-evident and executed obliviously.

3.6. Positionality of the researcher

For this section, I will make some notes on my own background and position as a researcher. My background is in human geography and over time I have developed particular interest in spatial patterns and phenomena. I have always been interested in movements of people and how people negotiate this mobility through transport infrastructure. Throughout my studies I have learned that power is always interwoven in such infrastructure and development projects in general. Hence, I chose to incorporate mobility into this research, combining it with livelihood approaches that are commonplace in development studies. This research was conducted as part of my master's degree in International Development Studies, with a 7-month period dedicated to fieldwork in Kampala, Uganda. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic making it impossible to leave Uganda, the original length of 13 weeks was extended to be seven months in total. Since Uganda was in full lockdown for some time, 2.5 of these months were void of any field work activities.

Before setting off on this journey, I had limited experience in doing scientific fieldwork and no experience dealing with participants in informal settlements or sensitive topics such as land ownership

and displacement. It was also my first time travelling to Uganda and as such, I had to first get used to the country, culture and its people. I am aware of the possibly problematic and colonial connotations that arise with me being a white male in a privileged position doing field research in Uganda. Unfortunately, in my experience white people are often put on a pedestal in Uganda due to the white savior industrial complex, false expectations and past experiences. In this awareness of my privileged position, I had to make several choices to make sure that there was no exploitation or misunderstanding regarding my motives. First, working with field guides from the communities minimized suspicion and eased the process of accessing participants. Secondly, a significant amount of time had to be dedicated to explaining the motives of the research and possible benefits to the participant. Even after explaining this, oftentimes questions for clarification about my role, position and personal involvement in the project were commonplace. It was therefore important to clarify that my aim was not to be involved in the project or to mislead people in any way and that I was simply a student doing research. The most important thing was to be upfront with participants about my intentions and to be honest about the limited possible benefits for the participants. Thirdly, I prioritized co-creation and tried to make sure the relationship was as trust-based and horizontal as possible. Finally, since the research dealt with sensitive themes, it was important to make sure to maintain integrity, discretion and anonymity for the participants. I can happily say that aside from a few setbacks, the field work was conducted in a successful manner in co-creation with local partners.

3.7. Risks and limitations of the research

There are several risks and limitations of this research that were identifiable in advance and in hindsight. Doing research about potential future impacts entails certain limitations, as current social realities cannot simply be generalized or extrapolated. To combat this limitation, the research focused on people's own perception of the future by asking about their expectations. This provided a reference to compare this potential motility with current mobility and livelihoods found with this research.

Moreover, there is a risk in getting trust from participants when it comes to sensitive issues such as displacement and land ownership. Entering a community that is facing displacement as a researcher asking about mobility and livelihood dynamics was oftentimes met with suspicion. In this case, I minimized such suspicions by collaborating with local partners Urban Action Lab/Makerere University and ACTogether Uganda/NSDFU and by getting explicit permission from community leaders. Furthermore, plenty of time was spent on sensitizing participants to the research before starting with the interviews. However, since the field guides involved in this study were often prominent people in their community who sometimes were even campaigning for a political position and/or involved in the NOWO project, interests sometimes became mixed-up. This is a bias present in the research and the participants that will be further investigated in the discussion (chapter 6).

A final limitation of this research is the potentially limited impact that it might have. The scientific relevance for this research has been elaborated upon, but the practical developmental relevance has its limitations. As a master's student, I am aware that this research has no direct implications for people's livelihoods. I made sure that from the beginning of establishing communications with participants it was clear to them that participating in the research is on a voluntary basis and did not guarantee changed project outcomes. However, being connected with Makerere university and some of the implementing partners in the No One Worse Off project will hopefully enable usage of the findings of this research in their projects and ultimately communication to policymakers involved with the KJE and resettlement plans. If this does not happen within this project, findings from this research could possibly inform future policy or research.

4. Regional thematic framework

In this chapter, the regional context of this research will be introduced, looking first at the region of East Africa and the Northern Corridor, as well as Uganda, after which the city of Kampala will be introduced, focusing on urban land tenure and displacement processes. In the end the study area with the three informal settlements Banda, Kinawataka and Kasokoso will be introduced.

4.1. Uganda and the Northern Corridor

Uganda is a land-locked developing country in East Africa, bordering South-Sudan to the North, Kenya to the East, DRC to the West and Rwanda and Tanzania to the South. East Africa is the least urbanized, but fastest urbanizing region in the world (UN-Habitat, 2014). The region had some of the lowest inflows of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Africa, but the strongest increase in FDI over the past decade (UN-Habitat & IHS-Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2018), indicating that economic interest in the region is increasing. Enns (2019) notes that the development corridor agenda has taken a particularly strong hold in East Africa, supported by foreign investors willing to invest in the resource-rich region. It is assumed that corridors will unlock East Africa's economic potential, but the question is whether improving access to these resources will benefit the population. The EAC is also improving and increasing regional integration despite tensions between its members. Several supranational organizations are mainly concerned with cross-border economic cooperation, where Uganda is a member of the EAC and potentially interested in joining the proposed East African Federation. Uganda depends on Kenya and Tanzania for seaport access, making international cooperation particularly relevant in the context of the Northern corridor. Uganda is ranked 159th on the human development index, scoring relatively low within the region and globally on development indicators and high on income inequality (Republic of Uganda, 2015).

Uganda is an incredibly diverse country, both naturally and ethnographically, and has been nicknamed "The Pearl of Africa". With a history of tribal kingdoms, the Buganda⁴ kingdom in Central Uganda is one of the largest ones with its seat in Kampala. Currently, customary and formal rule exist side-to-side, which is also apparent in the Buganda kingdom still owning a lot of land in Kampala. After becoming independent from the UK, Uganda went through a period of civil wars and unrest, with its violent successions culminating under the regimes of Idi Amin and Milton Obote. After years of instability, president Yoweri Kaguta Museveni took over in 1986 and has been in power ever since. Currently, Uganda is a democracy and had elections in 2011, contestably won by a landslide by Museveni. The regime has brought stability and peace to Uganda and the country has been experiencing consistent economic growth, averaging 5.5% annual GDP growth (Republic of Uganda, 2015). However, with limited prosperity and corruption and unemployment rampant, the current situation is unsatisfactory to much of Uganda's largely young population who have not lived through the days of civil wars and violent dictatorships (Reuss & Titeca, 2017). With elections coming up in January 2021, and political tensions rising, this makes a pertinent time to study a large-scale project in Uganda, as the political situation seeps down every thread of the fabric of Ugandan society.

In terms of population, Uganda's population was estimated at 42.7 million in 2018, with only about 25% of its population classified as urban (UN-DESA, 2018). This percentage is set to increase to 44% by 2050, meaning that Uganda is rapidly urbanizing. When it comes to informal settlements, an

⁴ A linguistic note on terminology for the remainder of this thesis: the common pre-fixes of 'Lu-', 'Mu-', 'Ba-' and 'Bu-' are used for 'the language of', 'a member of', 'a people' and 'the land they occupy' respectively. For example, regarding the Ganda people, a Muganda is a member of the Baganda tribe, who speak Luganda and live in Buganda. The name of the country now is derived from the Swahili name for Buganda, where the prefix U- became commonly used under the British administration.

estimated 53,6% of the Ugandan urban population lived in slums in 2014 (unstats, 2015). Uganda has committed in its second National Development Plan to upgrade all slums, and to ensure access to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services for all (Republic of Uganda, 2015). Most of this informal settlement population lives in Uganda's capital and largest city, Kampala.

4.2. Kampala

Kampala is a primate city, a large urban area that by far dominates the entire country's economy. Official population estimates range from around 1.5-2 million (Republic of Uganda, 2015) to almost 3 million inhabitants in its urban agglomeration (UN-DESA, 2018). Although Kampala is a primate city, it still 'only' hosts about 5-10% of Uganda's population. This is expected to grow to 5.5 million in 2030 (ibid.). However, these numbers are official estimates, as some estimates including informal residents already report over 5 million inhabitants in Kampala's agglomeration. The amount of slum inhabitants in Kampala range from 500,000 by official estimates in 2010 to 2.5 million in 2014 estimated by ACTogether and NSDFU (Dobson, Muhammed & Mugisa, 2014). The number of informal settlements in Kampala is also disputed: the national government identified 31 slums in Kampala in 2010, while NSDFU and ACTogether identified 62 in 2013. Kampala's rapid growth has caused structural and socio-economic challenges, including a complex and inaccessible land tenure system, limited urban planning and transport systems, challenges related to environmental management and slum development, as well as pressure on housing, water and health services (Republic of Uganda, 2015).

Informal settlements stretch out in every direction of Kampala and are not concentrated in pockets. In this way, Kampala has become a truly informal city, creating a new normality of informal-formal relations (Richmond et al., 2018). This is partially due to the geography of the city. Located in the Lake Victoria basin, much of Uganda's central region is classified as wetland ecosystem. With Kampala being built on and around numerous hills, the more well-off parts occupy the dry upper parts while informal settlements have been built nearby in the low-lying wetland areas where land is cheap and readily available due to its undesirable conditions. Informal settlements in Kampala have multi-layered vulnerabilities and issues, but the most pressing issues faced by all are water-related issues, with no reliable water supply or location in flood-prone wetland areas. It is relevant to look further into the historical development of the city to get a better grasp of its current opportunities and challenges.

In Kampala, historical pathways have shaped current urban land rights, as described by Nkurunziza (2007) and Byerley (2013). Two types of land tenure evolved during the colonial era, with the native administration under the Buganda kingdom administering customary ownership and the British crown controlling the new colonial city of Kampala (Nkurunziza, 2007). After independence, an influx of migrants caused housing pressure and further economic stagnation drove much of the population into informality, which persists up until today, where inhabitants make use of a mixture of formal and informal approaches for land transactions (ibid.). Kampala currently has one of the most complex land tenure systems in the world, exacerbated by high urbanization rates and ineffective attempts at formalization of registration (Dobson, Muhammed & Mugisa, 2014). In Kampala's informal settlements, land tenure arrangements range from private customary ownership, to ownership by the Buganda kingdom or the federal government. Different land tenure systems offer different levels of security, where crown land offers a longer-term stability than government owned land which theoretically could and regularly is cleared for development projects (Richmond et al., 2018). To complicate matters further, the percentage of land under certain ownership is highly differentiated between different parts of the city, often unbeknownst to the local inhabitants.

In order to steer the development of Kampala in the right direction, the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) was formed as a representative body of the central government aimed at more effective governance of the entire metropolitan area, as part of a Kampala master plan. Current progress or practical implementation of these plans remains unclear (Dobson et al., 2014) and during the research it became apparent that involvement of the KCCA in Kampala's informal settlements is limited as KCCA mainly aims for slum upgrading and densification of slums similarly to stories of slum exclusion mentioned in section 2.2.3. The KCCA has a top-down approach to development, which is less resource-intensive than bottom-up, participatory approaches (Richmond et al., 2018). Unfortunately, this mode of governance, which is exemplary of Uganda's national government's strategies, causes distrust between the government and its citizens. Currently, the policy-community divide has caused displacement to be rampant and solutions like proposed 'low-cost housing' after displacement not to be realized or considered to be inadequate when they are (ibid.).

Kampala's complex land tenure system and resulting informality become particularly relevant when looking at DIDR in the context of Kampala. Displacement and resettlement in the context of Uganda is not a new phenomenon. Even in late colonial times, slum dwellers were displaced in attempts to remake the city to reduce informality in Kampala (Byerley, 2013). The comparable recent trend of displacement for modernization is rooted in the historical pathways shaping different areas of Kampala, where different areas of the city are also affected differently due to fragmented land tenure schemes (ibid.). While centrally located land values skyrocket, the urban poor are evicted to make room for the more privileged, displacing not only the slum dwellers themselves to far-off locations, but also their livelihoods and social structures that often rely on proximity (Dobson et al., 2014).

Kampala is characterized by multi-faceted DIDR dynamics. First, some have fled to Kampala because of displacement elsewhere (Gusman, 2018). Secondly, Kampala's urban poor's livelihoods are vulnerable to DIDR, as many construct their livelihoods in informal infrastructure systems such as the ubiquitous *boda-boda* and *taxis/matatus* (Doherty, 2019). As the city modernizes, these informal livelihoods are increasingly under threat of displacement. Finally, vulnerability to displacement of Kampala's urban poor is exacerbated by climate change-induced disasters such as flooding (Kisembo, 2018). It is in the knowledge of these multi-dimensional displacements that this research will look at the pre-displacement phase of the KJE.

4.3. Study area: Kinawataka, Kasokoso & Banda

In this research, the three informal settlements of Kinawataka, Kasokoso and Banda were the focus areas. In Figure 11, a map showing the location of these settlements in Kampala is shown. The three settlements are in the Eastern part of Kampala, near the administrative edge of the KCCA. Kinawataka and Banda are in Nakawa division, one of Kampala's five districts. In Nakawa slums, 80% of the land is privately owned, meaning that many of the community members have some sort of ownership through agreements.. Kasokoso lies in Kireka parish, Kira subcounty, in Wakiso division. The majority of the 30,000 people going to be displaced along the ROW live in Nakawa and Kira (AfDB, 2018c). Furthermore, the settlements are spread over several parishes, with Banda in Banda parish, Kinawataka being mostly in Mbuya I parish. Kasokoso, though next to Kinawataka, is officially outside of Kampala, due to its location in Kireka parish. The administrative divisions of these areas become relevant when considering policy around land tenure and political organizations. Because Kasokoso is officially outside of Kampala, it is often not considered in KCCA's policies although it is effectively still within the urban area. Furthermore, the settlements stretch across formal parish and division boundaries, making effective policy and leadership difficult.

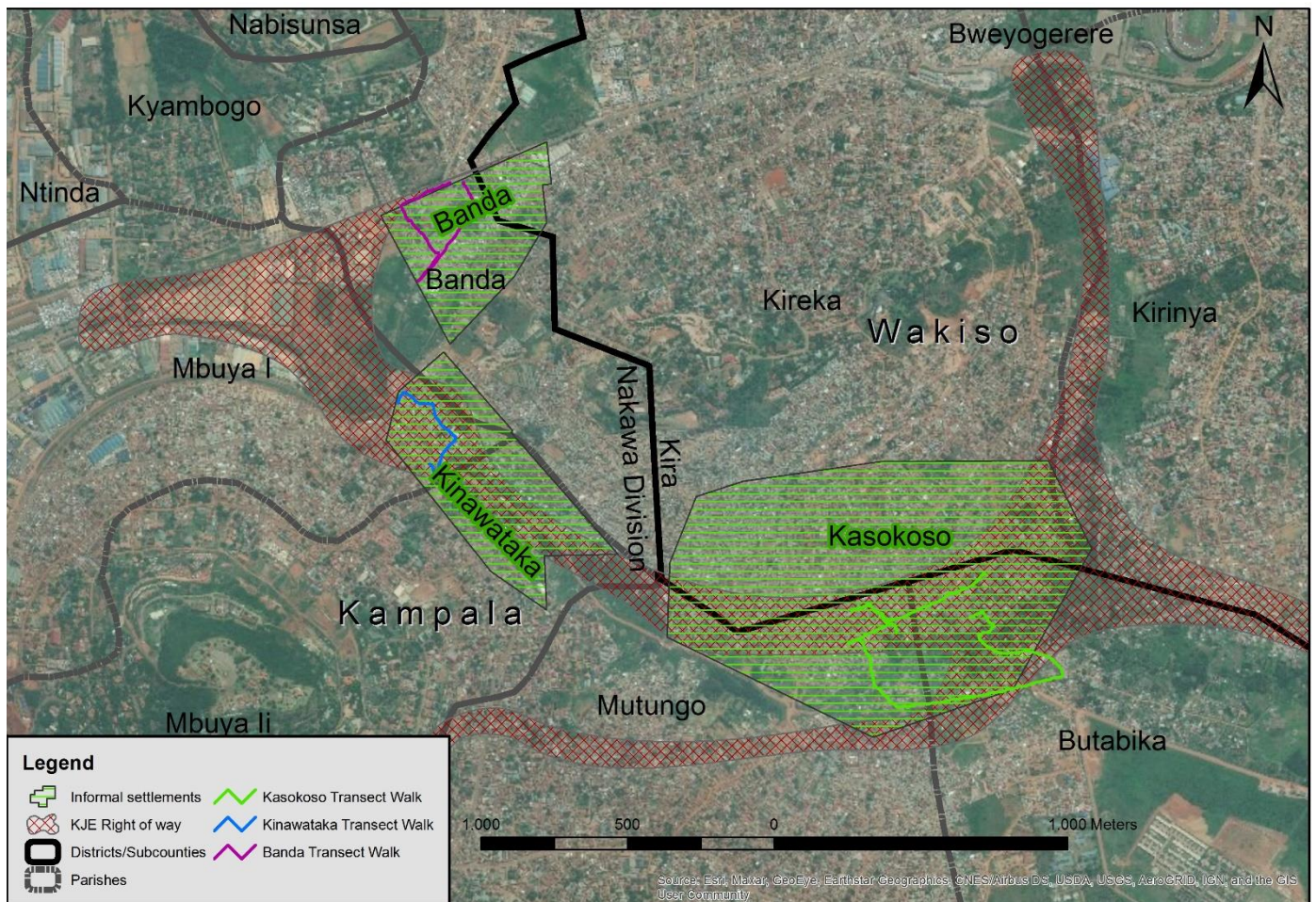


Figure 11. Map showing the study area. The parishes and district boundaries are shown, as well as the KJE right of way and the informal settlements that formed the focus of this research. The map also shows the GPS track of the transect walk conducted in the ROW of each community. (Map layers for administrative retrieved from ARCGIS Online, ESRI, 2020. Due to lack of available data, KJE ROW and informal settlement areas are an author's impression by the researcher based on in-field experiences, geo-tracking and information provided by NOWO implementing partners)

These three settlements were chosen for different reasons in consultation with colleagues at Makerere university and ACTogether. Below, the situation in each of the settlements will be briefly described.

4.3.1. Banda

Banda is a parish in Nakawa division in Kampala. When referring to Banda in this research, we are referring to the informal settlement which spreads across the villages B1, B2 and B3 (from a total of 11 zones) of Banda. According to ACTogether/NSDFU (n.d.), these three zones together host almost 10,000 people. The slum area is split from the rest of Banda parish by the current Kampala-Jinja road. Due to the proximity to the busy road, the settlement is a busy place with many small roadside businesses. Currently, many people make their livelihoods by collecting recyclables and reselling them at a low price around the railroad tracks, which also pass through the settlement and, together with one 'main street', which is also the main thoroughfare between upper Banda parish and other settlements like Kinawataka, form the main axes along which the settlement has sprouted up. The

settlement has limited access to improved water and sanitation, with reportedly only one piped water access and the rest of the drinking, cleaning and cooking water for the residents coming from a groundwater well nearby. The settlement is crossed by several trenches dug downhill to get rid of excess rainwater. However, these trenches often become blocked with garbage, leading to exacerbated flood risk and accumulation of wastewater in the downhill parts of the settlement. There is also one main, very large trench which holds a lot of wastewater from Banda slum and adjacent communities (see Figure 12a). This trench floods regularly, leading to contaminated water flowing into people's houses. There are several community participation initiatives in place in Banda.



Figure 12 (a, left). An image showing the main trench in Banda as seen from the edge of the settlement near the wetland area and right of way (b, right) congested conditions in Banda.

The settlement forum was set up by ACTogether as one of the places where people can voice their opinions and raise concerns, among which KJE-related issues such as compensation. However, this forum did not take place after early March due to the Covid-19-related measures and lockdown. Instead, smaller meetings with community representatives were held. Other activities in Banda focused on community cleanup and tackling issues of garbage and water and sanitation. On the surface, Banda seems like a very engaged and active community. Even though the right of way does not pass through most of Banda, except for about 100 households in zone B2, the community will face consequences of the KJE. For example, Banda will most likely be one of the host communities for displaced people from the other settlements nearby and will thus have to densify or expand to house the displaced. Furthermore, Banda is also indirectly affected by the KJE because its proximity to the new expressway will lead to new conditions in the settlements, likely leading to new livelihoods and mobility patterns.

In Figure 13 (below), a cross-section map of the transect walk conducted on 25.03.2020 is shown. It becomes clear from the map that Banda is built on a hillside, with the current Jinja road on the top of the hill and the main slum area predicated on the hillside with wetlands and water trenches below. This is the typical geography of all three of the settlements which makes them vulnerable to flooding. More developed properties and richer neighborhoods are perched on top of the hills while flood-prone informal settlements must deal with the water flowing downstream, including waste and garbage.

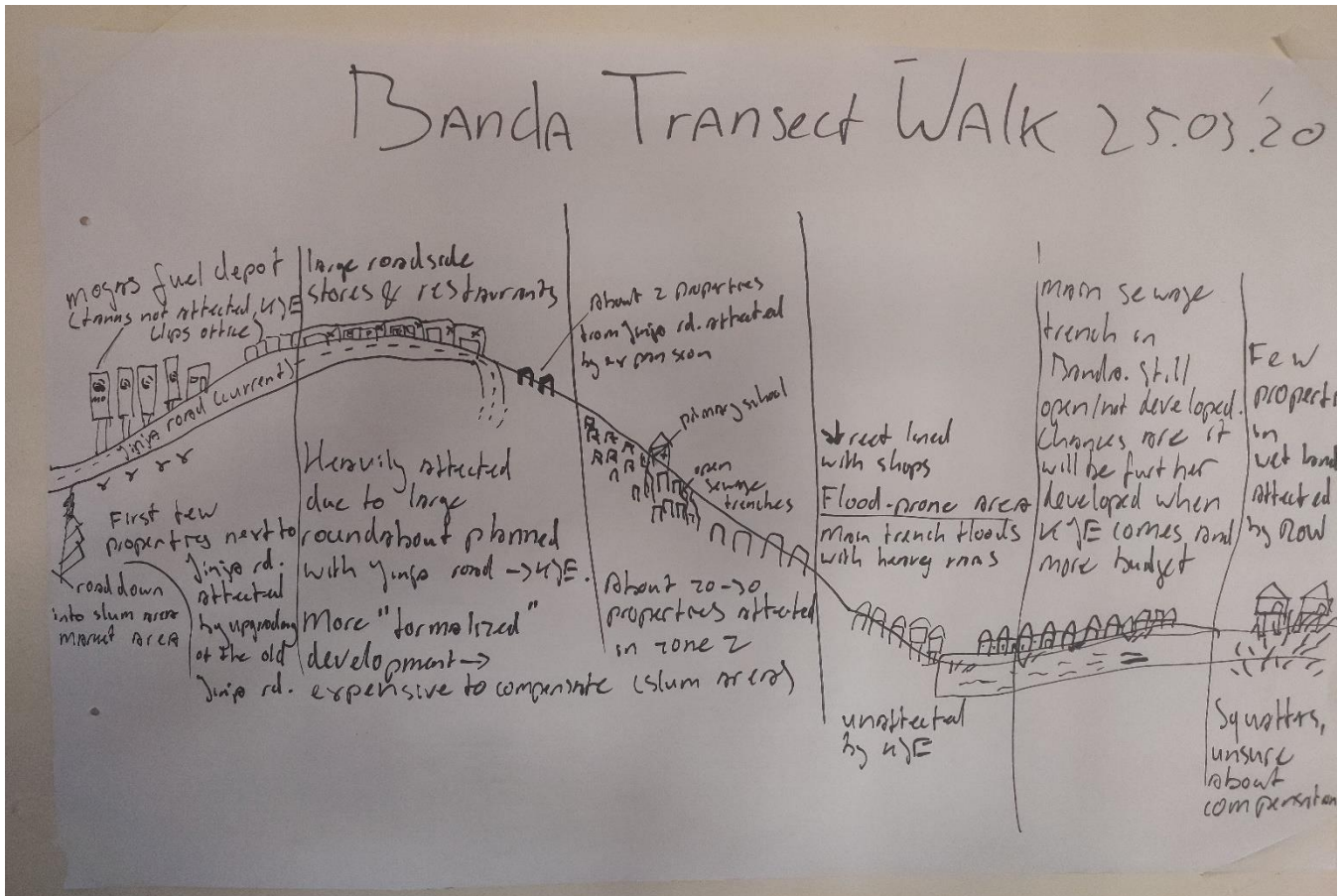


Figure 13. Cross-section map of the transect walk conducted in Banda on 25.03.2020

4.3.2. Kinawataka

Kinawataka is an informal settlement in Mbuya I and II Parish, Nakawa division, plagued by inadequate housing, crime and unemployment (Dobson et al., 2014). When talking about Kinawataka, in this research we are mainly referring to the settlement locally known as Katoogo (which means mixed-up in Luganda), whereas Kinawataka refers to a larger village within Mbuya I parish (for reference, see Figure 11). The entire settlement lies in a wetland located in a river valley in between Mbuya and Banda hills and is therefore very vulnerable to flood risk from water pouring down into the settlement from said river and hills. Furthermore, most of the settlement is constructed on the wetland, which means the groundwater level is high and the settlement is prone to flooding whenever it rains (for reference, see Figure 7 on page 29). During heavy rains, wastewater floods the settlement from the trenches. Garbage and wastewater are even more pressing issues than in Banda.

Kinawataka is one of the settlements which is expected to be most heavily impacted by the KJE, since the ROW passes through Katoogo and covers virtually the complete settlement. In the No One Worse Off project, a key initiative is the Kinawataka wetland restoration initiative, where community members in the remaining and adjacent community are to become 'champions' of the wetland, in

order to protect the ecosystem integrity and restore the wetland to its original state under and around the flyover of the KJE. Since Kinawataka is located on a wetland, land effectively is publicly owned and hence belongs to the government of Uganda. However, due to informal ownership and bona fide occupants, the situation in Kinawataka with regards to land ownership is complicated. During the field work period, only very limited engagements had been previously held with community members from Kinawataka regarding the KJE.

4.3.3. Kasokoso

Lastly, Kasokoso is a large settlement of about 80,000 people in Kireka parish, Kira subcounty in Wakiso district. Wakiso mostly encircles Kampala and therefore hosts most of the suburban districts of Kampala. Contrary to the settlements in Nakawa which still fall within Kampala city limits, Kasokoso has not been subject to any in-depth studies available online. Kasokoso is a lower density neighborhood without any paved roads. The settlement is less dense than the other two with many structures seemingly randomly placed in the right of way (see Figure 14). To complicate matters further, Kasokoso is allegedly built on land of National Housing, a public housing entity linked to the Ugandan government. Therefore, there is limited recognition of private land ownership in Kasokoso and inhabitants are effectively squatting on government land. Sources report that none of Kasokoso's residents have either a land title or agreement of occupancy (Nassanga, 2017). However, Kasokoso residents do hold *bibanja* land titles, locally referred to as *endagaano* (seller-buyer agreements) from the former occupants who themselves had no titles for the land. Instead of formalizing this tenure, the Ugandan government has repeatedly attempted "slum upgrading" initiatives, leading to distrust and rioting by the residents (Dobson et al., 2014).



Figure 14. A toilet building marked with 'X' for removal in the KJE right of way in Kasokoso

The residents of Kasokoso are skeptical of development projects and NGOs involved in these, since previous experience has shown that such upgrading initiatives in other parts of Kampala only led to gentrification and displacement of informal settlement inhabitants into worse condition (ibid.). National Housing still claims ownership of the area and wants to redevelop the area to make room for low-cost housing. However, the residents distrust the government and "is ready to fight for the right to stay" (Dobson et al., 2014, p. 9). Furthermore, the neighborhood is quite isolated from the rest of Kampala (its name originated from the Kiganda word *Nsokolo*, meaning remote and impassable) and

is a hotspot for crime. Another settlement forum here had been set up for people from the community to address pressing issues, but it was conducted only once due to the Covid-19 situation and ensuing lockdown. During the field work period, no more major KJE-related engagements were held in Kasokoso.

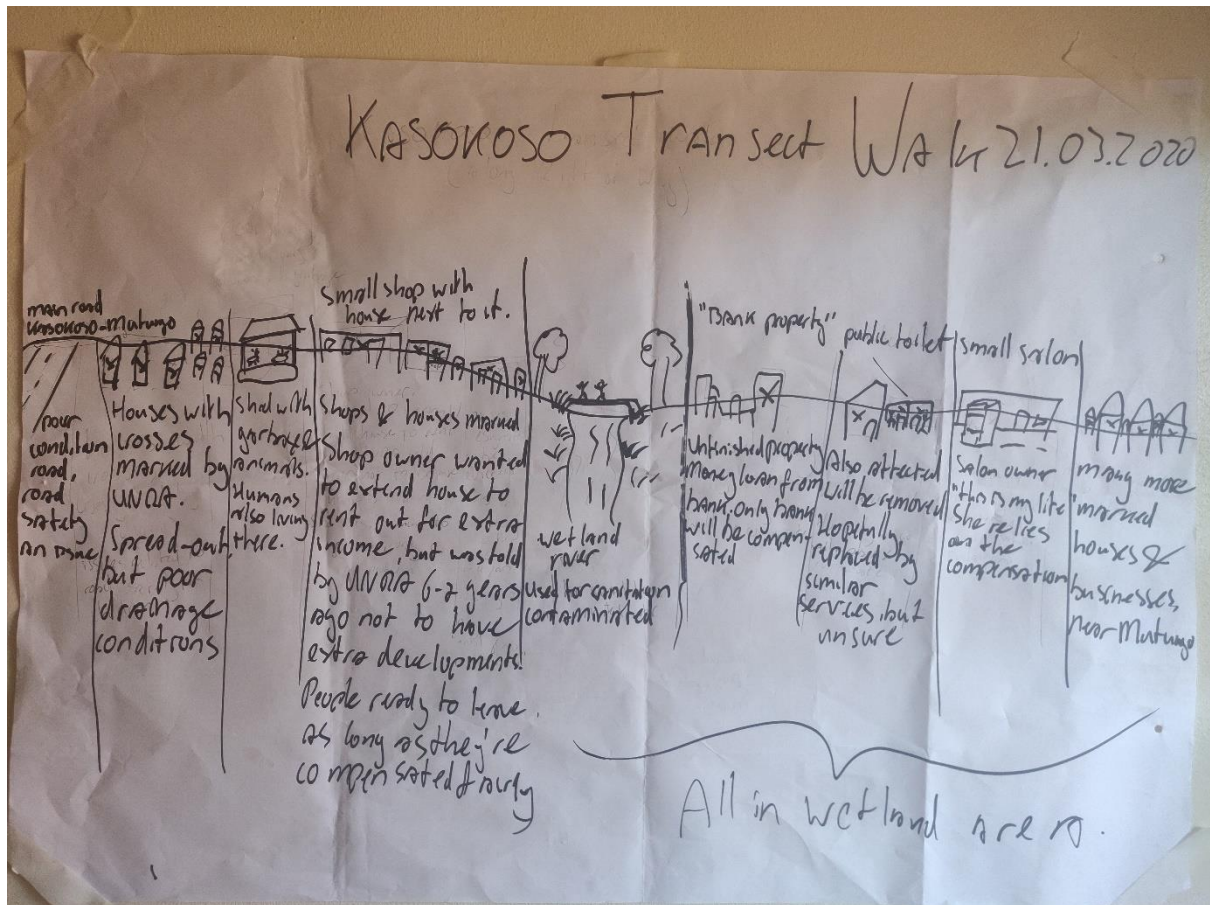


Figure 15. Transect walk map sketch from Kasokoso

5. Main results & findings

In this chapter, the main findings of the research will be elaborated upon, following the structure provided by the three sub-questions. This chapter will present the findings with qualitative insights complemented by some descriptive statistics and case studies. When referring to participants, aliases are used to protect their privacy.

5.1. The mobility-livelihoods nexus examined: complex mobility patterns and livelihoods of informal settlement communities

First, it is important to get a better grasp of current mobility and livelihoods in the settlements. In this subchapter, the first sub-question *“What is the current situation with regards to livelihoods and mobility practices of residents of informal settlements along the KJE corridor in Kampala?”* will be looked at. All participants in all settlements will be included and groups are identified that might be positioned differently in the face of the impending displacement.

Almost all participants have some things in common: their day-to-day struggles in dealing with poverty and flooding have made many people vulnerable. For most of the participants, mobility was somewhat important in creating and sustaining their livelihoods. People move around their community and sometimes the adjacent ones where they do their daily shopping, visit friends and go to get access to health care or schooling. For example, people would have to travel to a health center in Kireka because public and free health or education facilities are not present within the study area. Most trips are made on foot, especially the shorter distances within or just outside of the community. People generally lack their own vehicles, so they rely on public means: for medium-length trips, people take boda-bodas if they have money, longer trips yet are made by taxi, usually to and from Kampala since going to any other place in Kampala or Uganda necessitates travelling to downtown first. Finally, because most people do not originate from Kampala, participants indicated that they visit their families in upcountry districts occasionally, by bus. Mobility practices and livelihoods of participants can be categorized into three groups: the ones with limited mobility and localized livelihoods; those who use mobility as a way to construct their livelihoods and; those whose livelihoods are inherently mobile. Now, who are these (im)mobile people, and how do their mobility practices relate to their livelihoods?

Group 1: The “immobile” slum dwellers - localized mobility patterns

The first group of people could be misinterpreted as the most vulnerable ones, with very localized livelihoods that are precariously constructed in a landscape of constant tenure insecurity, multidimensional poverty and marginalization. This image applies to elderly as well as unemployed youths, both of whom were underrepresented among the participants. However, this would be too simplistic of a view. For example, 25 of the people that indicated rarely leaving the community were doing community or charity work, such as positions of leadership, door-to-door counselling, nursing and solving domestic violence cases and conflicts. Mary (F, 45), for example, makes her rounds almost every day throughout Kasokoso to tend to “her needy people”, as she is a volunteer, nurse and a councilor for the LC office on health & environment. (see figure 16). Although she does not move far, she has an established route that she walks and knows all the people around. Such strong community relations proved important for this group, as many people indicated relying on their friends and neighbors in the community for support in tough times.

Another group that stayed mostly nearby were 10 participants with small street stalls selling tomatoes and or other food vendors (see Figure 17). Contrary to people working in the market or having their own shop or business, these people buy their supplies locally or get them supplied from markets and resell them again on the street. Profit margins for these vendors are small and business in the area is not thriving, so many of these vendors are struggling to make ends meet. When asked, most of these vendors indicated that they do not usually leave the community except on a rare occasion.

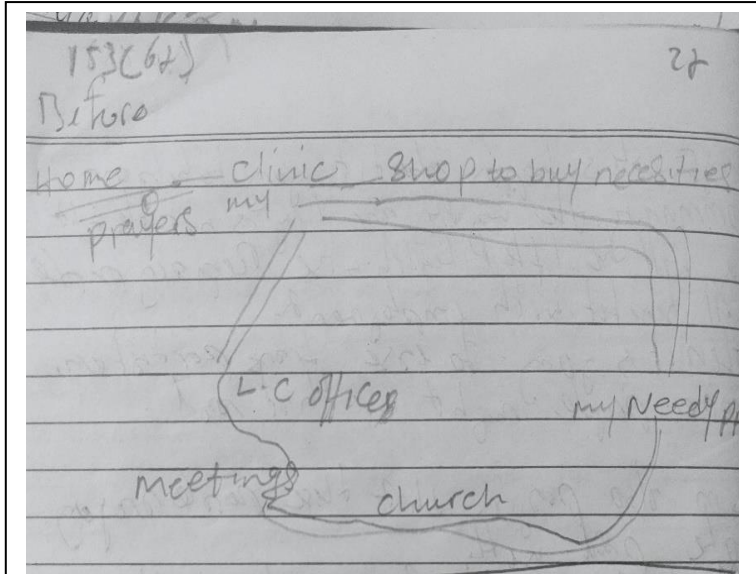


Figure 16. Mary's current mobility map showing her daily activities where she makes her round through the community to check on her community members and provide help where needed (



Figure 17. (16.07.2020) Small food stalls like this one along the main street in Banda are common in the study area People buy their products nearby at the local markets and resell or prepare food out of them at a small street stall, often in front of their house

At first, one might think that due to the degree of localization of livelihoods, these people could be considered immobile. Their mobility often almost exclusively consists of walking, which is common in Uganda but especially for the (urban) poor. Other means of transport such as *boda-bodas* and taxis are exclusively used to occasionally move further out when necessary, to 'town' (the city center of Kampala) or outside of Kampala, as transport fares form a barrier to most people to access public transport. In the Covid-19 period, transport fares had doubled or even tripled, leading to even less access to and usage of other means of transport. Despite their seemingly vulnerable position, this group with localized livelihoods and mobility had a lot of social capital in their neighborhood, as can be seen from Mary's example. Other less mobile groups included stay-at-home women and widows who take care of children. Some of these ran small shops inside or next to their house. However, to grow businesses participants needed access to supplies and more customers, leading to the next group using mobility to construct their livelihoods.

Group 2: Employees and businesspeople - mobility as means to an end

23 participants in all three communities were involved in small businesses such as tailoring that required them to move out of the community. People belonging to savings groups set up independently or with assistance of NGOs often were involved in making and selling soaps or crafts. All these people with small businesses rely on Kampala downtown to buy their supplies, as all the shopping arcades with cheaper goods are there. They tend to travel to town by taxi (see Figure 18) regularly, but not daily, ranging from twice a week to once per two or three weeks, depending on how good sales are. Their mobility patterns otherwise are quite localized as well, moving around the community to go to the market or see friends.

This group also includes people working in nearby areas. A lot of participants work as vendors in nearby markets. These market vendors move out every day, usually by foot or boda-boda, to the stalls where they sell foodstuffs in Banda, Klganda or Kireka. Others work in upper neighboring districts such as Mutungo, Kireka or Mbuya (see Figure 11 for reference). The frequency of these regular mobility practices also makes a difference in what kind of livelihoods people construct. A small minority of daily commuters formed another interesting outlying group that had a particular type of mobility (see Box 2).



Figure 18. A taxi or matatu 'stage' in Banda where people commonly board taxis to go to town. Taxis are the most commonly used mode of transport in Kampala

Box 1. Covid-19 and casual laborers

Casual laborers and unemployed people tend to move out of the community in search of work, as unemployment is rampant in the study area. However, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, movements became severely impaired due to restrictions imposed by the Ugandan government. As such, these casual laborers, often men taking one-off jobs in the construction or transport sectors, were hanging around in the community looking for some money, help or support. This example shows that people who would normally belong to the second or third group of more mobile people were forcibly staying around in their places of residence due to constraining contextual factors such as unemployment and immobility caused by the Covid-19 pandemic.

However, people who would normally rely on such regular mobility practices have now been forced to stay at home more than normally (see Box 1), leading to discrepancies between the regular and observed situation when it comes to mobility. All people who move regularly were heavily affected by the Covid-19 pandemic, as public transport was banned altogether under several months of strict lockdown in Uganda. People such as Agnes (see Box 2) were not able to get to work under these conditions, and moreover most places of work such as shops, offices and schools were closed. Most of the participants interviewed in June and July were waiting around without much support until they were able to go back to work again.

Box 2. Daily commuters

There are those who normally commute daily to and from their workplace in town or elsewhere. While relatively rare in these communities (most people live and work in the same place), teachers or other formally employed people move by taxi to town every day and work there or change to another taxi to their destination. Agnes, (F, 35), for example, usually moves from Kasokoso to the school where she works in Bukoto every day. She takes a taxi to Kampala and changes at the old park to go to Bukoto (Figure 19). On her way back she occasionally does her shopping nearby. All of this involves taking at least 4, but sometimes 6-8 different taxis each day. Although mobility for these commuters is very important, it is not like their entire livelihood is rooted in mobility, which is why they form an interesting combination of group 2 and 3.

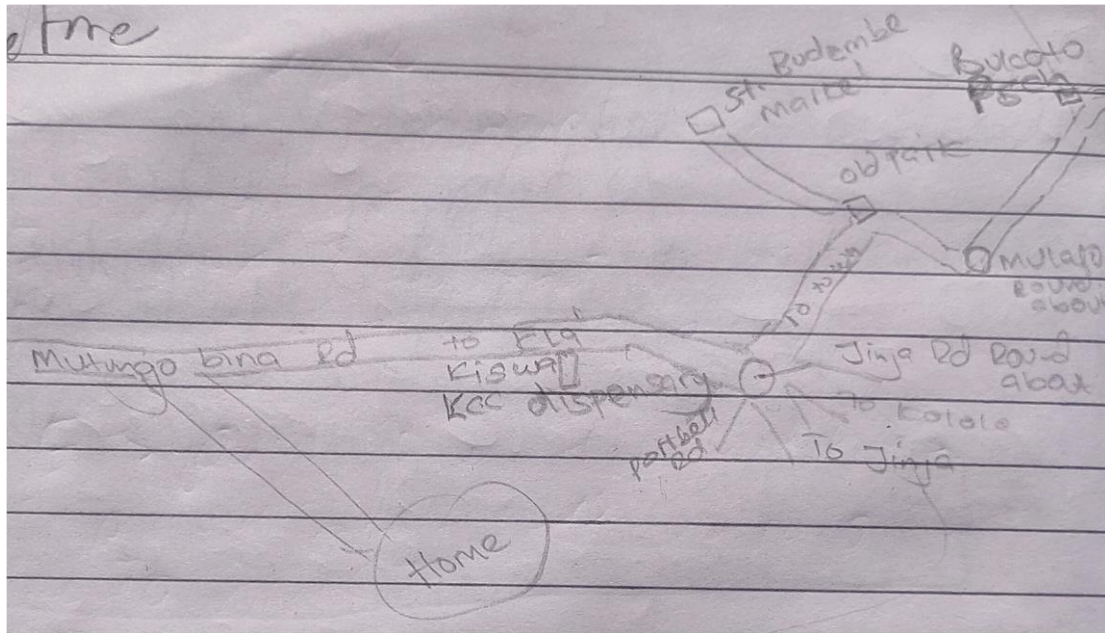


Figure 19. Agnes' (F, 35) mobility map from 25.06.2020. As is visible on the map, she tends to move from her home in Kasokoso to town every day, where she has several ways of reaching Bukoto where she works, while making detours for shopping on her way (back)

There are however also those for whom mobility is so essential that their entire livelihood is based around it.

Group 3: The mobile people of Kampala – inherently mobile livelihoods

In this part of Kampala, informal settlements like Banda, Kinawataka and Kasokoso, located in the wetland ecosystem and predicated in between Kampala's hills, could be seen as a vast ocean of informal settlements, with the wealthier districts perched on the hilltops like islands of wealth sprinkled around the city. Whereas wealthier districts provide job opportunities, the informal settlements have a seemingly unlimited pool of affordable labor which is constantly replenished with the growing in-migration. However, it is not just in this supply and demand system that these settlements are interrelated. The Kampala slums also bear the brunt of the cost of wastewater, solid waste and garbage from the other districts. Not only do the different types of waste flow down the slopes with the water, but in these settlements opportunities for income generation arise with recycling activities. In all three of the settlements, garbage collection and recycling form a significant source of income.

These garbage collectors, most of them women, especially widows and single mothers, use movements to construct their livelihoods. As can be seen in Figure 20, garbage collectors have spread-out mobility patterns that often cover a large area where they look for collectables such as bottles or cans. The items are collected from different areas and carried to their homes or to a sorting shack. After sorting the items, the collectors receive some small money for the items they have collected. For the garbage collectors, their livelihood calls for the usage of movement by having to walk around the area to collect the garbage from different points, creating a mobility pattern unique to this group. Although these people were very vulnerable in terms of their economic situation, most of them were highly mobile because their lifestyle necessitated it.

Although this group of participants was small, with about 11 participants exhibiting these kinds of mobile lifestyles, it is likely that in the communities this group is bigger. Transport workers such as boda-boda drivers, taxi drivers and truck drivers have similar conditions, with some of them having to move even further out or abroad for their livelihoods. Many people in this group are hard to reach because they come home late at night

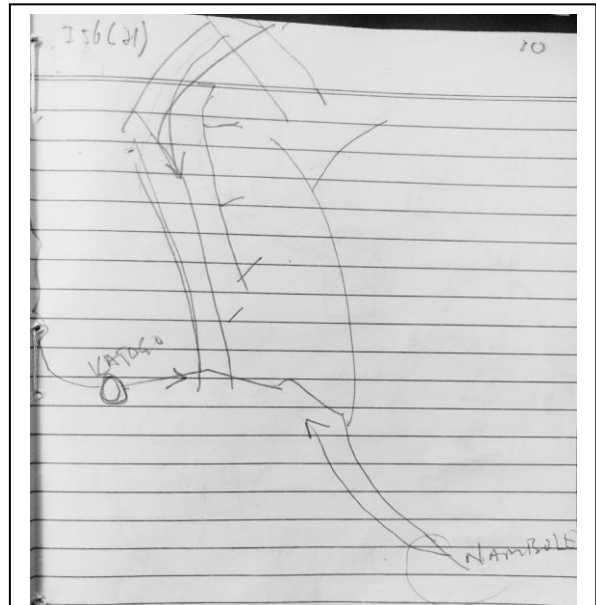


Figure 20. A bottle collector's (F, 62) mobility map: she stays in Kinawataka and moves around collecting bottles and bags for recycling. Her mobility patterns change from day-to-day and she moves around until she finds what she needs. Her search for recyclables can take her as far as Kyambogo or Namboole stadium

5.2. The Nakawa slums – a ditch apart: the inter- and intra-community differences and diversity of Kinawataka, Kasokoso and Banda

In the previous section it has been established that there are different mobility practices and livelihood strategies that can be found in the study area. However, there are also significant differences within and between Banda, Kinawataka and Kasokoso. In this chapter, these inter- and intra-slum dynamics will be focused on, following the question *How are mobility practices and livelihood strategies differentiated within and between the different informal settlements along the KJE in Kampala?*

Mobility and livelihoods overall were found not to differ much between the different settlements because living conditions in all three neighborhoods are quite similar. There might be more intricate differences, but from this sample few significant inter-community differences were found that led to different livelihoods or mobility practices. In general, the three settlements have their own characteristics but are also similar. People often walk around and visit people in the other communities or do work or business there. In this way, the communities are tied to each other. On the other hand, the communities are sometimes very separated geographically or politically. In the next two subsections, differences in personal characteristics between and within the communities and geographical location will be elaborated upon, looking at how these two categories of aspects were found to influence livelihoods and mobility practices differently between, but especially within the three informal settlements.

5.2.1. Personal characteristics

First, several personal characteristics led to different people within different areas having varied mobility patterns and livelihoods. In this subsection, gender, age and income will be looked at.

Gender

Although it might seem self-evident, livelihoods and mobility were strongly differentiated between men and women. Men were often employed in casual jobs in construction or transport. It was also almost exclusively men that held positions of power in the community, with the exceptions of a few female secretaries and councilors to the LC office of different communities. Women were also more often living alone, widowed or as single-parent household, taking care of the children while often running small businesses on the side. Men in general often moved further away because their work forced them to do so, whereas women across all communities generally had place-bound livelihoods leading to their mobility being localized. The exceptions to this were the commuters and garbage collectors mentioned in chapter 5.1.

Regarding perception of mobility, there were some interesting differences particularly between men and women. For example, men tended to draw more geographically accurate maps with mobility that was extended over longer distances (see Figure 21), while women often drew more schematic maps showing their mobility as a kind of flow diagram paying close attention not particularly to the geography but more to the activities they were doing in a certain place (see Figure 22). These kinds of gender-related findings are commonplace in mobility-focused studies (e.g. Steel et al., 2011) and interestingly show how men and women have different mobility but also experience this mobility differently. Ultimately, these differences in actual and perceived mobility are also linked to the kinds of livelihoods men and women have: migrating (internationally) is a privilege often reserved for the male children while women make ends meet with what is available locally.

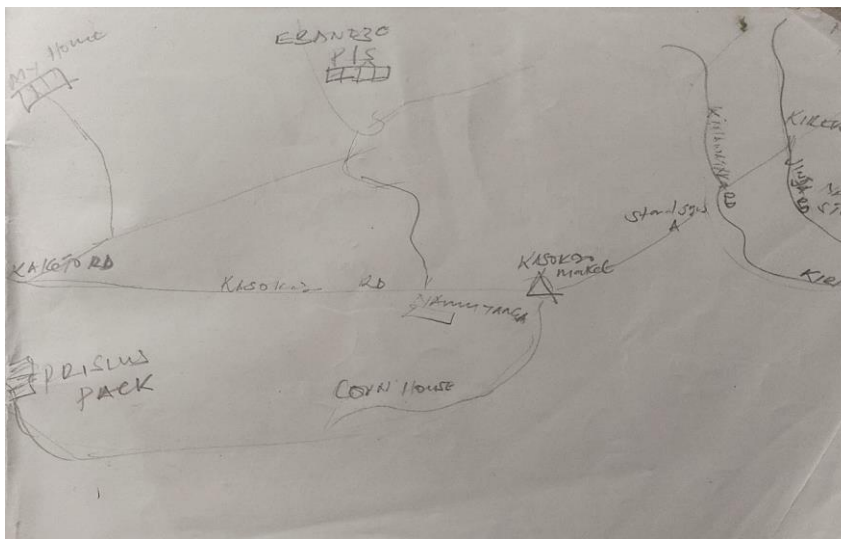
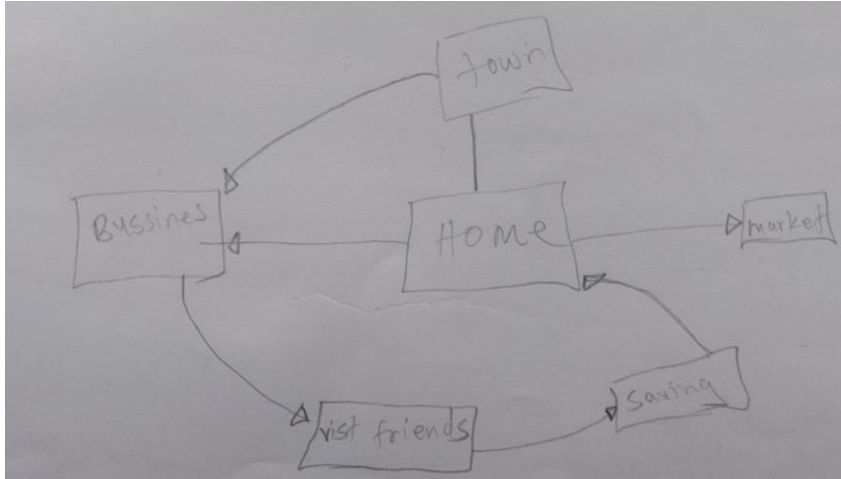


Figure 21. Mobility map drawn by a male respondent in Kasokoso. From the map it becomes clear that the participant pays particular attention to geographical accuracy such as absolute and relative distance, landmarks and routes

Figure 22. Mobility map drawn by a female participant in Banda. From this map we can see that the participant focuses on the activities that they do when thinking about their daily mobility, rather than about the places they do them in particularly.



Age

Age is another factor that caused differences in livelihoods and mobilities within and between the communities. Even though youths and elderly were underrepresented in the research, with only about 9 youths below 25 and 3 elderly above 65 interviewed, both groups of participants had more localized livelihoods and mobility patterns than their middle-aged counterparts.

Unsurprisingly, elderly participants tend to stay around more due to their limited physical mobility, except for elderly female bottle collectors or market vendors who needed the small income to sustain themselves. Elderly are often retired or doing some work around the house such as renting out rooms to tenants or doing farming on their

small plots. One would expect youths on the other hand to be more mobile than what was found. Male youths indeed tend to travel out of the community in search for work, but female youths usually stay around. In extended families, the oldest (female) child often took care of her siblings and own kids, while the parents and brothers would go out for work. Since the Covid-19 period, youths were stuck at home like most other people, often loitering around on the streets. Many participants also reported an increase in crimes such as robberies and, with male youth gangs being pointed at as the scapegoats. In these settlements, opportunities for employment are scarce, particularly for youths, who subsequently tended to have vulnerable livelihoods. Problems such as addiction and unemployment are common among youths, while the older adults tend to have more regular sources of income through their businesses.

Employment

As mentioned, there are differences between ages and gender when it comes to mobility, and these are usually tied to what kind of livelihoods people have. A large part of people's livelihoods is their income generated through their jobs or business, although it is not limited to this as social capital and other aspects such as land ownership and skills influence someone's livelihood as well. Most people in all three communities are part of the poorer segments of society. Sometimes, the poorest needed mobility to survive, exemplified by the garbage collectors and transport workers mentioned in section 5.1. However, in general, the lower-income groups tend to stay around because transport fares are too expensive. Some participants indicated that paying 2000 Ugandan shillings (about 50 eurocents) to go to town by taxi was a significant barrier for them in accessing transport, and then they sometimes would choose not to do it unless necessary. Furthermore, since the Covid-19 period, transport fares had doubled or even tripled.

Besides that, unemployed people, as mentioned in section 5.1, tended to stay around the community more regardless of their situation, because their economic situation limited them in accessing mobility. Interestingly, during the Covid-19 period, people used to walk longer distances due to the transport restrictions. One participant from Kasokoso noted that they used to walk to town several times weekly during the lockdown in search of some small casual jobs, a journey that is about ten kilometers each way.

Finally, the type of employment was also an important influence on people's livelihoods and mobility. People with jobs that required movements, such as commuters or the third group of people with inherently mobile livelihoods, inevitable have more complex and spread-out mobility patterns. Their livelihoods are tied to mobility, whereas for stay-at-home moms or small stall vendors this is not the case and their livelihoods are built around their immediate vicinity. This is not to say that these people do not exhibit mobility, but their mobility is of lesser importance to them, which they also indicated in the interviews.

5.2.2. Geographical location

Geographical location and layout of an area can enable or constrain inhabitants in accessing mobility. Some aspects of location are shared between all communities. They are all near the city center, which makes them relatively accessible for low-income groups that rely on proximity to employment opportunities. The turn side of the communities is the generally poor living conditions, especially the constant threat of flooding. Almost all participants indicated having to deal with floods at some point and this was one of the main reasons why people would want to leave their place. In the next sections the different geographical features that were found to have impacts on people's livelihoods and mobility will be listed.

Relative location of each community

There are some aspects with regards to location of each community that make them unique and make livelihoods unique to the area. The Banda slum for example is located along the current main Kampala-Jinja road. This busy road provides great access to Kampala with lots of transport opportunities and makes it possible to travel to the East of Uganda easily without having to go to Kampala first. However, the road cutting through Banda also creates challenges: road safety was raised as a major issue raised at community meetings, with many accidents being reported along the Jinja road. Furthermore, Banda's proximity to the Namanve and Kireka business and industrial areas meant that many factory workers and market vendors lived in the area. Many students from Kyambogo university also stay within and providing student accommodation is an important source of income for landlords in Banda.

Hence, proximity and accessibility to places of work or sources of income were found to be important factors that influenced livelihoods and mobility of Banda residents.

Kinawataka is located almost entirely in a wetland surrounded by main roads. It is relatively near the city center and the Mbuya and Nakawa market areas, so many people work in these places. Furthermore, Kinawataka is lodged in between several other busy areas, making it a place where many people pass by and pass through. This provides business opportunities for residents who put up food stalls or sell items like charcoal or clothing along the roads. Besides that, it must be mentioned that out of all settlements, Kinawataka, located in the actual Kinawataka river valley, is particularly flood-prone and that all residents face flood disasters regularly. This also meant that most participants from Kinawataka indicated they would rather leave than stay, if they had the opportunity.

Kasokoso is the most isolated of the settlements. In principle it is located outside of Kampala and only accessible by road via one street down from Mutungo. However, when it rains, accessibility decreases further:

“And there are times where it’s really impassable. You’ll find the water even overgone even on the bridge. [...] Now, like that, whenever it rains, we find it so hard to cross over to other places where we go to work. Whereby you end up maybe going to work late cause you have to wait for the water to subside so that you can be able to cross.” (Interview 27, F, 30s, 25.06.2020).

Kasokoso is a large community which is mainly residential. Despite its isolated location compared to the other two settlements, for most participants accessibility to Kampala was the main reason why they moved here. Besides that, areas with more services such as Kireka are walking distance, so location-wise Kasokoso still has its advantages. Generally, people in Kasokoso liked living there, but would prefer if the conditions would improve.

Even though Kinawataka, Kasokoso and Banda did not have many differences between them when it came to livelihoods and mobility, *where* someone lived within the locality was certainly a differentiating factor. Moreover, pre-existing community dynamics when it comes to politics and relative location also influence people’s mobility and livelihoods. Besides the above-mentioned inter-community similarities and differences, there are several specific intra-community geographical characteristics which led to different mobilities and livelihoods

Local leadership

First, politically each community has its own informal and formal leadership systems which can be quite different from one another. In one part of Banda, a NRM (ruling party) chairperson had an iron grip on his people and enforced that his residents did not ~~to~~ participate in a participatory project which was part of the No One Worse Off project, whereas another chairperson of another zone in Banda aligned with NUP (the opposition) encouraged his people to participate. Participation in these projects could have serious implications for livelihoods when eviction and compensation become pressing issues, so encouraging or dissuading people to participate can impact their future livelihoods and hence mobility severely. Furthermore, informal ‘opinion’ leaders were important in pushing public opinion: when there was mistrust regarding an activity surrounding the KJE, these gatekeepers were the ones who could make or break the ties the organization had with a community. Such ‘politicking’ within communities also had profound effects on people’s livelihoods. For example, in communities or areas where leaders had positive attitudes and strong ties to NGOs, many people were engaged in saving groups activities. This was the case in Kasokoso and Banda zone B3, where leaders maintain good relations with an NGO involved in saving groups activities.

Different leadership situations led to differences not only within communities, but also between them. An alleged border dispute between Mbuya I and zones 1 and 2 of Banda led to some leaders from Banda not wanting to participate in KJE-related activities due to skepticism towards implementing partners when it comes to issues of land ownership. This mistrust towards the NOWO partners arose because an NGO had been involved in an issue of land ownership before. Hence, such pre-existing inter- and intra-community dynamics could harm the participation in the project, potentially leading to unequal project outcomes on people’s livelihoods and their mobility.

Land tenure situation

In all three communities, most of the settlement is informal and inhabitants are effectively squatters. Who exactly owns the land they live on was unknown to all participants and even community leaders. In each community there are rumors of the land being owned by a wealthy foreigner, the Ugandan government, the Kabaka (king of the Buganda kingdom) or by someone living “up there”, usually in an adjacent community. This *lugambo* (rumors) surrounding land issues came up in every interview, again showing that land ownership in these communities is complex and contentious.

In table 2 below is shown how land ownership is divided among participants in the different communities. It is important to note that for 46% of participants it was unclear what their land tenure status was, or they decided not to disclose it. Within the about half of participants for whom it was clear what their land tenure situation was, about 53 were landlords, of which 44 had *endagaano*, buyer-seller lease agreements. Although these agreements used to be a type of informal ownership, under the Ugandan land act people with *endagaano* who have been living somewhere for more than 12 years have been recognized by the government as bona fide occupants with de facto ownership rights. People with *endagaano* hence have recognized land tenure status, although none of the participants reported having an actual land title. Nine more indicated being a landlord but their specific type of ownership was unclear. A final 14 were tenants, which is likely an underrepresentation of the reality as tenants are likely to be more numerous but harder to reach. Tenants hence made up only 11% of the sample, simply renting out a structure on aforementioned landlords’ plots. Although the perception of tenants is that they are vulnerable and poor, tenants are flexible in terms of housing as they are not as placebound as people with (informal) land ownership. Although a lot of their generated income is spent on paying rent, they have less interest in issues such as compensation since when the time for eviction comes, renting participants noted that they will simply pack up and leave.

Table 2. Different kinds of land ownership among community members, split by community

Land ownership	Community							
	Banda		Kasokoso		Kinawataka		Total	
	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%
Landlord (Endagaano)	4	15%	19	30%	21	60%	44	35%
Landlord (other)	5	19%	3	5%	1	3%	9	7%
Tenant	4	15%	5	8%	5	14%	14	11%
Unknown	13	50%	37	58%	8	23%	58	46%
Total	26	100%	64	100%	35	100%	125	100%

In Kasokoso, a recent conflict with National Housing (see Chapter 4.3.3) has led to mistrust of government entities when it comes to land-related issues. Many participants see the KJE as a second attempt to seize their land. According to leaders in the area, the land is most likely owned by the government, but was free to settle once people started coming there 30 years ago. People acquired *endagaano* for plots of land and started constructing houses. Despite the land act, many participants feared eviction and uttered threats of resistance. From Table 2, can be derived that the land ownership

situation of 58% of participants from Kasokoso remains unknown to the researcher. This non-response could be caused by participants not wanting to disclose their ownership status to the researcher due to the contested nature of the land in Kasokoso. The high tenure insecurity in the area can have implications for people's livelihoods since it makes people vulnerable in the face of displacement. Most participants were aware of the eviction threat relating to their type of ownership.

In Kinawataka, the land has been classified as a wetland, which under Ugandan law is government-owned public land. Because wetlands have protected status, people are not allowed to own the land and live there, meaning that participants from Kinawataka faces an extremely high eviction threat. Although most participants (60%) stated having *endagaano*, which would normally entitle them to compensation, for participants in Kinawataka it often remained unclear whether or not they are going to receive compensation. This is exacerbated by the limited engagements with UNRA and NGOs residents of Kinawataka have had, far fewer than residents of Kasokoso and Banda. Because of this and because many participants had already witnessed or experienced displacement within the settlement by the construction of a railway and a sewage pipe, most participants in Kinawataka are not expecting fair compensation. .

Finally, in Banda most types of ownership seem quite equally divided (see table 2). However, because of limited access to the most affected area of Banda, there might be more tenants or people with *endagaano* living in the affected area. Due to the same limitation in participant selection, it will be shown in section 5.3.1 that in Banda, the out-of-ROW group is similarly overrepresented.

Right of way

Within each settlement there are also differences between the "upper" and "lower" areas of the settlements. During the initial transect walks it was observed that each of the settlements are built on a hillside or in a river valley. The lower parts of the settlements are typically wetlands with makeshift structures (see Figure 23a), while the upper parts are more built up with formalized developments (Figure 23b). The lower areas were generally poorer, with more people in group 1 or 3 rather than formally employed or business people that tended to live in the more well-off upper areas. In Kasokoso, this difference is most pronounced, as the settlement covers a large area both in upper and lower areas. Most of the Kinawataka settlement on the other hand is in the lower part, coinciding with the right of way. Unsurprisingly, this means that Kinawataka is the most affected settlement. Living conditions in the lower parts of the settlements are poorer because residents face high flood risk and have poor access to services and infrastructure, which also meant that livelihoods in Kinawataka and the lower parts of Banda and Kasokoso were generally more vulnerable, leading to more localized mobility practices.



Figure 23a. (left) The lower part of Kasokoso in the KJE right of way. The area is less-built up than the area visible in Figure 23b. (right) This is the main street that cuts through Kasokoso down from Mutungo and the main access to the community. Structures here are more formalized hosting many shops or other small businesses.

Not entirely coincidentally, these lower areas, where a disproportionate amount of vulnerable people live in poor conditions, coincide with the KJE right of way. The main cause as speculated by community members and people involved in the KJE-related activities is that constructing the KJE in the lower areas is cheaper because the land in these wetland areas is:

1. Less built-up with less and smaller structures made out of cheaper materials, compared to the upper, more developed and industrialized areas.
2. Contested in terms of ownership, whereas people in the upper areas have more stability.
3. Likely already owned by some government entity (e.g. the case of the Kinawataka wetland).

Finally, it must be noted that there might be other differences between and within the settlements that make people have different livelihoods and mobility practices, such as differences in social capital or routes that people take when they travel around. However, from this sample no such further connections were found which is why inter- and intra-slum differences in mobility and livelihoods in this chapter were explained by personal characteristics and geographical location. Now that the current situation with regards to livelihoods and mobility has been explored, the future potential impacts of the KJE can be looked further into.

5.3. Moving downstream: changing mobility and livelihoods under impending displacement

As seen in previous chapters, livelihoods and mobility in the study area are complex and varied, but generally already precarious and vulnerable to externalities such as the Covid-19 lockdown. However, how does the KJE project come in? Will people’s mobility increase or decrease? What are expectations of the affected people? In this chapter, an outlook on the future as expected by the residents will be offered in accordance with the third and final sub-question: “How do inhabitants of informal settlement communities expect their livelihood and mobility to be impacted by the KJE and how does this differ within and between informal settlement communities?” In order to do so,

5.3.1. Differentiated impact of the Kampala-Jinja Expressway across all communities

There are significant differences in how the KJE will affect the different communities. The first is the degree to which each community is affected. As can be seen from Figure 24, not all communities are equally affected. From the participants spoken to, about two out of three were affected directly by the Kampala-Jinja Expressway, but number is differentiated between the different communities. Virtually the whole slum area of Kinawataka, also known as Katoogo, will be evicted, demolished and restored as a wetland with a raised section of the KJE going overhead. Hence, most residents of Kinawataka indicated being directly affected by the right of way. In Banda, on the other hand, only one corner of the settlement is directly affected by the KJE project, particularly in zone B2 where a future roundabout and widening of the current ‘old’ Jinja road is planned to take place. Most of the affected area in Banda is in a wetland area which remains relatively sparsely populated up until this day. Kasokoso is the middle ground of the three and is a good representation of the extent to which communities are affected along the KJE corridor as a whole.

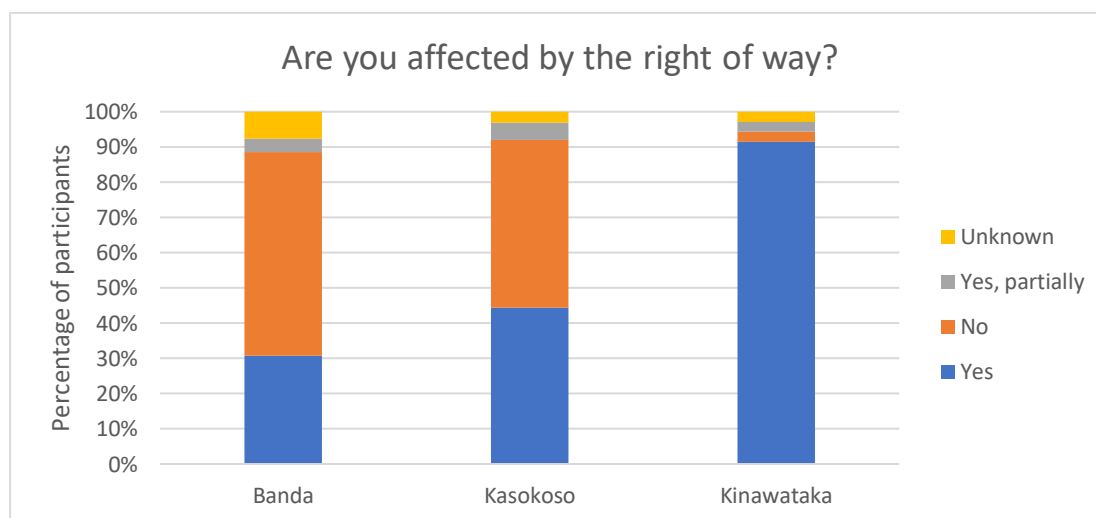


Figure 24. Proportion of participants and whether they were affected by the KJE right of way, split by community

Within these groups of affected and non-affected people, there were differences as well, such as the land ownership situation. Among the people who reported not being affected, more than 70% did not disclose or mention their land ownership status when asked (see Figure 25). Almost 60% of people living in the ROW on the other hand noted that they had *endagaano*. Perhaps participants living outside the ROW did not deem it relevant to disclose their land ownership status, or conversely participants inside the ROW thought talking about their land ownership explicitly thought it might help their current situation.

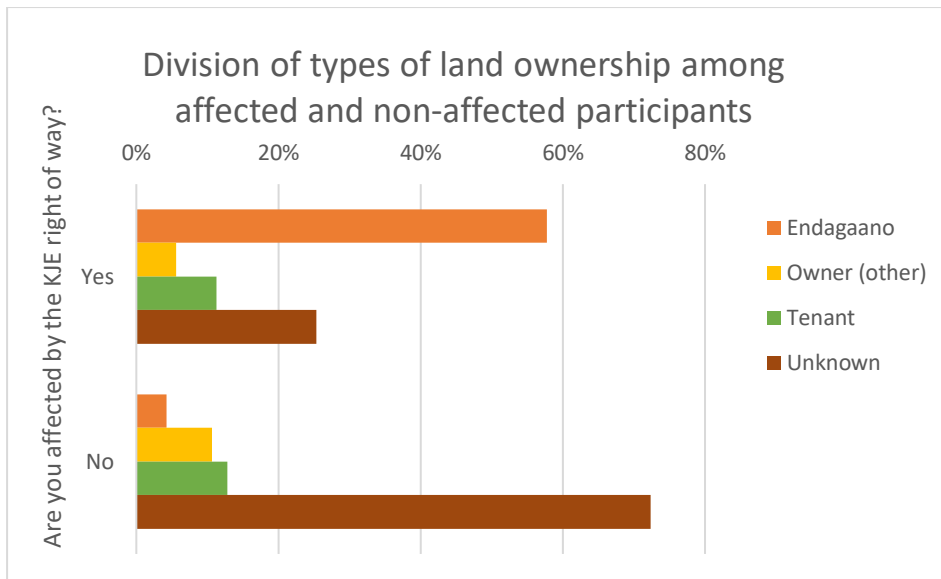


Figure 25. People living inside the KJE ROW divided among groups of different land ownership

Besides this general extent to which people living in the communities are affected or not, it is important to look at how people expect their livelihood and mobility to change in order to get a better understanding of what might happen when displacement occurs.

5.3.2. Expectations with regards to mobility and livelihood changes caused by displacement

In this section, we will return to the groups introduced in chapter 5.1 and the inter- and intra-community differences highlighted in chapter 5.2, this time looking at how these different groups expect their livelihoods and mobility to change in the future with the coming displacement by the KJE. Furthermore, as people’s livelihood might change so significantly, some people might move into different categories of mobility and livelihoods, or entirely new categories might appear.

Group 1: Displaced mobilities - localized mobility patterns

As discussed previously, people this group had highly localized mobility patterns, but were not necessarily immobile. Although some vulnerable groups such as disabled, widows, elderly and unemployed youths often have no choice but to stay around, generally this group was made up of community workers or small vendors. Participants in this group had livelihoods that were particularly rooted in their place of residence, with many having their business in or next to their house and relying on friends and neighbors in the community as a customer base. It is therefore not surprising that many people in this group were worried about having to leave behind their friends and customers, as a new location does not guarantee the same livelihood elsewhere. The key difference in expectation here is between people living within and outside of the right of way. Mary, for example, the community worker we talked about in section 5.1, lives in Kasokoso outside the ROW. She heavily relied on her contacts and ‘needy people’ that live in the wetland area that need her help. However, as is visible in Figure 26, she expects to be able to still make the same rounds as shown in Figure 16. The difference is that she thinks that when the construction is taking place, she will be able to nurse the construction workers in the project instead of the people living in the lower area that will then have been evicted.

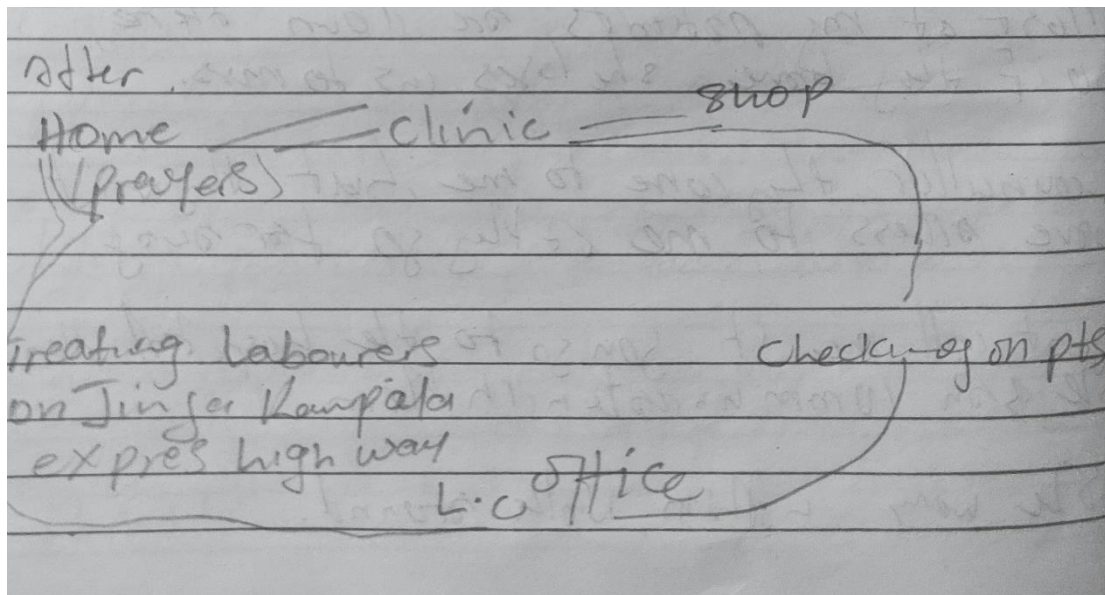


Figure 26. Mary's (45, F) expected post-KJE mobility map. As is visible, Mary expects to be still able to make the same rounds around the community, but thinks the KJE will provide an opportunity for her to nurse construction workers in the project

These employment opportunities were some of the main reasons why almost all people outside of the right of way saw the KJE as an opportunity. Some of the small vendors thought that they might be able to sell their products on the side of the street, as is common on Ugandan roads.

People in the right of way, however, had their gripes with the project since participants in this group were so dependent on their place that they might not be able to replicate similar livelihoods elsewhere. For this group of people, it remains largely unclear what will happen to their livelihoods and mobility practices, as it depends on where they move. Joseph (M, 28), a local street vendor in Banda for example relies on his immediate vicinity for his customers, access to water and markets and his neighbors and friends (see Figure 27, top). However, he is not as positive as Mary, as he will be displaced and expects to lose all the things that are conveniently nearby him (see Figure 27, bottom), such as his shortcuts and friends and even access to water and electricity. The only good thing he expects out of the KJE is the improvement on local roads that it will bring.

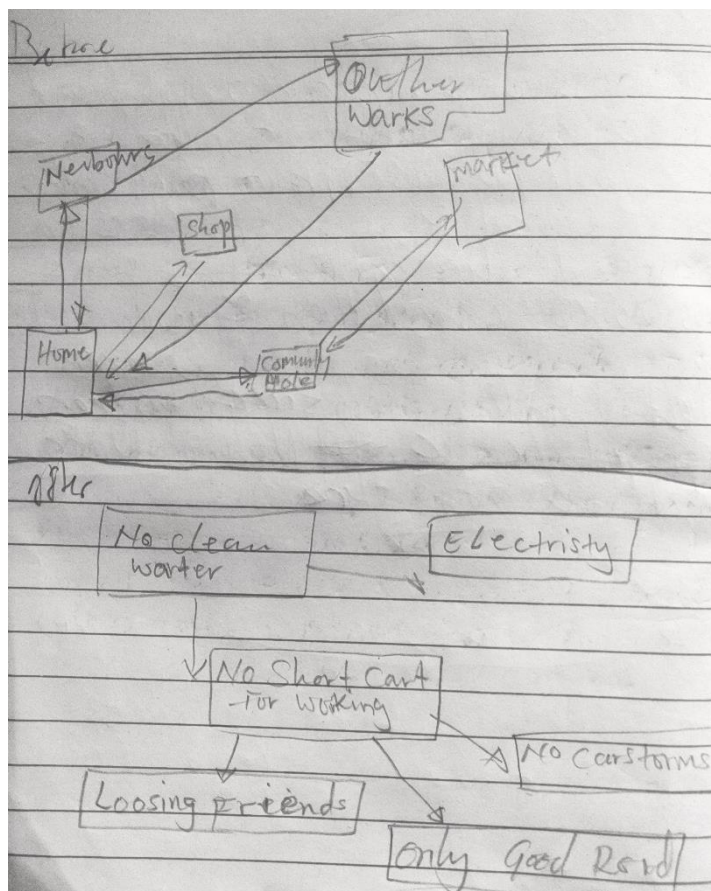


Figure 27. Joseph's (M, 28) Pre- and post-KJE mobility map. While he normally moves around his area for all his nearby needs, he expects most of these things to disappear when the KJE displaces him

Especially people with land ownership noted that moving will likely take them further out of the city or even to a small village, because land in Kampala will be too expensive for them to buy with the low amounts of compensation they expect. One participant (M, 67) from Kasokoso mentioned:

“let them give these people money, they go and find homes somewhere else before [...] the prices of land go high somewhere else. They go and look for schools for their children. People here are very, very poor, they were people who came here to buy land at a very cheap price because they could not afford those other areas in the rest of the town. They came here because the land was cheap. Now the outcome from their land can be used again somewhere else”

These new places might be more sparsely populated and moreover, they would not have their customer base, neighbors and friends to rely on there, leading to their future being more insecure and possible them becoming truly immobile.

Other people that had less far-reaching and complex mobility practices thought that they might be better off living in another place, however. Being displaced and getting compensated would provide them with an opportunity to look for a new and better livelihood elsewhere. Furthermore, tenants mentioned that they would be more flexible in looking for a new place to live given that they have less fixed attachments to the land, many seemed rather positive about building up a life elsewhere. However, this relied on the place where they might find themselves and any compensation they might receive to get them there.

Group 2: Reliance on proximity – mobility as means to an end

For the second group it has been shown that small business owners and (formally) employed people mainly use mobility to reach their places of work. Mobility is hence a means to construct certain types of livelihoods. Since this group mainly uses transport to buy supplies from town or to go to their places of work, people outside the right of way were positive about the improved accessibility the KJE would bring. Most people in this group expected mobility to improve because they expected transport fares, jams and travel time to their places of work to decrease. They also expected many trickle-down side developments such as improved services in the area, which would benefit them as remaining community members. Agnes, the teacher who lives in Bukoto and works in Kasokoso discussed in 5.1, expects that her movements will become much simpler than before (Figure 19), as she believes she will be able to board a taxi from near her house and go straight to work (see Figure 28).

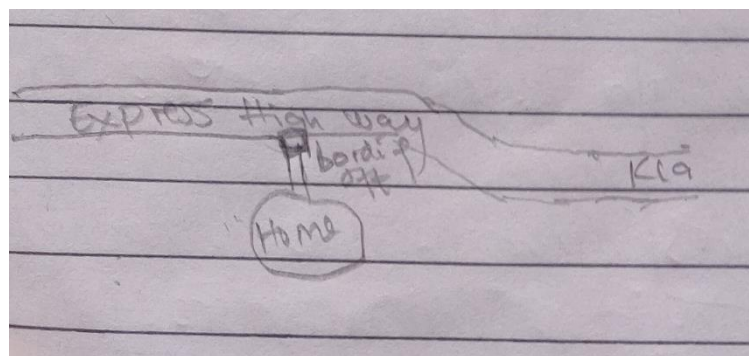


Figure 28. Agnes' (35, F) expected post-KJE mobility map to her work from Kasokoso

However, in this group land ownership in particular made a big difference. As mentioned, most participants had bought plots with a seller-buyer agreement in order to live close to Kampala when they migrated here or had come from inner-city areas in search of cheaper places to live. These landowners among businesspeople and employees particularly feared that the places they would go would not be as close to Kampala. As most people indicated they are planning to move to places such as Mpigi, Seeta or Mukono (all districts on the outskirts of Kampala but due to traffic conditions it can take up to 2-3 hours to travel to these places), due to the perceived availability of more affordable

land there they would likely lose their jobs or businesses. Since this group heavily relies on proximity, it could be that this often relatively well-off group become the most vulnerable in the face of displacement. Additionally, some current landowners (with or without *endagaano*) fear being forced to take rentals as they worry that compensation might not be enough for them to buy land elsewhere. Tenants on the other hand indicated that if they wanted, they could move to a place nearby, as long as rentals were available. Another case of reliance on proximity is provided by the example of Nakawa market vendors (see Box 3).

Box 3. Double displacement for the Nakawa market vendors

Several participants from Kinawataka and Banda worked as vendors in the Nakawa market, one of the largest markets in Kampala only a couple of kilometers from these neighborhoods (see Figure 29). The Nakawa market is an important source of income and goods for residents of these communities and many participants go shopping there. However, there have been rumours going around that the market is going to be affected by the KJE. According to one participant, some years back the market administration took measurements of each stall and gave the vendors a card. Upon further investigation, it became clear that the card was for formalization of vendors for tax revenue for the KCCA and unrelated to the KJE project. Furthermore, no demarcations were found in the Nakawa market and vendors are unsure if UNRA is going to talk to them or only to the market administrators. Many vendors will already lose their homes, but now there are worries that they might lose their places of work too.

Now, while project documents clearly state that the Nakawa market will be cleared and rebuilt and initiatives as part of the NOWO project are being prepared with market vendors' associations, many vendors working in the market are still left in the dark about the future of their stalls and livelihood.



Figure 29. Fruit vendors at the Nakawa market (Development Initiatives International, 2021)

Group 3: Mobility as flexibility? Inherently mobile livelihoods

For participants belonging to this group, mobility is an integral part of their livelihoods. Their livelihoods are hence inherently mobile. People with less 'localized' livelihoods, such as the garbage collectors, might also easily be able to find this form of casual employment elsewhere. Similar to the tenants mentioned before, they have less explicit place attachments which means they might adapt better to lifestyles elsewhere.

However, the expected post-KJE livelihoods and mobility of this group must not be too positively interpreted, as this group shared many of the same worries as others: moving and housing expenses, insecurity about the new location and worries about compensation. Because the mobility patterns of

this group were already very fragmented and subject to change, participants in this group often also had limited ideas about what their post-KJE mobility and life might look like. Here the turn-side of these mobile and flexible livelihoods becomes clear: participants in this group often noted that they had to live day-by-day and had no time or money to worry about tomorrow. Where they might end up hence remains to be seen. A particularly interesting case in this group is provided by Daniel (M, 37) from Kinawataka. He delivers HIV medications to patients and moves around within and outside of his community every day. Sometimes he has workshops or clients as far as Mukono with the NGO he is working with. Daniel, who has an *endagaano* and lives in the affected area, mentioned that he might be able to do the work he is doing now somewhere else, but living further away from Kampala will, similarly to people from group 2, lead to him living further away from the hospital where he picks the medications from and from the Nakawa market where he does his shopping. This worry was shared among many other participants, where their new place of residence might be far away from schools, hospitals and other essential services.

For people staying behind, this group like others expected more employment opportunities to come when the general accessibility of the area improves. Another expected benefit that was often mentioned were improved services. Many participants requested a health center or public hospital and public school. Although this is not part of UNRA's program, formalization of the area after slum upgrading initiatives might lead to the government investing in such facilities for the area

Daniel, if he gets enough compensation, would prefer to go back to Gulu district in the North of Uganda, where according to him if *"it is God's plan, if I reach there I will find that way to help those people there"*.

5.3.3. Immobility

There are some additional findings about the KJE and mobility that do not necessarily fall into categories of differentiated mobility practices or livelihoods as described above, but that came up during interviews and inductive or as in vivo findings. In the same way that mobility presents itself in different ways (e.g. localized or not), immobility can also arise in different ways.

The KJE and UNRA: years of immobility

Some of the most mentioned concerns relate to UNRA's process and timeline surrounding the KJE project. The KJE project and UNRA engagements started as early as 2014, and some participants had had up to 7 engagements with UNRA over the years. However, final evaluation reports and compensation was still nowhere to be seen. As James (M, 25) from Kasokoso mentions, *"We are waiting, but we're waiting in vain"*. Many people have lost their faith in UNRA and the government and some do not believe the project to be serious at all. The delay of the KJE project has caused residents of all three communities to have become frustrated as UNRA has put a stop to developments in the area, threatening those who have already been evaluated in the past with no compensation for parts they might have added afterwards. People with (partially) vacant plots are also worried they might only be partially compensated, as rumors are circulating that UNRA will only compensate for occupied land. One participant in Kinawataka had started building on their plot precisely because of this in the hope of getting some compensation while also not staying stagnant waiting for UNRA to progress with their programs. In Kasokoso, for example, this has led to halted progress for years as the structures are unfinished or tend to fall into disrepair (see Figure 30).



Figure 30. A typical example of an unfinished building of which further construction has been delayed by uncertainty caused by the KJE in Kasokoso.

Moreover, fear of impending displacement also led to loss of income for people whose livelihoods depend on renting out places for tenants. Mainly in Banda, where students from Kyambogo university tend to stay in small rooms rented out by locals in the Banda informal settlement, students had not come at all this year because the houses had been marked recently. Despite the situation having gone one for years without sudden changes, and the project requirements involving a 3-6 month eviction notice period for tenants, this fear of potential eviction led to loss of income with significant implications for those whose livelihoods depend on it.

Covid-19 related immobility

Particularly since the Covid-19 situation, all participants moved around less. Not only did many of them become jobless or they cannot go to their work because schools, offices and non-essentials were closed, but transport fares had doubled or sometimes even tripled. Furthermore, for some time boda-bodas were not even running when taxis already were, leading to different types of mobility but also livelihoods (taxi drivers vs. boda-boda drivers) being prioritized over others. The lockdown has had widespread and far-reaching implications for people's mobility and hence, their livelihoods. For example, access to medical care became very difficult and expensive due to poor accessibility for participants in the study area: "Now, few people can access it and now, when you talk about walking, a patient cannot walk for a long distance to access medical care." (F, 32, Kasokoso). Covid-19 and the ensuing lockdown had exacerbated already existing problems across the study area, rendering people immobile and stuck in their community with not enough opportunities to go around.

Potential new immobilities

Generally, participants expected their mobility to increase with improved infrastructures, but some feared becoming immobile because of it. Just as communities like Kasokoso can be cut off from the outside world by floods making the main access road impassable, entire communities might be separated by the KJE itself. Currently, geographic separations are formed by streams, garbage dumps, a very busy road or impassable wetlands. For example, Banda and Kinawataka are separated by a wetland where the KJE will pass through, effectively cutting off what is left of the communities from each other. This was one of the areas where Joseph (see Figure 27) would commonly pass through,

and he feared being cut off from his friends on the other side. This is telling of what kind of impacts the construction of the KJE might have, as it will cut through and separate communities. Currently, it is not known to participants whether the KJE will be a limited access elevated road or a street-level “business road”. According to key informants and project documents the road will be the former, which means that community members will not be able to make use of the road by putting up shops, stalls and businesses on the side of it. This kind of limited information about how communities will remain connected or not has led to participants fearing being isolated if they stay behind or cut off from their usual go-to’s.

5.3.4. Displacement chains of forced mobility

For many, this KJE project is not the first time they have been displaced. One participant from Kinawataka indicated that he has already had to move twice, once from his original location in Naguru (a centrally located, wealthy neighborhood in Kampala), and once in Kinawataka itself due to the construction of a sewage pipe below his house. These processes of displacement through development projects and gentrification of urban areas became a recurring theme mentioned by participants. At first, it seemed mistrust of UNRA was based on rumors about wrongdoings that occurred during the Kampala Northern Bypass or Entebbe Expressway projects. However, beyond these rumors, from data analysis it was found that at least 7 participants had previously been displaced from their homes by gentrification, urbanization or infrastructural projects like the KJE.

Many, if not most, of the people living in these settlements came from another place within Kampala before ending up in these settlements. Most participants in Kinawataka, for example, came from upper Mbuya, the upper part of the same area which is now occupied by estates and gated compounds. In Banda, some participants had moved down to the slum from the upper parish, where now the university and the student hostels are located. However, in some cases, people had been displaced from even further away. One lady indicated that she had come from Jinja, where she had also been evicted due to a development project and when she had just started building up a life in Kinawataka, she found out about the KJE. Unfortunately, it seems that in many cases residents are pushed to worse-off places where they are increasingly vulnerable. Many people initially came from their villages where there was no work, but they had land, food security and could rely on their community. Participants noted that when moving to Kampala, opportunities were not as plentiful as initially expected. Then, upgrading of a neighborhood drove them out of that area, and they ended up in one of the three informal settlements. With the coming of the KJE, many of these community members will be displaced yet again.

However, the ones who are even more likely to feel these side effects of the project are the people living in adjacent areas outside the ROW. Not only are many of these communities projected to become host communities for many of the displaced due to proximity, but they are also likely to become gentrified themselves. Figure 31, showing a pre- and expected post-KJE mobility map drawn by a female participant in Kasokoso, is exemplary of the types of changes remaining community members expect to see when the KJE comes. Roads will widen, developments will become more formalized and the community in general will be more organized with higher and blocky housing developments along the KJE.

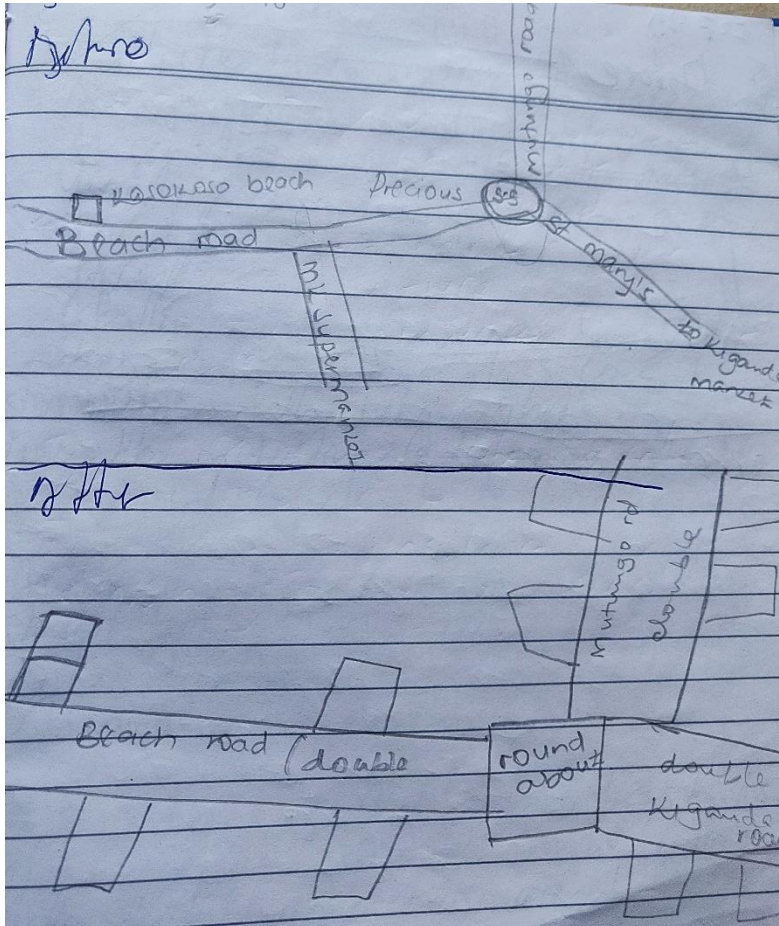


Figure 31. Pre and post-KJE mobility map drawn by a female participant in Kasokoso, showing the expected difference in layout of the same area before and after the KJE causes trickle-down upgrading effects

This might happen indeed, but as of now it remains to be seen whether the remaining community members get to enjoy this raised standard of living. Many participants outside of the right of way expressed concerns about them possibly having to move despite not being directly affected. Some felt like they might not fit in such a developed place and feared being bought out or being forced to leave to make way for these developments. As these chains of displacement might keep occurring, residents of informal settlements like Banda, Kinawataka and Kasokoso might find themselves settling in worse- and worse-off places, looking for a place that is suitable for them to live. This moving downstream, quite literally, means that issues such as flood risk which are already exacerbated by climate

change and overpopulation will become more and more pressing for residents of these settlements in Kampala.

6. Discussion

In this penultimate chapter, the findings from the previous chapter will be put into context by reconnecting with and integrating findings into a framework looking at contributions made to the field of development studies. In the second part of this chapter, a critical reflection of the field work and the results will be provided.

The importance of mobility approaches

From the findings discussed in Chapter 5, several main insights can be derived. Following Joshi (2014), looking mobility as a social practice has shown why urban poor practice and experience mobility in a certain way and how these practices are a way of negotiating their livelihoods in poverty. It was shown that mobility indeed can be used to negotiate precarious livelihoods, as demonstrated with the example of the Kinawataka garbage collectors. On the other hand, mobility is seen as a privilege for some less vulnerable groups, where they simply do not need to move out to meet their needs. This was the case with the community workers and small vendors. In analyzing the findings and dividing participants into different groups, it has been shown that informal settlements indeed host a plethora of people with diverse livelihoods and mobility patterns. These findings are important for understanding how people affected by projects such as the KJE are living currently, in order to compare whether they are better- or worse-off in the case of post-evaluative studies.

How mobilities and livelihoods are differentiated within and between settlements has been outlined in chapter 5.2, where personal characteristics such as age and gender and geographical aspects such as land ownership situation of an area were found to influence livelihoods and mobility of residents living there. It can thus be said that mobility and livelihoods are strongly tied to existing community dynamics that affect these livelihoods. Not taking these inter- and intra-community dynamics into account in the planning of a project such as the KJE can affect the outcomes for the affected people because the projects might not be suitable for their context. This stresses the importance of taking into account context, especially when dealing with diverse and complex (informal) contexts.

The relation with the KJE has been shown in chapter 5.3, where expected changes in mobility and livelihoods caused by the KJE as perceived by participants were the focus. The findings showed that people generally expected their mobility to improve, particularly for groups with more flexible livelihoods such as tenants, youths and people who see the KJE as an opportunity. However, there were many constraining factors as well, where tenure insecurity and issues such as project delays made that people might be rendered immobile. These findings show that mobility and immobility are not mutually exclusive, but rather two sides of the same coin. Following a mobility justice angle inspired by Cresswell (2010), the last part of the findings has shown this. Even though the KJE will undoubtedly improve international transport, the result for many of the community members could be forced immobility or displacement through gentrification. The image evoked is a rather dystopian one: the KJE as a symbol of exclusion, where the elites drive by at high speeds on a superhighway above slum dwellers that are in a precarious situation in a vicious cycle of further displacement, marginalization and impoverishment. These chains of displacement deserve more attention and future research should take these lifelong versions of mobility into account when looking at 'local' development impacts. Mobility should hence also not be underestimated as something only relevant at micro-scale, as snapshots of people's daily realities do not provide a full picture of people's full mobility potential conceptualized as motility.

Nevertheless, the KJE can also create livelihood improvements opportunities through initiatives such as No One Worse Off. Future efforts should be focused on these different kinds of mobility to fully understand the fate of the affected people from Banda, Kinawataka and Kasokoso and all other

settlements affected by the Kampala-Jinja Expressway or similar projects. Such research should incorporate a mobility justice perspective in order to see whether the project has had its intended outcomes. Development studies in general could benefit from increased incorporation of mobility perspectives into research methods and themes to improve understanding of vulnerable people's livelihoods.

Reflection on field work process and results

This research has provided important contributions to mobility and livelihoods research as outlined above. However, it is also important to critically reflect on the process and on the limitations and biases mentioned in chapter 3.7.

First of all, biases were present in the research in several ways. In terms of methodology, biases and limitations are present in the participant selection and interviewing techniques. By working with field guides associated with the National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda, certain participant groups such as savings groups with NSDFU were over-represented in the research while other hard-to-reach groups such as unemployed, youths and elderly were underrepresented. Furthermore, due to convenience the guides often prioritized English-speaking participants over non-English speaking, leading to a bias with likely higher educated people being overrepresented. In general, reaching vulnerable and marginalized groups is harder and that has been the case in this research as well. Besides that, due to the extended time period spent in the field interview questions were improved several times, meaning that later findings are 'richer' than the ones from earlier engagements, leading to a lot of non-response in earlier gathered data when it comes to aspects such as land ownership and attitudes towards implementing partners. Because the sample is hence not representative of the entire KJE corridor or even one of the settlements, care has been taken to speak of participants in the research rather than the communities during the findings.

The findings themselves provide contributions to development studies because mobility of informal settlement dwellers under impending displacement is an underexposed topic. In-depth qualitative findings such as these provide development scholars with stories rather than numbers. However, findings from this research are hard to extrapolate to other contexts due to their context-specificity. In order to make findings more applicable a recommendation report will be sent to implementing partners in the No One Worse Off project. The hope is that this might have some small impacts on the future implementation of the project.

7. Conclusion

In this final section of the thesis we will reflect back on what the findings of this research imply for future research and project planning, guided by the main question of the research: *“How can mobility and livelihoods of informal settlement inhabitants facing displacement be considered in the planning of large-scale infrastructure projects such as the Kampala-Jinja Expressway?”*

Although the link between mobility and livelihoods has been established in literature (e.g. Steel et al., 2011 & Kaufmann et al., 2004), this research again confirmed the interrelatedness of livelihoods with mobility: people use mobility to construct their livelihoods and conversely have certain mobility patterns as a result of their livelihoods. In doing so, three typologies of mobility-livelihoods nexus were developed: the localized mobility and livelihoods, people who use mobility as means to an end, and inherently mobile livelihoods. Although not all-encompassing, these typologies provide a relevant framework to examine lives of informal settlement dwellers. Where some (Group 1) had localized mobility but needed strong social ties in order to sustain their livelihoods, others (Group 3) relied more on using mobility as a resource itself to construct a livelihood. Surprisingly, mobility and livelihoods did not differ much between Kinawataka, Kasokoso and Banda, despite these settlements having several profound differences in location and buildup. However, intra-community differences were common: personal characteristics such as age and gender made people have different types of mobility and livelihoods, whereas geographical location within a settlement meant that one’s land tenure status or leadership situation influenced how they were positioned to benefit or lose from the KJE project. Another insight is that *“mobility” in the classic sense is not so relevant to most of the people, but they do use it to construct their livelihoods*. This becomes apparent both from people’s response to mobility-related questions, and their explicit perception of their own mobility. Many participants barely moved out, and most only go out when their livelihoods absolutely demand for them to. However, in their own way, they do use movements to construct their livelihoods, as was the case for garbage collectors and even people walking to the Nakawa market. These different forms of micro-mobility are important to take into account as well and are not often looked at in literature, which looks more at mobility on a large scale both in terms of time as well as distance.

One of the main insights when comparing data from community interviews with observations and engagements with implementing partners as well as project documents is that *how the project is planned or what it looks like does not match the reality on the ground*. Actors are involved in the No One Worse Off project with good intentions, but do not always have the capacity to make room for real change and meaningful inclusion when this is what the community expects of them. This ultimately leads back to UNRA and the international funders requiring participation and safeguards in the project: the intentions are good, but perhaps not realistic given the complex reality on the ground. This links back to win-win narratives attached to the KJE and development corridors in general. This research, similar to other scientific studies of infrastructure projects, showed a more nuanced reality.

Having said that, the solution to the research question and problem is hard to find. In order to reconsider the above-mentioned notions, we revisit Enns’ (2018 & 2019) work on development corridors, who conceptualized mobility impacts of development corridors as *moving through, by and moving in response to* development corridors. With *moving through*, the question is for whom is this infrastructure meant? The mobility is not for all and leads to forced immobility and chains of displacement as explored in sections 5.3.3 and 5.3.4. respectively. *Moved by* development corridors are all the 30,000 affected people living in the right of way. Their fate remains unclear, but as things stand now the outlook is bleak: UNRA’s projects have been on hold for years, efforts to engage with the community have limited reach and success and affected people are skeptical towards all involved stakeholders. Finally, *moving in response to*: what other trickle-down development effects the KJE

might have is also up for speculation. The remaining and adjacent communities might enjoy improved living conditions, but perhaps the people interviewed in this research will not be there to enjoy it. The true long-term consequences of the KJE and similar projects require more long-term research with repeated engagements to make sure findings can be compared and triangulated.

Once the project takes further hold, engagements could be a huge success both for implementing partners as well as community members. For the Kampala-Jinja Expressway to not become a classic story of exclusionary infrastructure development, efforts to include the local population must take into account micro- and meso-level mobility and livelihood strategies that are strongly diversified in informal settlements. Furthermore, future projects such as the KJE should be more inclusive of the interests of affected people as this can create legitimacy and a feeling of ownership of such projects, rather than the affected people becoming victims of displacement.

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Appendix 1. In-depth interview guide

This is the full interview guide for both researchers (Emily Strong & Ian Plekker). When conducted by one, some parts of the interview might be omitted.

Introduction

Hello, my name is Ian, and I am a masters student from the Netherlands. I am doing research here working together with people from Makerere university about the impacts of the Kampala-Jinja Expressway on three communities: Kinawataka, Banda and Kasokoso. Would you like to participate in a short interview? The interview will take about 20-30 minutes.

Thank you! With regards to the interview, everything you say will remain confidential, and I'm the only one who will have access to the information you give me. I am not working together with the UNRA, Government of Uganda or any NGO or other partner in the project, so nothing you say will be shared with any of these actors.

I would also like to ask you about recording the interview. I would like to record the interview, so that I can listen back to it later to hear what you said, since sometimes it goes very fast or I might have missed something you have told me. Would you be okay with me recording the interview? The recording will not be shared with anyone, I'm the only person who will listen back to it, and when going through the information that you've given me all personal details will be removed from it so that the information will be in no way linked back to you personally.

Thank you. If you want to stop the recording or the interview at any time, please let me know.

Introductory questions

1. Could you first maybe tell me something about yourself?
 - a. Are you from this community?
 - b. How long have you lived here?
 - c. Where did you come from before you moved here?
2. What are some of the issues you face while living in this community?
 - a. What do you think are some of the issues people face while living in this community?
3. What do you like about living in this community?
 - a. What do you dislike?
 - b. Why do you like/dislike that?

Kampala-Jinja Expressway

4. I/We am/are researching this Kampala-Jinja Expressway project, have you heard about this project?
5. What do you think about this project (The KJE)?

- a. What is your opinion about it?
 - b. Why do you feel that way about it?
6. Are you also affected by this project?
- a. Do you live within the affected area?
 - b. Are any of your friends or family affected?
7. What do you think might be some of the impacts of the Kampala-Jinja Expressway?
- a. On your life
 - b. On the community
 - c. How do you think it's going to affect your life?
8. Do you have any worries about the project?
- a. Regarding compensation?

Institutions: UNRA and NGOs

9. What has the process with UNRA been like for you?
- a. What was the first time when they came here and how did it go?
 - b. When was the last time they came here?
 - c. How have you been informed up until now?
 - d. What is the current status of your situation?
10. Are you satisfied with the process regarding the compensation and information provided until now?
- a. Why/why not?
11. There has been a project from some NGOs called ACTogether and the Slum Dwellers Federation to involve the residents of this community in the project, have you heard of any of these projects?
- a. Have you been involved in any of them?
 - If yes, what did you think about it?
 - Were these a good way to voice some of your opinions/concerns regarding the KJE?
 - If not, would you like to have been/be involved?
 - How would you like to be informed when such meetings are happening?
12. Have you heard of the settlement forums that were being held in (meeting place)?
- a. Have you attended any of them?
 - If yes, what did you think about it?
 - Were these a good way to voice some of your opinions/concerns regarding the KJE?
 - If not, would you like to have been/be involved?
 - How would you like to be informed when such meetings are happening?
 -

13. Have you attended any of the meetings with UNRA about the KJE?
 - a. If yes, what did you think about it?
 - b. If not, why not?
 - Would you like to have been in attendance?
 - How would you like to be informed when such meetings are happening?

Mobility

14. For my research, I'm also trying to understand how people navigate their community and how they move around, so for you personally, do you usually stay inside of (the community) or do you have to travel out as well?
 - a. If you travel out, where do you go?
 - For what?
 - How do you travel/ which mode of transport do you use?
 - Walking, boda-boda, taxi....
 - How much does it cost for you to go where you have to go?
 - How often do you go?
 - If not, what do you do when you stay around here?
 - Do you still move around within the area or do you stay at home?
 - If you move, how, how often, how much (See above)

15. I'm also asking people to draw a sketch of how they move around on a typical day, could you do that for me as well? (If no, go to 16)
 - a. Could you first show me how you move around now? You can start from your house and just make a drawing of how you move around on a typical day in your life
 - Where do you go?
 - How do you travel?
 - Is it far/expensive?
 - Is there anything else that you do? Do you go to visit your friends or family, or do you do some shopping perhaps?
 - b. And here, could you show me what you think it might look like after the expressway comes?
 - How do you think your movements might have changed?
 - Why?

16. Can you describe a typical day in your life?
 - a. How do you move from a to b? What do you do?

17. How do you think your movements might change after the expressway comes?

18. Do you already have any plan of where you want to go after this (if in ROW)?
 - a. Why/why not?

19. Thank you so much for participating in the interview and for your time! Do you have anything else you want to add?

20. Do you have any other questions for me/us?

Weebale nnyo~!