GHOSTLINES

Movements, Anticipations, and Drawings
of the LAPSSET Development Corridor in Kenya

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of the LAPSSET Development Corridor in Kenya

Johannes Theodor Aalders

UNIVERSITY OF
GOTHENBURG

SCHOOL OF GLOBAL STUDIES

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Abstract

The Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia-Transport (LAPSSET) project is a partly completed development corridor in Kenya that will connect the eponymous places via a network of roads, pipelines and railway lines, if completed. However, it will not only constitute a connection, but also a barrier - especially for pastoralists who want to migrate to seasonal grazing grounds. The project is therefore anticipated to bring wealth and development by and for some, and to repeat past injustices for others. This thesis looks at different mobilities and immobilities the LAPSSET is anticipated to build, and, concomittandly, different temporalities that people create in relation to the project.

The thesis investigates the overarching research question - How do people who live in the LAPSSET's vicinity navigate and challenge the uncertain spatio-temporal landscape it creates? – following three motifs: *moving*, *anticipating*, and *drawing*. Under *moving*, the thesis draws on infrastructure studies and the New Mobilities Paradigm to develop an analytical framework focussing on the simultaneous but differentiated creation of both mobility an immobility, as well as a methodology emphasising mobile research. Empirically, these frameworks are then used to explore the different ways people encounter (or are bypassed by) the LAPSSET as connection, obstacle, or repelling force. In *anticipating*, the thesis again builds on infrastructure studies, as well as the concept of spectral landscapes of anticipation, which describes how the LAPSSET is 'haunted' by both memories and expectations. The motif comprises investigations of different temporalities people create in relation to the corridor as both promise and menace. Lastly, the motif *drawing* considers images and imaginations of infrastructure projects. With reference to critical cartography, the thesis introduces Collaborative Comic Creation as a method to understand people's imaginations of possible futures in relation to the LAPSSET. The thus created comics do not only constitute empirical material, but also a possibility to cut throuugh the visual normativity of infrastructural megaprojects.

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As someone who I trust in these matters once said: academia is a team-sport. I totally agree with that assessment, except the sport part (because it'd mean that I would be very bad at it). This means, that this thesis is not so much a container that I filled with words and meaning, but rather a bundle of lines and threads that entangle many different people. All of them have been crucial to writing this thesis, and to all of them I am grateful beyond words. These people made me dare the first step, they are what kept me going, and they encouraged me when the going was rough. When I think back on the last four years, what I remember most are the encounters with these people (and some animals).

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with Hannah, Dustin, Hortense, Sara, Pernilla and Elizabeth – Dustin's "back to work!" still haunts me in my dreams. Hannah has been an incredible support, both morally and practically (every single text I had to translate to Swedish is written by her!). I remember living the Humboldtsches Bildungsideal with Richard during our whiteboard sessions, which are responsible for much of the conceptual foundation of this thesis. And of course I will never forget the nights spent playing video games, drinking Barcady Breezer and talking about deep shit with Rick. I love you guys.

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Prologue

A small concrete block in the middle of the savannah looks like a gravestone. It is supposed to be a beacon, indicating the anticipated line of a highway, a pipeline, a railway, which are to be drawn through this landscape. Like a pin piercing a roadmap, it nails the masterplan for the country – an ephemeral vision of modernity – to the ground, concretising it. It points towards a glorious future in which Kenya is wealthy, mobile, united, modern; in which lines of infrastructure do not only weave Kenya into a global economy (think of Europe, India, even China) but also stitch up and heal a broken country. But these are old dreams, conjured by the colonial government of Britain more than a hundred years ago! A small concrete block in the middle of the savannah points at faraway places, it points towards a glorious future, infested with the trauma, the nightmares of the past, still haunting the country, even its dreams about things to come; especially its dry, not desolate but marginalised North. Those are not the only ghosts haunting this landscape.

So, this is a ghost story.

Ghosts define the spaces in-between, living in and arising from broken things, the cracks: between past, present and future; between here and there, between material and imaginary. Telling a ghost story means telling a story about the hauntingly present absences from which life is woven. It means attention to the margins-- no: it means attention from the margins, a gaze from the margins towards the centre that reveals the cracks, the absences, the brokenness of what seems solid and unquestionably whole. Telling a ghost story means telling a story about the things that have gone before, and those that are yet to come; a story that is about memory as much as it is about anxious anticipations. It is this anticipation of uncertainty that characterises this ghost story, the 'tunu lenye utata'[1] or *tricky treasure* that may spell deliverance or destruction or nothing at all.

As ghosts are wont to do, the ghosts of Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia-Transport (LAPSSET) corridor exist in an obscure state between the

[1] "Tunu" translates to "a thing/gift of value", while "lenye utata" could be translated as having the property of being complex and debateable.

real and the unreal; as something that invokes the colonial past of infrastructure projects and heralds future injustices and glorious developments. Just as a child I was never sure whether the shape I saw in the dim light of the streetlamp shining into my room was a ghost or a jacket I had hung there, the ghosts of LAPSSET never give definitive answers: Where is it going to be? Is it good or bad? For whom? What is happening to the people who have to resettle? When is it going to come? Is it going to come at all? What is it even – a road, a pipeline, a fence? All questions I have talked about with nearly every person I met during fieldwork but hardly any answers. By refusing an answer, I felt that the ghosts of the LAPSSET were able to contain opposites: it's good and bad. It will never come and is already here. It will benefit pastoralists and destroy their livelihood. It is a connector and an obstacle. A road and a fence.

1 An Outline

Mijumbe kwenye kuta,
Eti lapset ndiyo tumaini!
Usafiri,mawasiliano
Kijiji kitageuka jiji
Nashangazwa na tunu lenye utata!

Imani yangu yadidimia, ni nani was kuamini?
Babu zangu waliteseka
Ni awamu yangu kufwata na kuonja mabaya.
Nashangazwa na tunu lenye utata.

Lapset Ni tunu lenye utata,
historia yajirudia
nyumbani itakuwa wapi?
Kwa mamangu ardhi nilikozaliwa,
nashangazwa na tunu lenye utata

The walls filled with posters,
LAPSSET is the future!
Transportation, telecommunication,
Our village changing to a city,
I wondered, a tricky treasure!

My faith is loosening, whom would I trust?
My great grandfathers suffered greatly,
It is my turn to face and test the worst!
I wonder, a tricky treasure!

LAPSSET a tricky treasure,
History repeats itself
Where will my home be?
My mother land, my beautiful cool home
I wonder, a tricky treasure

– Excerpt from *Tunu Lenye Utata*, written by Seyyid[2] in February 2018

1.1 Introduction

The Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia-Transport (LAPSSET) development corridor in Kenya is a tricky treasure, a 'tunu lenye utata' or 'precious gift that harbours unforeseen complications'. Seyyid, one of the many people I met during the fieldwork for this thesis, wrote this poem about the LAPSSET corridor the first night we met after I had told him about my research project. Good poetry is able to create, with just a few words, a web of resonant significance, words that thrust their meaning out along the lines of this web. Good poetry is haunted by the ghosts thus invoked, the memories and pains and hopes it implies. Seyyid's poem is haunted in that sense.

His poem contains, implies and resonates with many questions I have asked myself during the past four years while researching the LAPSSET corridor. It starts with the promise of transportation, with movement and connectivity. This is an exciting prospect that promises nothing less than the

[2] This, and all other names in this thesis have been changed.

future itself. But in that promise for a better future, Seyyid discovers the past: memories of injustices that now threaten to be repeated. The promise of transportation now suddenly holds a threat: where will my home be? Will he find a place in the future, or will he be dis-placed by it? The posters that held such promise now seem suspect. Can the images and imaginations of a better future be trusted when the memories of injustice are still ever present? There are no definitive answers, only ambiguities, spaces between the past, present and the future; between mobility and displacement; only *tunu lenye utata*.

This thesis is an attempt to make sense of this tunu lenye utata, a task that is impossible to accomplish but can produce insights nevertheless. Missing the point, missing the line of the LAPSSET is, I argue, precisely the point; something I realised very early on during my fieldwork. The following short vignette is meant to illustrate that point.

On the first day of my 'fieldwalk' it takes me about two hours to get completely lost. The route was so clear, how could this happen? Unexpected gullies block my way and I have to go long detours, losing track of the line that my GPS device tells me to walk. How can this be so difficult? I don't make it to my first night stop and have to camp in the wild; Muunganishi (the donkey who accompanied me on my way) tears a big hole in my tent; I hear hyenas in the distance. The next morning I meet two herders who can tell me the way to a nearby water-point, where I might find some more people. Everyone knows that I am there; they have seen 'curious footprints'; everyone seems to know exactly where I had spent the night, amusement in their eyes when they mention my laughable attempt to build a fence of thorny acacia branches. I meet a group of people at the water point. Shortly after I do, someone arrives on a motorcycle; he introduces himself as Franklin and asks whether I need some help with my research. He had been working for several aid agencies and governmental organisations, doing questionnaires etc. Researchers like me are common in the area, and I had left enough traces to make it easy for professional research assistants to find me. While I desperately and quite unsuccessfully tried to follow the traces that I had painstakingly assembled in my office in Göteborg, others had not been quite as incompetent in following mine – and I was lucky for it. Franklin later accompanied me all the way to the police outpost 'Mlango' on the other side of the Kipsing Gap, and from there another 32-kilometre hike to Kipsing town, translating for me in both Turkana and Samburu.

My first non-encounter with the LAPSSET shows that landscapes are woven from a multitude of lines and traces that are not necessarily known, visible, or 'encounterable' to anyone passing it. The bold lines on maps in

LAPSSET project reports or on my own GPS device were obviously insubstantial "ghostly lines" (Ingold, 2007, p. 47) when trying to encounter them on the ground. Simultaneously, the traces and 'curious footprints' I left stumbling, confused and disoriented, across the landscape told the people more about me than I was aware of myself.

1.1.1 Research Questions

This thicket of entangled lines, some visible and material, others imagined or projected, define the LAPSSET; they weave it. Rarely are they unambiguous and clear, and often they are ambivalent and 'tricky', as Seyyid describes the corridor in his poem. The main aim of this research is to appreciate and embrace the LAPSSET's trickiness and to show how people living in the corridor's vicinity actively engage it in diverse practices of future-making that have the potential to challenge the LAPSSET's masterplans.[3] In a more general sense, this means changing the perception of mega projects such as the LAPSSET corridor from something that is imposed upon the inhabitants of an area to a *tricky* arena where contested temporalities, mobilities and imag(inari)es are navigated and negotiated by a multitude of actors. To this end, I propose the overarching research question: *How do people who live in the LAPSSET's vicinity navigate and challenge the uncertain spatio-temporal landscape it creates?* From this question spring forth several lines of inquiry.

The LAPSSET corridor is first and foremost associated with 'seamless connections' across the country, the continent and the world, which Seyyid alludes to in the first stanza. At the same time, many people inhabiting the area crossed by the LAPSSET encounter the corridor not as a connector, but as a barrier, or even as an evictor. The first research question (RQ1), therefore, tries to make sense of this apparently contradictory nature of the corridor – as both a creator of mobility and immobility. I ask: *what mobilities and immobilities is the LAPSSET anticipated to create and for whom? How is it able to create, simultaneously, mobilities and immobilities?* The theoretical foundation for answering this question is laid out in 0 with a focus on mobility studies. The methodological foundation is laid in 4.4 with a focus on walking as a methodological principle. Lastly, an empirical engagement with the question is discussed in Chapter 5, even though aspects of it also permeate other chapters.

[3] I will unpack what I mean by "corridor masterplans" in the next chapter. For now, it is supposed to be a shorthand expression for the way that the LAPSSET is imagined and represented by a cluster of different agencies and bodies that are officially mandated to plan, construct, and maintain the project.

The second research question (RQ2) addresses how the corridor is not only seen as something that is in the future, but *is* the future, as Seyyid put it. It furthermore attempts to grapple with yet another duality that Seyyid introduces in his poem: the entanglement of anticipation and memory. I ask: *What kind of future imaginary does the LAPSSET create? What kind of history does it imply, and how does it encounter other ways of anticipating the future and remembering the past?* The theoretical foundation for this sub-question is provided mainly in 3.3, with an empirics-based discussion later in Chapter 6. Methodologically, both RQ2 and RQ3 are approached by paying attention to the images of the LAPSSET corridor expressed in officially released documents as well as in drawings of interviewed people in the corridor's vicinity (4.5).

Lastly, research question 3 (RQ3) is concerned with how these imaginaries are manifested in the form of images, the 'walls filled with posters'. This includes not only maps and graphics produced by the LAPSSET Corridor Development Authority (LCDA), but also imaged imaginations challenging the pictures in the masterplan. I ask: *how are different im/mobilities and future imaginaries visualised? How can marginalised ways of moving and anticipating be made visible, if they are not already visualised?*

1.1.2 Research Motifs: Moving, Anticipating, Drawing

From these three lines of inquiry emanate three general motifs that I will employ in structuring this thesis.

1. The issue of **moving** and im/mobility, which is either facilitated or hindered by the LAPSSET, corresponding to RQ1
2. **Anticipating**, temporalities, and practices of future-making, involving ways of remembering the past, corresponding to RQ2
3. Practices of **drawing** and imaging imaginaries, corresponding to RQ3

These three motifs – moving, anticipating, drawing – will structure the arguments of the thesis. Every categorisation like this has to face the obvious and warranted question: *why these three categories and not others? Why not two or four?* In this case, the only answer I can give is that I found them to be useful in describing what people are actually doing in relation to the LAPSSET corridor. Second, I found myself doing the same things during my fieldwork: moving through a landscape following lines of my GPS-device, trails, and pathways of people and animals who had walked there before, anticipating with a mixture of anxiety and hope the route the LAPSSET would take

(hoping I was on the right track, fearing I had missed the mark by miles), spending time worrying about what would happen to the people I had met when the project would be completed, and – to at least an equal degree – about my research project, if it would be a success or not. And I found myself staring at images, mostly maps, but also annotating them, changing them, drawing my own next to pencil sketches of the landscape I was passing, and ultimately joining three illustrators and writers from Nairobi in a series of workshops in which inhabitants of the area would cast their own anticipations into short comic stories.

I find – and I hope the reader will agree with this assessment – that the three motifs are a useful way of structuring thinking about the LAPSSET corridor. I will not be able to pry apart moving, anticipating, and drawing entirely (nor should they be pried apart!), but I believe that focussing on each of these motifs offers a valuable heuristic device to make certain aspects of the topic visible that would have otherwise remained obscure. I will, therefore, try to structure the thesis along these three motifs, even if I will not be able to uphold a strict order. Lines, after all, tend to get entangled, and rather than emulating Alexander the Great in solving these knots, I sometimes simply let them be knots and be happy with it.

1.1.3 Structure

I will start this thesis by positioning myself within (critical) infrastructure studies,[4] the one academic tradition that this study is most related to. 'Infrastructure studies' is not a strictly delineated discipline, but it touches on all of the three motifs that I have decided are relevant for my research – mobility, 'the future', and aesthetics or drawings. In relation to this positioning I will formulate a couple of 'Significant Original Contributions to Knowledge' or SOCKs. Subsequently, I will briefly explain the general character of the research I have conducted and justify the selection of the study area (or rather: route).

Chapter 2 is meant to provide a background for the two most important protagonists in this text: the LAPSSET project itself and the people living in the area it intersects. This chapter will give an impression of 'what's on the line' in this thesis. Roughly along the lines of the first two motifs I have introduced above, I will summarise the movements and temporalities of each protagonist, skipping a discussion of aesthetics, images and drawings, as this is better discussed analytically in Chapter 7.

[4] I mean not the studies of critical infrastructures, but the critical study of infrastructures – a subtle. Subtle, but important difference!

Chapter 3 introduces the theoretical frameworks or 'lines of thoughts' of this thesis. First, I summarise my take on infrastructure studies, focussing on the difficulty of defining such an ambiguous phenomenon and how infrastructures are able to create both flows and frictions at the same time. Subsequently, the three motifs will work as a structuring device. In *Moving* I will discuss how infrastructures create both connections but also disconnections, depending on the movement of some things but also the rigid fixity of others. I will supplement this line of thought with the 'New Mobilities Paradigm', which focusses in particular on both mobility and moorings, as well as aspects of 'mobility justice'. In *Anticipation* I discuss the 'promises of infrastructure', a common theme in infrastructure studies. I stress that these promises are related to both memories of the past as well as the im/mobilities discussed in the previous section. I introduce 'Landscapes of Anticipation' as a way to draw all these aspects together. In *Drawing* I discuss the ways in which infrastructures are not only present materially but also by way of maps, images and visualisations. I combine insights from infrastructure studies with those from critical cartography, as it offers a rich literature about ways to deal with the power and complexity of images. I end with a general discussion of Tim Ingold's idea of the line as a way to tie my conceptual framework together.

Chapter 4 explains how I translate the insights discussed in 'lines of thought' into 'lines of inquiry', i.e. a coherent methodology. I start by summarising some general aspects of my fieldwork and then use the three motifs as the basis for two principle methodologies. First, I discuss 'walking' as a relational praxis that allows an engagement with humans, animals and landscapes. Second, I explore how the collaborative creation of comic books can be used as a way to make marginalised and concealed anticipations visible. The end of this chapter marks the half-way line of the thesis. The second half engages with the empirical material that I have gathered by walking and drawing with the people inhabiting the landscapes intersected by the LAPSSET.

Chapter 5 takes up the first motif, moving, and grapples with the associated first sub-question of this thesis. Here, I identify three kinds of mobility in relation to the corridor that do not align with LAPSSET's vision of 'seamless connectivity': a) to miss it entirely, i.e. being bypassed by the flows of the corridor, b) to be blocked by the infrastructural lines that mobilise some but often constitute an obstacle for pastoralists living in the area, and c) to be ejected from the corridor, referring primarily to the expected evictions that will force inhabitants to move elsewhere in order to make space for the movements

of others. I also introduce a revenant topic of this thesis: the small concrete blocks that I have already mentioned in the prologue.

Chapter 6 is about time. I first show that the LAPSSET is characterised by a certain ambiguity and uncertainty regarding the future. I describe how people deal with the ephemeral nature of the promises made by the corridor and suggest we regard 'waiting' as an active engagement with the future, rather than with passive acceptance. I use the example of people who build inhabited huts along the expected route of the corridor in the hope of receiving compensation once construction starts. I argue that this praxis is a sign of a deviating temporality, one that does not believe in the straight line of the corridor through space and towards 'modernity' but expects a repetition of past injustices and marginalisation. With reference to the Uganda Railway, I discuss more ways of constructing timelines and their respective relation to im/mobilities.

Chapter 7 draws things together (or rather, it will do so once it is completed). Here I discuss the results of the 'collaborative comic creation' workshops and juxtapose the resulting images of imaginations with those produced by the LAPSSET Corridor Planning Authority. At this point, the only in-depth analysis in this chapter will be of Seyyid's comic about the poem that I have quoted in the beginning of the introduction

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis by drawing together several loose ends. I reflect on the emancipatory potential of the collaborative comics and delineate some open questions and further avenues for research. Standard conclusion stuff.

There are different ways to read this thesis. The most straight-forward way – cover to cover – is intended for an audience that has a masochistic capacity for pointy headed discussions of theories and for spending the first half of the thesis with discussions of background information, concepts, and methods before getting to the juicy bits. For a more casual readership, I suggest, instead, jumping from here to Section 2.1 and maybe dipping your toes into Section 2.2, which is not essential for understanding the rest of the thesis but may yet be interesting in itself. I then suggest a cursory glance Chapter 4 in order to get an idea of my methodologies that I used to gather data for this thesis. Section 4.5 about the creation of collaborative comics might be particularly interesting. From then on, the empirical Chapters 5, 6, and 7 can be read in that order. It is also possible to read these chapters first and – if certain concepts or ideas appear too foreign or simply quicken your interest – jump back to the theoretical and background chapters in the first half of the thesis. I have tried to write the empirical chapters in a way that

clearly builds on and refers to the theoretical discussions in the first part, but are nevertheless sufficiently self-contained to be understood without having read these parts first. Oh, and of course you should also read the acknowledgements before anything else – chances are you are mentioned there!

1.1.4 Positioning and Contributions

While this thesis builds upon and is in communication with a wide variety of academic traditions and disciplines, I understand its contribution primarily in terms of its dialogue with infrastructure studies. For this reason I very briefly summarise the current academic debate of this (admittedly vaguely defined) field in order to position myself and the contribution of this thesis in relation to it. I will do so by emphasising the paradoxes and contradictions that, in my opinion, define the field. In 3.1.1 I will return to infrastructure studies from a more in-depth and analytical perspective. Since infrastructures are discussed in such a variety of disciplines, most of which I do not have any expertise in, I limit this review roughly to anthropological and geographical approaches to infrastructure. The aim of this Section is to provide a 'good enough' understanding of infrastructure studies to be able to argue for the particular contributions of this thesis to the field.

For some authors, the defining feature of infrastructures – and one that I constantly encounter when trying to explain the topic of my thesis to other people – is how "boring" they are (see: Star, 2002). I do not mean this as a value statement, but as an honest description of the way that people usually (don't) encounter them. Infrastructures are so commonplace, they are literally everywhere humans live and thus tend to fade into the background, become invisible (Edwards, 2003, p. 8; Star, 1999, p. 380). They (as long as they hold up) represent stability and the absence of change – apart from their heavy, steady inertia (Edwards, 2003, p. 8).

Other authors see the defining feature of infrastructures in how spectacular they are (Larkin, 2013, p. 336). The LAPSSET corridor is only one example of an infrastructure project that is so big, so visible and dominant that it comes to symbolise not only itself but the state (Kochore, 2016), even modernity itself (Larkin, 2013; Sneath, 2009). In fact, Büscher shows how infrastructures, particularly those pertaining to mobility, influence what is visible (2006), even if they are not necessarily visible themselves. Bissell and Fuller argue that the visibility of infrastructures through images actively participates in the way they shape future imaginations.

This orientation towards the future is thus seen by some others as the defining feature of infrastructures. The claim that "to be modern is to live within and by means of infrastructures" (Edwards, 2003, p. 2) is a common refrain in infrastructure studies and in this thesis as well. As mentioned above, it symbolises modernity but it also defines what futures are possible, desirable and imaginable in the first place (see: Müller-Mahn, 2019). In the same way that infrastructures shape and define the tracks on which we move through space, they also define the "dreamscapes of modernity" (Jasanoff & Kim, 2015). In their durability, infrastructures are monuments to past dreamscapes of modernity, and Carse and Kneas (2019, p. 15) suggest we "examine the multiple visions of the future at play in the past".

This orientation towards the past is thus seen by some others as the defining feature of infrastructures. "Infrastructures of history" Appel, Anand and Gupta (2018a, p. 30) argue, "continue to reverberate in our figurations of the future". Especially in the context of imperial infrastructures, they constitute the imperial debris (Stoler, 2008), remains (Kimari & Ernstson, 2020) and ruins (Aalders, 2020) of the past that still influence the material conditions and dreamscapes of today. For example, some of today's highways follow the path of the Viae Romanae, and after truly impressive fieldwork and review of archival data, Ogata et al. (2006) conclude that today's standard gauge of railways has its origins in the interval of Roman groove-ways used by supply carts at the time.[5] Infrastructure moves us through history.

This ability to move people, things, capital and ideas is often described as the defining feature of infrastructures. Brian Larkin consequently defines infrastructures as "built networks that facilitate the flow of goods, people, or ideas' (2013, p. 328). Rebecca Solnit (2003) describes how different infrastructural technologies (railways most notably, but also telegraph lines) have been attributed with having the ability to annihilate space and time itself by making transport "as frictionless as possible" (Cowen, 2014, p. 56). However, especially the *New Mobilities Paradigm* has argued that "clean, quick, ethereal mobility" (Sheller, 2018, p. 12) is an illusion and that "actual mobilities are full of friction, viscosity, stoppages, and power relations" (ibid., see also: Tsing, 2005).

These frictions and the ability to create "permanences" (D. Harvey, 1996, p. 50; see also: Cresswell, 2010, p. 29) are often described as the defining feature of infrastructures. This is particularly important when considering a

[5] The topic is surprisingly hotly debated though, and other authors challenge this inference. For a fascinating discussion of the history of standard gauges, read *Gauges – Standard and Otherwise* by Robert Brown (1953).

(post-)colonial context. Haga Kotef posits that the fluid space of colonialism "produces the immobility of the colonized" (Kotef, 2015, p. 125). Similarly, Charis Enns (2018, p. 106) argues that Africa's new development corridors cannot be understood by considering only the movements they facilitate, but primarily also by the "emergent forms of spatial exclusion and immobility". Penny Harvey (2012, p. 521) and Hannah Knox regard infrastructure as an attempt to "tame and fix in place" unruly and unstable movements, stressing the importance of stability a road promises.

Even though each paragraph of this section contradicts the previous one, they all say something true about infrastructure and the academic literature about it. Each of the positions listed above are based in coherent empirical and theoretical arguments. How can these contradictions be understood not as antagonistic, but as complementary and mutually constitutive? In the next section, I argue that the main contribution of this thesis lies in offering an answer to his question in a way that builds upon (rather than resolving) these contradictions. Additionally, I argue that my contribution lies not only in a theoretical understanding of infrastructure, but also in the development of an approach to encountering ambivalent infrastructure in a way that is consistent with the theoretical framing.

1.1.5 SOCKS

The previous section has shown that there are many different approaches to infrastructure, and each of them highlights different aspects. The gap in the current literature arises from the eclectic nature with which infrastructures are discussed. While the variety of these diverse perspectives and emphases helps us to understand a complex issue such as (mega) infrastructure, it can also obscure the ways in which these different aspects are interrelated and co-constitutive. My contribution is to tie together several existing lines of thought in a way that is unique and adds a productive way of thinking about infrastructure. Most importantly, the contribution lies in the holistic way in which I relate disparate elements to one another, linking them both conceptually and methodologically.

In order to make my point, I will briefly line out the elements I am knitting together in my thesis. They form the above-mentioned cornerstones or 'motifs' of the text: *moving* (infrastructured mobility), *anticipating* (infrastructured temporality), and *drawing* (infrastructural images and imaginations). Many scholars have explicitly combined two of these aspects, and just as many have implicitly mentioned all three (but without

conceptualising and methodologising their connection). A case in point: one of the best-established dictums of infrastructure studies is the connection between infrastructured mobility and the production of the future, or what it means to be modern (Appel et al., 2018; Edwards, 2003; Harvey and Knox, 2012). Furthermore, Charis Enns and Brock Bersaglio (2019) as well as Kimari and Ernstson (2020) have linked the ways in which infrastructured mobilities not only shape a particular future but also reproduce and build on the past. Lastly, the relations between images and visualisation to both mobility (Büscher, 2006; Ingold, 2011 and others; Pinto De Almeida, 2015) and temporality (Bissell and Fuller, 2017; Smith, 2017; Uribe, 2019) have been studied and conceptualised in several studies. None of these studies, however, has brought all three motifs together in a cohesive way.

Each motif can be read as a concept and simultaneously as a practical action (anticipating, moving, drawing). I do not claim that they are the only possible motifs, but I do believe that my suggestion to regard infrastructure projects in terms of the mobilities, temporalities, and images they create is extremely useful in understanding the often invisible and ambivalent ways in which infrastructure is present. This is not to say that no one else is paying attention to them, but that the mode of their relation is under-conceptualised and interpreted on a case-by-case basis.

The tool that allows me to relate the above-mentioned motifs to one another is the *line*, based largely on the writings of Tim Ingold. I suggest imagining each motif as a line – lines through time, lines through landscapes, lines on paper – thus creating commonality that allows each aspect to interface with another while remaining conceptually distinct. I argue that the defining feature of the line is its ability to contain opposites, in particular the ability to be connection and disconnection at the same time, creating both inclusions and exclusions.

The line, thus conceptualised, becomes a political matter, which distinguishes it from the philosophy of Tim Ingold, where politics are only of incidental import. Whether a line appears as a connection or disconnection in certain circumstances is not arbitrary, but the result of hard-fought negotiations. This way of imagining it allows for describing conflicts that arise when different anticipations of the future are expressed (the corridor as a pathway to modernity, or a repetition of colonial exploitation), different forms of mobility intersect (when the corridor is encountered as a road or as a fence in different situations), or when different and sometimes contradictory images of both mobility and temporality coexist and struggle for interpretational sovereignty.

Understanding all of these struggles as antagonisms over lines allows for an understanding of them as related. Two examples: the question of when the LAPSSET is encountered as a fence or a road is directly and immediately related to the question of who draws its maps and for what purpose; actors who are excluded from using the LAPSSET as a road because they encounter it as an obstacle may also be excluded from the particular vision of modernity it produces. Existing critical work on infrastructure has an intuitive understanding of these relations, but does not ground them in a cohesive conceptual framework. The figure below illustrates the way that my thesis relates aspects highlighted by different approaches to infrastructure studies by using the concept of the line as a connecting element.

Furthermore, they usually use methods that were not specifically developed for the study of infrastructure. While many approaches used to study institutions, cultures, the environment and society are certainly transferrable to the research of infrastructures, this transfer is not a matter of course. Having identified Mobility, Temporality and Imagery as the main conceptual motifs, an appropriate methodological framework needs to be able to grasp these categories as well. A second gap this thesis aims to fill lies, thus, in its methodological contribution to the struggles of encountering infrastructure projects, which are by definition elusive.

In this regard, the thesis introduces two major contributions. First, I transfer work on 'walking ethnography' (mostly Ingold & Vergunst, 2008) to the study of infrastructures. Presumably, most studies of infrastructures have involved some degree of 'walking about', however none that I am aware of have reflected on this practice, much less embedded it in the context of a more holistic understanding of infrastructure. Secondly, the proposed methodology of 'collaborative comic creation' (based on similar approaches in different contexts) provides the ability to not only engage with images and visualisations in a more direct and active manner, but also to produce 'counter drawings' that challenge the dominant ways of visualising and thus imagining infrastructure projects. This might be the one contribution I am most proud of, and ironically it might be the one aspect of my research, where my personal contribution was least significant. The method was developed together with Anne, Naddya and Dan, three illustrators and authors from Nairobi, and their experience with producing comics for and with marginalised groups has been a significant part of the way this phase of the fieldwork was conducted. I believe that we have developed this particular methodology in a way that might be emulated in other contexts.

In conclusion, the ways I understand infrastructure do not only inform an abstract understanding of what infrastructures are or do, but also imply concrete approaches to studying infrastructure in practice. At that, I take note of, and explicitly draw connections between, aspects of infrastructure that are not necessarily seen as related but that are necessary to fully appreciate its complexity. Lastly, I offer a language that helps to formulate the ambivalence and uncertainty often associated with infrastructure projects in a way that makes them analytically accessible without eradicating their ambivalence. This is because I have set the ambivalent nature of lines as both connection and disconnection at the core of my thinking.

2 What's on the Line?

2.1 The Project

The Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia-Transport[6] (LAPSSET) project is a partly completed development corridor that will connect the eponymous countries via a network of roads, pipelines and railway lines, if completed. The LAPSSET corridor and the matryoshka-acronym 'LAPSSET Corridor Infrastructure Development Project' (LCIDP) (LCDA, 2017a) involves a multitude of subordinated infrastructural and developmental projects and plans. Among others, the LCIDP is planned to include three resort cities in Lamu, Isiolo and Turkana (LCDA, 2017a; Miriam Nkirote, 2017; Omondi, 2017; Rawlings Otini, 2012), each in the vicinity of an international airport (Atkins Acuity, 2017, p. 8), two dam projects at 'crocodile jaws' (RoK, 2016) and the High Grand Falls Dam (Makena, 2017), a merchant refinery at Lamu (Browne, 2015, p. 8), a special economic zone in Lamu (Chome, 2020, p. 8), and a fibre-optic cable (Bocha, 2014).

Once finished, it may be the longest heated pipeline in the world (Patey, 2014, p. 14) and while the relevance of oil production for Kenya's economy may be doubted, the LAPSSET corridor does have the potential to reinforce Kenya's regional role as an infrastructure hub (ibid.). However, the impact the corridor may have on Kenya's political and economic situation, on its environment, the people living close to it and the wider population is uncertain, setting up LAPSSET as a canvas on which different actors paint their often competing hopes, dreams, worries and ideas of what it means to be 'modern' and 'developed' (Browne, 2015).

As the LAPSSET development corridor implies a multitude of projects, the ownership and management structure is accordingly complex. In order to coordinate these elements, the LAPSSET Corridor Development Authority (LCDA), a state-owned corporation, was founded in 2013 (Browne, 2015, p.

[6] Where exactly the hyphens go depends on the source. Sometimes there's also a stray comma thrown in for good measure. I find this version with a hyphen between each element most consistent.

20). The LCDA's main task is the intermediation between a multitude of private and public, as well as foreign and domestic, interests. Different ministries have been in disagreement over several aspects of the project (Browne, 2015, p. 33), and several ethnic communities along the planned route of the corridor have challenged the implementation of the LAPSSET on grounds of lacking participation and profit-sharing, especially in Lamu and Turkana (Bonaya, 2019; Wairimu, 2020; Young, 2018). The project has, furthermore, sparked conflict between different counties. For example, a headline in the Daily Nation in 2015 read: "LAPSSET fuelling border wars in Meru and Isiolo, say MPs" (Daily Nation, 2015). Centrifugal forces are also visible at the international scale. In the early phases of the LAPSSET, the route was intended to cross over to neighbouring Uganda as well, but following pressure from international investors, the Ugandan government decided to opt for an alternative route for their pipeline via Tanzania (Perey, 2016). Recently, the project's viability was once again questioned, as global oil prices plummeted and Tullow Oil, one of the most important stakeholders in the oil pipeline was mired in a series of scandals. For all its rhetoric about connection and unity, the LAPSSET project is challenged by several dynamics of disintegration at local, national, regional and global levels.

Perhaps the most fitting image for the simultaneous forces of alignment and fraying is provided by some of the speeches given on the occasion of Kenya's first Oil Shipment Flag-off.[7] In his speech, Turkana's governor Peter Lotethiro first stressed that the people of Turkana have been very supportive of the entire project, and that the historically marginalised county now finally felt like it was "part of Kenya" (Project Oil Kenya, 2019, timestamp 02:16, translated from Swahili). He then adds that his county only demanded a small part of the profits, "only the goat's leg" (ibid., timestamp 02:50). Next, the governor of West Pokot continues this image by emphasising the vital role of security services from his county, adding amidst laughter, "we are therefore waiting for just the ribs [of the goat]" (ibid., timestamp 03:09, translated from Swahili). Lastly, seeing the choicest parts of the goat already distributed, chief executive of Tullow Oil, Paul McDade, added that "having spent $2 billion, the joint venture partners will be able to get a bit of that goat" (Akwiri, 2019). The image of three powerful men scrambling for different parts of the 'goat', ripping it apart before it is even cooked, is quite suggestive.

[7] A video with some of the highlights (accompanied by an epic score) is available on YouTubeyoutube and worth watching in full: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IlL9lgv3V18

In addition to a diversity of often opposing interests, the LAPSSET also seeks to align a multitude of visions and imaginaries. The project is represented as a 'Flagship Project' under the country's so-called 'Vision 2030', i.e. "he country's development blueprint which aims to transform Kenya into a newly industrializing, 'middle-income country providing a high quality life to all its citizens by the year 2030'" (LCDA, 2017b, p. 15). Besides this unitary vision, the components of the project are driven by a variety of ambitions and motivations. The LAPSSET thus appears as a big, truly *mega*-project and simultaneously almost modest in comparison to the staggering amount of ambitious goals. The corridor is anticipated to 'strengthen Kenya's regional hub status" (LCDA, 2015a, p. 1), to "open up 70 percent of the country that has been uninvested in since independence" (ibid., p. 1), thus helping to "turn history on its head" (RoK, 2012, p. 7); the resort cities are expected to establish Kenya "among the top 10 long haul tourist destinations" (LCDA, 2017a, p. 27); the oil extraction and pipeline shall fulfil the "the dream to be an oil producing country" (Project Oil Kenya, 2018); a "game changer infrastructure" resulting ultimately in a "just and prosperous Kenya[8]" (LCDA, 2015b), and a "seamless connected Africa" (LCDA, 2017c, see also: Fig. 1) while ensuring "equitable and sustainable development" (Golder and ESF Consultants, 2019, p. 2–1). The corridor does not only promise to integrate Kenya into the global economy but also to stitch together and heal the country itself.

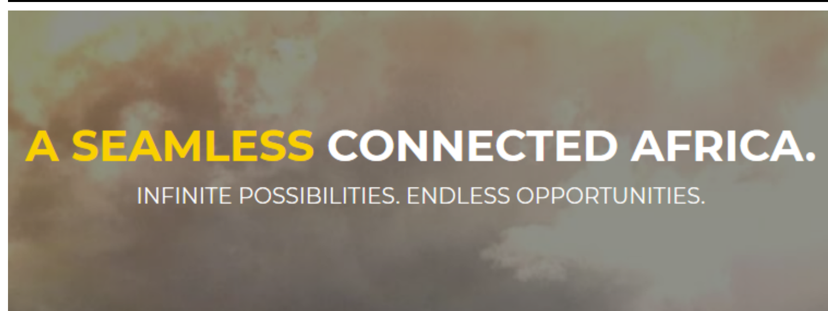
While the lofty ambitions listed in the previous paragraph paint a very positive picture, others point out a multitude of risks that the LAPSSET might imply: leaking pipelines (LCDA, 2017), lack of information (Mahiri, 2016), contested land-rights (Nema, 2017), geopolitical tensions among East-African countries (Jeremy Perey, 2016), worries about climate change (LCDA, 2017) and attacks by Al-Shabaab (Browne, 2015, p. 62) are among the concerns. This ambivalence came as a surprise to me when I began this study. I had read about the LAPSSET corridor in official documents and reports. There, it was presented as something solid and obvious – a straight line on a map that seemed confident enough to let the beholder forget that the corridor is not yet constructed. The impact assessments that were published later do attest to these uncertainties yet conclude that their dangers are either "minor or negligible" (Golder & ESF Consultants, 2019, pp. 9–1). Previous to the

[8] Interestingly, and perhaps tellingly, the slogan was changed from "Building Africa's transformative and game changer infrastructure to deliver a just and prosperous Kenya" (LCDA, 2015b) to "Building Africa's transformative and game changer infrastructure for a seamless connected Africa" (LCDA, 2017c).

fieldwork, my own assessment of the situation was similarly solid and obvious, yet antithetical: of course, I thought, the project was unequivocally bad – it's a pipeline, after all! I remain critical of the LAPSSET project. However, in order to truly understand it and the way that the inhabitants of the landscapes it crosses engage with it, it is necessary to recognise the project's fundamental ambivalence.

Adrian Browne describes the corridor as "a project in search of a rationale" (Browne, 2015, p. 5). The problem may well lie with the existence of too many rationales, each actor bringing their own wishes, expectations, anticipations and fears to the table. In the end, not only a diversity of different projects have to be woven into a single strand, but also a diversity of sometimes contradictory aims. It is therefore quite difficult to talk about *the* LAPSSET project, or *the* planners as if these were established, distinct and clear categories. This creates a fundamental challenge for every text that proclaims to be about the LAPSSET, such as this one. An array of acronyms suggests cohesion between the drawn-together words but run the danger of obscuring who or what is actually meant. Phrases like 'the project' or 'the planners' simulate clarity about accountability and mandates where often there is an amorphous tangle of overlaps and contradictions. The aim of my research, and subsequently of this text, however, is not to untangle this Gordian knot, but rather to study the consequences that this unified-yet-scattered presence of the LAPSSET has on the way it is encountered by the people directly affected by it.

Fig 1: The promise of the LAPSSET corridor: literally everything. Source: www.lapsset.go.ke



This, however, is not to admit defeat entirely, and I believe that it is possible to recognise several distinct and common features that characterise many of the elements contained in the LAPSSET project. Following the motifs of *moving* (2.1.1) and *anticipating* (2.1.2) established above, the remainder of this section highlights the kind of mobility the LAPSSET corridor intends to

create and the underlying vision of modernity. The motif of *drawing*, or how the LAPSSET corridor is 'drawn up' in maps and digital renderings, is rather analytical in nature and will thus be covered in Section 7.1. The main aim of this section is not a complete representation of what the LAPSSET is – as previously said, this would be a difficult endeavour – but rather to set the groundwork for understanding how it becomes present in the lives of the people living close to the segment of the route I have studied.

2.1.1 LAPSSET and Infrastructural Mobility

In her 2018 paper, Charis Enns makes the argument for "mobilizing research on Africa's development corridors" (Enns, 2018). This means paying particular attention to the kinds of mobility an infrastructure project such as the LAPSSET corridor enables or prohibits. In later chapters I explore the conceptual (3.2) and methodological (4.4) implications of the 'new mobilities paradigm' that underlies this focus on infrastructural mobility, and Chapter 5 connects these principles to the results of the fieldwork I have conducted for this thesis. In preparation for these later chapters, this part summarises the particular vision of 'mobility' that the 'corridor masterplans' envision.

The slogan which the LCDA chose for the LAPSSET project is quite appropriate for summarising this vision: "a seamless connected Africa" (see: Fig 1). The LAPSSET corridor thus signifies movement without friction. The rocky road that the project itself has to navigate to reach completion stands in contrast with the notions of frictionless flows seamless connectivity, which are one of its main ambitions and are invoked persistently in different official communication channels. For example, Lamu Port is described as "critical in realizing seamless and reliable connectivity of the transport systems in Kenya" (LCDA, 2015a, p. 11). This seamless connectivity is meant to 'open up' Northern Kenya, implicitly juxtaposing the openness and fluidity of the corridor with 'closed' landscapes in the north. As one promotional video produced by Oil Kenya proclaims: "The movement of the material will lead to the expansion of rails and roads, so as the project develops, it will open up the landscape and infrastructure, and open up Northern Kenya" (Project Oil Kenya, 2018, timestamp 02:23).

The notion of 'opening up' an ostensibly closed Northern Kenya through transport infrastructure is a re-occurring theme in official communications about the LAPSSET. It is worth exploring this phrase further as it shows the general logic of the infrastructural mobility that the LAPSSET corridor is anticipated to produce. What is striking about the phrase is its apparent paradoxicality. As I will explain in more detail in Section 2.2.3, pastoral

landscapes are often perceived as borderless "smooth space"[9] of nomads (see: Deleuze & Guattari, 2010). The LCDA itself describes pastoral landscape as seamless:

> A core feature of the rangeland resource is its seamless nature […]. Such resources were used continuously and in rotation without any physical limitations as later imposed by colonial administration in the 19th Century. (LCDA, 2017a, p.104)

If, however, the pastoral landscape of Northern Kenya is characterised by "its seamless nature", then why invest billions of dollars into an infrastructure project with the goal of achieving 'seamless connection'? If pastoralist communities traditionally did not feature any 'physical limitation', why do they need to be 'opened up'?[10]

As already indicated in the above quote, the explanation for this has its origin in colonial history. After several 'incursions' by Samburu pastoralists into land occupied by white ranchers and farmers, the colonial government decided to quarantine the Northern Frontier District (NFD), consisting of the sub-districts of Wajir, Garissa, Moyale, Marsabit and Isiolo (Duder & Simpson, 1997, p. 442; Enns & Bersaglio, 2019; see also: The Earl of Listowel, 1963). Effectively, this meant that until after independence, nobody could travel to and fro the NFD without a permit (Pas Schrijver, 2019, p. 36, footnote 29). Later, the colonial government decided to 'open up' the NFD by way of infrastructural projects, in order to allow additional police forces easier entry to the area, as well as to facilitate commerce and game hunting (Enns & Bersaglio, 2019, pp. 7–8). The 'opening up' of landscapes, therefore, indicated a very particular openness, one that favoured commerce, accessibility to global trade and capitalist modes of production. As Londsdale and Berman (Lonsdale & Berman, 1979, p. 488) note, being 'opened up' in the context of colonial Kenya primarily meant to become "part-economies, externally orientated to suit the dynamic of a capitalism which had been imposed upon them from outside." This introduces a central dynamic that I will discuss throughout the

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[9] "Smooth space is field without conduits or channels", as Deleuze and Guattari (2010, p. 30) describe it.

[10] In my ears, the phrase and the context in which it used is also indicates a particular male gaze, where virgin lands are 'opened up' for the conquest and penetration of (white, male) explorers. In "Women and Landscape in English Literary Texts" Patel (2009) finds a general proclivity of equating colonial lands and the female body: "Such metaphorical equating of colonial territory to female body […] leads to stereotyping female gender, and concealing through flattery, its debasement" (Patel, 2009, p. 114).

thesis: the antagonism between the 'unruly' movement of people and animals versus the infrastructured movement of capital and commodities.

In order to facilitate commercial mobilities, the 'unruly' movements of "bandits" (see quote below) needed to be controlled and securitised. The management of these unruly districts, thus "entailed orchestrating the movement of its people and goods" (Bianco, 1996, p. 32). Already during colonial times, access to these areas via roads was seen as an essential part of ensuring security (ibid., p. 32). Similarly, the LAPSSET corridor, especially its contribution to closing Kenya's 'infrastructure gap', is anticipated to increase 'security' (LCDA, 2017a, p. 15):

> The LAPSSET corridor traverses areas hitherto considered as banditry and conflict prone. The current areas where the projects activities are active have seen great strides in respect to securitization of the area. (LCDA, 2016, p. 12)

The LAPSSET, as Mosley and Watson (2017, p. 462) put it , "is valued because the improved communications its roads and developments would bring are also part of a regional security agenda". By improving infrastructure and communication, the corridor is expected to project state power into all areas of the country (Kochore, 2016). This points toward another purpose that the infrastructural mobility of the LAPSSET pursues: to stitch together a divided country. In the Vision 2030, of which the LAPSSET is a fundamental part, this aspiration of mobility is expressed as follows:

> The 2030 Vision aspires for a country firmly interconnected through a network of roads, railways, ports, airports, and water ways, and telecommunications. […] By 2030, it will become impossible to refer to any region of our country as 'remote'. To ensure that the main projects under the economic pillar are implemented, investment in the nation's infrastructure will be given the highest priority (RoK, 2012, p. viii).

Hassan Kochore (2016) describes in exquisite detail how one of the already completed components of the LAPSSET, a new road between Isiolo and Moyale, has contributed to a sense of 'being Kenyan' in a marginalised region of the country. The LAPSSET, therefore, aims to connect the oil wells in Turkana, livestock resources, and tourist attractions to the rest of the world. Beyond that, and even more ambitiously, the corridor is anticipated to work like a suture, stitching and healing a divided country. As the Vision 2030 proclaims: "The Vision aims to move all Kenyans to the future as *one nation*" (RoK, 2012, p. 158, own emphasis).

2.1.2 LAPSSET and Infrastructural Modernity

"*Moving* all Kenyans to the future" (see quote above) implies a common association between spatial movement and the elapse of time. This section will explore the kind of future the LAPSSET corridor aims to achieve by 'moving all Kenyans'.

As mentioned above, the LAPSSET constitutes one of the main pillars of Kenya's Vision 2030. This vision describes a particular way of imagining Kenya's moving to the future. The frictionless, efficient and safe mobility, and with it a prospering economy and unified nation, are a big part of this vision. "One Kenya, One Dream: The Kenya We Want" was the title of a 2009 conference that was held shortly after the official inauguration of Kenya's Vision 2030. However, Detlef Müller-Mahn points out that despite this rhetoric of unity and nationalism, the vision isn't particularly Kenyan at all: similar long-term projects, such as Rwanda's Vision 2020, Burundi's Vision 2025 and Tanzania's Vision 2025, have been designed by the same international consultancies all over East Africa, as well as in several Gulf states. Each of these development programmes seems to envision a rather similar version of modernity – a stamp rank that can be imprinted upon different national contexts with minor adaptations. Common features are a focus on efficient mobility of resources, commodities, information, and – perhaps to a lesser extent – also people (Enns, 2018), in addition to a "win-win" development discourse that promises prosperity through economic growth for everyone (Lesutis, 2019).

The LAPSSET corridor itself is not a unique development project. The African Development Bank lists nineteen road-corridor projects in Africa, and doesn't even consider the LAPSSET corridor apart from the Isiolo-Moyale road segment (AfDB, 2019). Apart from the LAPSSET corridor, prominent examples for development corridors in Africa include the Maputo Corridor between South Africa and Mozambique (J. Mitchell, 1998; Söderbaum & Taylor, 2001) and the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania (Nijbroek & Andelman, 2016; West & Haug, 2017). So pervasive are transport corridors that they epitomise development itself: "roads became for both colonial and nationalist governments and their peoples the defining object through which development could be pursued" (Larkin, 2018, p. 190). As I will argue throughout this thesis, even though this particular vision of modernity may be pervasive in different national contexts, it largely remains vague and even contradictory. These contradictions – between movement and fixity, modernity and colonial reverberations, presence and absence – might even be one of the defining features of development corridors (Silver, 2017).

The marked increase in development corridor projects is part of a general international focus on infrastructure as a development initiative. “Infrastructure gaps” (McKinsey & Company, 2016; World Bank, 2019) have been identified as one of the major obstacles for sustained economic growth by neoliberal institutions such as McKinsey and the World Bank; McKinsey suggests an addition USD 800 billion of investments in infrastructure annually to close this gap, totalling USD 120 trillion between 2016 and 2030 (McKinsey & Company, 2016, p. 23). China, in particular, follows a similar strategy, lending about USD 15 billion annually to infrastructure projects, thus comprising about one third of all external finances of infrastructure investments in Africa (Dollar, 2019, p. 3).

The most prominent example of the hope of projecting power globally is China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). This ‘megaprojects of all megaprojects’ comprises two parts: the ‘belt’ connecting countries via a land-based system of roads and railways and the ‘road’, which connects several countries via maritime infrastructures (Brakman, Frankopan, Garretsen, & Van Marrewijk, 2019, p. 4). While the terrestrial part of the LAPSSET corridor itself is not directly part of the BRI, the port in Lamu is being constructed by the Chinese firm China Communication Construction Company (Anthony, 2020, p. 181; LCDA, 2017d, p. 11) and can be considered part of the ‘maritime silk road’. Simultaneously, Europe and the US have also expressed interest in the LAPSSET as a way to balance the ‘Sino-Kenyan economic bond’ (Browne, 2015, p. 70). This ‘scramble for Africa’s infrastructure’, and particularly China’s role in relation to former colonial powers, is an intensely debated topic that I cannot do justice to here. Instead, I refer to the current academic literature, especially Kimari and Ernstson (2020), who focus on the case of Chinese investment in Kenyan infrastructure, in particular, but also on more general accounts from Dollar (2019) and Vhumbunu (2016).

As I will show later in 7.1, many images of the LAPSSET corridor depict a road, pipeline, or railway in central perspective where all lines converge on a single vanishing-point. This might be a coincidence, but it works well as symbol for a more profound principle that I will further explore during the course of this thesis, which is the story or the image of a single track towards the future – the story of the ‘one way’. As all lines eventually converge at a common vanishing point, a spatial ‘elsewhere’, they also converge towards a temporal ‘elsewhen’, an indeterminate yet all-determining point in the future. As a shorthand for this point I will use the term *modernity*.

I am aware that hardly any other term has elicited quite as many sociological tracts, treatises and texts, starting with Max Weber and moving

up through Anthony Giddens to Bruno Latour's conclusion that we have, in fact, never been modern after all. I do not use modernity in this sense, that is, not in the way it is used to describe an existing condition. Rather, I use modernity here in its association with *progress* (Mouzakitis, 2017), the incorporeal vanishing point that all lines of progress eventually lead to. Particularly in Africa, modernity has always been defined through its absence, or rather, 'Africa' has been defined through an absence of modernity, its antithesis, and thus as a counterpart through which colonial powers could identify themselves as modern (see: Said, 2003). As a consequence, development – the striving towards this ghostly vanishing point – has taken pre-eminence in many African countries.

In this sense, development (or maendeleo) describes the single-track movement towards the vanishing point of modernity. This vanishing point is never quite here; like a mirage, it is defined by unreachable phantasms. It is the seamless movement, the 'progress towards' that matters. All other directions are subsumed in the braid of this one corridor; the 'one way'. But what else would move in this landscape, daring to cross these lines?

2.2 The People

Writing a 'background' chapter, I find, is one of the most challenging parts of a dissertation. The aim of this chapter is to provide the reader with some necessary information about the history and society of the people with whom I have conducted research, providing an important context for the quotes and vignettes in later chapters. What makes this undertaking so challenging is the fact that it contradicts the tacit understanding of what history is and how societies work. How is it possible to summarise *the* history of the Samburu in order to prepare for an argument about the necessary existence of many parallel histories, the different ways in which people mobilise the past in order to interpret the present and shape the future?

A further problem is presented in the fact that this dissertation is not built on ethnographic material about the culture of Samburu, Pokot and Turkana, as the questions I have been pursuing during fieldwork were too specific to generate a general understanding of any of the ethnic groups I have engaged with on my journey. For that reason, I have to rely on the ethnographic accounts of others for this chapter, resulting in the problematic situation that I am writing about the people whose accounts have informed my study using studies conducted largely by other etic ethnographers who have, in turn, written about them.

Given that, this chapter will concentrate on two particularly relevant aspects of the life of people inhabiting the areas I have perambulated during my research: pastoralist mobilities and pastoralist temporalities or anticipations. To be more precise, this section will review the existing academic literature on these topics. Drawing mainly on ethnographic accounts, I summarise how anthropologists have understood spatial and temporal imaginations of Samburu, Pokot and Turkana. The main purpose is to contrast the ways in which the 'corridor masterplans' and colonial imaginations of Kenya's ASAL depict the area intersected by the LAPSSET as empty and, at best, as an obstacle to connectivity. Conversely, I attempt to work out the rich and dense tissue of lines that are woven through human and non-human mobilities, as well as memories and anticipations that do not necessarily align with the "dreamscapes of modernity" (Jasanoff & Kim, 2015) imagined by the project planners. In short, rather than a description of the land of the Samburu, Pokot or Turkana, this chapter is an account of their ways of moving through that land. Rather than a history of the Samburu, Pokot and Turkana, this chapter is an account of their historicities.

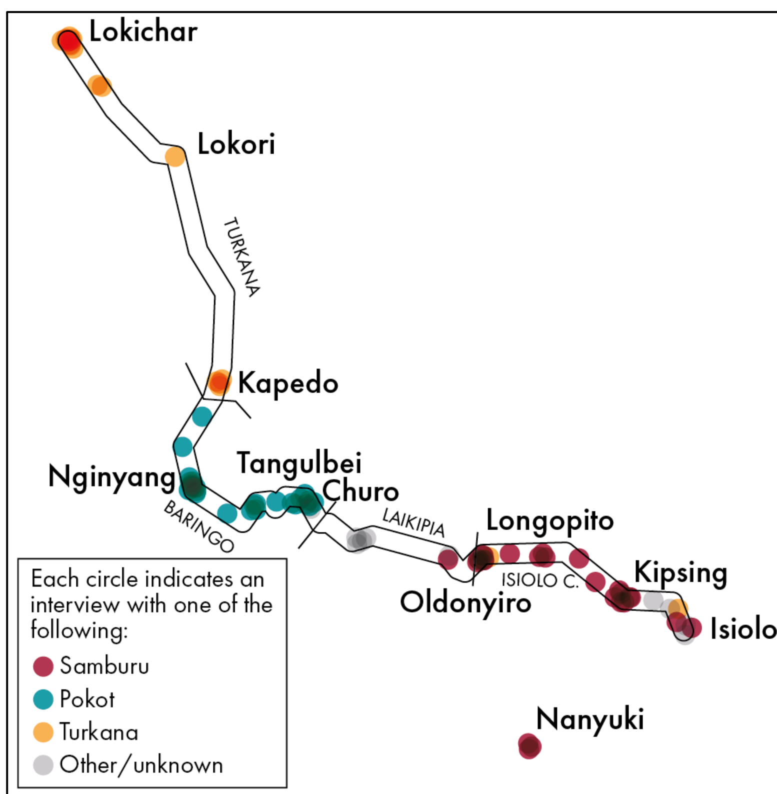
A last disclaimer regards the unavoidable generalisations I make in this chapter. While 'pastoralists' is a common category to describe a variety of societies in Kenya's ASAL, the politics, histories and cultures vary considerably between each ethnic group and between clans within each group. I do not want to overburden this introduction with a comprehensive comparative analysis of each ethnic group I have mentioned so far, which would be a topic for a dedicated dissertation in and of itself. This means that certain aspects will be discussed in reference to only one or two particular ethnic groups, implying a transferability that may not always be true. Where possible, I will refer to studies and ethnographies that take up similar issues in reference to those ethnic groups not explicitly discussed in the text. One the one hand, these differentiations between various ethnicities is certainly important, but on the other hand one should also not assume that ethnicity is automatically the most important category of differentiation – as I will argue later; class (or rather, the difference between 'modern' and 'local' people) and the rural-urban divide are just as important. As one interviewee told me when I asked him about his experience of marginalisation as a Turkana living in an area dominated by Samburu:

> We have some marginalised Samburu, Turkana, Maasai are the ones now who are being discriminated by this government [...]. So what I can say: maybe those who are marginalised are pastoralists, those who are dealing with livestock, and

the other people who are being favoured are those other farmers, you know, in big towns (Interview, 2018-01-31).

2.2.1 Overview of the people in the research area

Fig 2: Map of the fieldwork route indicating the ethnicity of interviewees and county borders. Own cartography and dataset based on approximate location of interviews.



As I have already described in Chapter 1, the main research 'area' is in fact a line following a segment of the planned route of the LAPSSET corridor. The itinerary started at Isiolo city in the east, crossing Isiolo County's 'scorpion's tail' to Oldonyiro, then crossing into the northern plains of Laikipia. From there I followed the route into Baringo County, and finally turned northwards into Turkana County.

Ethnic groups do not perfectly map onto county boundaries, even though some of them (for example Samburu, Turkana, and West Pokot

County) are named after them. Nevertheless, as a rough approximation I mostly met Samburu once I left the outskirts of Isiolo and until I crossed the border to Baringo County, which is mostly inhabited by Pokot. The demarcation between Pokot and Turkana, just south of Kapedo, is also relatively strict, and violently contested (see: Fig 2).

Virtually the entirety of the segment passes through so-called 'arid and semi-arid lands' (ASAL) of Kenya's north, where pastoralism used to be the predominant livelihood going back to precolonial times. As the name indicates, ASAL are characterised by dry weather conditions and dependency on highly unreliable rainfall leading to dynamic variability of vegetation growth both spatially and temporally (Bilal Butt, Shortridge, & WinklerPrins, 2009; Galvin, Boone, Smith, & Lynn, 2001; Pas Schrijver, 2019). Keeping herds of livestock as a mobile reservoir during drought allows pastoralists to compensate for these spatial and temporal variabilities, and is subsequently a highly effective strategy of survival in ASAL in Kenya and elsewhere (B. Butt, 2016; Galaty, 2013; Pas Schrijver, 2019). Because 80 percent (Nyariki & Amwata, 2019, p. 1) to 90 percent (Amwata, Nyariki, & Musimba, 2016, p. 2) of Kenya's landmass is designated as ASAL, pastoralism constitutes a considerable part of the country's economy and culture. Pastoralists own 75 percent of all cattle in Kenya (Nyariki & Amwata, 2019, p. 1).

Nevertheless people in Norther Kenya have experienced political and economic marginalisation since colonial times, a situation that didn't fundamentally change after independence (Enns & Bersaglio, 2016, p. 162). During colonial times and the first years after independence, the so-called Northern Frontier District (NFD) was closed off to the rest of the country (Nyanjom, 2014, p. 48), even though the border was quite porous. After independence, a referendum was held in the NFD, but the resulting decision to become a part of Somalia was rejected by the postcolonial government, resulting in violent conflict (Cormack, 2016, p. 554). The conflict's designation as the 'shifta' (bandit) war (see: H. A. Whittaker, 2012) is telling, as it foreshadows the general attitude that would characterise the government's approach towards the NFD in general and pastoralists in particular. Different policies aimed at 'developing' or 'opening up' Kenya's north have aggravated the already difficult living conditions, resulting in various diversification strategies that aim to supplement pastoral livelihoods (Enns & Bersaglio, 2016, p. 162). Nyberg et al. (2015) point out that most of these 'development' strategies in Africa regard pastoralism as "a form of land use that is mismanaging dryland resources and being responsible for land degradation through overgrazing of communal rangelands", mirroring colonial sentiments

of accusing pastoralists of the "habit of straggling over far more land than they can utilise" (Hill, 1949, p.262).

Even though more recent approaches officially recognise the mobility of pastoralists as a viable way of life worthy of support, the experience of marginalisation, exclusion and vilification is an identity-defining memory and reality for many people in the former NFD. As one of the people I met on the way, a Turkana living in a small settlement in Oldonyiro, told me:

> "We Turkana, though we are also many, but in our place now we become automatically the minority. (Interview 2018-01-31)

It is hardly possible to overstate the importance of this sentiment for the discussions that follow in this thesis. It is the condition for the 'tricky' nature of the LAPSSET corridor; its promise of a bright future opposes its simultaneous remembrance of past 'development projects' that have only led to more exploitation and marginalisation.

2.2.2 Pastoral Histories and Modernity

Section 2.1 has outlined how the LAPSSET project produces a particular vision of modernity characterised by frictionless movement and 'seamless connections'. When an infrastructure project is supposed to build modernity in an area prominently inhabited by pastoralists, it is useful to consider how it intersects with pastoral memories and anticipations.

Pastoral encounters with capitalist notions of modernity are complicated. Partly, this is because pastoralist livelihoods are not easily classified according to the main criteria of capitalist modernity. Galaty (2013, p. 474) points out that colonial administrators already had a hard time assessing how well-off pastoralists were. On the one hand, they did not exhibit many of the markers associated with modernity writ large, such as disposable income per day or access to consumer products, and, for example, Maasai were regarded "as the antithesis to modern Europeans" (Hodgson, 2001, p. 109) by Western travellers in East Africa. On the other hand, large herds can represent considerable capital wealth. Galaty (2013, p. 474) further argues that the ambivalence towards modernity also translates to the related idea of development: are the precarious pastoralist livelihoods in desperate need of being 'fixed' through development, or, conversely, are pastoralist livelihoods endangered by it?

As the ideas of both modernity and development are related to the notion of statehood, the relation between many pastoralists and the state can also be problematic. Holtzman (2004) shows that contemporary Samburu conceive of

their relation to the state in terms of here-there dichotomies, positioning the 'local' as a "spatial-social-temporal configuration in opposition to global, cosmopolitan forces" (Holtzman, 2004, p. 62). He argues that this distinction, however, is in itself based on 'Western' imaginations of time and space. Another example that is often mentioned in this context is the 'traditional' fabrics used by Samburu and other Ma-speaking groups, which had been introduced either directly by Scottish missionaries and regiments or arrived via imports from British India (Wijngaarden, 2018, p. 242). In either case, the example shows that phenomena that are emblematic for local and pre-modern pastoralist traditions are, in fact, entangled with modern and global relations of capitalism.

Based on collaborative fieldwork on Samburu histories and identities, Straight et al. (2016) explain how Samburu histories are written in dust. Instead of a linear ethnogenesis, they describe a continuous coming-into-being, a history of catastrophe and survival (Straight et al., 2016, p. 174), not of birth, but of continuous rebirth. Like dust, they argue, Samburu are scattered in all directions of the wind, settle for a while, cling to the ground, only to depart once again to separate and travel elsewhere. One of the central concepts in this history of dust is 'ntoror', which means a fertile landscape that causes people to engage in violent conflict as different groups contest access over it. Ntoror is thus a landscape that is both nourishing and destructive at the same time (ibid., 2016, p. 169). Related to this is the concept of 'mutai' or 'disaster'. Strife over ntoror causes mutai, and in turn environmental calamities such as droughts may require migration to other, more fertile areas. Survival of past disaster is thus part of Samburu self-identity (Bollig, 2014, p. 269).

Straight et al. highlight the importance of human and animal mobilities in relation to ntoro, and consequently to Samburu history (ibid. 173). Samburu historians, they claim, often include tales about mutai and, related to that, military campaigns and migration. While identity, thus, has a strong spatial component, it is not tethered to space, but emerges through movement through landscapes. Similarly, Holtzman (2004, p. 72) maintains that "Samburu spatially construct their identity less through attachment to places than through mythological and historical renderings of their migratory movements". This has certain parallels with Pokot histories. As the history of the Pokot is traced along historical migration routes, Bollig (2016, p. 24) claims, "the historical paths depicted in Pokot clan histories thus provide a spatial history". He suggests that we imagine the history of Pokot as a myriad of intersecting and bifurcating pathways, walked by people who are driven by

famine and calamity, similar to the identity-establishing mutai. During my own fieldwork, I noticed that several people I had asked about what it means to be Pokot told me a story of survival, as exemplified by an explanation given by a participant in a focus group discussion with women in Churo:

> Participant: Pokot was fighting, I don't know with who, we don't understand... British or who? Then Pokot was killed until few were remaining, so the word Pokot means 'few people'.
>
> Interviewer: Oh, because there were so little left?
>
> Participant: Yani! [that's it!] They were about to be killed all (Interview, 2018-02-12)

The connection between movement through landscapes and imagination of pasts and futures is a recurrent theme of this thesis and will be discussed in more depth later on. For now, one aspect I want to highlight is the particular historicity that is implied in this history of dust as genealogical lines of clans (see quote by Bollig above) that are not defined by a clear origin and destination, but rather by ongoing struggle and the rhythm of catastrophe, conflict over land, survival and migration.

This marks an important difference between the history of dust and those written, for example, by British colonialists. It is a history told along trails of migration, a "braid of lines that continually extends as lives proceed", as Ingold (2007, p. 117) argues, "an open-ended way of thinking about the history of life, as a trans-generational flow in which people and their knowledge are under perpetual formation". As Straight (Straight et al., 2016, p. 173)et al. put it: "Each lineage has its own history that descriptively weaves through the tangle of categorical transformations". Ingold (2007) juxtaposes this with classic genealogical models, in which generations are depicted as sequential dots connected by genealogical lines.

One of the ways in which colonial administrators attempted to divide and conquer their colonial subjects was by ascribing them to particular and delimitable 'tribal territories', associating individuals with a particular tribe through genealogical connections, and the tribe, in turn, to a delineated space (Straight et al., 2016, p. 172). In contrast, for many Pokot (Bollig, 2016, p. 22), as well as Samburu, "the persistence of lineages and clans that cross-cut and outlive ethnicity is more resonant" (Straight et al., 2016, p. 172). The difference is subtle but profound: it is the difference between regarding lines as

delineation, boundaries of contained units, and lines as connecting tissue, as trails along which lives are lived and histories are written.

An anecdote noted by Straight at al. (2016) allegorizes this difference. In the 1930s, the Carter Land Commission awarded the Leroghi Plateau to the Samburu, after a prolonged conflict with white settlers in the region. Worried that Samburu pastoralists might advance from the Leroghi Plateau to the 'White Highlands' of Laikipia further south, the officer in charge of the Northern Frontier District[11] created the 'Kittermaster Line' (named, of course, after himself), which Samburus were prohibited from crossing (Duder & Simpson, 1997, p. 442). British veterans from World War One who had been promised farms in the area as part of the Soldier Settlement Scheme then laid claim even to the Leroghi Plateau beyond the Kittermaster Line. Its cooler temperature, due to higher altitude as well as more precipitation, means that it has relatively high economic potential (Holtzman, 2004). Tensions came to a head after the alleged murder[12] of a white ranch manager by five Samburu Moran (warriors) (Duder & Simpson, 1997, p. 452 ff.). The Carter Commission eventually awarded the Leroghi Plateau to the Samburu, on the grounds that displacing thousands of Samburu was unfeasible. In addition, back in London the 'humanitarian' lobby protested the eviction of Samburu, as such an action would not square with Britain's alleged role as the torchbearer of civilisation and humanitarianism.

According to Straight et al. (2016), Samburu histories of this event are quite different than British accounts of the same event. For them, the conflict with the white settlers appeared as one in a series of conflicts over ntoror. The Kittermaster Line is then seen not as a demarcation between white settlers and Samburu, but as an incursion. Their claim to the Leroghi Plateau was not justified on grounds of membership in a delineated ethnic unit, the Samburu, but on lineages "that cross-cut and outlive ethnicity" (Straight et al., 2016, p. 172). Even though the ethnic group designated 'Samburu' was relatively new in the region, people were able to trace clans and families and connect them to the landscape. Straight et al. (2016, p. 173) quote a Samburu retelling a conversation that took place between Samburu elders and the British:

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[11] The NFD was primarily established as a buffer between more fertile regions of Kenya and Abyssinia (now Ethiopia) as well as Somalia, which was under Italian control (H. Whittaker, 2017, p. 386).

[12] I highly suggest reading Duder and Simpson's (1997) account of the whole story. It not only includes more details, but also offers a fascinating vignette of Kenya's early colonial history, and it involves a mystery murder.

> Samburu elders asked, 'Do you usually have a family called Lekisima [of Kisima Spring] in the government?' They [District Commissioner and other British gathered] said, 'We don't.' 'You don't have but we do have the family of Lekisima. And what about a family called Lekirisia [of Kirisia Hills]?' And they said, 'We don't.' 'And what about a family called Lekelele [of Kelele Cave]?' 'We don't have it.'… The land has come to belong to the Samburu! Ours, yes, of Samburu, because we have families of Kelele, Kirisia and Kisima.

As Holtzman (2004) points out, spatial categories are defined less binary than straight demarcations such as the Kittermaster Line. Border areas, he argues, are not seen as lines of distinction where one thing ends and another begins, but as areas of encounter – either through cooperation and intermarriage, such as with Rendille people, or through strife and warfare, as is the case with neighbouring Turkana.

What this illustrates is one example of a dynamic I will trace throughout this thesis: a crossing of different kinds of lines. Migratory routes crossing imaginary lines of demarcation drawn on a map; lines of family lineage crossing delineations of 'ethnic groups'; and history understood as a time line encountering and crossing history imagined as trails of movement through a landscape.

2.2.3 Pastoral Mobilities

Mobility has not only been a means of survival in the defiance of harsh climatic conditions but has also been an 'art of not being governed' (Scott, 2009). Since colonial times, mobility has been a way to evade taxes (Cormack & Kurewa, 2018, p. 99) or the law,[13] especially as cattle rustling is pervasive (Nyanjom, 2014, p. 59). The colonial administration in Kenya has seen pastoralist mobilities as wasteful and as a sign of the inhabitants' inferiority to those belonging to Western civilisations. As already mentioned in a previous quote, Sir Charles Eliot, who was the governor of Kenya in the early 20th century, wrote in 1904 that:

> I cannot admit that wandering tribes have a right to keep other and superior races out of large tracts merely because they have acquired a habit of straggling over far more land than they can utilise. (Hill, 1949, p. 262)

This quote reflects a general sentiment towards nomadic and semi-nomadic people that continued well after the period referenced in the above quote. The

[13] In her 2013 novel Dust, Yvonne Adhiambo Owuor offers a haunting portray of pastoral mobilities throughout Kenya's history.

(in-)famous article 'The tragedy of the commons' by Hardin (1968) serves as an example and deserves to be unpacked in some detail to illustrate this 'anti pastoralist' logic (see: Nyanjom, 2014).

Garrett Hardin's general argument is that any resource held in common is bound to be overexploited as every user benefits personally from extracting more while the damage of degradation is borne by the collective. Hardin does not mention pastoralist mobilities explicitly, but uses access to pastures as one of his main examples and arguments. The assumption is that pastures are "open to all" (ibid., p. 1244) with no restriction of access. He concludes that restrictions and enclosures of private property are the only solution to the tragedy of the commons, implying that resources such as pastures can only be managed by restricting and ordering pastoral mobilities. While admitting the inherent injustice of private property, he nevertheless argues that this "injustice is preferable to total ruin", which would result from open access to pastures or resources in general.

'The tragedy of the commons' exemplifies two common misconceptions about pastoral mobilities. First, as David Harvey (D. Harvey, 2012, p. 68) points out, Hardin's argument assumes that the pastures are held in common, while the livestock itself is private property. Harvey argues that the problem lies with the private property of livestock, rather than the common property of pastures. Second, the argument assumes that traditionally pastures were "open to all" with no restrictions whatsoever. Further below I will show, with reference to the work of Annemiek Pas (2018), that this is in fact not the case and that there is a multitude of social institutions that regulate access to and mobility across pastures. The notion of unregulated pastoralist movements builds on an image of pastoralist mobilities as "excessive, nomadic, and "jumpy" movements of the "wild" man" (Sheller, 2018, p. 123) and creates a false dichotomy between the strict, fixed lines of private property, on the one hand, and anarchy (or rather: anomy, i.e. complete absence of norms and rules) and "total ruin" on the other.

(Semi-)nomadic pastoral movements are often perceived as chaotic, unregulated movement in "smooth space" (Deleuze & Guattari, 2010) not traversed by boundaries, ridges and frictions. This alleged aimless and uncontrolled 'wandering' is not a neutral descriptor, but is sometimes used to justify its counterfactual and often brutal control of these movements, as exemplified in the above quote by Charles Eliot.

Connected to the 'wild' and erratic movements of pastoralists is a third common misconception which is not implied by Hardin's tragedy of the commons. Pastoral mobilities are often imagined as floating over the

landscape without striking any metaphorical or literal roots (Kabachnik, 2012). This perceived disconnection to any specific place is often seen as a disregard for any place: "They have to move from one location to another. So they don't know the value of the land", as a sub-county governor of Isiolo put it in an interview (Interview, 2018-01-22). In the following I examine pastoral mobilities in more detail, drawing out their specific relation to space and how they neither follow the strict lines of enclosure of private property laws, nor move in complete anomy.

Peter Kabachnik (2012) argues that an understanding of pastoral nomadism as detached from specific locations disregards the importance of different places that are necessary to engender pastoral mobilities. This echoes one of the central propositions of the New Mobilities Paradigm that says that "[m]obilities cannot be described without attention to the necessary spatial, infrastructural and institutional moorings that configure and enable mobilities" (Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006, p. 3; I will discuss this aspect in more detail in Section 3.2). This is the case not only for infrastructure mobilities such as the LAPSSET, that require stable pavement or a permanent way for vehicles to be mobile, but also for pastoral mobilities. Pas (2018) shows that traditional Samburu practices cannot be described as lawless wandering through an open Savannah, but was and still is, to some extent, highly regulated and negotiated. About the topic of grazing regulations, one of Pas's informants said:

> Before and up to now, when it rains, there is a line where behind people are not supposed to settle, and another side where they are not supposed to graze with livestock. Such a line can be a river between the settlement and the grazing area. And grazing and settlement is divided. (quoted in: Pas, 2018, p. 9)

What characterises pastoral mobilities is thus not a Deleuzian 'smooth space' without any lines of distinction, but indeed is very structured and 'lined out'. There are boundaries, invisible to people who do not navigate the same landscape: areas that are preserved for the dry season and other restrictions of access to particular pastures. For example, Samburu pastoralists used to regulate access to grazing grounds and settlement areas in accordance to the 'enata nkop' (restricted land) system (Pas, 2018, p. 7). During plentiful rains, elders would decide to set particular areas apart in order to preserve them for the dry season. Similarly, Pokot have practiced land enclosure without simultaneous privatisation of land (Nyberg et al., 2015, p. 2).

As pointed out in 2.2.2, the relation between modernity and pastoralism is complicated, and 'traditional' ways of managing resources and mobility are neither static nor anti-modern. Annemiek Pas shows in great detail the evolution of grazing and settling systems employed by Samburu in North Kenya. She describes how the 'mpaka'[14] system replaced more flexible forms of land management in the late 1970s by introducing clearly demarcated areas and strict boundary control (Pas, 2018, p. 9). The mpaka system responds to increased sedentarisation of pastoralists as a result of colonial and post-colonial policies. At the same time, it constitutes active and creative spatial configurations and governance of mobilities, rather than a passive reaction to outside forces – a theme that will reappear in later parts of this thesis. As Annemiek Pas puts it:

> This shifting engagement with space, however, is not merely a result of (post)colonial policies and practices gradually changing Samburu resource governance and territories, but also the interpretation and implementation by Samburu pastoralists and their strategies to reach their own goals

This shifting engagement with space is indicative of general trends in the management of pastoral landscapes, namely, enclosure of and privatisation of land. From colonial times until the mid-1970s, the 'fixing' (see: Li, 2014) of pastoralists through permanent settlements and enclosed land was the main focus of the government's approach (Enns, 2019a, p. 364). Some recent academic studies make the case for "enclosing the commons" (Wairore, Mureithi, Wasonga, & Nyberg, 2015), as it has the potential to increase income (Mureithi, Verdoodt, Njoka, Gachene, & Van Ranst, 2016) as well as soil carbon and vegetation cover (Nyberg et al., 2015). Others point out differences between various kinds of enclosure (e.g. Bilal Butt et al., 2009); Mureithi et al., (2014) and contend that soil quality is generally better in communally held enclosures when compared to private ones. As already mentioned above, in LCDA's own reports, the question of mobility in rangeland resources is addressed explicitly:

> A core feature of the rangeland resource is its seamless nature in that, to the pastoral community, the rangeland, water resources, wet and dry season grazing areas, high- and low-quality grazing – together constitute interlinked

[14] The word 'mpaka' is either derived from the Swahili cognate meaning 'border', or a Swahili-ised version of the English word for 'park'. The latter meaning is particularly interesting, as it implies that the defining characteristic of parks is strict boundaries that livestock cannot cross (see: Pas, 2018, p. 9).

> components of one single physical and economic asset whose different features are 'combined' through herd mobility. Such resources were used continuously and in rotation without any physical limitations as later imposed by colonial administration in the 19th Century. The rangeland as a whole constitutes a communally owned economic resource that must be shared among the different pastoralist ethnic groups and clans living in the area (LCDA, 2017a, p. 104).

As pointed out above, enclosing pastures and spaces designated for settlements is not necessarily a new concept. The privatization of land – and with it its commercialisation and commodification – however, is a relatively recent phenomenon (Nyberg et al., 2015, p. 2). The distinction between enclosures held commonly or as private property is significant, even as the boundaries between communal and private tenure of land is often quite ambivalent and fluid (Nyberg et al., 2015), and hybrid forms of communal and private management of land are common (Sundstrom, Tynon, & Western, 2012). Many of the negative impacts of enclosure are associated with the privatization of land. German et al. (2017) find that privatisation of land in Laikipia (Kenya) has led to the creation of several parallel land governance structures that undermine authority of customary institutions, alienate inhabitants from their land and thus constitutes what they call "green imperialism" (German et al., 2017, p. 652). Cormack (2017, p. 551) describes how privatisation of land is part of a broad developmentalist agenda, which may ultimately insure that Kenya's northern ASAL will be "culturally and politically assimilated into the privatised, sedentary and neo-liberal model of the central state."

This shows that the logic of enclosure and privatisation is more than just a landscape management tool, but also implies a radical reconceptualisation of space and the means of production. Marx described enclosures in 16th century England[15] as a process blazing the trail for capitalist relations of production in which the peasants are alienated from their primary means of production. This "parliamentary form of robbery" (Marx, 2008, p. 752, own translation) as Marx called the 'Bills for Inclosures [sic.] of Commons' is a form of primitive accumulation, that is, a pre-capitalist and extra-economic process of accumulating capital through violence and political force (Hoffmann, 2019, p. 170). As a consequence, the 'landless' who did not have the power to appropriate land were often forced to engage in relations of wage dependency

[15] The specific context here is primarily agricultural societies, not (semi-)nomadic pastoralism, but the general dynamic nevertheless has parallels to the enclosure of ASAL in Kenya (Hoffmann, 2019, p. 170).

or even serfdom – the former being the capitalist equivalent of feudal peonage (see: Marx, 2008, p. 754).

In Kenya's ASAL and other areas characterised by pastoralist livelihoods, a similar link between enclosures, privatisation, and capitalist modes of production can be observed. In a process eerily similar to Marx's account of 'inclosures', experiences with the privatization of land in so-called group ranches show that individuals with political or financial power would seize the most fertile pastures in a prime example of primitive accumulation (Sundstrom et al., 2012, p. 485). One of the effects of the privatisation and commodification of land is an increase in wage labour (F. Nelson, 2010, p. 37) and a general shift towards capitalist means of production. As Hoffmann (2019, p. 171) points out:

> The essential objective of this process [primitive accumulation] is the commodification not only of land but of all factors of production, turning land, capital and labour into marketable goods, generating the specific form of social reproduction known as capitalism.

These 'factors of production', including privatization, imply a sedentary lifestyle (Lesorogol, 2008, p. 310) and therefore have a profound effect on pastoralist mobilities. Pastoralists are consequently faced with a dilemma: as argued above, transhumance is one of the most effective strategies in a landscape characterised by uncertainty as well as fluctuation and scarcity of resources. On the other hand, this strategy is less viable for pastoralists with little wealth, as access to pastures is contingent upon property rights. Especially for young people in Kenya's ASAL, another form of mobility is, therefore, the only solution: labour migration (Bernstein, 2005; Enns & Bersaglio, 2016, p. 167). However, despite all implicit or explicit attempts, the proletarianisation of pastoralist economies has not been entirely triumphant, and hybrid or ambivalent forms of land ownership and subsistence are still common among many pastoralist communities (Bernstein, 2005).

The preceding summary of pastoral mobilities suggests to look at how lines in the landscape are established, either through relations based on reciprocity or those based on ownership. Mobilities along and across these lines of demarcation or connection is one of the main concerns of this thesis and will be explored in depth in Section 3.2 and Chapter 5. Chapter 6 will subsequently explore how these different mobilities are related to particular ways of anticipating the future and remembering the past. This chapter has shown that lines of enclosure, demarcation and connection are essential for pastoralist modes of life. They not only influence how people and animals can

move through landscapes but also inscribe particular identities, modes of production and spatial imaginaries. Throughout this thesis, these lines will tie together the movement of people, animals and things; colonial and post-colonial histories; and the construction of fences, pipelines and roads

Another purpose of this chapter has been to lay the groundwork for a – or perhaps *the* – central ambition of this thesis: to show the oftentimes invisible lines of movement and the anticipation of those people living within the vicinity of the LAPSSET project – how these lines are crossed and paved over by the development corridor, but also how they entangle and stubbornly persist against the 'corridor masterplans'.

3
Lines of Thought

In this chapter I discuss the conceptual implications of the three motifs described above and positions them within the context of infrastructure studies. I also deepen my understanding of the concept of the line that I have briefly mentioned in the introduction.

Infrastructural lines permeate almost every aspect of our lives – from the roads and railways on which we travel to the pipes that supply water and discard waste, the cables that allow communication and the electric grids that are involved in virtually every daily activity. So pervasive is the phenomenon that it risks losing all contour. First, therefore, I will address the fundamental question of what infrastructure actually is, and what it is not. Rather than concluding with a definition, the aim of this first part is to show the tensions inherent in different ways of understanding infrastructure. Most importantly, I will introduce a conundrum that will inform much of the following theoretical and empirical discussions: are infrastructures things or relations?[16]

I will argue that this question is not merely an inconsequential philosophical puzzle. It is resolved through negotiations, and its resolution has actual consequences and produces winners and losers. Taking up the previous question – are infrastructures things or relations? – and building upon the extensive literature on this issue within infrastructure studies, I prepare perhaps the most fundamental argument of this thesis: infrastructural relations are always both and simultaneously a connection and an obstacle. This means that the same infrastructural line, say a road, can be encountered as a connection under certain conditions and as an obstacle in others. In Section 3.5 I revisit and unpack this argument conceptually in some depth.

This argument relates infrastructure studies to the question of mobility (one of the core principles of this text), or in other words: what infrastructures mobilise and what they de-mobilise. The capacity to mobilise and de-mobilise is, in turn, a function of power. In Section 3.2, I will, therefore, discuss how infrastructure studies have conceptualised the politics of infrastructure, how

[16] Spoiler alert: they are both!

infrastructures express power relations and how they inscribe them into landscapes.

This last point suggests a temporal dimension of infrastructure, introducing the promises and anticipation of infrastructure, as well as its capacity to shape memory – the second core principle of this thesis that I will discuss in Section 3.3. In the academic literature, infrastructure is often discussed in relation to modernity, so in this last part of the review, I will summarise the discussion of promises and anticipation of infrastructure as well as Edward's (2003, p. 2) argument that "to be modern is to live within and by means of infrastructures".

This "promise of infrastructure" (Appel, Anand, & Gupta, 2018b) is often formulated in the "political aesthetics of infrastructure" (Larkin, 2018), that is, the particular form that infrastructure takes and the way it is 'drawn up' – both in plans and in investment prospectūs. The ways in which infrastructure has an effect not only as built matter but also as visual representation will be discussed in Section 3.4. This also includes the possibility of challenging these often dominant representations by counter-visualisations (see: Blok, 2016, p. 108) or counter-geographies (see: Dominic Davies, 2019).

Finally, I return to the concept of the line and bring together insights from the previous chapter into a general understanding of lines as embodied, political and ambivalent. I furthermore introduce the concept of scalarity as a way to understand how this ambivalence can be resolved in certain situations. I suggest that scale may offer an answer to the above question regarding the nature of infrastructure: it appears as either a thing or a relation; as a connection or an obstacle, depending on the respective scalar framing in which it is embedded.

3.1 Infrastructural Lines

3.1.1 What infrastructure is: linear dis-/connections

Having thought about a concise definition of infrastructure for several years, the best thing I could come up with was: *linear, dis-/connecting technology.*[17] This chapter will attempt to summarise how other scholars have grappled with the

[17] This includes what I would call 'coiled lines'. As a colleague of mine pointed out, for example, archives (such as libraries) do not appear as linear technologies. I would argue that archives are indeed linear, insofar as their elements are brought 'in line' in a systematic way. Rows upon rows of books are ordered alphabetically – the fact that this line is broken up (or 'coiled') into shelves is incidental to the archivist, who determines the position of a particular item in relation to the linear technology of the principle of arrangement.

same question, concluding, of course, that 'linear, dis-/connecting technology' might be the most fitting description after all.

As is customary in the social science and humanities, several scholars point out the inherent difficulties with defining infrastructure[18]. Subsequently, infrastructures are often described in terms of the question any attempted to define them raises: "where does infrastructure end and where does it begin? What are its boundaries and ontological properties?", ask Howe et al (2016, p. 557); Larkin (2013, p. 338) asks: "Are infrastructures technological systems […] ? Are they financial instruments […] or management structures and organizational techniques? Are they biological […]? Or are they social, composed of practices […]?"; and Star & Ruhleder wonder not *what* but "when is infrastructure?" (Star & Ruhleder, 1996, p. 112). All of these questions are valid, and as Howe et al. (Howe et al., 2016, p. 549) point out: in the end, the concept of infrastructure is most useful in its capacity to generate these question.

One factor that makes a definition of infrastructure so precarious is its closeness to several other terms such as artefact, architecture or technology. Its delineation to 'technology', for example, is all but obvious. Definitions such as, for example, Wakefield's (2018, p. 8) "infrastructure is the material means for making our dreams and ways of life live" could conceivably be used to describe technology or artefacts. Even the ostensibly obvious distinction between structure and infra-structure is all but clear.

This confusion may be related to the many mutations that the term went through during the course of its existence. As Ashley Carse (2016, pp. 29–30) points out in his history of the term infrastructure, its original meaning was coined in 19th century France, where it was used as a highly technical term in railway engineering and accounting. Here, it meant the construction work that lay below the actually permanent way and needed to be completed before the tracks themselves could be laid. The prefix *infra-* (Latin for 'below') is a remnant of this original meaning. Today, railway lines would commonly be described as 'infrastructure' – the term, however, was originally conceived in explicit opposition to the 'supra-structure' of railway tracks.

Carse delineates this "specialist term" (2016, p. 29) in reference to the "generic term" (ibid., p.31) in the post-war era and particularly in relation to NATO military projects. In a 2001 volume on the occasion of the fifty-year

[18] There does not even seem to be an agreement whether infrastructure/s are appear as a singular or plural. I follow the golden rule of the grammatical number in academia, wich says: "If in doubts, always use plurals"

anniversary of the NATO infrastructure programme, the text in a box with a cheeky little rotation defines infrastructure like this:

> INFRASTRUCTURE. A term used in NATO to mean 'static buildings and permanent installations required to support military forces' or 'the static items of capital expenditure which are required to provide the material support for operational plans necessary to enable the higher command to function and the various forces to operate with efficiency'. (NATO, 2001, p. 19)

In contrast to the very specific original meaning, this 'generic term' now includes all "static items of capital expenditure", which is quite literally the definition of immovable property. Without the limitation that these static items support military forces, this definition would be more or less equivalent to terms such as *building*, *architecture*, *real estate*, or simply *structure*. Similarly, Delalex (2013, p. 53 ff.) argues that "architecture is currently shifting toward the field of infrastructure", as urban planning is increasingly concerned with the links and flows between them, not with the integrity of the building itself.

A factor that further complicates the definition of infrastructure is its often hidden and buried nature. As Star (1999, p. 380) puts it, infrastructure is usually perceived[19] to be "by definition invisible, part of the background for other kinds of work". Edwards (2003, p. 5) describes infrastructure as "the invisible background, the substrate or support, the technocultural/natural environment, of modernity". It is not only 'infra', buried under the visible surface, but also in-between. AbdouMaliq Simone asks in this context:

> What is the materiality of this in-between—the composition and intensity of its durability, viscosity, visibility, and so forth? What is it that enables us to be held in place, to be witnessed, touched, avoided, scrutinized or secured? Infrastructure is about this in-between. (Simone, 2012)

In this sense, infrastructures disappear behind the things they move or connect; they are what happens in between points of interest – and are thus unseen and assumed uninteresting or "boring things" (Star, 2002).

In contrast, Larkin (2013, p. 329) points out "that they are things and also the relation between things". He argues that even as they may disappear sometimes, this is not a general and much less a defining feature of

[19] In his critique of Star, Larkin alleges that it was her own point of view that infrastructures are "by definition invisible" (Larkin, 2013, p. 336). In my opinion, however, the context of the quote makes it clear that she is speaking of how "[p]eople commonly envision infrastructure" (Star, 1999, p. 380), and not about her own take.

infrastructure. "Visibility is situated" (Carse, 2012, p. 543), and, in fact, infrastructure can be quite "spectacular" (Schwenkel, 2015) in some situations. As Star (1999, p. 380) argues, this means that infrastructures are fundamentally relational in the sense that they are present differently depending on the particular encounter: "One person's infrastructure is another's topic, or difficulty". The dual (Larkin, 2013, p. 329), paradoxical (Howe et al., 2016) or schizophrenic (Delalex, 2013, p. 61) nature of infrastructure introduces some deep ontological trouble, a spectral ambiguity, which I will argue in Section 3.5 does not only apply to infrastructures, but to all relations. In fact, this ambiguous character of infrastructure as a relation (the way) and a thing (in the way) constitutes the – admittedly unruly and instable – conceptual foundation of this thesis.

Recognising this ambiguity is by no means unique, but I see a major contribution of my work in the establishment of this ontological trouble as a way to understand the politics of infrastructure. As Howe at al. (2016, p. 559) maintain: "[a]ny theory of infrastructure, then, should be a theory of paradox". This paradox is part of my own working definition of infrastructures as 'linear, dis-/connecting technologies', as it insists on the simultaneously connecting and disconnecting qualities of infrastructure. The descriptor 'linear' further specifies the kind of dis-/connection that infrastructures cause, excluding technologies that are generally not understood to be 'infrastructure', yet connect as well as disconnect. A window, for example, allows both gazing in and out of a room, yet simultaneously constitutes a barrier that keeps out the elements or intruders – yet it is not commonly (or at least not in this thesis) understood as infrastructure. This definition of what infrastructure is, I would like to stress, should not be understood as conclusive, but rather as a working definition from which to depart.

3.1.2 Infrastructural Flows and Frictions

Apart from asking what infrastructure *is* – a question that might be more helpful than its answer – it is also worth exploring what infrastructure *does*. In this context, one concept is particularly prominent: flow. In the introduction to his influential article '*The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure*', Brian Larkin (2013, p. 328) states that "Infrastructures are built networks that facilitate the flow of goods, people, or ideas and allow for their exchange over space". In this section, therefore, I try to unpack the creation of infrastructural flows. Keeping my previous definition of infrastructure as simultaneous connecting and disconnecting technologies, I add to it the notion of creating frictions as an essential part of what infrastructure does. My argument here is that these

frictions are necessary to produce flows in the first place, preparing for the more general argument that all lines are always and necessarily both connection and disconnection, as brought forward in Section 3.5.

Similar to the above-quoted definition by Larkin, and with explicit reference to Castells' *Network Society* (2010) – and particularly the *space of flow*s, Edwards (2003, p. 27) sees a key function of infrastructure on the macro scale "as solutions to systemic problems of flow in industrial capitalism". Delalex (2013, pp. 62–63) understands the space of flows in terms of information exchange, claiming that "[t]he space of flows is not supported by usual urban settlements, such as houses, buildings, streets or districts, but by a series of global infrastructures used to carry both electronic signs and hard copy information". Reminiscent of Zygmund Bauman's "Liquid Modernity" (2000), the space of flows is characterised by perpetual movement, disintegration and frictionless liquidity. This liquidity is associated with globalisation, the idea that more, stronger and seamless connections stitch a patchwork of places together into a globe (Massey, 2005; Swyngedouw, 1997).

However, other scholars emphasize that these global flows are "made up of uneven and awkward links" (Tsing, 2005, p. 5), thus introducing pauses, hiccups, barriers, detours, obstacles or *friction* to the space of flows (ibid). Anna Tsing argues that modernity does not only produce friction as an undesired side effect but in fact requires friction to find purchase in local encounters. In reference to the idea of an infrastructural space that is characterised by global relations and perpetual mobility, she writes:

> In fact, motion does not proceed this way at all. How we run depends on what shoes we have to run in. Insufficient funds, late buses, security searches, and informal lines of segregation hold up our travel; railroad tracks and regular airline schedules expedite it but guide its routes. Some of the time, we don't want to go at all, and we leave town only when they've bombed our homes. These kinds of 'friction' inflect motion, offering it different meanings. Coercion and frustration join freedom as motion is socially informed. (Tsing, 2005, pp. 6–7)

Gragam and Marvin argue that infrastructural connections not only allow for the flow of goods, material and people between two points but also work as 'tunnels', in the sense that they are insulated from the landscapes they are passing (2001, p. 201). These tunnels thus "exclude and bypass much of the intervening spaces, excluding them, in turn, from accessing the networks" (ibid. p.201–2). Again, this is not an unwanted side effect of these infrastructural links, but a precondition for their success: the better they are at bypassing the blank space between origin and destination, the faster the flows

they are channelling. As Cresswell (2010, p. 25) points out: "These 'tunnels' facilitate speed for some while ensuring the slowness of those who are bypassed", which orders different mobilities in those that are sped up or slowed down. This ordering characteristic of roads is well established in the literature (Freed, 2010; Widlok, 2008). The same holds true for development corridors: while they facilitate and rely on frictions "which materialises in the form of checkpoints, borders, taxation and bureaucratic procedures, transport congestion, and political and sometimes violent conflicts" (Hagmann & Stepputat, 2016, p. 32).

As mentioned in the previous section, the paradoxical relationship between speed and slowness; connection and blockage – or rather the paradoxical nature of infrastructure in general – is seen by some scholars as a defining characteristic (e.g. Howe et al., 2016). In my opinion, the simultaneous existence of flow and friction, of tunnelling effects that mobilise some and demobilise others constitutes a valuable complement to Tim Ingold's thoughts on the 'Life of Lines' (Ingold, 2007, 2015), that will be discussed in Section 3.5. Not only do I believe that casting Ingold's lines in asphalt and steel imbues them with even more life, the material conflicts, cuts, crashes and encounters on, along and across the road furthermore carve out and sharpen dimensions of politics and justice that are suggested by Ingold but not always fully elaborated.

Another aspect implied by both Tim Ingold's idea of the line, as well as the previous discussion of flows and friction, is movement and mobility. The next section is an attempt to unpack the first of the three motifs by conceptualising movement in relation to infrastructure.

3.2 Moving

Movement, flow and fluidity are inextricably woven into my conceptualisation of relation. But every journey needs a path to walk on, and every walk leaves footprints. In fact, walking along and creating paths are so interlinked that they collapse into each other: A path not trodden will become overgrown; a trail blazed through thicket will create a new path. The act of walking and the way itself must be understood together; they are inseparable. I therefore suggest thinking of *lines as desire paths*, sustained by repeated acts of walking; marks, scars in the landscape; rupturing and healing, mortifying and invigorating; enduring, but never permanent; winding around or overcoming new obstacles; crossing, intersecting other paths, merging and bifurcating.

Lines understood like this, as I will argue in more depth in the next section, thus, have a history. Very much unlike the ideal of the eternal and thus timeless presence of geometrical lines – think of triangles, the Greenwich meridian, musical staff, etc. – the embodied line as desire path requires constant re-inscription through repeated movements. This means that each plan, each itinerary or imagination is not conjured out of thin air, but contingent upon previous journeys and pathways. This is what Tim Ingold calls the 'dwelling perspective': ideas arise not independently in some kind of ideational realm to be subsequently inscribed into the landscape but "arise within the currents of their involved activity" (Ingold, 2011a, p. 10).

Using Ingold's dwelling perspective as a gateway, infrastructure studies – and ethnographic currents within this field, in particular – help to substantiate Ingold's philosophical perspectives and add an important political dimension to them. This section will start with a review of existing approaches within infrastructure studies to understand movements in relation to apparently 'fixed' infrastructural arrangements. In order to substantiate the dual nature of infrastructures – creating movements by way of creating fixities (see previous section) – I introduce the New Mobilities Paradigm (Sheller & Urry, 2006), which I do not see so much as a different perspective than a different emphasis: while infrastructure studies are concerned with the politics of infrastructural technologies in general, the New Mobilities Paradigm focuses on the contestation arising from the often contradictory interplay between mobility and immobility.

3.2.1 Mobility Studies

The discussion of infrastructure is fundamentally about "the movements of people, ideas, and materials" (P. Harvey & Knox, 2015, p. 5). Infrastructures not only allow mobility, they epitomise it (Hönke & Cuesta-Fernandez, 2017, p. 1079): it is nearly impossible to picture 'mobility' in a concrete[20] form without also imagining infrastructures. I therefore regard infrastructure studies as broadly delineated above and the New Mobilities Paradigm (Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006; Sheller, 2018; Sheller & Urry, 2006, 2016)[21] as natural allies in my attempts to understand the LAPSSET corridor. In general, the New Mobilities Paradigm makes two arguuments: that fixities, immobilities or 'moorings' are not only a by-product of movement, but its precondition

[20] Puns regarding 'concrete' will be avoided in the discussion of infrastructure at all costs.

[21] Sometimes also referred to as the 'Mobilities Turn' (Grieco & Urry, 2011) – since there are already far too many 'turns' to keep track of and the term 'New Mobilities Paradigm' is better established in the literature, I will use the latter in this text.

(Hannam et al., 2006), and that the distribution of mobility and fixity is not only a mechanical question but one that is predominantly about justice (Sheller, 2018). As I have shown above, these perspectives are not unique to the New Mobilities Paradigm, but it conceptualises them in a uniquely concise way, which is particularly useful in my later analysis.

The concept was developed to a significant degree by Mimi Sheller, John Urry and Kevin Hannam (Hannam et al., 2006) and is associated with the journal *Mobilities*, which is edited by the mentioned authors. It was developed at the intersection of transport studies and the social sciences, actuated by the realisation that the former recognised movement but remained largely apathetic towards questions of power and justice, while the social sciences recognised the latter but remained largely static and sedentary[22] in their analyses (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 208).

The New Mobilities Paradigm is relational in the sense that it does not seek to describe places as 'islands' that contain all relevant meaning within, but rather focus on the ways that each place is connected to others – even that the place or locale itself comes into being through its connections (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 209). In this regard, the New Mobilities Paradigm is heavily influenced by Doreen Massey's (2005) relational geography (Sheller, 2018, p. 11 et seqq), which claims that "each local struggle is already a relational achievement, drawing from both within and beyond 'the local', and is internally multiple' (Massey, 2005, p. 182). Similarly, Saskia Sassen (2001) points out that the 'global city' depends not only on sustained flows but also on the retention – in other words: the localisation – of resources and capital.

In the context of relationality, and again in reference to Doreen Massey, the New Mobilities Paradigm, therefore, also actively engages with scale as a political question and with relational attributes, connecting them to the relational notion of im/mobilities summarised above. The following quote by Mimi Sheller summarises this understanding of scale quite neatly:

> The use of '(im)mobilities' is meant to signal that mobility and immobility are always connected, relational, and co-dependent, such that we should always

[22] One of the examples they give for this is Heidegger's 'dwelling' perspective, which I have discussed above in the context of Tim Ingold's thought. While 'dwelling' certainly has quite sedentary connotations, the way it is used by Ingold does not, however, foreground fixities, but, to the contrary, the dynamic interplay between work and the surroundings. On this matter he writes: "The concept [dwelling] carries an aura of snug, well-wrapped localism that seems out of tune with an emphasis on the primacy of movement. Looking back, I rather regret having placed so much weight on it, and now prefer the less loaded concept of habitation" (Ingold, 2011a, p. 12).

> think of them together, not as binary opposites but as dynamic constellations of multiple scales, simultaneous practices, and relational meanings. Scale is a social construction, human geographers argue, and movement is precisely that which makes and remakes space-time and entangles different scales. (Sheller, 2018, p. 2)

Here, mobilities (and subsequently questions regarding mobility justice) are commonly understood as cutting *across* scales, or something that mediates or travels between them. As Charis Enns writes in relation to corridor projects in Africa:

> The corridor agenda has been constructed on the imaginary of a seamless Africa, as new corridors are promised to enable flows of capital, commodities and people to circulate with ease across space and between scale. (Enns, 2018, p. 106)

This understanding of relational scale and (infrastructured) mobility implicitly assumes that scalar levels – the micro and the macro; the local and the global – are pre-existing phenomena that that lines of movement can cut across. Considering the discussions of scale in the beginning of this chapter, my own framing of the relationship between infrastructural lines of mobility and scale is slightly different, arguing, conversely, that lines of do not cross scaler levels, but rather stitch them together. In other words: rather than appearing only at different scalar levels, I understand the infrastructural lines of movement as constitutive of scalar instances. An infrastructural corridor does not only connect 'local communities' with 'global capital', but, as I will argue throughout this thesis, by enabling the movement of capital and simultaneously cutting and 'fixing' other (in this case pastoralist) mobilities, these infrastructural lines create the difference in 'local' and 'global' in the first place.

In this context, the New Mobilities Paradigm suggests that it is important to consider whose mobilities are given primacy. The justice aspect of 'mobility justice' is most poignantly formulated when the creation of "exclusive zones and corridors of connectivity for the fast-tracked kinetic elite" (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 220) do not only create inequalities but in, fact, actively produce immobilities for some in order to mobilise others. As Hagar Kotef puts it in the context of 'tunnelling' road infrastructure (see 3.1.1) in Palestine:

> The free movement of some limits, hides, even denies the existence of others. Moreover, the movement of some is further maximized by this effacement of others and their need to move. (Kotef, 2015, p. 54)

3.2.2 Animal Mobilities

When discussing whose movements are privileged by infrastructures in the context pastoralist societies, an analysis of only human movements would omit a large part of the "moving, the vivacious many" (Oliver, 2012) whose movements are blocked and channelled through infrastructures: animals (Sheller, 2018, p. 39).

Animal mobilities do not exist in a realm distinct or disconnected from human mobilities. In fact, human and animal mobilities have been strongly interlinked for most of human history: be it groups of hunter-gatherers following their pray animals across and even between continents; herders navigating landscapes together with their animals; merchants, armies or travellers riding on horses; oxen towing ploughs across fields; or, significantly for me, donkeys schlepping burdens too heavy for humans to carry. In light of this coevolution, a distinction between human and animal mobilities appears untenable. As Jacob Bull (2011, p. 27) puts it: "movement and mobility is a more-than-human affair", necessitating this short excursion into *humanimal* mobilities. I will re-visit this discussion later in chapter 4.4.3, focussing primarily on the methodological implications of acknowledging animal mobilities.

The relationship between modernity and animal mobilities is somewhat complicated. Animal mobilities are heavily implied in modern societies (Bull, 2011, p. 27 et seqq.): according to the FAO, ca. 200 million (land) animals[23] are killed every single day for food (FAO, 2018), which implies their transport from farm to abattoir, processing and packing facilities, stores, and eventually people's plates. A vast network of infrastructure regulates and secures the orderly raising, killing and distribution of animal. On the other hand, 'feral' animal mobilities – especially humanimal mobilities – embody a crude antithesis to modernity (Armstrong, 2008).

In their study of feral cats in the city, Griffiths, Poulter, and Sibley (2000) describe how nomadic and unregulated animal mobilities constitute and uncomfortable reminder of the fact that the controlled and seamless mobility promised by modern infrastructure is in fact "an impossible project" (ibid., p. 71). Modernity can thus be understood as an emancipation from and control over wild animal mobilities; an attempt to move the animal, rather than be moved by it (both in terms of locomotion and emotion). "The politics of modernity", Griffith et al. argue, "have been concerned with the *elimination* of both the nomadic […] and the unregulated nature, or their containment and

[23] If fish were included, the number would be much higher.

transformation through the imposition of order" (Griffiths et al., 2000, p. 71, original emphasis). Consequently, an infrastructural emancipation from animal mobilities is constitutive for modern mobility, even defining the Cartesian distinction between human and animal: "While privileging the circulation of people and things, infrastructures also served to permit states to separate politics from nature, the technical from the political, and the human from the nonhuman" (Appel et al., 2018a, p. 4).

Conversely, as I have shown in Section 2.2.3, humanimal movements can also work as "subversive mobilities" (Sheller, 2018, p. 19). Jacob Shell, for example, shows in the case of elephant convoys in Burma (Myanmar) how "flexible, off-road forms of mobility can take on a distinctly subversive potential" (Shell, 2019, p. 920). In this way, wayfaring animal mobilities oppose the linear movements of modern infrastructure, creating a non-linear temporality that does not anticipate and come down (or rather, up) to modernity as the ultimate goal.

The following section explores in more detail the different temporalities already implied in the previous discussions of movement, focussing on *anticipation* as a future-making practice.

3.3 Anticipating

> Where *we* see a chain of events, *he* [the Angel of History] only sees a single catastrophe that relentlessly piles ruin upon ruin, casting them at his feet. (Benjamin, 1992, p. 687, own translation from German)

The inscriptions of infrastructures such as the LAPSSET corridor cannot be fully understood if they are only understood as particular pathways through a landscape. The previous discussion of ways in which the LAPSSET corridor produces a vision of modernity, in Section 2.1.2, has shown that the creation of lines through space is interwoven with the creation and eradication of timelines; not only the creation of tempo but also of temporalities. It is, therefore, not only about what infrastructures are, but also about what they promise (Appel et al., 2018b) – either auspiciously or menacingly.

This chapter is an attempt to conceptualise the ways in which people (en)counter these temporalities and their promises; how inhabitants of infrastructured areas are not only passive receptors of promises but actively engage with them, doubt, adapt, prevent, or undermine them. This, I believe, is particularly pertinent in a context where the infrastructure itself does not yet exist materially, but only in the shape of a promise or threat. I summarise the

different active engagements with uncertain infrastructural futures through the principle of *anticipating*. In contrast to an emphasis on the promise of infrastructure, it not only gives priority to people's engagement towards infrastructure but is also more neutral, leaving room for both the lure of infrastructure and also for threats of "monsters" (Dennis, 2015).

The term is inspired by Arjun Appadurai's (2013) work in *The Future as Cultural Fact*, in which he describes an array of cultural practices that *present* the future, thus giving it a body (p. 286). He provides a taxonomy of future-making practices by dividing them into three general categories: imagination, aspiration, and anticipation. As I do not believe that a distinction between these concepts is useful for the purpose of my argument, I use the term anticipating to capture practices of imagination, aspiration and anticipation. In short, imagination is about what is possible, aspiration is about what is desirable, and anticipation is about what is likely. In truth, there is much more to each of these concepts. Instead of a faithful rendition of Appadurai's work, I seize particular elements of these future-making practices that prove useful in the particular context of my research. I understand *anticipation* as a practice that not only makes futures in isolation, but one that weaves temporalities, i.e. 'timelines' between (memories of) the past, (perceptions of) the present and (expectations of) the future.

Infrastructures are not only anticipated or produce anticipations but also require them in the first place, leading to an iterative dynamic between construction and imagination: Infrastructures are expressions of prior anticipations such as a pipeline, which is built in anticipation of transporting oil from the well to an export harbour. Infrastructures also shape subsequent anticipations, such as hope of oil wealth generated by the pipeline, or concern about its devastating environmental impact. These anticipations in turn may engender further infrastructure projects, which affect further anticipations, and so on. Karl Marx describes the relation between physical construction and imagination – bashfully using the bee as a metaphor, as one does when explaining processes of procreation:

> [W]hat distinguishes the worst architect from the best of bees is that the architect builds the cell in his mind before he constructs it in wax. At the end of every labour process, a result emerges which had already been conceived by the worker at the beginning, hence already existed ideally. (Marx, 1992)

Contrasting Marx' perspective with Ingold's adds another layer to the previously discussed concept of dwelling: it contains temporality in the sense that each event is not confined to the present, but sprawls into both past and

future (Ingold, 2000, p. 194). Ingold's description of the temporality of dwelling sometimes tends to sound almost involuntary, an "immersion of beings in the currents of the lifeworld" (Ingold, 2011a, p. 10), where the dweller is always devoted to one task, which leads to the next, and so on (Ingold, 2000, p. 97). Rather than contradicting Ingold's understanding of temporality, I want to emphatically make way for anticipations as active engagements that are not independent from the 'currents of the lifeworld', but are nevertheless able to challenge them.

I also emphasize that ***anticipation*** encompasses both emotional[24] elements (the feelings of hope, anxiety, trust, resignation, worry), but also – and connected to that – rational assessments and practical provisions. Anticipation as an emotion or affect is inherently relational as it positions the present moment with a future, or as Reeves (2017, p. 717) argues, with reference to the word's etymological roots, the 'taking in' (*capere*) of the future into the present (*ante-capere*). Several anthropological studies have used anticipation as an affective practice in relation to infrastructures and a variety of other topics as well. For example, Jerome Whitington (2013) studies climate models as anticipatory devices; Noelle J. Molé (2010, p. 41) highlights "diverse affective registers – nostalgia and grief, anxiety and compassion, together with a temporal sense of expectation" in relation to anticipated neoliberalisation of labour in Italy. In the context of infrastructure, Sophie Haines (2018) explores "the affective power of anticipation" in a context quite similar to the one I study in this thesis – a planned but not yet constructed highway project in Belize. She formulates an array of questions that are also relevant for this study and appear in slightly different form in my research questions. "How are political relations manifested effectively and affectively", she wonders, "not only in their structuring by physical materials, but also in historically situated, value-laden and future-oriented planning, portent and promise?" (Haines, 2018, p. 393). This question implies the entanglement of 'physical materials' (or 'lines in the landscape') and 'planning, portent and promises' (or temporalities/timelines), of locomotion and emotion. Importantly, she also

[24] The literature is not always clear about the distinction between affect and emotion. Sometimes they are seen as basically synonymous (Ahmed, 2004); other scholars distinguish them in terms of emotion as a psychological category, while affect is seen as relational (Street, 2012). Deleuze and Guattari (1987), and people who reference them, have an even wider understanding of affect as a body's general "ability to affect and be affected" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) – a definition that could hardly be more tautological. I think it is possible to replace 'to affect' with 'to influence' in the previous quote and arrive at pretty much the same content. In conclusion, I try to avoid Deleuze as much as possible.

recognises that these future-oriented practices are historically situated. This aspect is essential for my analysis as well and requires further examination.

While the term 'anticipating' implies a directionality towards the future, every anticipation of the future is built upon memories of the past and the ruins it has left. Progress here is not a linear movement but a chaotic one; like a leaf caught in a storm. The ruins of the past, the memories of the catastrophes that created them, are ever-present in this move towards an uncertain future. As Appadurai writes:

> [E]specially in the lives of ordinary people, the personal archive of memories, both material and cognitive, is not only or primarily about the past, but is about providing a map for negotiating and shaping new futures. (Appadurai, 2013, p. 288)

The main point is quite trivial: for example, a person might remember that promises had been made in the past, recognise that their life has not improved regardless, and therefore expect that not much will come out of later promises. Another person with different memories or assessments of the current situation may have different imaginations of what the future might bring, thus anticipating different temporalities.

This chapter is an attempt to conceptualise how different temporalities encounter each other; how timelines cross each other, get entangled or severed; and how they are inscribed into landscapes, creating tunnels that channel one temporality and assimilate or pave over others. I will first summarise how the relationship between lines of movement and timelines has been understood in the literature on infrastructure studies. I then introduce the concept 'landscapes of anticipation' as a way to understand the entanglement of a multitude of spatial and temporal lines. In particular, I will explore the spectrality of these landscapes as they are haunted by the past, the future and far-away places. In this context, I will lastly discuss the politics of scale or, more concretely, the anticipations of the imminent arrival of 'the world'.

3.3.1 Anticipating Infrastructure: Pasts and Promises

Hannam et al (2006, p. 13) argue that "[n]ot only does a mobilities perspective lead us to discard our usual notions of spatiality and scale, but it also undermines existing linear assumptions about temporality and timing". Similarly, questions of temporality are a matter of concern in several studies of infrastructure, especially in terms of the promises they make and break

(several contributions in: Appel et al., 2018b; Carse & Kneas, 2019; Dalakoglou & Harvey, 2012; Larkin, 2018).

Above, I have summarized the ways in which infrastructures structure space by affording mobilities and fixities. The main argument that I draw from the literature on the temporality of infrastructure is that infrastructures also structure time by affording certain memories and expectations, hopes and fears, paces and cadences. 'Anticipating infrastructure' implies simultaneously gazing towards the ruins and memories of the past w hile also reaching towards the future. I therefore aim to summarise the current literature with respect to two main questions: how do infrastructures reach into the past, that is, how do they tell particular stories about what has been and thus shapes and structures memory? And, how do infrastructures reach into the future, or in other words: how do the 'promises of infrastructure' shape expectations and create "dreamscapes of modernity" (Jasanoff & Kim, 2015)? These two questions are of course interrelated, both with each other and with the previous discussion. As I have already argued in the introduction to Chapter 3, (infrastructural) lines through space are entangled with timelines.

As the LAPSSET corridor is often discussed in terms of its coloniality (Enns & Bersaglio, 2019; Kimari & Ernstson, 2020), I will summarise the discussion of the infra-structuring of the past in relation to the role of infrastructures during the colonial project. I have discussed the 'colonial debris' of colonial infrastructure projects in more detail in a previous paper (Aalders, 2020). The following is largely taken from that text.

The history of imperialism is interwoven with the history of technological developments and proliferation to the degree that one can hardly be told without the other (Headrick, 1981, p. 4). Accordingly, the relationship between the 'new' imperialism of the 19th and 20th centuries and technology has received considerable academic attention, especially in terms of large-scale infrastructure projects. Within this literature, different aspects of colonial infrastructures are emphasised: its geographical power to create "colonial spaces" (van der Straeten and Hasenöhrl, 2016, p. 364) or "imperial landscapes" (Garrido, 2016, p. 94), as well as its fundamental role in providing the "Tools of Empire" (Headrick, 1981), or the "tentacles" (Headrick, 1988) along which it exerts control. Headrick describes, how "Western technologies" – such as steamships, guns, canals and, prominently, railroads – were necessary preconditions for colonial rule, as they answered the "all-important and overshadowing question of transport and communication" (Hill, 1949, p. 120).

Apart from the utilisation and mobilisation of resources, infrastructure projects also harness considerable imaginative power. So prominent is the role of technology and infrastructure for the imperial project that the roads, railways and shipyards seem to embody the empire itself (Dominic Davies, 1988, p. 3), which is often imagined as an "imperial machine" (Said, 2003, p. 44). The association between the empire and its infrastructure and between infrastructure and modernity itself gave imperial projects a certain degree of moral justification as the "torchbearers upon the path of progress" (van der Straeten & Hasenöhrl, 2016, p. 361). This path of progress has a singular goal, yet no destination. Vázquez argues thus turning the future "into the teleology of progress" implies the creation of a linear and universal temporality that ascribes Western modernity as the ultimate, albeit by definition unattainable, objective: a "race of the 'phantasmagoria of modernity'" (Vázquez, 2009, p. 3).

The past haunts infrastructure projects in different ways. In reference to the literary work of César A. Mba Abogo, Hannah Appel (2018, p. 44) claims that "Equatorial Guinea's infrastructure boom is the construction of the memory of petroleum", thus "building time and temporality" (ibid.). She argues that the modern (yet already crumbling) roads and buildings that were financed by the country's oil boom are not only a monument (and simultaneously, soon, a grave stone) to the petroindustry, but also inscribe a linearity to the past. It is the same story of linear progress (symbolised by the linear movement along a street or through a pipeline) from underdevelopment to modernity. "Where infrastructure served as a material metonym of modernity", she argues "attention to infrastructure's actual life courses confounds developmentalist narratives of linear progress" (Appel, 2018, p. 46). Ruined, failed or unfinished projects, in particular, reveal ambivalent temporalities. Harvey and Knox describe an abandoned bridge as a place where "people speculate on the pasts that could have been and the futures which might have come their way". Similarly, Ashley Carse and David Kneas (2019) focus on 'unbuilt and unfinished' infrastructures as a site of ambivalently entangled temporalities: *shadow histories* that might have been, *nostalgic futures* that recall past anticipations.

Infrastructure can have the ability to 'present' the past by durably inscribing past power-relations into present mobility channels. Adeline Masquelier describes how colonial-era road projects in Niger retain a ghostly presence in the roads that are still in use today:

> Colonial modernization did not simply erase the past, literally and figuratively 'covering' it up with layers of gravel and asphalt; my argument is that the road […] retains traces of the violence and terror of colonial times. In this respect, the road endows the past with a tangible, and at times frightening, immediacy. (Masquelier, 2002, p. 830)

Memories of violence, destroyed landscapes and bodies, as well as dislocation live on – not only in the road itself, but also in "homeless spirits" that now haunt the highway (Masquelier, 2002, p. 831).

Kimari & Ernstson emphasise the 'imperial remains' that current infrastructure investments build upon. Similarly, Charis Enns and Brock Bersaglio (2019) have noted the "new coloniality" of these infrastructural projects. This new coloniality of Africa's "infrastructure renaissance" (Vhumbunu, 2016) is haunted by old modernities, such as the famous 'Cape to Cairo railway' envisioned by Cecil Rhodes. An 1892 poem about Rhodes (Milliken, 1892, p. 267) epitomises this:

Combining in one supernatural blend
Plain Commerce and Imagination–gination;
O'er Africa striding from dark end to end,
To forward black emancipation–cipation.
Brobdingnagian Bagman, big Dreamer of Dreams.

This topic constitutes an essential part of my argument as well, and it will be re-visited later with reference to the empirical material I have gathered, particularly in Chapter 6. It is important to note at this point that the "supernatural blend [of] commerce and imagination" that the poem ascribes to Cecil Rhodes, the "big dreamer of dreams" is revisiting current infrastructure projects. The poem's irony pierces the semblance of good faith presented by the pretence that all this is but "to forward black emancipation". The kind of infrastructural modernity that Cecil Rhodes envisioned was not only one of empire, but fundamentally one of global capitalism. Gediminas Lesutis makes very similar observation about current infrastructure projects in Africa, describing "imaginaries and material practices of development corridors and their function in sustaining socio-political orders increasingly dominated by global capitalism" (Lesutis, 2019, p. 2).

It is widely acknowledged that the production of future imaginations is problematically entangled with imaginations of the past (Jasanoff & Kim, 2015, p. 21). In the case of the LAPSSET corridor, or most other infrastructural development projects for that matter, this relationship is

antithetical in nature. The past is presented as something to be overcome in favour of a new, modern way of life. In this case, the 'way of life' can be understood literally as the infrastructural pathways that structure the mobility of things and bodies across space. These infrastructures are synonymous with modernity itself and thus antithetical to the past they seek to overcome. Paul Edwards (2003, p. 2) notes that: "[t]o be modern is to live within and by means of infrastructures". Just as mega-infrastructures tend to monopolise means of transport (Aalders, forthcoming 2020), the universal vision of modernity produced by infrastructures conceals and destructs other, potentially competing ways of drawing timelines between past, present and future.

In the context of 'infrastructuring' as a future-making practice, the "promises of infrastructure"(Appel et al., 2018b) are particularly prominent. These promises carry an "enchantment" (P. Harvey & Knox, 2012) with notions of speed, political integration, economic potency, and modernity constitutes infrastructures such as roads not only as pathways to different places, but also as gestures towards particular futures. It creates particular "spaces of possibility" (M. Graham, Andersen, & Mann, 2015), which are not only about the places than can be accessed through infrastructure, but also different realities that become (un-)imaginable through them. Building on Jasanoff and Kim's work on "Dreamscapes of Modernity" (2015), Müller-Mahn (2019) argues that the maps, technical drawings and digital renderings that anchor anticipated futures in the present are "foreign blueprints" (Müller-Mahn, 2019) that produce particular imaginations of modernity which do not necessarily coincide with future-imaginations of the inhabitants. While infrastructure promises a particular vision of the future, it compromises others (see: Barak, 2013).

Understanding temporalities as a contingent meshwork of entangled, fraying and severed timelines has radical implications: rather than assuming that everything passively follows a natural and universal chronology, it suggests that connections between past, present and future are actively woven into different, tentative and potentially opposing timelines. The narrative employed by the LAPSSET Corridor Development Authority (LCDA), specifically, which is used in the context of many infrastructural development projects in general, attempts to align the multiplicity of temporalities into one universal story about development from a dark past into a vague yet monolithic vision of modernity. This alignment of temporalities can be understood in terms of Tom Lundborg's (2012) analysis of the historical and the pure event. "The pure event expresses an ambiguous process of *becoming"* (ibid. 2012, p. 3 emphasis in original), escaping into the past and the future

simultaneously. Lundgren connects this ambivalent temporality of the pure event with ambivalent movements of bodies that neither have a clear origin nor a clear destination. In contrast, the historical event attempts to bring order to these erratic movements, creating temporal borders that clearly distinguish between the 'before' and 'after' (ibid., p. 5). These temporal borders coincide with spatial borders, making it possible for the present to 'take place' (ibid., p. 4). Where origins and destinations were ambiguous, the historical event creates both a temporal, as well as spatial, linearity. A development corridor allows and forces the flow of oil from the wells in Lokichar to Lamu port, and thus allows and forces the progress from an underdeveloped past to a modern future.

While the historical event conjures a sense of reliability and certainty, the promises are in fact not always reliable. Constance Smith (2017) describes how the infrastructural utopia of Kenya's development programme 'Vision 2030' (of which the LAPSSET corridor is a fundamental part) appears fragile as its promises rarely manage the leap from glossy prospect to material reality. Instead, the promised infrastructural modernity is repeatedly (perhaps indefinitely) deferred in a "suspended present" (Carse & Kneas, 2019, p. 18), always approaching – *a venir* (Derrida, 1992, p. 27) but never arriving. Penny Harvey and Hannah Knox (2012) argue that this uncertainty, the unreliability of the promise of infrastructure, may be exactly what accounts for its allure:

> It is through an articulation with the lived, material encounters of stasis, rupture and blockage that infrastructural promises become reinvigorated and recast. […] The constant deferral of such containment[25] may end up diminishing people's faith in the ability of governments and of experts to deliver suitable material forms, but it strengthens the desire for them and constantly renews the sense that sometime soon they will appear and life will change for the better. (P. Harvey & Knox, 2012, p. 534)

I have already mentioned the paradox as one of the defining features of infrastructure in chapter 3.1.1. The deferral of infrastructural promises to some uncertain point in the future also helps keep these paradoxes in suspense. Another paradox that infrastructures thus maintain is the one between local and global. As Dalakoglou and Harvey (2012, p. 459) write: "Roads and the powerful sense of mobility that they promise carry us back and forth between the sweeping narratives of globalisation, and the specific, tangible materialities

[25] Meant here is the containment of "unruly forces" that infrastructures promise to align, bridle and streamline.

of particular times and places". I will take up this aspect of ambiguous or 'spectral' scale in the next section of this chapter.

The main takeaway of this discussion for my thesis is the interweaving of linear movements through space and linear imaginations of time. As mentioned above, the promise of infrastructure is principally the promise or "dreamscape" (Jasanoff & Kim, 2015) of modernity, achieved through development imagined as a linear pathway – not unlike a highway or railway. Speed, infrastructure and modernity intertwine, tempo melts into temporality, pipelines, railway lines, and timelines are braided into a single plait that presents the past and com-/promises the future. Authors tend to emphasize infrastructures' gestures to either the past or the future (cf. Carse & Kneas, 2019), even though both aspects are oftentimes present coincidentally. I therefore see another contribution of this thesis in the explicit consolidation of these two gestures. The past is presented by conjuring old futures; futures become (un-)imaginable through the ruins of what has been. While the general complex connection between past and future is widely acknowledged, the role that infrastructures assume in stabilising and disrupting this link often remains implicit (cf. Jasanoff & Kim, 2015).

3.3.2 Ghosts and Spectral Landscapes of Anticipation

I will live in the Past, the Present, and the Future. The Spirits of all three shall strive within me. I will not shut out the lessons that they teach!
– Scrooge, A Christmas Carol

Throughout the text so far, I have repeatedly mentioned different kinds of 'hauntings': the past or the future haunting the present; spirits that haunt a highway, as well as things haunting relations and vice versa. Lest this phrase remain a purely literary device, the spectrality, present absences and ghosts that haunt, this text needs to be conceptualised in more depth. I have already mentioned Tim Ingold's "ghostly lines" (Ingold, 2007, p. 41) in the introduction to this chapter. Now in this section, I will relate this notion of spectrality to both the anticipation of infrastructure as discussed above and to lines through space (see: Section 3.2), assembling these three motifs to *Spectral Landscapes of Anticipation*. I first argue why the concept of landscape is particularly useful. In reference to Derrida's 'Spectres of Marx', I will then discuss the ghosts haunting infrastructures from 'elsewhen', and subsequently how they also come from 'elsewhere' – again entwining lines through space and time. The main goal of this conceptualization of ghosts is to find a way to make present absences visible – an essential step when one of the main elements of one's research, the LAPSSET corridor, is not yet constructed in

the segment where I have conducted my research. The hunt for the present absence of ghosts will be taken up again in the context of methodological deliberations in Chapter 4.

The concept of landscapes helps to understand anticipations as both a temporal practice of engaging the future in the present moment, as well as a spatial one. Landscapes are to similar concepts such as 'space' or 'area' what lines are to relations or a painting to a map: the term foregrounds the lively and concrete; the traces of living beings; the perspectives. A landscape can best be experienced by walking through it, by adding yet another line of traces to the countless layers that already exist. Landscapes are furthermore not bounded: instead of outlines they only offer a horizon – always promising places and times yet to see. Landscapes are also limited; they are not openly revealed but need to be discovered; their lure is the anticipated vista after the next hilltop; the always present attractions of the not yet discovered absences.

Landscapes are navigated, and it is easy to get lost in them if we cannot use the traces of those who walked before us as orientation: their steps have drawn lines into the landscapes that we can follow, lines that not only point towards our future destination but also towards the past bodies that have moved along them. Landscape are woven from these lines of movement: of running water, melting snow, dragging glaciers, penetrating roots, diasporic seeds, burrowing critters, browsing herbivores, stalking carnivores, migrating herds, wandering humans, thundering SUVs, ploughing bulldozers – all coming and going, weaving their lines of movement into a tapestry.

Anticipation (and the lines that are aligned to it) points at different places as well as different pasts and futures, which are themselves part of that tapestry and form their own landscapes of anticipation. Landscapes are haunted by ghosts – ghosts from the past, the traces they leave, the memories that persists, and ghosts from anticipated futures (think of the concrete beacons marking the route of the LAPSSET), and those haunting a landscape from faraway places, roads leading to new horizons.

The term landscape furthermore suggests a connection between anticipating and moving. It is not an area imagined as a two-dimensional surface, but something created by the entanglement of vibrant lines, of bodies moving with and through each other – not the surface, on which lines can be drawn (Ingold, 2007, p. 39). A landscape has horizons, not borders. It is marked by flows and mobilities rather than spatial positions. Relations within a landscape are a matter of affective intimacy, not one of metred distance (Pile, 2009). However, in Section 3.2 I have stressed that in addition to flows and

mobilities there are also frictions and immobilities, and furthermore that frictions and flows are distributed unequally.

Uneven (im-)mobilities portend particular lines of movement in space but also particular timelines, ways of remembering the past and anticipating the future. Appadurai describes how the future is not a distinct and inaccessible *elsewhen*, but is produced as a "cultural fact" through practices of imagination, aspiration and anticipation (Appadurai, 2013, pp. 286–299).[26] The "capacity to aspire", however, is not distributed equally (Appadurai, 2004). While everyone has certain dreams and hopes, according to Appadurai the ability to conscribe the means to achieve these dreams, and to map out pathways to reach them, is contingent upon relative privilege. Continuing his proclivity for spatial metaphors (Appadurai, 1990), Appadurai uses geographic language to describe the capacity to aspire, which he refers to as a "navigational capacity" (Appadurai, 2004). The two vectors – towards an *elsewhere* along the physical road and an *elsewhen* along the metaphorical path of development – are therefore interwoven. Elliott (2016a; see also: Greiner, 2016) analyses emerging "economies of anticipation" along the LAPSSET corridor that materialise as land speculation. These land speculations, in turn, intersect with conflicts between first settlers and wealthy 'newcomers'. The anticipation of 'what's to come' is quite literally related to the anticipated mobility of goods, people, investments, and so forth.

Much of the literature on spectral geographies and landscapes regards ghosts as a revenant from the past that becomes present through memory, or through the traces of people who have gone before, their footsteps resounding through a dark corridor. Avery Gordon (2008) uses ghosts to describe how the deferred, shunted, forgotten and ignored demand their own present, thus changing "the experience of being in time, the way we separate the past, the present, and the future" (ibid. p.xvi). Kate Coddington (2011) regards the haunting by ghosts as "connections between the past and the present day", elaborating the necromancy of ghosts bringing back the undead colonial state into spaces of the present. It is the story of a violent trauma and a ghost that is tethered to the place of its demise, dwelling and haunting the ruins of a once imposing stronghold.

Ruins are an important motif and a site for the study of haunted infrastructures. Stoler (2008, pp. 200–201) regards imperial duress in terms of durable yet mutable infrastructural formations. Thinking about 'colonial

[26] The distinction between these different practices is significant, but in the context of this text, I venture collapsing the aspect of hope implied by his understanding of *aspiration*, and speculation based on past experiences implied by his use of *anticipation* into one term.

legacies' in terms of "imperial debris" (Stoler, 2013) allows for a recognition of the lasting effects that colonial violences (including infrastructural projects) have on the present day while not falling into a deterministic perspective that denies the agency of post-colonial societies. As I have argued in the aforementioned article about the imperial debris left by the Uganda Railway and picked up by the LAPSSET corridor, these ruins are: "durable but do not determine the present; they are persistent but not immutable" (Aalders, 2020, p. 5); and further that:

> [t]his perspective suggests following the concrete trajectories of colonial infrastructures, the traces of violence they have left, their rubble and the way in which it is transformed into building blocks of something new, yet familiar. (Ibid.)

Laura Bear discovers ghosts in railway projects, particularly in the ruins of the colonial railway in India. "Every ruin (or place)", she writes "must have its ghost, and that ghost proves the irrefutable connection between the past and the present as a physical experience" (Bear, 2007, p. 282). Ruins are therefore able to place spectral temporalities, thus offering a way to ply temporal and spatial aspects of hauntings. Similarly, Barak Om describes how the first railway lines in Egypt contrasted a new 'modern', scheduled and linear temporality with 'traditional' temporalities. This contrast, however, falls apart (or rather: collapses unto itself) the moment it is made. He argues that the railway, the symbol of modernity itself, integrated and amplified 'superstitions' and their eschatological temporalities. The railway substitutes magic with machineries, but also re-enchants the world, thus "simultaneously derailing and resurrecting an effective distinction between modernity and tradition", besides the best efforts by the Egyptian middle-class to exorcise these ghosts and jinns (Barak, 2013, p. 88). He describes this temporality as 'spectral' because it refers to a 'time out of joint',[27] between 'tradition' and 'modernity', and between past, present and future.

This shows that ghosts not only haunt the present from the past through memories of violence and injustice but also from the future through hopes, promises and fears of what might be. As Derrida maintains in *The Spectres of Marx*: "there is always more than one of them" (Derrida, 1994, p. 7). One of the eponymous spectres of Marx, and probably the most famous one, is the

[27] This quote refers to Derrida's (1994) introduction to The Spectres of Marx, which in turn refers to Hamlet and the ghostly apparitions therein. The ghost, Derrida argues, demands but also denies an answer to Hamlet's famous question 'to be or not to be?' – a 'hauntological' position, which is not quite real in the ontological sense, but also not entirely unreal.

spectre of communism, which made its debut in the Communist Manifesto (Marx & Engels, 1848). Its peculiarity is that in contrast to the ghosts from the past, the spectre of communism seems to haunt Europe from the future, just like the Ghost of Christmas Future turned the proto-capitalist Scrooge into a showpiece comrade. The above-mentioned timelines can therefore be understood as ghostlines in the sense that they are imagined, yet real.

Meier, Frers, and Sigvardsdotter (2013) call to attention the ways in which absence and presence are not inherent qualities; what is absent does not pull itself into presence by its own bootstraps, "but only insofar as it is attended to as being absent" (p. 426). This opens up an arena for contingent negotiations about what gets to be present or absent, which is a core concern of this work and interfaces with my understanding of the ontological power of scale, in which I argue that the question 'who and what gets to be present?' can best be answered when taking into account the role of scalar framings in the presenting and absenting of things (see: the introduction to Chapter 3).

Particular scalar instances are similarly haunted by other scalar instances: the local is a present absence in the global and vice versa (Brenner, Madden, & Wachsmuth, 2011; Collinge, 2005; Herod, 2011; Swyngedouw, 1997). As I have discussed before, anticipations do not only happen on different but related scalar levels, but are actively involved in their production and distinction. Here, many of the previously mentioned concepts converge: infrastructures define modernity and exalt it to the universal and global teleology; it is a goal, however, that cannot be reached and is thus only present as an absence, as a ghost. I have mentioned above how global infrastructural relations define a single and universal modernity, and how infrastructure provides the image of flow that epitomises globalisation. Membership in this global modernity is thus contingent on access to the infrastructures that conjure the global (Tsing, 2005, pp. 58–59; 88–112). As Tsing (2005) writes, globality implies universality (p. 88), and subsequently that "[c]onvincing universals must be able to travel with at least some facility in the world" (p. 89) – infrastructure, then, constitutes pathways for convincing universals, such as modernity.

While anticipation of modernity is implied in the conjuring of global imaginaries, Appadurai (2013, p. 286) argues that anticipation also constitutes a way of producing and maintaining locality. In this sense, imagination constitutes a link between the locus and the globus, particular versions of globality are imagined in particular situated localities. This work defines the global from a specific locality even as it also defines a localised self in relation to an imagined world (Appadurai, 1996, p. 3 ff.).

3.4 Drawing

> [M]aps do preserve the trace of a movement history. […] For we live in the maps that the colonial surveyors bequeathed us. Inside their cadastral enclosures we have settled down. The roads we drive, the prospects they open up, and the alignment of the walls inside which coming home we agree to reside and sleep are all the linear offspring of those rulers. (Carter, 2009, p. 19)

> We know that There Be Dragons Everywhere. They might not all have scales and forked tongues, but they Be Here all right, grinning and jostling and trying to sell you souvenirs.
>
> – Terry Pratchett, The Colour of Magic

The act of drawing, as Tim Ingold (2011b) describes it, is nothing but a movement along a line that leaves a trace. As an operation it is, therefore, not so different from moving as I have conceptualised it in Section 3.2. Indeed, walking, drawing and writing, and even the act of writing about it, can be weaved together in this way. I have previously brought forward an understanding infrastructure not in terms of the bold strokes, which depict a development corridor such as the LAPSSET on maps, but as connective tissue. Considering *tissue,* "a delicately woven fabric composed of a myriad of interlaced threads" (Ingold, 2007, p. 61) that align, fray, attract and repulse each other challenge the solid outline that the LAPSSET as a singular line, "resolv[ing] bodily surfaces into their constituent threads" (ibid.).

In order to address futures as cultural facts (Appadurai, 2013), as discussed in the previous chapter, this section is primarily concerned with the inscription of lines (cf. Ingold, 2007). This most general and rather abstract topic encompasses a wide range of subject areas: the charting of imagined landscapes on a map, the subsequent re-tracing of these maps as infrastructural lines in landscapes – lines drawn in tarmac following lines drawn in ink. These are the "the linear offspring[s] of those rulers" mentioned in the introductory quote by Paul Carter (2009, p. 19). They encompasses the sketching of memories and expectations into storylines, the ways in which history is inscribed into biographies. This implies the drawing of timelines, the conjuring of relations between past, present and future and the recognition of how existing pathways channel these memories and expectations through space. This recognition of lines created by movements through landscapes invites geography into the discussion of future-making practices. As Doreen Massey maintains: "movement, and the making of relations, take/make time"

(2005, p. 119). This chapter thus draws together insights from the two previous chapters.

In order to address all of these aspects of line inscriptions, this section draws from several distinct but related academic traditions that attend to the drawing of lines in various ways. I have already reflected on Tim Ingold's (2007, 2011b, 2011a) extensive work on the anthropology of the line, in which he discusses "walking, weaving, observing, singing, storytelling, drawing and writing" (p. 1) as gestures and practices that trace and produce lines. In this chapter I will first refer again to infrastructure studies to help address the particularities of the LAPSSET corridor. Several authors in this area have given specific attention to how infrastructures shape memories and conjure imaginations of the future in general and modernity in particular (e.g. Appel et al., 2018b; P. Harvey & Knox, 2012; Müller-Mahn, 2019). Secondly, critical cartography scrutinises the politics involved in mapping, not only in terms of a way to dominate marginalised people but also as a potential tool for resistance or "means of emancipation and enablement" (Corner, 2011, p. 100). This aspect is acutely relevant in terms of the method of *Collaborative Comic Creation* (CCC) discussed in Section 4.5.

3.4.1 Infrastructural Images and Imagination, Visions and Visualisations

As mentioned above, the promises of modernity are often formulated through different visual media such as plans, maps, catalogues, sketches, PowerPoint presentations, billboards, photos (often of inaugural events) and digital renderings. While the images presenting the LAPSSET corridor will be discussed in more detail in Section 7.1, this chapter introduces the academic debate about the aesthetics of infrastructure in general; the ways in which infrastructures exist as and through drawings. By conjuring images of speed and mobility, these images simultaneously conjure a visions, dreams, and fantasies about modernity itself. Images thus draw together the principles discussed in the previous two sections, supporting the notion of entangled tempo-/ralities.

This entanglement has been explored in several case studies. In their ethnography of two road construction projects, Harvey and Knox (2012) describe the enchanting power of infrastructure and its images. They give the example of a PowerPoint presentation illustrating the construction process, conjuring a notion of speed by replacing the lumbering truck in the image illustrating the state before the project, with a sports car (P. Harvey & Knox, 2012, p. 526). The images in the PowerPoint presentation can thus be seen as part of a double conjuring: the presentation conjures up an image of the road

as the epitome of speed; in turn, the road itself conjures 'the dream of circulation and flow upon which economic, political and military success is premised' (ibid. p.626); thus ensuring travel "at a pace indicative of an appropriate modernity – both ordered and free" (ibid. p.627).

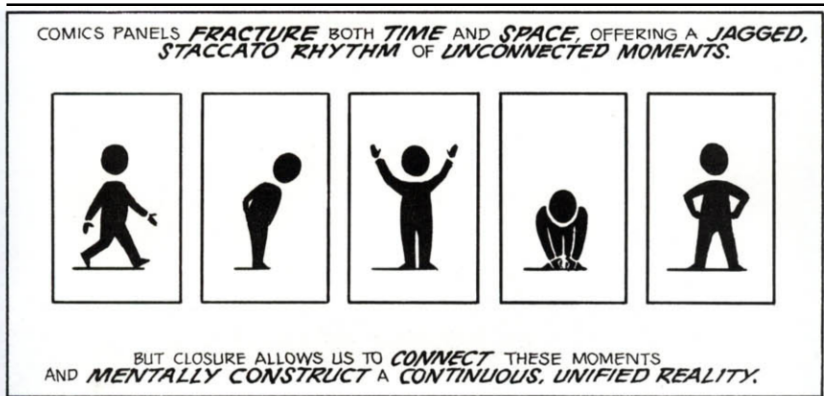
I have already mentioned Kenya's Vision 2030 in previous chapters. Smith (2017) shows how it is conjured in glossy brochures and oversized billboards. She argues that these "fantasies of a particular material future are intimately entangled with the visual culture of digital architectural design" (ibid. p.3). As argued above, especially where the actualisation of infrastructure projects is anything but certain, images of future infrastructures – and thus of the future itself – can create anchor points for dreams. Especially in contrast to deficient present reality, these images deploy the notion of movement both temporally and spatially; the gap or 'gutter' between current reality and imagined modernity exerting a compelling pull to move forward. Smith shows how tempo is deployed in these images to exercise this pull, describing billboards on which "[c]ars move unimpeded along a smooth tarmacked highway, the speed of their movement indicated by digitally rendered blurring" (C. Smith, 2017, p. 36). While indicated movement is unambiguously 'forward', Smith points out that it nevertheless loops back to 'old futures' imagined by the colonial government: 'The real city in the sun', commented one Facebook user (C. Smith, 2017, p. 37), echoing the 1948 'master plan for a colonial capital'. Another user wrote 'this is what I see in the first world' as a reaction to these images (C. Smith, 2017, p. 36), illustrating that visions and visualisations of infrastructures not only point at different times (the past, the future) but also at different places (this neighbourhood, the first world). They may not be present as such, but even small visual traces are enough to create these imaginaries.

This effect is a key component of comic creation, which I will discuss in more detail in relation to my methodological approach. At this point, comic theory helps to conceptualise the 'gutter' mentioned in the previous paragraph, the invisible things that happens in between. In *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art*, Scott McCloud (1993) introduces the related concept of closure, the ability of the human brain to assemble fractured or incomplete images into something whole (see Fig 3). Making comics is an 'invisible art' because its magic happens there: not in but in-between the panels. The gutter between lived reality and promising images of infrastructure futures is similarly powerful. Like the gutter between panels of the comic, it demands its own closure, creating "a continuous, unified reality", where the imagined future

proceeds from the current state, despite – or rather because of – all sorts of deficiencies.

In-/visibility is an important aspect of infrastructure and images of it. Images can also help make oppressive and often hidden aspects of infrastructure visible. Haga Kotef (2015, p. 52 et seqq.) describes an image of a highway crossing Palestinian villages and a meandering road winding around them. The separation of Israeli and Palestinians, Kotef points out, manifests here in a separation of movements. The highway, it is easy to see in the photo, is a prime example of 'tunnelling' – quite literally the highway disappears under the earth, making it (and the speeding cars on it) invisible from the perspective of the village, but also hides the villages for those travelling on the road. The photo is powerful because it shows what is usually hidden; the power disparities – who is a kinetic elite and who isn't – become transparent. As Brian Larkin points out: "[infrastructures] make the distribution of rule visible as an aesthetic act" (Larkin, 2018, p. 177).

Fig 3: The 'gutter' in comic books is the space in between panels that connect time and space. Panel from: (McCloud, 1993, p. 67)



Invisibility allows hiding places for different kinds of dragons, ghosts and monsters. A characterising idiosyncrasy of medieval maps is the declaration that 'Hic Sunt Dracones' when denoting unchartered territory and the uncertain fates that would await sailors who ventured there. In this sense, mapping is a practice of exorcism: the monstrous retreats as charted territory extends. Yet, maps are woven from ghostlines,[28] summoning ghosts as it

[28] In his definition of 'ghostly lines', Tim Ingold explicitly refers to them as cartographic practices: "Survey lines, such as those linking triangulation points, are of an equally ghostly nature, as are

exorcises them. Truly, 'there be dragons everywhere', as Terry Pratchett observes humorously. They are not only present in images; they also constitute images themselves. Michael Aaron Dennis understands monsters "as the problematic and disturbing images that challenge and threaten the performance and reaffirmation of desired social orders" (Dennis, 2015, p. 56). This suggests a certain ambivalence. 'Social order' may smack of authoritarian rule, but monsters can just as well be oppressive forces that threaten the desired social order of marginalised societies – as I will show in Chapter 7. Their relation to images is multiple: they are made and unmade by them, concealed and exposed.

The power of images has been explored in countless studies, and often in relation to either im/mobility (e.g. Büscher, 2006), modernity (e.g. Akpang, 2015) or both (e.g. Galletly, 2017; Pinto De Almeida, 2015). As I do not have sufficient understanding of disciplines such as the history of art or critical media studies, the most useful discipline blending these aspects is geography, as it is inherently concerned with the "comparative power of vision" (Matless, 2003, p. 222). While this agrees with geography's common association with the visual and the pictorial, many geographers feel rather uneasy about this association (Denis Cosgrove, 2008, p. 5), not least because of geographers' complicity in the "epistemological violence" (ibid. p. 8) committed on colonised people, as maps, in particular, were (and still are) used as tools of imperial oppression. This uneasiness with the images accompanies a recognition of their power, not only as something that depicts reality, but something that makes things real in the first place (Bissell & Fuller, 2017; Roberts, 2013). Critical Cartography is a sub-discipline that has specialised in identifying, deconstructing and opposing the 'epistemological violence' inherent in many kinds of maps, and should therefore be given special consideration.

One aspect of critical cartography that is particularly relevant in the context of this thesis is the political power of scale. In fact, the first image that comes to mind when considering geographic scale is perhaps the little black-and-white bar at the bottom of maps that indicates how large the mapped phenomena are in reality. Consequently, a map with a larger scale can depict a larger area of land than a smaller scale map, even if both maps are the same

geodesic lines such as the grid of latitude and longitude, and the lines of the equator, the tropics, and the polar circles. It is as if we had stretched a taut string between points, or traced an arc overland between them, as indeed was done in the earliest practical attempts to measure the earth. Lines of this sort may of course appear on maps and charts as traces drawn with pen and ink, using a ruler and compass" (Ingold, 2007, p. 49).

size. This, however, does not mean that a map of the world depicts more than a map of a single city. As Sayre (2009, p. 97) points out, a larger scale implies the omission of certain details that would be visible at a smaller scale: as one zooms out, individual streets blend together into a single blob symbolising the entire city. As we are used to reading maps in this way, the reduction of certain details may seem like a matter of course. However, what details to omit and which to keep is a decision that needs to be made.

This thesis is not primarily concerned with cartographic scale as indicated by the black-and-white bar or ratio on a map. I have argued above that the politics of scale apply as well to other areas apart from mapping. For example, the invocation of modernity or development invokes a particular universal scale. As such, these concepts necessarily omit of details that other concepts would not. As I will show later in Section 7.1, this applies to graphics and visualisations other than maps that represent a particular notion of infrastructured modernity.

The following section explores this relation between infrastructure and visual or cartographic imagination in more detail.

3.4.2 A Critical Cartography of Infrastructure

The construction of infrastructure projects implies the production of maps. Deborah Cowen (2014) regards cartographic practices as fundamental for the "political and contested production of logistics space", which in turn depends on a network of infrastructures. These mapping practices inscribe straight lines onto a map, which are then translated into the carving of straight lines into the landscape through construction work. Tim Ingold argues that through its association with 'rational' Euclidean space, the straight line is synonymous with the triumph of culture over nature and with modernity itself (2007, p. 152) – similar to how infrastructural lines embody modernity. These straight lines, drawn with a ruler while looking down upon an empty surface imply a universal, detached gaze on the word (see also: Section 7.1). As Tim Ingold notes: "But the world that is represented in the map is one without inhabitants: no one is there; nothing moves or makes any sound" (Ibid., p. 24). The imposition of straight borders on organic and fluid landscapes has been discussed extensively, particularly in relation to colonial mapping practices (e.g. Alesina, Easterly, & Matuszeski, 2011). Infrastructures were not only instrumental in the creation of colonial empires (Headrick, 1981; van der Straeten & Hasenöhrl, 2016), they often continue colonial impositions of lines of transport and communication unto landscape and people (Aalders, forthcoming 2020; Enns and Bersaglio, 2019).

As much as mapping practices can enable a "dictatorship by cartography" (Varadarajan, 2007), they can also be contentious and potentially emancipatory practices in opposing the power relations depicted and reproduced by conventional maps. Cowen (2014) calls for a queering of logistics through (Cowen, 2014) "countercartographies", while Cattoor and Perkins (2014) describe "re-cartographies", emphasizing the significance of a "situated and historicized narrative approach to *all* mapping" (p. 166, emphasis in original). For example, psychogeographies challenge conventional mapping practices and thus reveal the often-invisible power relations that they depict and reproduce. Psychogeographies emerged as an artistic critique of cartographic norms, but developed into a radical political intervention, among others through contributions from Walter Benjamin and other Marxists (Coverley, 2006, p. 22). Similarly, the method of *collaborative comic creation* presented in Section 4.5 is to be understood as a practice at the intersection between scientific methodology, artistic critique and political intervention.

At this point, it is necessary to discuss the definitions of *map* and *cartography* used here. As a working definition, I refer to Harley and Woodward, who propose an experiential understanding of maps as "graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world" (1987, p. xvi). This definition is experiential in that it focusses not on the content or form of the map but on the way it creates a relational 'spatial understanding'. Furthermore, Harley and Woodward emphasise the historical dimension of maps as artefacts and explicitly include "maps of imagined cosmographies" in their analysis. In contrast, conventional definitions of what constitutes a map are primarily projective, in that they are concerned with translating the position of selected features into a Euclidian coordinate system. The points and lines on a conventional map thus have locations, but no histories in the sense that the movement and gestures that created these inscriptions are not present in their depiction (Ingold, 2011b). This is not to say that projective maps do not produce temporalities, but that they do so clandestinely.

In summary, the theoretical framework outlined above brings together three different kinds of lines in the making of futures: lines through space, such as those created by cars or cows moving through a landscape; those through time, tentatively creating connections between past, present and future; and, lastly, those on paper as in maps or drawings. The next chapter is an attempt to bundle up these different kinds of lines into a cohesive conceptual framework.

3.5 Lines, Everywhere

Throughout the preceding discussions, I have referred to infrastructures – the mobilities they facilitate and block; the imaginations they evoke; the images that herald them – as lines. Lines are indeed so fundamental for my argument that they require a more thorough investigation. In this last part of the conceptual framing of this thesis, I therefore want to use the concept of lines to summarise and substantiate three major points that are vital for essentially every argument I will be making in this text. The first one is a conceptualisation of relations as embodied, lively, and concrete, as opposed to incorporeal, logical and abstract. This argument helps in setting apart the relational tendencies of this thesis from most conventional relational theories. The second argument follows from the first and marks a departure from Ingold's conceptualisation of lines. Taking up the specific argument that infrastructures are as 'linear dis-/connecting technologies', I argue that lines understood more generally contain the contradictory properties of being both a connector and an obstacle. A closer inspection reveals that these two properties are in fact not contradictory, but require each other – a line can only connect something if it also disconnects something else. Third, I substantiate the argument that the selection of what is connected and what is disconnected is not random or neutral, but the product of negotiations, and thus connected to issues of justice and the politics of scale.

Lines are everywhere. As the conceptual discussions thus far have shown, many of the topics discussed in this text are commonly imagined as lines – most notably, perhaps, infrastructural terms such as pipelines, power lines and railway lines, and electronic transmission lines. In this sense, they describe physical structures that carve lines into a landscape. Lines are also implied in different kinds of actions – think of holding, drawing or walking a line. Lines are conscripted into the exercise of power, such as in military front lines, political border lines, and industrial assembly lines. Lastly, timelines, deadlines and lines of genealogy illustrate a particular 'linear' understanding of time. Lines constitute an extremely rich, yet vague and often contradictory, heuristic device. They thus span the entirety of the thematic area this thesis covers: from infrastructure and movements to anticipations, maps and comic strips. They extend through space and time and link notions that seem contradictory. This richness, however, requires a more rigorous conceptualisation.

I found the most useful engagement with the concept of the line in Tim Ingold's anthropological and philosophical work on lines (mainly 2007, 2011a, 2011b). In this taxonomy, he suggests five different kinds of lines: threads,

traces, creases or cracks, ghostly lines and those that do not fit (p. 41 et seqq.). While a thread is understood as a filament permeating some kind of substrate, a trace is a mark left on a surface. Creases appear when a surface is folded; cracks when it eventually fractures. Ghostly lines (or ghostlines, as per the title) are of particular interest to me. They describe imagined lines, such as those that weave star constellations or perhaps the ghostlines that connect solitary concrete beacons somewhere in the Kenyan Savannah. As I will discuss in more depth later, these apparitions are not purely imaginary in the sense that they are of no consequence. To the contrary, our very lives are ordered by these ghostly lines that decide the time our watches show, who we are allowed to vote for and how much tax we pay. Lastly, Ingold admits that there are plenty of "lines that don't fit" (p. 50), including lightning or the veins in our body.

The most important contribution of Ingold's conceptualisation of the line for the purpose of this thesis is how he describes lines as alive, embodied and *dinglich*.[29] In order to appreciate this contribution, it is important to regard it in the context of and in contrast to the wider academic debate on relations. As one of the principal topics of my thesis is infrastructural relations – roads and pipelines – I naturally gravitated towards relational theories in search of a way of understanding these phenomena. A relational perspective suggests regarding things not as sealed ontological containers of meaning, but rather as "nodes of the web" (Bennett, 2004, p. 354), a "congealing of agency" (Barad, 2003, p. 822), a *Verdichtung* (compression) of relations (Lukács 1970, quoted in: Marchart, 2013) or entities that "emerge from a web or network of relations" (Blaser, 2013, p. 20). Especially within New Materialism, relations appear as a central concept – yet often remain oddly vague and incorporeal. One problem that makes it difficult for me to come to terms with relational ontologies is that different terms are used for similar relational impulses: webs (Bennett, 2004), networks (Latour, 2005, p. 131), Deleuze and Guattari's "AND … AND …" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), flows (Sikor et al., 2013), intra-actions (Barad, 2003), and more. This means that both the notion of how exactly relations constitute things (and the relation between relations and things, if that isn't a tautological question) is unclear, and that the conceptualisation of the constituent relations themselves is often ambiguous.

Does this mean that there is no such thing as a relation? If relations constitute things, then logically this implies that relations are not things, are

[29] No philosophical discussion can do without some whimsical German words. 'Dinglich' may be translated as 'concrete' but literally means 'thingly' or 'like a thing'.

not 'dinglich' themselves. They appear as abstract, immaterial, logical connections between things, as straight conceptual links in between things with an effective width of zero. It is a subtle but profound difference. The network metaphor, in particular, insists on a differentiation between things and the relations between them. Perhaps most prominently, Bruno Latour's understanding of the network of relations explicitly conceptualises it as something that is not "a thing out there" (Latour, 2005, p. 131). In some cases, this leads to some sort of 'relational foundationalism'. As a famous phrase about the nature of quantum physics goes: in the end "there are no dancers, there is only the dance" (Capra, 1983, p. 92). Similarly, Bateson (1987, p. 251) states that "what can be studied is always a relationship or an infinite regress of relationships. Never a 'thing'"[30].

Ingold, in contrast, finds that "things *are* relations" (Ingold, 2011a, p. 70, original emphasis) – and by implication that relations are things.[31] His lines are acts and artefacts that brim with life; they are no straight geometrical ideals of two dimensions; they are organic, textured, fuzzy, smelly, rough, treacherous, ambiguous, emotional. Lines understood in this way are hard to define in the sense of delineating the concept against others. In fact, a delineation would contradict the very essence of Ingold's understanding of what lines do: to enmesh and entangle rather than to distinguish. His understanding of lines meanders, forks and wanders; reaching tentative filaments that touch and resonate an indeterminate amount of associations.

Ingold epitomises the differences between logical connections and lively lines through a distinction between transport/travelling and wayfaring. For a traveller, the world appears as a map consisting of a great expanse of 'nowhere' with single 'somewheres' or points of interests sprinkled in. Transport, then, is concerned with the fastest way to get from point A to point B, a line drawn between them with a ruler, ultimately aimed at the annihilation of the 'nowhere' in between. "'Annihilating time and space'", Rebecca Solnit writes, "is what most new technologies aspire to do: technology regards the very terms of our bodily existence as burdensome" (Solnit, 2003, p. 11). Wayfaring, in contrast, is the very embodiment of movement. As such, it is a continuous movement in negotiation between the moving body and the environment. It has neither a beginning nor an end; the wayfarer has no final destination and lives life on the road. "The possibility of pure transport", Ingold maintains,

[30] This quote, it should be noted, explicitly makes an epistemological, not an ontological, argument; it makes a statement about what can be studied, and not really what is.

[31] "The line? This is hardly the kind of *thing* that has served traditionally as the focus of our attention." (Ingold, 2007, p. 1, own emphasis).

however, "is an illusion" (Ingold, 2007, p. 102), as the 'nowhere' in-between the points of 'somewhere' can never be truly annihilated, try as one might. Doreen Massey makes a similar argument, pointing out the impossibility of an annihilation of space by time, and says about a life unmoored from space that "[…] 'space' won't allow you to do it. Space can never be definitively purified" and that "[m]obility and fixity, flow and settledness […] presuppose each other" (Massey, 2005, p. 95).

Ingold not only differentiate these two different modalities of movement but connects to them two different ways of knowing the world (2007, p. 84 ff.). In wayfaring, there is no distinction between movement and cognition. Knowledge is ordered through the story line of the journey that proceeds within the world. In contrast, in "modern thought" (2007, p. 88), knowledge is conceptualised as something that is drawn out of the world and then up into the incorporeal, rational realm of universal truth. There, it assembles a picture that is available all at once, observable not through embodied movement but by lingering and contemplating it from a fixed point. However, just as pure transport is an illusion, this epistemology of transport is illusionary as well: "For all of us", Ingold concludes, "in reality, knowledge is not built up as we go across, but rather grows as we go along" (ibid. 2007, p. 102).

This illustrates how in his description of wayfaring Ingold's thought on lines is the strongest; but its distinction to transport and travelling also reveals a certain wistful and romanticising tendency that sometimes seems to blunt his analytical edge. First, wayfaring and transport are discussed as two different ways of moving through the world. From this, Ingold derives two different but equally valid ways of seeing the world. The resulting epistemological tension, however, is then not embraced but resolved in conclusions that only the former way of knowing is *true*, while the latter is an *illusion*. His book on lines (2007) concludes with the slogan that "[a]s in life, what matters is not the final destination, but the things along the way", which is certainly nice and inspirational, but also wastes the interesting antagonism between different kinds of lines and different modalities of movement for a shibboleth.

Indeed, Ingold does examine the implications of antagonistic lines along the way of his argument when he dedicates a paragraph to the imperial and oppressive lines of transport. "From time to time in the course of history", he writes, "imperial powers have sought to occupy the inhabited world, throwing a network of connections across what appears, in their eyes, to be not a tissue of trails but a blank surface. These connections are lines of occupation." (Ingold, 2007, p. 81). He maintains that these lines of occupation do not only connect points of resource extraction and export, as well as nodes of political

power with straight, geometrical connectors, but that "they are inclined to ride roughshod over the lines of habitation that are woven into [the landscape]" (ibid., p. 81). In the previous section on infrastructured mobilities, I have proposed concentrating on the ways in which lines of occupation are able to both create connections, and cut them. Lines may thus appear as a connection of transport for the coloniser and a 'thing in the way' for those whose lines have been cut. Here, my departure from Ingold may be most pronounced, as I focus on how infrastructures draw and re-draw these lines of occupation – not "from time to time in the course of history", but currently and continuously.

In order to do that, it is essential to question the Janus-faced character of lines (as thing and relation) and subsequent ambivalence of the line that Ingold intimates. This question then circles back to the question that was brought up during the previous conceptual discussion on mobilities and anticipations – *why does the LAPSSET corridor appear as a pathway towards modernity to some, and as a 'thing in the way' to others?* Above, I have shown how Tim Ingold regards lines as both dinglich as well as relational; as relational things, as it were. As mentioned above, this contradicts some other relations theories that insist on a relational foundationalism of sorts, maintaining that, in the end, it is 'relations all the way down'.

In this thesis I adapt a position that is somewhat different than both Tim Ingold's and the 'relational foundationalist' approach. I adapt his notion that every line is always both thing and relation, but – and this detail is of paramount importance! – I recognise that it does not always display both characteristics to everyone or at any time. Related to that I formulate what might be regarded as the two axioms for all of my future arguments: 1.) Every line is always and necessarily both connection and disconnection. 2.) The resolution of this ambivalence is a political process.

In infrastructure and mobility studies, as I have argued above, the first axiom (perhaps in a less sweeping generalisation) is widely acknowledged in regard to roads and other infrastructural lines; critical border studies have made similar claims about borderlands as both area of demarcation and interface. Both of these examples also recognise that the way this duality is resolved in each individual case is a highly political process. For example, the fact that people of certain nationalities see passport checkpoints as gateways into other countries, while for others they constitute ultimate barriers, is neither natural nor random. I suggest that it is possible to generalise the ambiguity of these specific cases into the general axioms that I have formulated above.

Tim Ingold struggles with this ambivalence of lines. Instead of focussing on clearly delineated objects or places (or 'blobs' as he sometimes calls them (2015), Ingold considers knots, which have a body but are not clearly distinguishable from the lines that are entangled in them. However, Ingold largely ignores the political nature of the process of differentiation that constitutes a *knot* in the first place. Who decides what tangle of lines gets to be one? Is every knot obviously recognisable as one? Is one wo*man's knot another wo*man's line? Where are the contentions, the politics, the contradictions, the antagonisms, the dramas, the contingencies, the disputabilities, the struggles?

In order to engage with these questions (and to be able to formulate them in the first place), I believe it is fruitful to include in these deliberations the notion of politics of ontology (Blaser, 2013; Jensen, 2014; Mol, 1999; Viveiros de Castro, Pedersen, & Holbraad, 2014), particularly in reference to indigenous cosmologies (e.g. Blaser, 2014; De La Cadena, 2010), as well as neo-Marxist notions that extend Marx' primacy of Klassen(-Kampf) to an ontological principle (Beetz, 2016; Marchart, 2013, pp. 263–297). What these ways of thinking stress, in short, is the idea that things could be different – or not even things at all. Only with the help of this doubt is it possible to wonder why things congealed in a particular way and what politics might have been at play to make them appear in exactly the way they do.

This raises the question: what exactly are the political processes that resolve the line's ambiguity variably as connection or disconnection? After all, parliamentary discussions on whether or not a pipeline is a thing or a relation are rather rare – at least in such explicit form. In order to answer this question, I suggest that it is the scalar configuration in which a line is encountered that decides whether it is encountered as a thing or not. This does not mean that things are always and necessarily local, while relations are global – the globe itself can and does appear as a thing. It merely means that a decision can be made, the contingency can be resolved, by the fixation at a particular scalar level.

One practical example illustrates the point: the LAPSSET pipeline can be present as a thing when it appears in the table of a feasibility report; attached to it then certain characteristics, such as projected costs and a time frame of the construction process. It is a thing that – in combination with other things, such as a road, a resort city, an airport – constitutes the LAPSSET corridor. The pipeline can appear as a relation when it appears as a way for the oil to be transported between A and B – there is no letter, no thing between A and B, only a connection, an AND (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). It can be

present as a thing for the elephant that wants to follow the route his ancestors have taken for many decades, which is suddenly blocked by a fence. It can be present as the agglomeration of relations between molecules that bond in a certain way as to insulate the side of the pipeline from the relative environmental coldness, lest the molecules of oil bond in a way that would increase their viscosity over a particular threshold. These different forms are not merely different perspectives on the same thing (Blaser, 2013; Mol, 1999), but depend on the specific relational material arrangements or apparatūs (Barad, 2010) in which each form is made intelligible. In other words: the way that one relates to the pipeline influences the scalar framing in which it is encountered, which in turn influences whether it is encountered as a thing or a relation. These encounters are not neutral or apolitical, but are of a political, meaning a contestable, nature.

Regarding scale as the "effects of more or less dense connections" (Müller, 2015, p. 35) implies that a higher scalar level can be *achieved* (Latour, 2005, p. 185) through a higher amount, reach or durability of connections (cf. ibid., p. 176). I find this way of conceptualising relational scale unconvincing, both in terms of its narrow and binary conceptualisation of relation, as well as the difficulties I have with studying this kind of relation empirically. I argue that it is not merely the quantity of relations that determine scalar positions but also their quality. In order to consider the quality of relations, it is necessary to imagine them not as abstract connections[32] but as living, embodied and also-material lines.

Why, may one ask, are the 'local communities' along the planned route of the LAPSSET corridor cast at the scalar level of locality? Do they not have a myriad of strong and stable connections all over the country and even the planet? Many people I met set me up with relatives and friends they had across the country; a lot of people told me about having lived at many different places – especially for elderly people, this seemed to be quite common. Lines exist to the global market, in the form of cell phones or digital Casio watches that many Samburu wear around their wrists, adorned with colourful beads that were originally introduced by European colonists. Lines exist to the factories and motor and agricultural businesses that are the drivers of climate change, which many people experience directly. Lines exist to the entire universe via indigenous and Christian cosmologies that make statements about the nature of reality itself. People living alongside the LAPSSET are thus related with multitudes through economy, family ties, beliefs and their own bodies. Does it

[32] Such as in geometry, where lines are imagined to have an effective width of zero metres

make sense to count these lines and compare them with the ones being maintained by multinational companies such as Tullow Oil, the Kenyan state, or the LAPSSET authority? I wouldn't even know how to go about counting them.

This prompts the question: if it is not only the density of relations that produces scale, then what is it? Again, I suggest that looking at the material actuality of lines (the ontic, as Heidegger would put it) may be useful. One possible aspect that might be worth considering in this regard is the question of *direction* or what a particular line is *pointing at*. The directionality of, let's say, a pipeline should not be exclusively understood as an inherent characteristic of the way the pipeline is built, but in the way that the pipeline thrusts itself (or is thrusted) out of its own thing-ness to become a relation between things, between the oil field in Turkana and the harbour in Lamu, and the way it establishes these points as 'source' and 'receiver' of oil. Only when this directionality is opposed – say by a cow wanting to cross the pipeline orthogonally in order to get to pastures on the other side, or when an accident or sabotage breaks the pipe – does it appear again as a thing: an obstacle in the way, a pollutant in the landscape. The difference between pipeline as a thing and pipeline as a relation, then, is the respective scalar framing in which it is encountered.

Encountering lines is important for understanding them. The next chapter, therefore, explores how different kinds of lines – through space, time, and on paper – can be used as a methodological entry point to explore how infrastructural futures are en-/countered by the people inhabiting the segment of LAPSSET's route I have studied.

4
Lines of Inquiry

"Back off, man! I'm a scientist!"
- Peter Venkman in the 1985 movie Ghostbusters

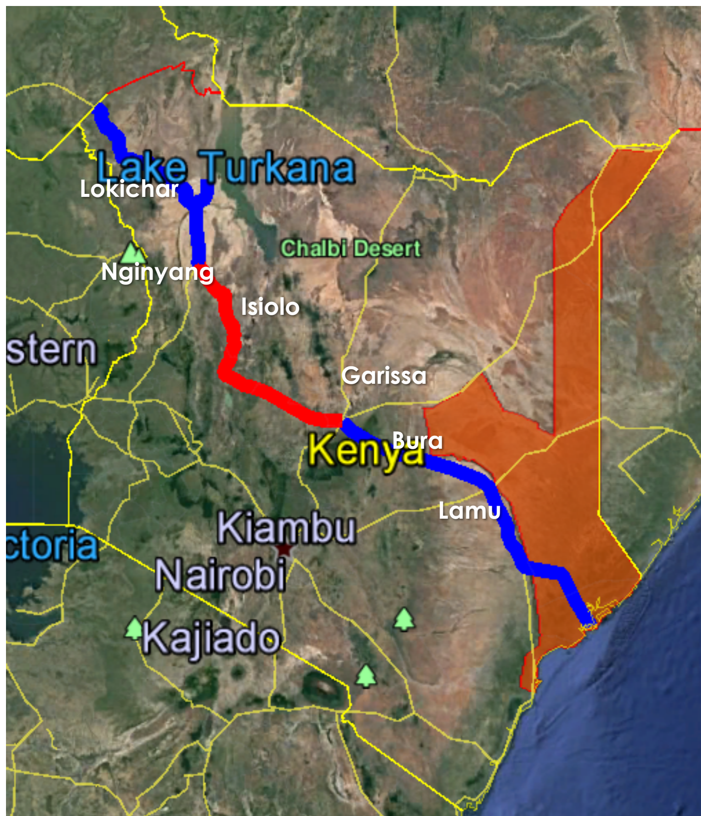
The three leitmotifs of this thesis correspond to the three different kinds of lines that I will explore in this text: walking – lines through space; anticipating – lines through time; and drawing – lines on paper. This chapter will explore how the practices of walking, anticipating and walking can be used as epistemological and eventually methodological principles.

First, I will summarise some general aspects of my research, who I have talked with and some general reflections on interview guidelines and my own position as a researcher. This part covers the practical aspects of conducting research, summarising what I actually did during fieldwork. I will also critically engage with the colonial luggage of my research design, which could justifiably be described as "Research Adventures on Indigenous Lands" (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 78). The subsequent parts are meant to anchor the practice of doing fieldwork in the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter 3.

For this purpose I secondly introduce walking as a way to trace different lines through space that allows sensitivity to both flows and friction. Walking is a practice that encounters lines both as relations (the path one follows, the lines on a map one traces), as well as obstacles (the path that unexpectedly swerves off the desired route, the river crossing, the gully crossing the way). Again in reference to Tim Ingold I will therefore introduce ethnography as a "Practice on Foot" (Ingold & Vergunst, 2008), complementing it with some insights from George Marcus' Multi-Sited Ethnography (Marcus, 1995). I will put a special emphasis on the practice of walking with animals as a way to recognize lines in the landscape that I would have missed otherwise.

Third, I will conflate the motifs of anticipating and drawing by suggesting the practice of drawing as a way to represent anticipatory future-making practices and depict marginalised temporalities. In this context, I introduce *Collaborative Comic Creation* (CCC) as a methodological tool to make marginalised future-making practices and anticipations visible. In this part, I will describe and conceptualise the workshops that I, together with three artists from Nairobi, held with people living in the vicinity of the LAPSSET. These comics that came out of these workshops will later constitute the basis for the empirical discussion in chapter 7.

Fig 4: LAPSSET corridor and transect walk. Blue line: planned LAPSSET corridor route excluded from study; red line: transect walk along planned LAPSSET route (Lokichar -> Isiolo, 380km); orange area: travel warnings (British Embassy). Basemap: GoogleEarth



4.1 Summary of Fieldwork

Fig 5: Map of the four research phases. Basemap: GoogleEarth, LAPSSET route based on Natural Justice Cartography by the author.

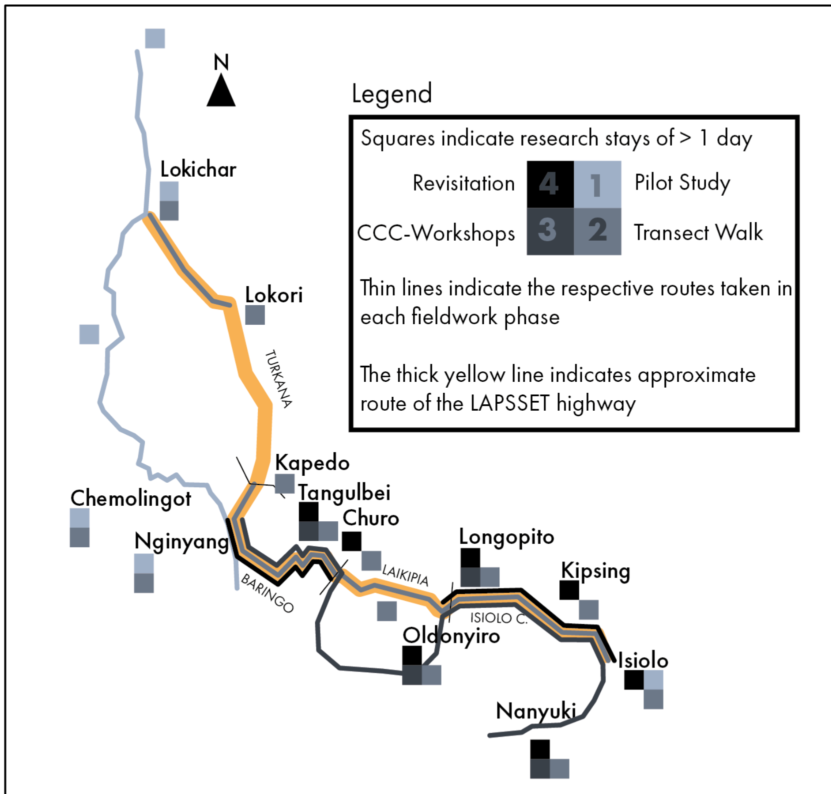


Fig 4 shows a map of the entire route of the LAPSSET corridor, marking the segment that I have studied during my fieldwork in red. I had originally planned to walk the entire route of the LAPSSET corridor from Lamu to Lokichar. However there are several reasons why I focussed on only one segment in the end. First, it would simply not have been feasible to work the entire distance because it would have taken too long. Second, as can be seen in Fig 4, parts of the corridor route pass through areas that are not deemed save, due to their vicinity to Somalia. Third, and maybe most importantly, the stretch of the route I have chosen is particularly suitable to explore the ambiguities of infrastructure. What first struck me as a nuisance – the uncertainty of where exactly the route between Isiolo and Lokichar would be

– turned out to be one of the biggest advantages of conducting fieldwork along that segment, as people living close to it were faced with the same kind of uncertainty. The 450 km long segment I have chosen therefore strikes a good balance between feasibility on the one hand, and possibilities to explore phenomena that are relevant for my research on the other.

The fieldwork was divided into four distinct phases: a pilot study in late 2016, a transect walk along the entirety of the selected segment of the route between Isiolo and Kapedo in early 2018, the organisation of workshops along the same route later in 2018, and a revisitation in early 2019 along most parts of the segment. The table below (Table 1) summarises the phases and the map (Fig 5) illustrates the four research phases.

Table 1: Overview and purpose of research phases

Phase	Time	Type	Purpose
Phase 1	Nov. – Dec. 2016	Pilot Study	First impression, contacts, question generating
Phase 2	Feb. – Mar. 2018	Transect walk	Main empirical work (interviews), walking as method, identification of workshop participants
Phase 3	Apr. 2018	Workshop	Creation of Collaborative Comics
Phase 4	Mar. – Apr. 2019	Revisitation	Assess final comics, sharing of results, longer-term contact with participants

During the pilot study I have visited a few points of interest along what I anticipated to be the route of the LAPSSET corridor. At the time, I had no precise information about the route of the corridor and therefore only visited a couple of key points that I assumed to be important; mainly Isiolo, Nginyang, and Lokichar. I conducted a series of interviews in each of these locations, which do not inform the analysis of this thesis directly, because at the time I did not yet have a clear idea of my research question, nor a research design. Rather, I used the pilot study as a way to generate questions in the first place. One issue that arose in that first phase was transportation. As I realised that travelling through the areas the corridor would pass would not be possible by conventional means of transport, I built my subsequent walking/cycling research design on that experience. During phase 1, I experimented with a variety of modes of transport: walking, buses, motorbikes, and hitchhiking. Between Kainuk and Lokichar I joined a convoy of trucks transporting chemicals to the oil fields in Turkana. I furthermore used the pilot study as a way to establish contacts with inhabitants of the area, as well as relevant organisations.

Phase 2 constitutes the main body of my empirical work. It consists of a ca. 2 months transect walk from Isiolo to Kapedo, as well as several separate research stays in Nanyuki, Lokichar and Nairobi. During this phase, I

conducted a total of eighty-seven interviews, mostly with people living in the vicinity of the corridor, but also with local authorities (though these two groups often overlap), managers of conservancies and ranches, as well as environmental and indigenous rights organisations in Nanyuki and Nairobi. There are two general types of interview methods that I used in phase 2: the main body of material consists of sedentary semi-structured interviews that I have conducted while staying in particular locations for extended periods of time. These interviews focussed on people's biography, as well as their expectations regarding the LAPSSET corridor. Several interviews were conducted on the way between settlements while walking. Most of these were simple conversations with research assistants and people we met on the way, some of them, however, took the form of more formal semi-structured interviews that happened to be conducted while walking. Only the latter kind was recorded. Apart from the topics covered in sedentary interviews, these walking interviews additionally focussed on perceptions of the surroundings and expected environmental changes in relation to the LAPSSET project. I captured Informal conversation inside and between settlements in a research diary, as well as retrospective voice recordings.

In order to understand future references to particular places and areas, I will briefly summarise the areas I perambulated during the transect walk. I started the journey in Isiolo, the capital city of the eponymous county and so-called frontier city that marks the invisible boundary between mainland Kenya and its marginalised North. Here, an old friend of mine who grew up in Isiolo introduced me to several county and sub-county government officials and helped me to buy a donkey to assist me in further travel. I furthermore introduced myself to the area chief and requested a letter of introduction to be produced for local authorities. This process would be repeated in every major settlement: I would show a letter from the chief I had met in the previous settlement and request an additional one for the next. I then proceeded alone towards the 'Kipsing Gap' to the West of the city, where I believed at the time that the Isiolo Resort City would be built.[33]

On the outskirts of Isiolo, I met Franklin,[34] who offered to accompany me to the next village and help me with translations. Together with him and one of his friends, we made our way through the Kipsing Gap to the police

[33] There have been several disputes about the exact location of the resort city since, and Kulamawe has been proposed as an alternative site. However, currently, the original location at Kipsing Gap looks most probable.

[34] All names have been changed.

outpost 'Mlango'[35] where we spent the night. The next day we made our way to Kipsing, a small village that was nevertheless one of the largest settlements in the area. On the way there I came across the first LAPSSET 'beacon', small concrete blocks indicating the route of the corridor that will appear (and already have) in several parts of this thesis as a metaphor and research topic. In Kipsing I spent over a week (a bit longer than planned, as my donkey was held hostage for several days). Among the people I interviewed here was Patrick, a former pilot who had worked for a conservancy as a bush pilot and whose account would later be the basis for a 'collaborative comic'.

During my stay in Kipsing I also met Andrew, who agreed to accompany me to the next settlement and work as a research assistant and translator. We made our way to Longopito, a cluster of Samburu homesteads in the centre of Isiolo County's 'tail'. Here we stayed with Jeremiah, a friend of Andrew's, for one night. Jeremiah and his extended family would participate in the second comic workshop some weeks later. The next day we made our way to Oldonyiro, a town at the very western edge of Isiolo County, where Andrew introduced me to a couple of his friends, among them Seyyid (see his poem in the introduction to the thesis), who would later participate in the third comic workshop. I stayed in Oldonyiro for over a week, accompanying inhabitants on several excursions in the surrounding area. The owner of the hostel I stayed in also managed a local conservancy and introduced me to Jackson, one of his rangers, who would be able to accompany me on the next leg of the journey that would lead through Laikipia's highlands, an area mostly occupied by ranches and large conservancies.

With Jackson, I walked through largely uninhabited areas, passing the site of a planned dam project at 'Crocodile Jaws' on route to Loisaba Ranch, a tourist resort, cattle ranch and headquarter of the Loisaba conservancy. I stayed only one night and left the next day after a conversation with the manager of the ranch, heading to the next ranch along the way. To make my way through the conservancy, I was accompanied by two armed rangers who would make sure I didn't get lost or eaten by lions. At the midway point between the two ranches, we stayed at a ranger outpost (where I didn't get much sleep, as the outpost was not fenced and I had to keep a fire going throughout the night, lest my donkey be eaten by hyenas). The following day we reached Mugie Ranch, where I talked to several of the conservancy managers. I was again accompanied by two armed guards to the edge of the Mugie conservancy, and from there I continued on my way alone to Churo.

[35] Swahili for 'door' or 'entrance', named for its position at the 'entrance' of Kipsing Gap.

Churo was the first town largely inhabited by Pokot, as it is located just across the boundary between Laikipia and Baringo Counties. I stayed for almost a week and conducted a considerable number of interviews together with Daniel, a young man my age, who had come back to his hometown after graduating but not finding a job in Nairobi. He agreed to accompany me to Tangulbei, a town not far away from Churo. There, I met the women active in *Tangulbei Women Network*, a local women's rights organisation. The organisation's chair and two of its members agreed to participate in the final comic workshop some weeks later. I also met Isaac, who accompanied me half way to Nginyang, the next town on my route and located at the newly constructed B4 highway. I camped in a small settlement about 20 kilometres from Nginyang, where I met Louis, who worked there as a teacher at a local primary school but lived in Nginyang. After I had made my way to Nginyang the next day, he invited me to stay at his place, where I lived for the next week. He helped me with translations and research assistance in Nginyang, as well as in nearby Chemolingot. In Nginyang, I also had to say farewell to the donkey who had accompanied me until then. I had called the Kenya Society for the Protection & Care of Animals in advance and arranged that she would be picked up there, to continue her life at an animal shelter in Naivasha.

Now truly alone for the first time, I made my way up to Kapedo, crossing the disputed lands between areas inhabited by Pokot and Turkana people. I stayed in Kapedo for a couple of days and decided that it was too dangerous to venture further through the desolate Suguta Valley. Instead, I hitched a ride on one of the daily police transports back to Nginyang, and continued my journey by bus to Kainuk, and from there to Lokichar, the last station on my route. There, I met Christopher, a professional research assistant who had previously worked for several national and international organisations in the area. With him I travelled to the oil fields at Ngamia, and further to the final station of the journey, Lokori, a village back in the direction towards Kapedo.

Phase 3 started a week after my return to Nairobi. Together with three artists we travelled to Nanyuki, where we conducted the first two workshops with Patrick (the former Pilot I had first met in Kipsing) and the chair of a Nanyuki-based women's and indigenous rights organisation. We then rented an SUV and hired a driver in Isiolo, travelling from there to Longopito, taking a route around the hills surrounding Kipsing Gap. We conducted the third comic workshop with Andrew and his extended family under an acacia tree in his homestead. Next, we met Seyyid in his favourite pub in Oldonyiro, where we conducted the fourth workshop. Subsequently, we were forced to take a somewhat long detour around the conservancies in Laikipia, and subsequently

passed Churo and eventually arrived in Tangulbei. There, we organised our last workshop with members of the Tangulbei Women Network. For security reasons, we had decided to not venture any further towards Turkana County and instead returned back to Nairobi.

For the last phase of the research I first spent some time in Nairobi in order to prepare and conduct interviews with different environmental and indigenous rights organisations. Some problems arising in the printing of the comic books delayed my research for a while, but eventually I started my last lap along the same route, this time on a bicycle. With 200 copies of the five comic stories (both in English and Swahili) in my pannier, I re-traced the route once again starting in Isiolo and ending in Nginyang. Again, for security reasons I decided to not travel any further north this time around. During phase four I worked with a more structured interview guide, which I used to ascertain existing knowledge of and opinions about the LAPSSET project before having read the comics. After giving interlocutors the chance to engage with the comic book, I then used the second half of the survey to ask whether their opinions of the LAPSSET had changed, and if they had any feedback regarding the comic itself.

4.2 Overview of Research Methods and Data

As mentioned in the previous section, there were three main sets of data gathered during fieldwork: recorded interviews conducted while either sedentary or walking, observations made during stays at settlements and en route (noted in field notebooks and personal voice recordings), and, lastly, data gathered in connection with the collaborative comics, which will be discussed in more depth in Section 4.5. It contains interview data and observations, but also collaboratively created drawings and comic strips, as well as a short survey about opinions on the finished comics.

The interview data is probably the most prevalent, both in my analysis, as well as in this thesis. I conducted two general kinds of interviews: 'sedentary' interviews in settlements along the way and 'walking' interviews in between settlements or while taking a hike around the area. These two types are mostly distinguished by their structure, as well as their sampling method.

Sedentary interviews followed a relatively fixed yet flexible structure that I continually adapted throughout the fieldwork process, as new topics of interest arose in previous conversations. They evolved around a number of topics rather than specific questions that I would follow according to my interview guide, unless the conversation naturally transitioned to another

topic. These topics where derived from the theoretical framework I had been using at the time, which, it should be noted, evolved quite substantially later on in the process.

I would typically start by asking interviewees about their life, and issues that currently preoccupied them. This preamble did not only provide a more casual beginning to the interview, but in many cases also led to a list of issues or problems. It also proved highly flexible, and I used it as a way to start a conversation with government officials, as well as shop owners, conservation managers or pastoralists. As an example, an interviewee might say that she was worrying that her daughter wasn't doing well in school; how important a good education was in her opinion; and that it wouldn't be easy for her daughter to find a job if she didn't graduate with a good degree. Later in the interview, I would know what the interviewee cared about and would be able to build on these issues to ask more directly about anticipated changes in relation to the LAPSSET. For example, in this case we would later talk about how she anticipates that the corridor would impact schooling and education, or the availability of jobs. This way of structuring the interview would not only make sure that it was about topics of actual interest but also helped to improve the flow of the conversation, making the transition to 'my' interest, the LAPSSET corridor, more natural.

From this, the interview would then transition to topic 2, the general assessment of the LAPSSET. I would ask them what they knew about the project, where they got information about it and whether this information was sufficient. Most interviewees would say that there were 'good and bad' aspects of the corridor, and we often spent at least ten minutes identifying them and discussing what exactly was good or bad about them, under what conditions and for whom. At this point in the research, I had been mainly concerned with the pipeline component of the LAPSSET.[36] While I was always careful not to nudge interviewees towards listing certain dangers, I would always make sure to ask them what they thought about the pipeline once I was sure they wouldn't bring it up themselves. Another important interest for me at the time was the issue of environmental justice. While I have dropped explicit references to this academic field in the final version of the thesis, its general ideas are still important. At the end of the discussion of topic 2, I would, therefore, ask how just the interviewee found the distribution of 'good' and 'bad' they had talked about.

[36] The pipeline would later be pushed further into the background as people were more interested in the road – several interviewees even referred to the corridor as 'barabara ya LAPSSET', or 'the LAPSSET road'.

In most cases, the word 'development', or 'maendeleo' in Swahili, would be mentioned at least once. I would use this to transition to the next topic, by saying something along the lines of 'you've mentioned development several times now. What exactly do you mean by that?'. Discussing this question would often raise issues that had been previously discussed, but put them into a different frame of reference: from personal experience to more general notions of the state, modernity, globalisation etc.

The interview would commonly conclude with reflections about the future. A starting question I often used in this context was to ask the interviewee to describe how the scenery we were looking at during the interview would look like in ten years, assuming the LAPSSET was built by then. This way of framing the question helped make the answers more concrete and specific, as I had noticed that many people tended to speak in generalizations, such as 'things will have improved', or 'the future will not be good for us'. In describing an area, landscape or particular part of the city, people did not only express their perception of the current and anticipations of future situations, but often also the mechanisms or drivers of change. For example, one interviewee in Oldonyiro answered the question this way:

> Right now this is a small market. I believe when we count these houses that we have here or when you move from one side, here [points towards one end of the town], now, from this to there [points towards the other end of town] it's just a matter of five minutes. But I believe some years to come, we are going to have estates in those points [pointing vaguely in one direction]. We are going to have another town, stopovers maybe, it will be there [pointing towards another direction]. We will have our people here moving to those places, maybe to sell some small *nini*[37] because I believe those people who will be passing there, they will not be passing through express [they will not pass without stopping]. At least you have to quench some thirst you know?" (Interview, 2018-01-31)

Others would talk about their own business, about the displacement of small traditional huts, or simply the fact that it would be possible to charge your phone in every café or restaurant in town.

Sampling for these kinds of 'sedentary' interviews mostly done through either snowballing – asking each interviewee for contacts of another person – or through the help of a research assistant, who would help me organise interviews with people he[38] knew and thought might be interesting to talk to.

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[37] Commonly used as a placeholder, similar to *whatchamalacallit* or *jawnski* in English. Literally means 'what'.

[38] All research assistants I worked with were male (, see next section

Whenever possible, we tried to interview an equal amount of men and women, as well as young and old people, but for reasons further explained in the next section, the sampling skewed heavily towards men.

In contrast to sedentary interviews, walking interviews were structured much more flexibly and did not follow a particular guideline, even though the interview topics mentioned above were, of course, on my mind during these conversations as well. Instead, the landscape itself played a much bigger part in structuring the interview and prompting certain topics. For example, during a hike with an interlocutor around Oldonyiro, we passed a power line that was currently under construction; in the distance, wooden posts were visible as well the power line itself – until it suddenly stopped for no apparent reason. The interlocutor pointed this out to me and explained:

> Interviewee (A): There is a mzee [old man] there, you see where the last post [is]? I don't know if you can see the last post; it has stopped there, because the mzee there has refused to move.
>
> Interviewer (B): Okay, interesting, so is it that building over there?
>
> A: Yeah, that's the building over there where the road, where the… you see the wires? Can you see the wires? Where they are going to?
>
> B: Yeah, I see it.
>
> A: He has said no. "No I can't" so these people, wamekataa, kila siku wanaenda kubembeleza [they have refused, so every day they are going to flatter him], they go "Mzee bwana" [a deferential honorific] so they see there is some sense there. (Interview, 2018-02-03)

In this case, this observation transitioned to a general discussion about how government authorities should treat people with respect, as well as the possibilities and morality of resisting infrastructure projects, such as the LAPSSET. Walking through the landscape where these things played out not only prompted interesting questions, but also grounded the conversation in very concrete examples that we could literally 'point at' (see: 4.4.1).

Sampling of 'walking' interviews also worked differently than for 'sedentary' interviews. Sometimes I would ask people I had previously interviewed if they were willing to show me around particular places at a later time. More frequently, however, I would simply meet people on the way between settlements and walk with them for a while if they were heading in the same direction. Pastoralists, especially, often walk rather long distances, for

example, to sell livestock at local markets. These encounters would commonly mean at least a short conversation and sharing of some basic information – where one came from and was going; for what purpose, etc. Sometimes I would use these impromptu conversations to instigate a more formal interview and would ask for permission to record the conversation.

Apart from these two interview forms, I also conducted some group interviews. Most of these happened by accident when I had planned an individual interview with someone and couldn't find a sufficiently quiet and private space; people would then join in the conversation, sometimes resulting in rather big crowds. Since these impromptu group interviews were not properly organised and moderated, the resulting material was hardly usable in the end. In contrast, I organised two systematic focus group discussions with women's rights organisations in Churo and Tangulbei. For these occasions, the research assistant and in one case a contact in the group helped to organise a room, and the existing group structure helped to keep the group discussion on course. At almost every settlement I visited, I furthermore participated in several 'barazas', semi-formal meetings of mostly elderly men. Here, I was more a guest than anything else, and the purpose was to introduce myself rather than to gather data. Some of these barazas, however, also lead to very interesting research insights, as exemplified by the vignette introducing Chapter 7.

This last type of 'focus group discussion' was less an interview situation, in the traditional sense, and more a participatory observation. In general, participatory observations constitute an important share of the research material, especially for the purpose of providing thick descriptions. (Participatory) observations are furthermore an important aspect of walking interviews. As I will further elaborate in Section 4.4.1, participating in the practice of walking offers great insights into the way people understand and navigate landscapes. This aspect was particularly important for my research, as the question how people figuratively and literally navigate landscapes (of anticipation) defines my overarching research question.

The last part of my empirical data was collected in relation to the creation of collaborative comics. This method was primarily meant to achieve two things: a) to engage with the future in a direct and material way, and b) to concurrently create images that would be able to tell a different story than the prevalent images produced in support of the 'corridor masterplans' that dominate the pictorial world or *Bildwelt* of the LAPSSET. It is of course possible and it can be highly informative to simply ask people 'what do you expect the future to be like?' (as I have consistently done in almost every

interview). However, providing a concrete object and topic in the form of drawn narratives helped ground the discussion and bring out individual and affective aspects of future imaginations that might have otherwise remained abstract and general. Here, not only is the drawing itself useful; the observations and discussions recorded during the process of collaboratively drawing a comic offer a great wealth of data.

In the previous two sections some ethical issues have already been hinted at. The following section will explore these in more detail, giving particular attention to the ways in which my research re-produces colonial "Research Adventures on Indigenous Lands" (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 78). Subsequently, I will expand on the above-mentioned methodological approaches by grounding them in the theoretical 'lines of thought' described in the previous chapter, and by providing more details about the practical implementation of both 'walking' and 'drawing' as methodological approaches.

4.3 Ethical Aspects of Research Adventures on Indigenous Lands

While planning phase 2 of my research, I was often reminded of colonial-era expeditions that did not only seek to promote an imperial agenda but were often just as much about the inflated egos of the explorer, who set out to conquer 'virgin' lands. While Ackerly and True (2008, p. 693) rightly point out that "[…] we, as researchers, also participate in the projection of power through knowledge claims", it is not always possible to 'deal with' the privileged positions of power that I take up especially during fieldwork, but also later in the process of publishing about it. All critical reflection cannot override the fact that I am not the person who should have done this particular research, as there are plenty of young Kenyan researchers who are doing brilliant work on large-scale infrastructure projects in Kenya, such as Wangui Kimari (2020), Ngala Chome (2020; 2020), Hassan Kochore (2016) and Benard Musembi Kilaka. There is an argument to be made about using relative privilege to leverage in solidarity with indigenous people in their struggle against oppression (Smith, 1999) – without, however, self-righteously 'white-men's-burdening' one's research project. This ethical dilemma is intricate and cannot be fully resolved in a society that remains patriarchal and white-supremacist (Brown & Strega, 2005, p. 10).

Critical self-reflectivity may be an important first step but is not enough and can even be harmful, as "such self-reflexivity puts the white researcher in the center of discourse" (Wolf, 1996, p. 22). It is therefore important to not

reduce the process of critical reflexion to narcissistic navel-gazing. As Herising (2005, p. 133) points out, critical reflection "requires the researcher not simply turn hir gaze critically and reflectively inward but rather to engage in critically reflective processes that speak to multiple power relations". This means that reflectivity is not only about the (in this case white, male) researcher, but about the lines of power the researcher is involved in. As Braidotti (2002, p. 13) puts it: "Self-reflexivity is, moreover, not an individual activity, but an interactive process which relies upon a social network of exchanges". Similarly, Marcus (1998) shows with reference to Donna Haraway that reflexivity does not have to be inward-looking. To the contrary – and in accordance with the relational understanding of ethnography I am borrowing from him as well – Marcus regards reflexivity as a "meditation" (ibid., p 401) that constitutes the research.

All the reflexivity during fieldwork does not change the fact that in the end, this text is written by one person, a researcher writing about the 'other', thus raising the question of mis-/representation. The research I have described above walks a treacherous ridge: on the one side there is the danger of (mis-) representing the 'others' (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1996), on the other side there is the danger of silencing 'others' if I don't talk about them for fear of misrepresentation (ibid., p. 12). This dilemma is of course far more intricate than a binary juxtaposition of two possibilities. Further questions include: Does describing e.g. the people in Turkana, in Civil Society groups or government position as 'the other' "reinscribe their silence and their Otherness" (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1996, p. 12)? Is 'speaking on behalf of yourself' (i.e. auto-ethnographic approaches) a way out of this dilemma or is it based on the same flawed assumption of difference? On the other hand: may an assumption of *sameness* lead to the assimilation of marginalised perspectives by the dominant one, thus silencing it (Hurd & McIntryre, 1996)?

This suggests that we reformulate the old question of ethnography, whether emic or etic perspectives are more valuable in a specific situation. *Emic* is sometimes understood as pertaining to "what goes on inside of people's heads" (Harris, 1976, p. 330), or to interpret a structured system, such as 'culture', from within that very system (Jahoda, 1995, p. 129). An *etic* perspective, it follows, describes the opposite, i.e. it describes a system from the outside. What these traditional understandings of *emic* and *etic* have in is that they assume the existence of epistemic containers – be it heads or systems – with boundaries that determine if one is 'inside' or 'outside' of that container. In contrast, one could argue that this distinction does not capture the ways in which the researcher is connected in some ways to some part of her surroundings, and disconnected in others. Paying attention to these ways of relating is neither *emic*

nor *etic*. While the researcher acknowledges herself as part of a relational web, acknowledging a relation between the researcher and someone else confirms both as distinct from one another, thus avoiding the 'assimilating sameness' critiqued by Hurd and McIntryre (1996).

Reflecting on these relations is 'navel gazing' in a sense, but it takes the figure of speech one step further: the gaze doesn't rest on the navel but follows the umbilical cord connecting me to my environment. Like looking at a fractal, the researcher finds herself in her environment, the environment in herself. This process has been given different names, as a meditative "pilgrimage" of inquiry, "immersing [oneself] in the landscape" (Reason, 2017, p. 68); or simply as *being alive* (Ingold, 2011a). This does not 'solve' the issue of representing 'others' at all. It does, however, offer another perspective on the issue that I do believe is worth exploring. The reflexive researcher actively tries to transcend a focus on critically engaging with the self, and rather pays attention to outside relations of power, oppression and identity; of economies and languages and the ways one moves in relation to them. A focus on the engagement with the world – as opposed to cathartic confessions – further prompts the researcher not only to rethink one's position, but also to actively change it, to move within the field of relations instead of merely describing it (see: L. Brown & Strega, 2005, p. 10).

Here, it is important to point out that as I move through this meshwork, my identity as a researcher does not remain constant. Certain aspects of my identity, such as my white and cis-male body, remained constant in very different relational contexts; the privileges of this presentation were active when I talked to male employees of the LCDA in Nairobi, and to female pastoralists in Longopito. Other identities are more fluid and contingent. One indicator for these changing positionalities is to observe what people I met assumed my profession or purpose for being there was. In Nanyuki and Isiolo, people mostly assumed I was a tourist on his way to one of the many national parks in the area – after all I was a white guy with a backpack, Fjällräven trousers and hiking boots in one of the country's main tourist destinations. Once I left Isiolo, my perceived identity shifted: a white man with a GPS device was now suspect, and some people assumed I was a land-grabber attempting to snatch the most valuable parcels of land, using information that the inhabitants did not have access to. Others saw an opportunity. When I first met Franklin, I assumed it was a lucky coincidence that I had met someone who had experience with translating and conducting qualitative fieldwork. In fact, someone had spotted me on my way, contacted him and informed him about a potential employer. This shows that it is insufficient to reflect on the

way that the researcher positions her- or himself towards interlocutors, as this would disregard the agency of people in the area to position themselves towards the researcher.

As soon as I asked questions about the LAPSSET corridor, I was immediately associated with the corridor project itself. Several translators told me that people were initially quite sceptical about talking to me about their opinions on the LAPSSET, despite my insistence that I was but an artless researcher. Sometimes, initial scepticism would be overcome simply by talking with people several times. Other times, personal relations of trust between my research assistant and other interlocutors helped ease the initial scepticism. At other times, being accompanied by two armed rangers created a suspicious association between me and wildlife conservancies, which are often regarded with some mistrust by the inhabitants. This illustrates the above-mentioned point for the need to not only recognise one own's position, but an entire "social network of exchanges" (Braidotti, 2002, p. 13) implied in the research process.

In the case of my research, this 'social network' includes not only human, but also non-human beings, such as my donkey 'Muunganishi'. Her presence further complicated my positionality and perceived identity, as it interrupted established categories. Several people I talked to told me that they could see I wasn't working for the government, as a government agent would never risk the ridicule of walking with a donkey. Being the object of ridicule[39] is another position that might be familiar to many researchers and is important to recognise as a way for people in the area to humorously (see: Franck, 2019) undermine existing power relations between them and the researcher. This again stresses the importance of not regarding power relations as pre-determined only by the specific positionality of the researcher, but of recognising that interlocutors actively engage with, interpret, undermine, utilise or ridicule existing power dynamics. In this context, Miraftab (2004) emphasizes how particularly in complex transnational relationships the dichotomous distinction and hierarchy between researcher and researched risk victimisation of research participants and assumes their inability to undermine or re-define privilege according to their own values.

As I continued further towards Turkana, the general presence of the oil industry became apparent. Not surprisingly, when I took lodging in the hotel "The Black Gold" in Lokichar, the first conjecture for many people was to

[39] I certainly was one many times during my fieldwork, not only because of Muunganishi but also due to my broken Swahili and the pure laughableness of my idea to walk from Isiolo to Kapedo.

assume that I was an engineer involved in the project. Here, too, scale is at play. Localised relationships including bonds of friendship or acquaintance intersect with economic relations of Kenya's petro-industry, which are in turn embedded in global dynamics of capitalism, white supremacy and patriarchy. Different relational lines within this trans-scalar meshwork are activated at different times and in different situations; some of these are oppressive, others benign, and some can be characterised by solidarity. The process of reflexivity itself is necessary to identify these relations, but it is furthermore necessary to strengthen those relations of solidarity, even as oppressive relations may not be severed entirely.

Furthermore, it is important to pay attention to relations that one does not form, the 'absent presences' of relational lines that could have been. The most glaring of those absent presences are women. Only a bit more than a quarter of all interviews have been conducted with women, and every single research assistant who helped me was male. I can only blame this partly on the circumstances. For example, most government officials (from local chiefs to sub-county governors) I talked to were men, thus skewing the gender distribution of interviews. However, this does not change the fact that if similar research had been conducted by somebody other than me, the interviews would have been quite different. I see the quantitative distribution of interviews itself as an indicator that portends qualitative absent presences as well. Even in interviews I conducted with women, meaning got lost that otherwise wouldn't have. This is compounded by the fact that the translators I worked with were also male.

This raises the problem of translation in qualitative fieldwork in general. While I did my best to improve my Kiswahili as much as possible before and during fieldwork, my language faculties were still severely lacking, and I only managed to some rather rudimentary Swahili. Several authors are critically engaging with the problems that arise with silencing the voices and erasing the presence of field assistants and translators (Eriksson Baaz & Utas, 2019; N. Mitchell, 2007; Turner, 2010) – in part, I suspect, because it challenges the image of the researcher as the independent expert polyglot. I depended on translators during all stages of fieldwork: people to introduce me to others, people to help me navigate unfamiliar social situations, and translators to facilitate language as well as cross-cultural meaning (Turner, 2010). I do acknowledge that some things got "lost on the way" (N. Mitchell, 2007, p. 110) and that translators may have inflicted their own ideas into the translation (Temple & Edwards, 2008, p. 6). However, I do not see these issues necessarily as only problematic, because this would mean idealising a way of doing

research that aims at getting a maximum amount of data and keeping it as unsullied by interpretation as possible. It is, however, problematic to ignore the active role that field assistants play, as well as their positionality (Turner, 2010, p. 208). Translation is not merely the passive process of matching equivalent linguistic signs of different systems; it is an active engagement and interpretation of language – not unlike an artist who translates stories into comic books.

This includes not only linguistic translation from Samburu, Pokot or Turkana to English, but also the work of co-constructing research by 'research brokers' more generally, including 'fixing' interviews, navigating landscapes and social situations, but also assessing the risk of particular situations (Eriksson Baaz & Utas, 2019). Research assistants have helped during the research for this thesis in all of these areas. Many of the first contacts in new locations were brokered by research assistants. Without people joining me on the way between settlements I would have been lost several times (as exemplified by my first lone attempt to travel alone with Muunganishi). I would not have known to bring chewing tobacco and salt to a meeting with elders in Lokichar. I would have missed plenty of details in the landscape, or during interviews if research assistants hadn't called attention to it. And particularly in the nature conservancies I would have been at risk of dangerous encounters with wildlife, it hadn't been for my companions, who knew exactly how to avoid being smelled by elephants downwind.

Baaz and Utas (2019) argue that the relationship between researcher and broker is particularly important in conflict settings and that the potentially problematic relationship may be more pronounced in these volatile research situations. Most of the research was not conducted in such settings, but emphasizing the contribution of research assistants for this work and how much I depend on it is nevertheless crucial.

Naturally, all the above-mentioned issues remain inconsequential as long as no consequences are drawn from them. One of the ways I tried to address many of these problems – not unlike I have addressed other problems in my life previously – was through comic books. In Section 4.5 I will go into more detail regarding the 'Collaborative Comic Creation' methodology. It is designed to give interlocutors more agency through their direct and creative involvement in how their stories are represented in both text and image. Furthermore, the methodology de-centres the researcher, foregrounding the relationship between artists and workshop participants and limiting the researcher's role to one of observation. The continuous involvement of the artists in different publications beyond this thesis furthermore attempts to

avoid the danger of the 'single story' (Adichie, 2009). Even though representation of 'Others' is still problematic – and in the end, this is a text written by a white man about others – I sincerely hope that this methodological approach succeeded in alleviating at least some of the concerns raised in this section.

However, before I describe the ways in which I engaged people's anticipations of the LAPSSET project through the collaborative drawing of comics, I discuss the other principal methodological approach I have used during fieldwork: walking. The following chapter reflects not only on the act of walking itself, but also on its epistemological implications as well as its relation to the concept of the line as I described in Chapter 3.

4.4 Moving

4.4.1 Walking – Methodological Reasoning and Literature Review

Fig 6: "Walking a Line in Peru", Richard Long, 1972.

The German word *Wanderlust* describes the urge not to be somewhere else, but to walk somewhere – anywhere. The way that the LAPSSET corridor, to me, always felt like it was 'just over there', instilled a serious *Wanderlust* – or maybe less a lust than a compulsion. This chapter builds on the conceptual discussion of Section 3.2 as a basis to develop 'walking lines' as one of the major methodological and epistemological approaches of this thesis. Walking lines,

as depicted in the photo above, includes two aspects: the tracing of lines and the simultaneous re-inscription of them. As I have discussed in Chapter 3, movements are always both a way of perceiving the world and a way of affecting it.

Walking is maybe the one part of ethnographic and social scientific research practices with the most out-of-balance ratio between ubiquity of use and critical reflection as a methodological tool. There are, however, some exceptions: from Aristotle's peripatetic ('wandering about') school, Walther Benjamin's Flâneur, to Tim Ingold's Ethnography on Foot. These peripatetic methodologies have gained ground within the last decades and are associated by the common assumption that meaning is inherently related to mobility (Moles, 2008). As Tim Ingold (2011a) expounds, quoting James Gibson: "Observation implies movement". In *Ways of Walking* Ingold and the contributors to the volume elevate the act of walking from a simple means of getting around to a methodological, epistemological and even ontological principle: "Walking is not just what a body *does*; it is what a body *is*" (Ingold & Vergunst, 2008, p. 2), they claim.

I therefore argue to elevate the practice of walking to a metaphorical, almost poetical, way of thinking about research (cf. Tsing, 2005, p. 28). How can walking be understood as poetry? The power of poetry lies in the densification of meaning in lines of writing: a single phrase denotes not only itself, but branches out and gently touches meanings outside of its original syntactical territory. I seek to use the same poetic power in the densification and concurrent extension of meaning in lines of pacing. Another feature of poetry that I seek to adapt for this particular peripatetic methodology is that it does not only accept paradoxes, the 'tricky treasures', but embraces them and derives much of its power from this embrace. This refers back to my previous assertion that lines in general and infrastructures in particular are characterised by their paradoxical and ambivalent nature. Walking through a landscape along a planned development corridor embraces the paradox of a landscape that is marked or haunted by the present absence of infrastructure that does not exist.

One of the best established 'mobile ethnographies' is probably Multi-sited Ethnography (MsE) introduced by George Marcus (1995) and further elaborated by Mark-Anthony Falzon (2009) and others. Marcus (1995) maintains that "[t]he object of study is ultimately mobile" (p. 102), and accordingly describes MsE as a "mobile ethnography" (p. 96). Mobility in this sense is not reduced to a means of getting to an array of situated places that then are the actual matter of interest. Contrary to Ingold's (2008) slightly

misrepresenting critique, Marcus does not necessarily focus on the "sites themselves" but explicitly states that MsE "is designed around chains, paths, threads, [and] conjunctions" (Marcus, 1995, p. 105). It is true, however, that Marcus and his followers still remain invested in the concept of 'site' even if they also focus on the paths and connections between them (the name carries the concept of the 'site' with it and makes it hard to shake it off). Furthermore, the act of walking itself is not a methodological priority within MsE and has even been criticised as complicit in traditional site-based ethnographies, in which anthropologists limited themselves to an area of investigation "across which one could walk comfortably in a day's work" (Falzon, 2009, p. 6).

A common criticism of multi-sited research in general is an alleged lack of 'depth' that is the hallmark of traditional ethnographic fieldwork (Mills, Eurepos, & Wiebe, 2010). However, this may be due to a too literal understanding of depth as "burrowing into one locale" (Marcus, 2011, p. 6). In practice, the distinction between depth and breadth is almost never tenable. As an example: what would one expect of a person who claims to possess 'deep knowledge' about a particular issue – let's say railways, as this issue will come up later. From a railway expert we would not only expect that they would know how to take a train from A to B, but also about the history of railways, their role in establishing colonial empires, as well as the scientific aspects of steam-powered and electric engines, the administration of train-schedules, etc. This deep knowledge of trains, therefore, requires a wide knowledge of different issues related to railways. Furthermore, a true train expert will have travelled to different places, witnessing both antique trains in England as well as the new Standard Gauge Railway in Kenya; that person would not have remained at the station but would have actually taken a ride on many different trains to many different places, including libraries, archives and museums.

In this sense: depth means breadth; breadth means depth. I do not see it as a negotiation between the two dimensions, but rather a question of which relations I choose to follow. In a traditional ethnography one might abandon the paths that carry people, stories, goods or ideas over long distances in favour of following the life-paths of a small group of people within a limited area. While a 'deeper' understanding may be gained this way about how people relate to a certain place, it explores their mobility in relatedness to other places only in a shallow manner.

Some other peripatetic ethnographers explicitly use walking as a tool, but do not reflect deeper on the methodology of walking. For example, Anna Tsing (2005, p. 29) describes her walks along abandoned forest roads, but does not expand on the epistemological value of these walks in terms of doing

ethnographies on global connection. The most explicit and elaborate thoughts on the epistemology of walking and the ability to know lines by walking along them are probably formulated by Tim Ingold and Jo Lee Vergunst (2008). In *Ways of Walking*, they succinctly compare writing and walking: both processes leave traces – letters or footsteps – that could be seen as separate instances, but in fact only reveal their meaning when regarded as a continuous line, similar to the continuous movements that created them (Ingold & Vergunst, 2008, p. 8).

Ingold furthermore suggests paying attention to affordances (2011a) and obstacles one encounters while walking. With reference to Husserl, Rebecca Solnit (2001, p. 27) describes walking "as the experience by which we understand our body in relationship to the world". I do believe that this sentence can be turned around, as walking also allows us to understand the world in relation to our body. I argue that these experiences are important to understanding the relational meshwork through which the LAPSSET corridor will be braided; it is important to understand the force of the relation created by the LAPSSET corridor by experiencing firsthand the force of the obstacles and frictions (Tsing, 2005) it is supposed to overcome.

4.4.2 Walking – Practical Implementation

Apart from the poetic quality of walking described, there are a number of very practical reasons for emphasising this part of my fieldwork to the extent that I do. The most prosaic of these reasons is the simple fact that it provided the easiest way for me to reach the places where I conducted fieldwork. Public transport is virtually non-existent and my budget did not allow for renting an all-terrain vehicle for an extended period of time. Walking allows for – even demands – stopping on the way to talk with people one passes and to notice details that would easily be missed in faster modes of transport. In particular, walking with people who are familiar with the landscape allows ample time for them to point out curiosities, such as the ruins of the old 'colonial road' that one of the research assistants pointed out to me (Fig 48), the remnants of a bullet casing testifying to traces of violence, desolate – and in fact never inhabited – 'ghost manyattas' (small traditional huts) that people erected in anticipation of the LAPSSET (see Section 6.3), or the LAPSSET beacons I searched for zeal, almost as if they offered actual answers (see Sections 5.3). Lastly, walking allowed me a certain embeddedness in a web or meshwork of different lines and trails – made and used by both human and non-human beings – that was necessary to understanding, the landscape the LAPSSET

corridor will pass, not as an empty expanse but instead as a dense tapestry of entangled lines of movement.

What are the practical implications of this? I found Carpiano's (2009) method of the walking interview particularly helpful in this regard. Whenever possible I practiced walking interviews in a flexible manner that was open to the inputs of the people I encountered. In general I tried to follow three lines of inquiry in particular (see: Kusenbach, 2003): (1) environmental perception, (2) relational-spatial practices and (3) life-paths (or biographies)[40]. Environmental perception can obviously not be assessed directly, but for the proxy of how people talk about their environment, affections they express while doing so, what parts of the landscape people point at and talk about and which parts they ignore (ibid. p. 468). In Relational-spatial practices, I subsumed observations regarding the way people act within the landscape, how they connect to it (Evans & Jones, 2011), navigate it (cf. Carpiano, 2009, p. 267), touch it and change it. All these practices are acts of creating, cutting or maintaining lines within the environment and should thus be understood in reference to the discussion of movement in Chapter 3. Lastly, what Kusenback calls biographies I call life-paths in order to create a link to how Tim Ingold (2011a) understands 'being alive' as weaving oneself into the meshwork created by other life-paths. It adds an explicitly spatial dimension to the rather temporal term 'biography'. This category, therefore, contains queries into how an interlocutor connects the present place and time to his or her own past, future and other places that are important to his or her life. Obviously, all these themes relate to each other, and an inquiry concerning the environmental perception may lead to a discussion of life-paths. Karin Lund (2008) argues that walking through space is equal to plotting one's own biography.

The second big pillar of my peripatetic research method is observations. In *Ethnography of Infrastructure*, Susan Star (1999, p. 379) asks: how does one even observe the way people interact with infrastructure? One possible answer is connected to walking interviews, the so-called 'go-along' technique (Carpiano, 2009; Evans & Jones, 2011). The advantage of this approach is that relations between people and their environment do not remain purely hypothetical (Carpiano, 2009, p. 264). At the same time, the researcher relates to the same environment and may be able to complement observations with hir own experiences. This can be problematic, insofar as it runs the danger of overwriting other people's accounts with one's own experiences.

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[40] I leave out the themes of "social architecture" and "social realms" because they do not interface with my own conceptual and methodological framework.

Partly to address this issue, I discovered that attention to the practice of *pointing* can be very helpful in this regard (see Sections 5.2 and 7.1). By taking particular note of what people are pointing at, when they do it and why, I hoped to be able to allow for some more agency for the interlocutors. During a walk, especially when someone is showing you around, pointing is a fundamental part of the interaction between researcher and interlocutor – from direct commands such as "careful, mind the puddle!" to statements such as "this is the place where I grew up" or "once the LAPSSET is built, the government will cut down all these trees". Importantly, these practices of pointing do not only address a particular point in the landscape, but immediately create an embodied relation, a line, between the pointer, the object being pointed at, and the person to whom something is pointed out. As discussed in chapter 3.3, these lines not only span space, but also time ('I grew up here'; 'they will cut the trees down'). This reflects similar methodological choices made, for example, by Annemiek Pas Schrijver (2019, p. 58), who found that while walking along with herders, people would "[sketch] out the landscape" by pointing out different places and landmarks, thus helping to effect "an understanding of the use of the wider landscape"

It is important to note that by invoking the practice of 'pointing', I do not only mean the act of extending a finger and indicating a particular direction with it. A pipeline, to tether this discussion back to the previous part, could also be understood as a powerful pointing device (see Section 7.1). In this sense, the pipeline points at the oil resources in Turkana and with it towards the future, at the expected oil-wealth, the development ('maendeleo') and modernity. It is also pointing at the harbour in Lamu, at the oil tankers coming from India and China, at the global economy and a place for Kenya within it. A thing thus becomes a thing when embodied relations/lines point at it. Standing in front of the fences protecting the LAPSSET corridor, one is compelled to point at it and exclaim, 'this is in my way!'. Aligned with it – say, when riding a car on the smooth tarmac – one does not point at the highway but at one's destination: 'soon we will be in Lokichar!'. Pointing is therefore related to the politics of scale and scaling I have discussed throughout Chapter 3.

Something that is pointed out is not necessarily local, and it is important to differentiate between the point and the locale. In this perspective, the global becomes present when it is pointed at and is thus made into a thing, a thing that is pointed out. To use a previously utilised example as a heuristic device: notions and visions of the universals of modernity, development and frictionless mobility are pointed out by the inconspicuous concrete beacons

that demarcates the expected route the LAPSSET corridor might take. These beacons point along the route of the corridor *deep without* itself towards the existence of Kenya as a state, thus producing its presence as a thing. Beyond that, it points at the global economy, in which it points at Kenya as a part. It points at different places and different times, creating a particular scalar landscape of anticipation (see chapter 3.3.2).

The above mentioned points do not only refer to human beings walking through landscapes, but similarly to the entirety of all non-human beings, or the "moving, the vivacious many", as Mary Oliver (2012) puts it. Especially since I have been accompanied by the donkey Muunganishi during my fieldwalks, I deem it necessary to consider 'moving with animals' as an explicit methodological approach.

4.4.3 Moving with Animals – Methodological Reasoning and Literature Review

Who can guess the luna's sadness who lives so
briefly? Who can guess the impatience of stone
longing to be ground down, to be part again of
something livelier? Who can imagine in what
heaviness the rivers remember their original
clarity?

Strange questions, yet I have spent worthwhile
time with them. And I suggest them to you also,
that your spirit grow in curiosity, that your life
be richer than it is, that you bow to the earth as
you feel how it actually is, that we – so clever, and
ambitious, and selfish, and unrestrained – are only
one design of the moving, the vivacious many.
– "The Moth, The Mountains, The River" by Mary Oliver (2012)

The "strange questions" asked by Mary Oliver about the inner lives of non-humans, about "the moving, the vivacious many", must be addressed in a form of research that was made possible to a significant extent through the help of a donkey. Does the moth circling a flame anticipate her own death with anxiety? How do we know the hopes and longings of a mountain? What does a river remember? These are not only questions of philosophical musing, but also questions about epistemology: whether anything meaningful can be known about the perceptions and emotions of non-human Others; these are,

as Mary Oliver writes, existential questions that challenge human's self-proclaimed cleverness, ambitiousness and unrestrained selfishness. This is especially the case in the context of this study, which challenges the image of the straight, solitary line by interweaving it with the meshwork of threads, traces, cracks, and creases in the landscape it crosses (cf. Ingold, 2007, pp. 41–44). Humans are, as Mary Oliver writes, "only one design of the moving, the vivacious many" who follow and leave behind lines in a landscape. In this section, I therefore deal with the epistemological, and subsequently with the methodological, troubles that Mary Oliver's questions pose for research in a more-than-human world.

Animals and other non-humans are, of course, already part of academia. Lab rats, Pavlov's dog, Schrödinger's cat, microorganisms under a microscope, invading bacteria contaminating the sample on the petri dish, the fly in the office that keeps the irritated scholar from concentrating, the tagged lion, the wild beast counted by a flying ecologist, projections of fish stocks, and the ham sandwiches served at the cafeteria. Conventional research already includes non-humans, either explicitly as an object on which research is being conducted (Bastian, Jones, Moore, & Roe, 2017, p. 5), or implicitly as a resource to consume or as an interloper to track down and exterminate. The goal of this section is thus not to open the gates of academia to animals, but rather to deal with the circumstance that they are already here and to find methodological tools that appreciate their active but often absent presence.

Many conventional ways of including animals into scientific endeavours imply a clear line between the purely human project of making science and the non-human animals that constitute separate objects, resources or obstacles to it. This line of thought roughly follows the Cartesian Split, associating the exceptionally human with the capacity to reason, and the animal with mere carnal reflexes (Weil, 2010, p. 5). However, in accordance with the discussions of Chapter 3, this apparent line of division can also be understood as an encounter and as a space of entanglements. These entanglements between humans and non-humans are a matter of concern in the eclectic field that might be termed more-than-human research, including but not limited to "animal geographies, critical animal studies, ecofeminism, environmental humanities, human–animal studies, multi-species research, new materialism, queer ecologies, science and technology studies" (Bastian et al., 2017, p. 2), as well as postcolonial and indigenous studies.

Postcolonial studies add an important dimension to more-than-human research, by bringing to the fore a central question that arises with every attempt at speaking *for* the mute animal. Questions such as "How do we bring

animal difference into theory? Can animals speak? And if so, can they be read or heard?" (Weil, 2010, p. 3) deliberately echo Spivak's deliberations about the representability of the subaltern. Much can be learned about the inclusion of animals into academia from previous and ongoing struggles for the inclusion of other marginalised groups into the realm of academia. This is not to say that there is an equivalence between animals and marginalised people. To suggest that would echo dangerous and violent language that animalises oppressed groups thus justifying their oppression and making them exploitable and killable (Taylor, 2015). Instead, I suggest we consider how structural violence affects both humans and non-humans. Joyce, Nevins, and Schneiderman (2015) point out that marginalised people are disproportionally employed under horrendous working conditions in slaughterhouses; Jack Taylor (2015) describes how marginalized bodies were made "killable" through the process of animalization; and Christopher Sebastian McJetters (2015) analyses connections between "animal rights and the language of slavery".

The problem that arises from the explicit inclusion of animal subjects into the research process, however, is a particularly vexing conundrum: does the integration of animals into human ways of knowledge-production automatically imply the annihilation of animal subjectivities? Does, as Spivak (1988, p. 71) argues, representation necessarily imply substitution and thus expulsion? While representing Others is always problematic, I argue that it is possible to create understanding together with, rather than about, animals during ethnographic fieldwork. Granted, this is still *human* fieldwork, resulting in texts written by and for humans. It is hardly possible to shake off our anthropocentric positions entirely or even significantly, for I am, after all, only human.

The different approaches to researching more-than-human worlds summarised above address a fundamental and troublesome question about binary ontologies and their axiomatic separations of mind and matter, society and nature, as well as humans and animals (mostly along the same Cartesian borderline). While I cannot deny being fascinated and moved by these ontological riddles, the main concern of this chapter is an epistemological one, or rather: the methodological implication of an epistemology challenged by the encounter with non-human animals and the recognition that *they are already among us*. Concretely, I wonder not only how non-human animals can contribute to scientific endeavours – since we are taking their contribution as axiomatic – but also how human animals can learn to recognise it. Even though there have been numerous new approaches to understanding more-than-human worlds, Buller (2015) maintains that "the methodological

ramifications of this [ontological and epistemological] reassessment are under-explored yet nonetheless crucial".

4.4.4 Moving with Animals – Practical Implementation

One of these under-explored aspects of the more-than-human world is animal mobilities, which I have explored in detail in Section 3.2.2. I suggest that 'walking with animals' offers one way of including non-human beings in the research without silencing them. The aim of walking with animal research assistants is to live in and through a common lifeworld and to create understanding of this lifeworld by walking through it together. This is markedly different from linguistic attempts to communicate between different species by means of sign boards, touch-screens or the spoken word, insofar as the attempt is less to bridge different worlds, but rather to acknowledge that human and non-human animals cohabit the same worlds, and that meaning and understanding of these worlds can be achieved by navigating them together. While word- or sign-based language may be shared with non-human animals, this sharing always takes on a form of occupation, a way of assimilating non-human animal subjectivities into human structures. However some (post-)human geographers argue that human and non-human animals share "embodied life and movement" (Buller, 2015). Based on this ability to *live* (Ingold, 2011a) together in moving through a shared world, I suggest *walking* as one (out of many) literal and metaphorical ways to open human knowledge production to non-human animals.

In the case of my research, I have spent phase 2 of my fieldwork – or more precisely the section from Isiolo to Nginyang – with a non-human research assistant, the donkey Muunganishi. Similar to the decision to implement the walking methodology in general, the specific decision to walk with a donkey was primarily born out of necessity. It would simply have been too difficult to carry all the equipment, including sufficient water, through the largely inhospitable landscape of northern Kenya. Muunganishi not only helped me to carry provisions and my tent, but also created connections to the people around me. The name I gave her translates to 'the one that causes connections', and she lived up to that name. As I will describe in more detail in Section 5.5, using a common 'means of transport' instead of a car helped me to appear more approachable.

More profoundly, however, was the ability of this methodology to bring into stark contrast the difference between the straight line on a map indicating the route of the LAPSSET corridor, on the one (my) hand, and the constant negotiation between landscape, human and non-human animals on the other

(hoof). It illustrates and embodies the contrast and potential conflict between different modes of transportation that are competing – or anticipated to compete – in the same area I was traversing with Muunganishi. One mode of transportation requires listening and indulging, moving around obstacles and constant awareness of the real and potential relations one strikes with one's environment – the other mode of transport is as hard as concrete, unyielding in a way that it would literally rather blast a mountain than to deviate from its preconceived path; a mode that requires as much shielding from the relations with the surroundings as possible, achieved by fences, asphalt, metal bodies and armed patrols

I do not and cannot claim an understanding of knowing the world through walking with a non-human research assistant in the same way that Samburu herders and their non-human companions understand their shared lifeworld. Nevertheless, walking with Muunganishi has shown the existence of ways of relating to the world that are physically and ontologically threatened with being paved over. These competing ways of relating emphasize not the connections to the immediate environment, its smells, sounds and sights and the sensations of soil under soles, but rather the connection of nodes within a global economy. It is the difference between wayfaring and transport discussed in Section 3.2. The work with animal research assistants also calls attention to the ways in which infrastructure projects such as the LAPSSET quite literally overwrite the practical poetry of pacing described in Section 4.4.1. I will describe the contrast between straight and negotiable lines, as well as the process of overwriting existing lines, in more detail in Sections 5.2 and 6.4.

The next section describes the second principal methodological approach of this thesis: the way in which the collaborative drawing of comics can be used as a way to register anticipations. Again, lines created by walking through a landscape, lines drawn in the panels of a comic and timelines of anticipation are woven together. The following section, therefore, regards the two motifs of anticipating and drawing as conjoined.

4.5 Anticipation in Drawings

4.5.1 Drawing – Methodological Reasoning and Literature Review

> "Art does not reflect the visible, it renders visible" (Klee 1920, quoted in: Lefebvre, 1974, p. 125)

In defiance of the apparent paradox faced by research that attempts to study the future by looking at what is present at the moment, there are several approaches to what I summarise as 'social foresight methods'. The aim of this section is to engage with different ways of imagining the future that are marginalised by more dominant future imaginaries, and to *render them visible* through art (see quote by Paul Klee above).

Before delving into my approach to Collaborative Comic Creation (CCC) as a social foresight method, I will first provide a brief review of existing approaches. Here, I exclude predictive studies used, for example, in meteorological or climate models, election polling, Delphi, game-theoretical methods, conflict or epidemiological scenario development, and similar endeavours that assume the future as a natural fact. The variety of solutions to the paradox mentioned above is still daunting, even when limiting the scope to those methodologies that regard the future as a cultural fact, i.e. as something that is produced through (more-than-)human interactions, rather than something that exists independently of future-making practices. As I am not aware of any comprehensive reviews of methodological approaches to studying futures understood as a cultural fact, the following summary might be fragmentary, but hopefully sufficient to place this text in the relevant academic literature.

There are many different entry points and angles through which the future is engaged, which differ ontologically and epistemologically. In want of an established denotation, I refer to approaches that study futures as cultural facts (as opposed to natural facts) as 'social foresight methods' (cf. Kelliher & Byrne, 2015). To make sense of the plethora of social foresight methods, I suggest roughly sorting them according to their respective object of investigation, which implies different epistemological assumptions. Without claiming completeness, I suggest that most social foresight methods fall into one of the following categories: methods that revolve around the study of a) emotions and affects, b) artefacts, c) images, and other visual expressions, d) narratives and other linguistic expressions, and e) practices. The following review summarises existing methodological approaches in relation to each of these epistemological foci.

Emotions constitute an intuitive way of researching the future in the present, as they correspond to the way people engage the future in their everyday life through, for example, anxiety and hope. Emotions thus constitute a bridge between the present and the future, and therefore constitute a robust epistemology accessing the drawing of timelines. As I have argued in Section 3.3, anticipation implies the "politics of temporality and affect" (Adams, Murphy, & Clarke, 2009, p. 246), drawing lines between past, present and the future. Sarah Ahmed argues that "hope is a feeling that is present […] but is directed toward an object that is not yet present" (Ahmed, 2011, p. 173). Similarly, Miyazaki uses "the method of hope" (2004) and dreams (2006) as an entry point to study knowledge formations and critiques of capitalism. The "capacity to aspire" introduced by Arjun Appadurai (2004) similarly involves the delineation of the "horizons of hope and desire" (ibid., 2004, p. 75). Even though Appadurai does not explicate a concrete methodological approach, his framing of aspiration in terms of equality justifies a methodological interest in studying how the future is felt in the present.

Artefacts are a less intuitive form of foresight methodology, as one could argue that they constitute witnesses of the past, rather than the future. However, if the entangling of past and future described in Section 3.3 is taken seriously, considering structures and objects as witnesses of the future becomes conceivable. As such, artefacts can function as *boundary objects* (Star & Griesemer, 1989; Zurba & Berkes, 2014) between memories of the past, future expectation and the current situation. As I have shown in Section 3.3.1, infrastructures, in particular, imply certain promises about the future (Appel et al., 2018b); they are enchanted with notions of uncertain futures (P. Harvey & Knox, 2012). In that chapter I have described how infrastructures are not only implied in the structuring of movements through space, but also in the creation of temporalities. Methodologically, this implies a need to investigate this connection through questions such as: what mobilities are infrastructures anticipated to engender in the future? How are notions of modernity related to 'infrastructured' mobilities?

Outside of the realm of infrastructure studies, *design futures* encompasses methodologies that attempt to make the future tangible through the development of artefacts that are both hypothetical and concrete (Angheloiu, Sheldrick, & Tennant, 2020). For example, Kelliher and Byrne describe the results of a workshops where sculptures were produced to depict potential cataclysmic futures. Kelliher and Byrne, and *Design futures* in general, furthermore work with the "image of the future" (Polak, 1973), not only as ideational imagination, but also in terms of material depictions. At that, *design*

futures often emphasise collaborative artistic practices (Kelliher & Byrne, 2015). For example, Johansson and Isgren (2017) used collaborative painting workshops to create visual images of how people remembered the past and anticipated future land-use changes in Tanzania. Their study illustrates how the literal drawing of lines on paper can be used as a methodological entry point to understand people's imaginations of possible futures (see Section 3.4).

Other foresight approaches concentrate on the co-construction of verbal narratives. Anneke Sool (2020), for example, uses an exercise in which participants write letters from the perspective of their own future self to an imagined current-day audience. This particular exercise overlaps with other 'objects of investigation' as it illustrates an unequal capacity to imagine the future (see: Appadurai, 2004) and the importance of hope and other emotional responses to foresight. Other linguistic approaches focus on the "language of futurity" (Mendieta, 2020, p. 241), maintaining that the "future is constructed by language" (Inayatullah, 1990, p. 134) and therefore implies discursive power relations. In that regard, Mendita (2020) examines how language as well as mobile practices are employed both in the creation of colonial imaginaries of the future, as well as in their deconstruction.

Practices are another entry point for many social foresight methods. Felix Ringel (2012) explores how anarchist practices have the potential to resist dominant temporalities. On a similar note, Anderson (2010) investigates "practices that render specific futures present", and Kleist and Jansen (2016) combine the aforementioned emotional futurity of hope with attention to practices of (im-)mobility, reflecting the conceptual argument about a spatio-temporal overlap delineated above: lines of movement entangle with timelines.

While the emphasis of these approaches differs, most social foresight methods attend to engaging futures in more than one way. The method I introduce in this chapter is, accordingly, meant as a synthesis of all of the above-listed approaches: It aims at an affective engagement with future imaginations of infrastructural (im-)mobilities through the collaborative production of visual narratives, which are eventually compiled into a publication (i.e. a comic book as an artefact). Epistemologically, this method recognises all three types of lines introduced in Chapter 3: the collaborative drawing of story-lines in a comic book makes imagined timelines visible, which would otherwise be occluded by the "corridor masterplans" (Müller-Mahn, 2019, p. 2) of the LCDA. As Paul Klee put it, "[a]rt does not reflect the visible, it renders visible" (Klee 1920, quoted in: Lefebvre, 1974, p. 125).

Using (collaborative) comics as a research methodology has been explored in contexts other than social foresight methodology. A notable

example is the comic created by PositiveNegatives about diverse social issues such as migration and asylum (PositiveNegatives, 2020). PositiveNegatives does not simply make comics 'about' refugees, but engages them actively in the creation process, similar to the CCC methodology. There have been several recent studies that explore PositiveNegatives' approach to participatory comic creation in detail, for example Nina Mickwitz (2020) and Dominic Davies (2019).

4.5.2 Drawing – Practical Implementation

Collaborative Comic Creation was developed by a team consisting of two illustrators, one writer, and myself. The CCC methodology is meant to answer the above-mentioned question 'how can the friction between different futures be researched in the present?' by creating a tangible *boundary object* (Star & Griesemer, 1989) between past, present and future. In the following, I expound the practical implementation of CCC and relate it to the more general conceptual challenges we faced in each step.

One of most crucial aspects of implementing CCC was the cooperation with three artists from Nairobi. Without them, not only would I not have been able to conduct the workshops, I would not even have had the idea to use comics as a methodological tool in the first place. For this reason, it is important to describe the circumstances in which we developed the methodology, as well as the respective backgrounds of Anne, Naddya and Dan, whose practical experience with producing comics collaboratively was essential for the development of the CCC method.

I met Naddya and Dan in December of 2016 during a conference in Nairobi at a workshop where both scientists and artists were invited to design board games that would create understandings of particular sustainability issues. I was very impressed by the art of both illustrators and the ease with which they managed to convey complex meanings through quick yet aesthetic sketches. At that point, my research project was still in a very early stage, and I had not made any definitive decisions regarding my methodology. We stayed in touch, and over the course of the next months the idea to use comics as a methodological tool took shape.

A defining factor in this was Naddya and her friend Anne's prior experience in creating comics together with people who were later supposed to be their main audience. They had both worked on *Nia Teen*, a magazine published in both English and Kiswahili that was developed with and for adolescent girls in Kilifi, Kenya. Their practical experience with implementing workshops, introducing them to people who may never have deeply engaged

with comics before, and creating stories through a collaborative process that lets the participants' voices come through were all invaluable for the planning and implementation of the CCC workshops.

The method was carried out in four distinct steps: 1. a preliminary survey, 2. a series of five workshops, 3. synthesis of the workshop results in five comic strips, and 4. a follow-up survey to get feedback on the comic strips. Some of these explanations repeat aspects of what I have already discussed in Section 4.1. However, I believe that it is helpful to revisit these points under the specific aspect of the CCC method.

4.5.2.1 Preliminary Survey

The preliminary survey was carried out as part of conventional fieldwork, conducted for two months in early 2018 along the planned route of the corridor. As mentioned before, the route's course was transacted on foot along the segment between the towns of Isiolo and Kapedo. While the main goal of this fieldwork was to gather biographical data about memories and expectations of the interviewed inhabits regarding the LAPSSET corridor, a secondary purpose was to pre-select five groups or individuals whose stories might be suitable for the collaborative comic workshops. Criteria for this process varied. One major concern was diversity in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, geographical location, and favourability towards the LAPSSET project. A second unfortunate consideration was security.[41] Lastly, and perhaps most problematically, the selection was based on the perceived appeal of the story, the charisma of the people who had given accounts, and the likelihood that the story could be translated into a 'tellable' comic. With an eye toward the multiplicity of temporalities mentioned in the conceptual section above, it is important to emphasize that CCC is hardly able to depict the totality of this multiplicity, but rather attempts to outline some among many alternative temporalities that are covered by the dominant vision of the future produced by the LCDA.

In most qualitative research, stories are selected by their appeal as stories to some extent, but in this case, the standards were particularly specific and selected for properties that heavily skewed the sampling process. While it is not the aim of CCC to create representativity, the inherent need for a 'good story' tends to favour the extraordinary over the everyday. A further problem arises

[41] During the fieldwork, I came under fire at the conflict-prone border between areas inhabited by Pokot and Turkana. Subsequently, the team decided to omit Turkana County for safety reasons, conflicting with efforts for highest possible diversity.

when the person who is doing the selecting is from a different cultural background, and thus favours accounts that coincide with their particular preferences. In order to moderate this issue, the cases were selected together with the three writers and illustrators from Kenya. However, as I will further expound below, the cultural differences between young Kenyans with university degrees from Europe, Canada and Nairobi and pastoralists in rural areas can be quite significant as well.

4.5.2.2 CCC-Workshops

After planning an itinerary based on the selected cases, the entire group, consisting of two illustrators, one writer, and one researcher, embarked on a five-day road trip, during which they connected one CCC-workshop per day. The workshops had been planned in advance with the participants, who were asked to schedule about five hours for the workshop. An appropriate meeting place was essential. At a minimum, it needed to offer sufficient space, a table and good lighting. Ideally, it would further provide an atmosphere where the participants would feel at ease, as well as the means to keep outside interruptions to a minimum. Places meeting all of these requirements were difficult but not impossible to find, even though some compromises had to be

Fig 7: Different workshop situations. Clockwise from top-left: A classroom, a traditional meeting place under an acacia tree, a bar, and an office space.

made (Fig 7). In each location, we provided drawing equipment as well as snacks and refreshments.

The workshop itself followed roughly the same scheme, independent of its respective location. After introductions, we started with a general interview, which focussed on biographical details of the participants, which often went far beyond the immediate concern of the LAPSSET corridor. This step often took one to two hours, as it is common to invest time in introductions and 'settling in' for this type of interview. In a second step, the workshop focussed on the comic story itself, either discussing plot points within the story, rough sketches of the comic's layout, or visual details such as the style of dress a participant had worn on a particular day (Fig 35).

In part two, participants were able to engage in the process of drawing comics more actively, while I remained in the background as an observer. I tried to limit my participation to noting what topics and scenes seemed to be particularly important for the participant(s), which situations they described in detail, and which they skipped over. This was particularly useful for opening up a way to talk about how people felt during particular situations. While it is difficult for some to answer direct questions such as 'so how did that make you feel?', descriptions or sketches of facial expressions, postures, and constellations of people in a scene could be quite helpful in substantiating discussions about sometimes abstract emotions.

This evocative nature of drawing out memories and expectations, however, can also be very challenging. During one of the workshops, several participants mentioned 'bad things' that happened to them during their childhood. Primarily, this was difficult for the participants of the workshop, who were recounting sometimes traumatic stories. As Carlson, Newman and Daniels (2003) found, questions about past traumata can, among others, lead to painful insights, embarrassment and shame, or other negative emotions. In this context, Newman and Risch (Newman & Risch, 2006, p. 34) call attention to what they call "unexpected emotional distress", which creates challenges to giving informed consent to the interview situation, as participants may not be aware of the negative effects beforehand. The study, as well as similar ones largely assume that the researcher is aware of these issues beforehand, and that the research itself is explicitly about trauma. In this case I was not prepared for the topics that came up during these interviews, which provided an additional challenge for the interview situation. Especially Anne's experience in working with women's rights issues in academic and activist contexts as well as her skill in navigating sensitive topics like this as the moderator of the comic workshops helped in this particular situation. In future, however, the workshop

preparation should not rely on ad-hoc solutions like this, but instead incorporate ways to dealing with participants' potential trauma explicitly in its methodological foundation.

In addition to problematic situations during the interview, it is also crucial to consider ethical issues concerning the later representation of these interviews. In this context, Pittaway, Bartolomei and Hugman (2010) call for a careful weighing of the benefit of telling oftentimes unheard stories, with the potential harm the publishing of these stories can do to research participants and their communities. Here, publishing sensitive information on interviewees' trauma runs the risk that these passages do not illumante the topic at hand, but instead exploit the stories of victimised individuals and groups for a voyeuristic gaze that benefits only the career of the researcher. For this reason I have decided to only mention traumatic experiences only in very general terms, supplementing it with the comics produced based on the workshop, which also do not explicate any particular event. By letting these collaboratively produced comics speak for themselves, the participants are able to claim more agency in representing these events.

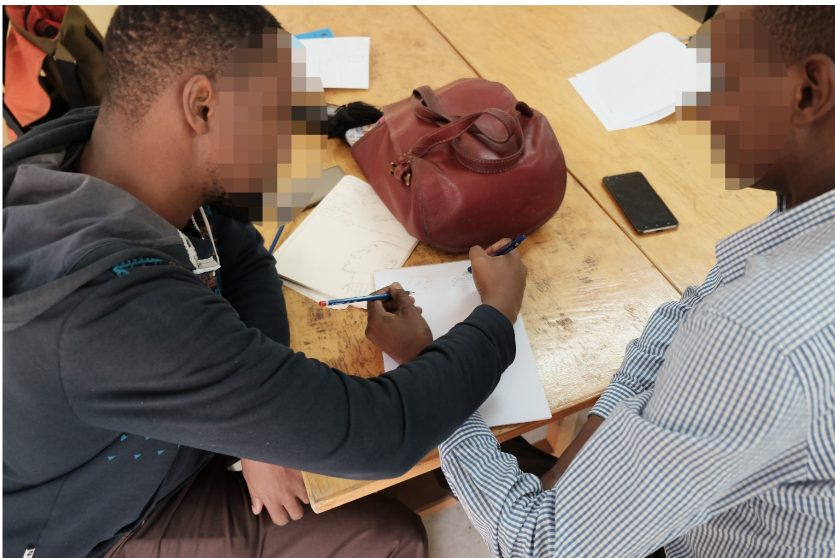
Fig 8: Panel from the comic Kufungua Zaidi, prompting ethical questions about how to represent "Bad Things"

Some participants preferred to give the artists instructions on how to depict certain situations; others took the pencil and started drawing scenes or particular details themselves (Fig 9). As the name suggests, collaborative drawing is one of the cornerstones of the CCC methodology; this is because it offers keen insights into how participants depict particular details and also what details they choose to focus on. However, participation in this proved to be somewhat problematic. Even though most people were familiar with comic books, none of them was well acquainted with the particular demands of drawing a comic. While the artists did their best to assist with this step (Fig 9), the workshop setup simply did not allow for enough time. In hindsight, it might

have been useful to use a very simple pre-defined panel layout for each page, exchanging flexibility for simplicity.

In some cases, the entire group would take a short tour to visit the surrounding area in which the story took place. This was particularly relevant for one workshop conducted with a group of Samburu herders, who demonstrated how they would usually navigate the area and communicate with the animals (see: Section 4.4). As I will show throughout the empirical discussions, one major concern regarding the future developments engendered by the LAPSSET corridor related to changed mobility practices, either in

Fig 9: Artist (left) and workshop participant (right) drawing a traditional Samburu hut together.



terms of anticipated disruption of migration routes or displacement. Walking with workshop participants and making sketches of the landscape and people in motion, therefore, proved to be an expedient addition to the sedentary workshop situation of sitting around a table.

4.5.2.3 Synthesis and Final Artwork

After the workshop series wrapped up, the artists continued their work on the comic strips based on the sketches and notes that were collected during the workshop, producing five stories of three to five pages each. This procedure followed the conventional procedure of comic production, i.e. a development that starts with a script (similar to one for a screenplay), then moves to a story

board (a rough sketch of what happens in each panel), then to the final artwork, and finally to lettering in both English and Swahili. During this phase, the artists tried to incorporate as many visual and story elements from the workshop as possible (Fig 10).

Fig 10: Left: a workshop participant suggests using soil and leaves to draw landscape and flora. Right: artist's rendering of the scene based on the participant's sketch.

However, this process proved problematic for two above-mentioned reasons. First, differences in visual idiosyncrasies between artists and workshop participants were more pronounced than expected, even though most of the artists had prior experience of working in different cultural contexts. Second, many of the collaborative sketches worked as stand-alone drawings, but not in the context of a comic. This meant that many elements had to be changed and adapted in order to satisfy the demands of the medium.

4.5.2.4 Follow-Up Survey

In order to alleviate the problem of artists exerting too much influence on the depictions, the final product, a compendium containing all five comic stories, was distributed along the same segment where workshops had been organised, to obtain feedback and comments from workshop participants and other inhabitants. Thirty interviews were conducted following a defined structure, inquiring into pre-existing knowledge about the LAPSSET corridor, and asking for opinions and suggestions regarding the content, structure, and visuals of the comic.

The feedback was largely positive, commending the objective of the comic book, the fact that people in the area had been involved in its production, and the fact that the final product was shared. However, the style of the comic was sometimes criticised as too inaccessible: “This is art, not a comic book!” (Interview, 2019-03-20), said one respondent who didn’t mean

it as a compliment. Others suggested more colour and a more naturalistic drawing style. One respondent, a participant of one of the workshops, was particularly unimpressed. “This story is about me!”, she exclaimed. “It shouldn’t be about me, it should be about the people here in the area, and their livestock, the environment” (Interview, 2019-03-18). This shows how the particular demands of a ‘good’ comic story – i.e. the need to focus on one protagonist – can clash with the imaginations and wishes of the workshop participants. The story was subsequently altered in order to be more in line with how the participant imagined her story (Fig 40). Some of the comics themselves, as well as the results of the follow-up survey, will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

In conclusion of this section, I want to stress that the way we designed and implemented CCC was not able to fully ‘represent’ the way people imagine and vision the future. As I have discussed, the resulting images are tinged with both mine and the artists’ imaginations. Nevertheless, I understand CCC as a heuristic device that represents not necessarily a truer way of visualising visions, but a different one. This is important, as I have argued above, in a context that is heavily dominated by ‘corridor master plans’ (Müller-Mahn, 2019) and the images representing it (discussed in Sections 3.4.1 and 7.1). In this sense, the comics produced in the collaborative workshops I have just described hold the potential to work as counter-visualisations (see: Blok, 2016, p. 108) or counter-geographies (see: Dominic Davies, 2019). In this research project, this potential has not been fully realised. While I did distribute some copies of the final product to people and communities presumably affected by the LAPSSET, the comics would need to be embedded in a more rigorous action-research-inspired project.[42] As of now, the most significant contribution of CCC lies in its use as a methodological tool. It’s implications for the research itself will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 7.

[42] In fact, I hope that this will be possible in future.

5
Lines of Movement

Tutaenda wapi? [43]
– Eva, Churo, Baringo County

Asserting that a transport corridor such as the LAPSSET is about movement seems almost too trivial a point to make. In Section 3.3 I have described how roads, pipelines, railways, and other modes of transport almost automatically imply a certain "promise of infrastructure" (Appel et al., 2018b) or its "enchantment" (P. Harvey & Knox, 2012) with notions of fast and convenient movement. The aim of this chapter is to disenchant infrastructures' association with a general notion of frictionless movement through an in-depth engagement with peoples' actual and anticipated encounters with the LAPSSET. I have previously made the conceptual point that each relation can be encountered both as a connection or as an obstacle, and that this dual nature of relations also applies to allegedly 'pure' connectors such as the LAPSSET (see: sections 3.1, 3.5, 3.2). The encounter is therefore an essential part in understanding concrete relations. Encounters are not simply something that coincidentally happens to relations, but the only way to engage with them meaningfully. These encounters show that the association between movement and infrastructure in general and the LAPSSET in particular are far from trivial, and are instead highly political, tenuous and contingent. Furthermore, the ability to encounter a relation in the first place cannot be taken for granted.

The first section of this chapter is dedicated to a paradox that was particularly vexing and frustrating during fieldwork. On the one hand, the LAPSSET is a huge mega-project with inconceivably vast dimensions; on the other hand, it proved to be quite hard to find. Not encountering a particular relation one aimed for – which might be a fanciful way of saying: to get lost – is a profound experience, one that contains another interesting paradox. As Rebecca Solnit (2005, p. 3) writes:

> To lose yourself: a voluptuous surrender, lost in your arms, lost to the world, utterly immersed in what is present so that its surroundings fade away. In

[43] Where are we going to go?

> Benjamin's terms, to be lost is to be fully present, and to be fully present is to be capable of being in uncertainty and mystery.

Being lost can be understood as not being present where one is supposed to be or, antithetically, as being fully present in ambivalence, "uncertainty and mystery". In this chapter, the LAPSSET corridor will take on a different shape to how it was described in Section 2.1: less clear, less bold and certain and more ambivalent, mysterious, monstrous, animalistic and ghostlike. Through a twisted logic, it follows that the only way of encountering the LAPSSET, to be fully present in its "uncertainty and mystery", is by missing it – by getting lost. I will, therefore, start out with a short auto-ethnographic vignette about how I myself have failed to encounter the LAPSSET corridor during fieldwork. However, not being able to find or encounter the LAPSSET is not mainly an issue for PhD students, but obviously also constitutes a major problem for people living in the area. The feeling of being excluded from the corridor and therefore 'left behind' implies movement: the movement of others who progress and 'develop' while you are left standing.

In this chapter, I will also describe how this exclusion relates to the fundamental relational paradox that I have established in Section 3. People do not only feel excluded from decision-making processes or from the use of the corridor itself; they are also worried that, in addition, the LAPSSET corridor may bode disconnections. Movements of animals and humans alike are expected to be impeded by fences and roads; the movement of some implies standstills for others (see Section 0).

The main aim of this section is to describe four distinct ways in which the LAPSSET has implications for movement in the areas it transects. The first one has been described in Section 2.1 and relates to the abstract ideal of the corridor as a 'pure' connector that facilitates the movement of capital, ideas, goods and people. The second way is not qualitatively different, but arises from a different perspective. I describe how these ideal movements engendered by the LAPSSET are often seen to 'miss the point', i.e. to bypass the particular location of people living in the area. Third, I question the pureness of the LAPSSET corridor and describes the ways in which it does not only create connections, but also blocks other kinds of movement. Lastly, the chapter describes movements of repulsion and evictions that run not along the corridor, but away from it.

5.1 Missing the Line, Missing the Point

The vignette with which I opened this thesis already introduced Franklin, who would accompany me on two separate research trips in the area. When we met for the first time, after I got lost on my first day of fieldwork, he told me I was quite lucky to have met him (and indeed I was):

> F(ranklin): "For example when you see somebody like you, you are very lucky, in fact. Because if you are caught around there, loitering around there, you will get a lot of problem. Because, you know there is a lot of land grabbers.
> I(nterviewer): Land grabbers. Who are they?
> Frank: Those from the county Nairobi.
> I: And they do what? They...
> F: They just come here, and they take a GPS, then we don't know what's going on. But somebody is owning the land here.
> I: Ok, and so they buy the land—
> F: Not buying!
> I: They just take it?
> F: Just take it! Just the GPS!" (Walking interview, 180124)

To imagine the LAPSSET corridor exclusively as a three-pronged line between Lamu, via Isiolo to Ethiopia, Lokichar and South Sudan means to ignore the multitude of lines that remain hidden by that particular rendition of the corridor. In order to understand what the LAPSSET means to the people who are living in the area it is going to intersect, one needs to pay attention to these subjacent lines, to hidden but suspected movements. These suspected movements and hidden lines are oftentimes the only thing that people see. *They just come here, and they take a GPS, then we don't know what's going on,* Franklin says. He wasn't the only one who told me of land grabbers who prowled the area around the planned route of the LAPSSET like hyenas in the night, following invisible ghostlines on their GPS devices. They would stake out the land so that maps could be drawn, title deeds could be written up that would re-inscribe themselves into the landscape as border markers and fences – ghostlines incarnating.

Illegitimate land acquisitions are a contested issue with many infrastructure projects and have been discussed heatedly in many places along the entirety of the LAPSSET corridor. "Owners of land bordering LAPSSET accuse NLC [National Land Commission] of secretly acquiring land illegally", reads a headline of an article on Baraka FM (Nema, 2017). Hannah Elliot (2016a) has researched this particular issue in depth, focussing on the area

around Isiolo, a town not far from the where I met Frank. She describes an "economy of anticipation", fuelled by uncertainty, rumours and suspicions about possible future land deals around the corridor. The exact route of the corridor remained unknown for most of the time I was conducting research, creating a nagging suspicion that "big investors from Nairobi" (see quote below), "newcomers" (Elliott, 2016a) and people in the know more generally have access to better information, and thus to juicy land deals. Several people I met in Isiolo murmured of shady cartels that used insider knowledge to broker favourable land deals and cheat people of the compensation they would receive for being displaced. These suspicions are not only expressed by people living in remote areas, but even by staff of the county government. When I talked to a group of administrative staff in Isiolo, they were surprised when I asked them if they had any more precise information about the exact route of the corridor, as they were hoping that I could provide that information to them. They expressed frustration with the fact that the uncertainty about the precise route of the LAPSSET mirrored a historical marginalisation of the area.

> Person 1: It [the LAPSSET corridor] could be anywhere! It has no dimension where it is supposed to be, the exact place.
> I(nterviewer): Uhm, and, uhm... what do you think is the reason why they don't want to tell you? Because, I can't really come up with a good reason for it.
> […]
> P1: The reason is, the major reason I think is, it is known to them.
> I: They do know?
> P1: It is known to them because we don't know at the end of the day what was the reason. […] So, maybe it is their personal interest, at the end of the day we don't know.
> P2: We can't judge.
> P3: I have said earlier, the ASAL regions in Kenya have been under marginalisation for years back. Marginalisation. So that concept is still in the mind of the authority. To get the benefit of the LAPSSET for their own people. That is why they are even establishing new centres for the corridor. […]
> P1: Imagine! Even the big, uhm, investors from Nairobi, those who are in authority have already established the land. They have already established plots around the corridor.
> I: They have bought the land around the corridor?
> P1: Yes, yes.

The oil in the pipeline, and the cars on the road are not yet moving, yet they mobilise. They mobilise investments from faraway places and contribute to an influx of people to places like Isiolo.[44] Many of these movements associated with the LAPSSET are not immediately visible: they are projected, anticipated, indirect, absently present – and yet again: ghostly. During the first days of my fieldwork in Kenya I felt this omnipresent absence of the LAPSSET corridor. People would talk about it, without knowing much; they would make gestures towards a general direction, but nobody (me included) knew anything for certain. One interesting indicator in reference to *pointing out* the LAPSSET was an observation I made while looking for people who would be directly affected by the corridor. I did manage to find several such people – all pointing in completely different directions when I asked them where their homestead was that they expected to be crossed by the corridor.

This – "the gulf between the promise and uncertainty" (Uribe, 2019, p. 888) – will be the topic of the next chapter about anticipating the LAPSSET, but it already has implications for the discussion of movement and mobility in this chapter. Mobility is often understood as movement from *here* to *there*. This not only has implications for the points of origin and destination, but also for another kind of gulf: the area in between; the places that are on the way, but not really *here* nor *there*. It is the difference between a labelled point on a map that indicates something worthwhile and the line in between them; the area that needs to be passed in order to get somewhere important; the difference between things and the immaterial relation between them. The sense of being bypassed, left out, or left behind was one of the few constants during my fieldwork, especially in sparsely populated areas intersected by the LAPSSET. Through a translator, a young Samburu man explained the situation like this:

> I(nterviewer): Who do they think is benefiting most from this LAPSSET?
> T(ranslator): [translates] They will get zero here.
> I: Nothing… and what do they think about that? Is that...
> T: [translates] You know what he is saying when this thing [the LAPSSET] passes here, it will just come to... there are some people to benefit, they are the ones just to benefit again. They are just being cheated here, and then they go and benefit there.
> I: Is there anything that can be done to avoid that?

[44] The *Isiolo County Integrated Development Plan, CIDP 2018-2022* anticipates: "The planned massive capital investments under development of the LAPSSET corridor including International Airport, Resort City, and oil storage facilities are expected to boost rapid population growth in the county." (RoK, 2018), and while I have not found official data to support the claim, several people have told me that the Isiolo was one of the fastest growing cities in Kenya.

> Translator: [translates] He is saying, according to him, he has no hopes again anymore, and he doesn't have any belief that this thing – that they will get anything from these people. Whatever is being given out there, is only just consumed at Isiolo while it deposits here through up to Oldonyiro – then the middle area is being left with zero.
> (Interview, 2018-01-29)

This 'partial connectivity' or bypassing of in-between spaces, the fact that people expect that 'the middle area is being left with zero' – or rather, the rendering of certain spaces as in between or 'the middle area' because infrastructure bypasses them – is discussed by Mimi Sheller (2016, p. 16; see also: Cresswell, 2010, p. 24 et seq.). While some people expect to benefit from the LAPSSET and others anticipate damages, there is also a considerable number of people who believe that they are excluded from the corridor, both in terms of planning its construction and in terms of being able to use it.

This situation reflects Tim Ingold's idea of transport that regards space in terms of the problem of getting from A to B, producing a map of particular 'points of interest', implying vast 'areas of no interest'. This area of no interest, the 'middle area', as the herder put it, is left with nothing, because it simply does not exist in terms of Tim Ingold's transport (see Section 3.5). It also shows the power of scale at play, or rather, the importance of the LAPSSET's concurrent presence as both thing and relation, which is resolved through the politics of scale. In the national 'corridor masterplans' the line in between points of interest is a pure relation without any trace of *dinglichkeit*. For the localised herder this means that there is no place to encounter the LAPSSET, only an ephemeral line that is bypassing the 'middle area' of no interest.

There is not only a sense that non-local authorities are wilfully ignoring people, but also that the tools at their disposal are so disconnected from the reality of pastoralist people that they are simply unable to register them – quite literally, as one chief in a small settlement close to the planned route of the LAPSSET reports. After first being very positive about the positive aspects of the LAPSSET corridor, he later told me in an informal conversation that some 'LAPSSET people' (probably from a private contractor) had come by a year before in order to record who lived in proximity to the corridor and would thus be affected by it. In order to avoid muddy roads and seasonal rivers without bridges, they came during the dry season to do the census. However, during the dry season many households had temporally resettled in other areas that offered better grazing grounds. The rhythms of central planning and transhumance were so out of sync that they literally missed each other.

Another interviewee who lives in a small settlement along the planned route of the LAPSSET reported:

> People of this place have no knowledge of the LAPSSET project which is going to pass here. Those people who maybe were with that project, they never came direct to the people – the common man on the ground. They just came and pass information in the seminars and they just go away. It's not the just way! You have come to search for the truth from the ground […] The common mwananchi [citizen], the common man who is living here will not directly benefit. (Interview, 2018-01-31)

In several interviews and informal conversations, people living in the vicinity of the LAPSSET saw a tension between what happened 'on the ground' and 'up there' (see also the above quote from the county government administrator in Isiolo); creating an image of the planning for and actual use of the LAPSSET virtually floated over the landscape, without giving the "common mwananchi" any access to it. I met a Samburu herder on the way to Oldonyiro, where he was planning to sell the four goats he was whooping in front of him. Communication was a bit difficult as he didn't speak any Swahili, but through a translator he told me about the hopelessness of his situation in relation to the planned LAPSSET corridor; I asked if he was planning to do something to resist the project, but through the translator he told me:

> "I can't see it happening project wise. For us, we are just doing nothing. When we talk, nothing will come, nothing comes out of nothing like this." (Interview, 2018-01-29)

It is not only the government that is perceived to be detached and far away; even the infrastructure projects that are planned and built are so aloof as to render them invisible. This is the case even though 'sensitization' and 'raising awareness', for example through the *Kenya National Integrated Civic Education Program* (S. Kanyinke, 2012) is an official priority of the LCDA, as required by Legal Notice 101 of June 2003 (LCDA, 2017a, p. 124). The intention and procedure to inform people in the vicinity of the project is laid out in granular detail in several LCDA publications (ibid.) and in impact assessment reports in relation to oil drilling in Turkana (Akech & Olago, 2013). However, almost everybody I talked to during fieldwork was of the opinion that the efforts so far had been far from sufficient. Either people reported that they had no idea about what was going on at all, or they reported that they were aware of some meetings but did not feel that they were involved in the

process at all. This confirms previous findings conducted within the context of other studies (Chome, 2020; Elliott, 2016b; Enns, 2019b).

It is not only the most marginalised who have the feeling of being left out of the discussion; this feeling also affects people who are relatively well-educated and connected. One of these people is Abdul, who moved back to Isiolo after having worked at a tourist agency in Europe for several years. When he speaks, there is always a twinkle in his eyes, as if he is letting me in on a secret joke only he understands, even when we discuss serious issues. We meet at one of the fancier hotels in Isiolo, and while we're both sipping our tea, sitting in generous leather armchairs, he tells me about his life and the comforts he can now afford with the money he made abroad. Even though he would probably count himself among the relatively fortunate, he still claims that he barely knows anything about the LAPSSET:

> Abdul: As for myself, I don't know really what is LAPSSET.
>
> Interviewer: You don't know?
>
> A: I don't know. So I don't have any idea about LAPSSET, but I heard there is something, an animal called LAPSSET – but I don't have any information because I was not part of it when they shared the information.
>
> I: What do you mean 'animal called LAPSSET'?
>
> A: Because it will come when the…it might swallow me with what I have on the ground. But if I could be the part of information about the LAPSSET, I would prepare myself. As a community we didn't have any awareness. They only took some senior officers from the government. They make workshops in big hotels but they never go to the local people under the tree and talk to them. […] They could find somebody to translate and to tell them why the LAPSSET has come, because it's like they give us water and they take it away from us. So we don't have this trust.
>
> I: So you don't think it's a fair deal?
>
> A: Because we are not part of it. We don't believe it's a fair deal. I repeat (both chuckle). It could be a fair deal, we could be part of it and even in information, discussion together to see how it will…" (Interview, Isiolo, 2019-03-19)

For Abdul, it is not only about the content of 'the deal' itself – the deal referring to the benefits that the 'local people under the tree' would receive in exchange for having the LAPSSET built in their lands. Even though he himself admits

that he doesn't know what's in the deal, this in itself is proof for him that it cannot be a fair deal by definition: Why isn't it a fair deal? – Because we are not part of it. Abdul is not the only person who distinguishes between the 'local people' with stakes 'on the ground' and the leadership in big hotels 'up there'. One man in the same group of administrators in Isiolo that I have mentioned before reported:

> The issue of public participation is not felt well. At the common people within Isiolo... and even the other part of the county. Just because the concentration of... The public participation has always had a central location. It's only at the hotels we did, but at the grass roots – there it never happened. Even the problem of leadership, the governor the senate, the other thing... they just get messages here, they have meetings but it's very minimal and there is no comprehensive information on LAPSSET project. It's a challenge. It's only at the county headquarter, it's not been felt at the... at the grass roots. (2018-01-22)

Later in the same conversation, the above-mentioned question of the LAPSSET's route arises. Another sub-county administrator has a similar complaint:

> "[Consultations] are being done, some small-small participation in a hotel. So we participated once, in such a consultation firm. And then we even requested on where the route will pass. But the major way where the route will pass is not concerned with the people. It's being just done from up there. Yes. Without bothering about the concern of the community. That means there are people pushing from behind, following their own interest on the LAPSSET corridor. But the community perspective is not captured." (1-180122 - Paragraph 45)

The distinction between local people on the ground, under a tree, and decisions being made 'up there' in big hotels creates a powerful image of the politics of scale at play, which I will discuss in more depth in the next section. At this point, it is important to note that there is more than a scalar hierarchy at play, but something that could maybe called 'scalar insolation'. This insolation between what is going on 'up there' and 'under the tree' leads to a situation in which people have a visceral experience of being excluded and left in the dark ("it's not been felt at the grass roots or whatever"). As Abdul emphasizes, they do not even speak the same language as the people under the tree. This scalar insolation works in both ways: not only are the people not informed about the LAPSSET, the government also often does not know what is going on 'on the ground'. There is an empty, dark space between 'up there' and 'under the tree'. The next chapter explores this space.

5.2 Walking through Emptier, Darker, More Terrifying Space

The gap between scalar levels described here, their insolation, is not one measured in Euclidian distance. Both Abdul and the sub-county government officials were in eyeshot of the 'big hotels' they were talking about – during the interview with Abdul we were even having tea in one of them. The space that Abdul, the Samburu herder whose name I never learned, and the sub-county officials in Isiolo complain about is a warped one; a space in which the distance from a conference room of the "Bomen Hotel" in Isiolo to an office in Nairobi is shorter than to the Bomen's own café. In one sense the LAPSSET corridor itself, as well as the stakeholder meetings and sensitisation campaigns are *here*, you can point where they take place. Almost every person I met in the most remote areas would be able to show that the LAPSSET was *here* by pointing it out to me:

- "*Itatoka hapa mpaka huko.*" (14-180127. §163) [It will pass from here to there.]
- "Walisema tu Lapset itapitia hapa." (35-180211. §135) [They just said it will go through here.]
- From a group of women drawing on a piece of paper how they expect the area to change once the LAPSSET passes: "LAPSSET ipite hapa naona ata tutakua na kuongezeka ata schools like some boarding schools" (C3-180406. § 128) [The LAPSSET will pass here; I foresee that we will grow and have more schools, like some boarding schools.]

If there is a refrain to the fieldwork I have been conducting, it is this: We are standing in a dry, sandy landscape, around us a thorny thicket of acacias. The person I have been walking around in this landscape with for the last hours points towards something in the landscape and says, "*hapa*, here! This is where the LAPSSET is going to pass" (Fig 11). And we both look in the direction he is pointing out, as if we were actually able to see anything. And even though we don't, not really, the LAPSSET is still *here* – while of course it also not. I argue that this gesture is not purely metaphoric, nor is the future tense in the sentence 'it will be here' the only deferral that takes place. While the gesture

clearly also points towards the future (see: Section 3.3 and Chapter 6), it also points *elsewhere*, to the big hotels 'up there'. But where is 'up there'?

Fig 11: Interlocutors pointing out the LAPSSET corridor, collage. Top: 2016-11-30, close to Nginyang, bottom left: 2018-02-01, close to Oldonyiro; bottom right: 2018-02-03, also close to Oldonyiro

In his book *The Satanic Verses,* Salman Rushdie tells the story of two Indian men travelling from Bombay to London. He writes:

> The distance between cities is always small; a villager, travelling a hundred miles to town, traverses emptier, darker, more terrifying space. (Rushdie, 2000, p. 41)

This is the same space that insolates Abdul from the LAPSSET corridor and the processes governing it. It is *here*, but also *there* beyond the empty, dark and terrifying space between scalar levels; it is 'up there', a ghostly mirage over the landscape, divined but unseen and equally blind to what is local and thus below.

At this point it is necessary to engage with the term 'local', which is commonly used to designate people directly affected by the LAPSSET corridor. When the people I met spoke of 'the locals', they meant people living a 'traditional lifestyle', people who do not live in larger settlements, are often illiterate and practice transhumance. It is not a term that is commonly used as the counterfactual to 'the global', but rather as the opposite of capitalist modernity.[45] The notion of local-ness is interwoven with backwardness, tradition and isolation and thus the counterfactual to modernity, development and globalisation. In his *Study on Models of Time and Space in Samburu District*, Jon Holtzman (2004, p. 69) identifies different implicit counterfactuals to the term local, apart from the conventional spatial understanding of scale. In terms of class it distinguishes between lower-class and elite; and, Holtzman argues further, "[the term 'local'] fuses an idiom of space with that of time in that things that are local are also 'traditional'" (ibid. p. 69).

My own experiences seem to confirm Holtzman's assessment. I asked one of my research assistants (who works for an NGO and does not consider himself to be a 'local') about his ubiquitous use of the term 'local'.

> Chris: So, uhm, the word local refers to where that particular individual is based, or living. In terms of accessing information, accessing modern services, yeah. So in terms of accessing the modern lifestyle of people, who are living...
>
> Interviewer: So it's about access mostly?
>
> C: Yeah, yeah. Access to information, access to new lifestyles in terms of changing your structures, changing the way you live, adopting the new systems.
>
> I: What kind of lifestyles do you mean particularly? For example?
>
> C: Yeah, for example, like uhm... the locals do not have a defined place to live; they live here and they move to another point. So, from that they depend on... they are chasing their life by their own uhm, livestock. So they are not empowered to know how that could be, like, a source for living in urban areas. So, it is a difference of lifestyle. *Living in a set-up that does not have modern roads*; a lifestyle that... in a way you access information from fable-communication. Not like the social medias. Ya? So it's a bit traditional". (Interview, 2018-03-26)

[45] As Gupta and Ferguson (1997, p. 28, footnote 11) note: "We are struck by the extent to which ideas of "the local" and "the global" in practice tend to replicate existing dualisms opposing tradition to modernity, cold societies to hot ones, or *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*. In this way, "the local" can take the place of the traditional".

This illustrates how (im-)mobilities and anticipations related to infrastructures (un-)make scalar hierarchies. In the specific context of the current development agenda in Kenya, 'local people' are not defined by their adherence to a particular location, but to the contrary by the fact they "do not have a defined place" and "[chase] their life by their own livestock", creating an image of chaotic and wild movement. However, if pastoralists align with the development corridor and its regulated mobility, settle down, and use the road to access schools, workplaces and markets, they can become part of the state and the universal promise of modernity it offers (cf. Adas, 1989). As a resident of Isiolo put it:

> The people, now they need the new changes. The new world. […] The LAPSSET is going to bring the new world. (Interview 2018-01-23)

'Locals', and their erratic mobilities, may still reflect the past, but the LAPSSET offers a seamless connection to the rest of the world, the *new* world, and thus a pathway towards modernity (Aalders, 2020). In other words: if only they stopped 'chasing their life by their own livestock', if they stopped moving, they would start moving towards a global capitalist vision of modernity. At least rhetorically, the emphasis is not about the establishment of scalar hierarchies, but about the possibility of overcoming them: the northern pastoralists can become a part of Kenya; Kenya can become a part of the global economy, flattening formally existing hierarchies. "The LAPSSET is going to bring the new world", but it also promises to introduce Kenya to the world. As a primary school teacher in Oldonyiro said:

> All these other countries are moving on, why not us? Kenya right now, we are supposed to be competing with these other countries, like, not only East Africa […]. We are supposed to be competing with the global world, you know? I would like to see Kenya compete with Germany! (Interview 2018-01-31)

The promises of the 'new world', the 'global world', are haunting the LAPSSET, as ominous but also as friendly ghosts. The next section will explore the unfinished ruins where these ghosts spook.

5.3 Beacons: Pointing 'Kule'

It might be counter-intuitive to attempt to grasp lines of movement through a focus on points of fixity. However, as I have argued in reference to the New Mobilities Paradigm in Section 3.2.1, mobility cannot be understood as pure movement, but also requires certain fixes and moorings – for example, a sturdy

road on which vehicles can move or a small concrete block that indicates the route of the LAPSSET. These beacons are concrete blocks, of ca. 30cm x 30cm, with an iron pin placed in the centre and a serial number indented into the top (Fig 14). They were the first physical evidence of the LAPSSET that I found, and ever since finding the first one, it became something of an obsession to find more, so as to know that I was still on the right track, that I hadn't missed the LAPSSET entirely – finally something concrete.[46]

For local politicians as well, the certainty of these survey marks seemed to be appealing. The LAPSSET corridor demands a resolution of issues that used to be more comfortably uncertain: the precise legal status of a plot of land is rather irrelevant when it is hardly used; but the arrival of the LAPSSET corridor promises value, which can turn ambivalences into conflicts. An MP from Meru County was quoted in the Daily Nation in relation to border conflicts between Isiolo and Meru County that were induced by the LAPSSET:

> "The truth of the matter is that the LAPSSET projects are behind all this trouble. The boundaries are known and we demand that the government fast-tracks the demarcation so that we don't trespass." (Daily Nation, 2015)

The first time I actually saw one of these survey marks was in a small settlement two-days' walk away from Isiolo. There, I met Franklin, a young man about my own age, who told me that he had been recruited to help the surveyor set the beacons. While walking towards the closest one, he told me about the day he was recruited for the job:

> "When they came here, they went to the chief's office. So they explained to the chief that 'we are coming to mount some beacons, and the reason as to why we are mounting the beacons is that, there is a LAPSSET which is passing through our area here'. So after that the chief – they told the chief: 'we need some young guys, young youths', that can move with them, mounting those beacons. So that's where they got me, the chief noticed me and he told me that, I am supposed to go with them to mount those beacons, because I am one of the people who are conversant with the area." (Franklin, Walking Interview, 2018-01-27)

[46] There it is. I really tried to avoid this pun but it just happened!

Apart from that, Franklin didn't know much about the process. He told me that of course he was curious and tried to get a peek at the laptop that the chief surveyor carried. All he could see, though, was "a certain graph that was showing some marks" (Franklin, Walking Interview, 2018-01-27), but they seemed quite arcane to him. So instead of questioning any further, he would follow instructions, all the while wondering about the benefits of the project he was helping to implement.

Fig 12: A white mark on a tree indicating a close-by beacon

For a time Franklin and I were silently walking side by side. Yet, on the recording I made of this 'interview' there is a lot to hear. The puffing of a researcher not used to the heat and relatively high elevation; our footsteps falling in and out of sync; the soft crunching of sand of the dried-up river on which we are walking; the wind; and the constant *ting-ting-ting-ting* of the keys Franklin carries tied to one of his belt loops. Eventually we arrived at our first beacon. We had been walking along the dirt road I had taken some days before on the way to the small town. At one point, Franklin pointed out an inconspicuous white mark on one of the trees next to the road – a sign that the beacon was close by. For some minutes, we roamed around the area, Franklin trying to remember where exactly they had put the concrete block. We stood there, and Franklin told me about the other seven beacons he had help mount, pairs of two, each pair always 5km away from the next. He points out where he thinks the next one was placed, creating an imaginary line between this

beacon and the next. After that, he wasn't sure where it continued – he'd only helped set eight beacons, after all.

Fig 13: Franklin looking for the beacon

We stand around the small concrete block and imagine a wide road, a pipeline retracing lines on an outdated map of colonial infrastructures. Before my inner eye, ghostlike cars and trucks pass through the calm Savannah landscape. Standing there, I ask Franklin what he thought about the project he helped realise. On the one hand, he says, he was worried about the pastoral communities in the area; on the other hand, he could see the benefits a road would bring, particularly to people like him who didn't live a pastoral lifestyle and were looking for jobs. Then again, he mused, he wasn't even that sure whether the LAPSSET would be built or not:

> "Uhm, you know with this government of ours, things just… they just come and tell us things and they never happen. So it has become a tradition that people just come, do something, they go. So I don't know, we never trust that it is going to happen. They just come here they tell us we shall do this, we shall build something here. Years come, years go, that is it. We are used".[47] (Franklin, Walking Interview, 2018-01-27)

[47] I believe, he means this in the sense of "we are used to it" not "we are used *by* the government".

For Franklin, these beacons were not necessarily proof of anything; they did not mean certainty, only a vague promise that he wouldn't necessarily trust. The concrete beacons promise a stable mooring for movement, but the movement seems ephemeral: "people just come, they do something, they go", he says. "There is a LAPSSET passing by our area" – just passing by. The direction of movement, who is deciding the direction, and who it is benefitting are all unknown. If there are clear destinations, they appear as "some marks" on a laptop screen he is not supposed to understand or even get a good look at. As another interviewee said a couple of days later:

> A: Maybe you saw the beacons around here?
> Interviewer: I did, yeah, just today.
> A: Sometimes you can just walk as you do your herding, you looking after the goats and the cows, you find a beacon somewhere. "Who did this"? "Oh, we saw few guys, three guys", you know? So it's not an inclusive project, they are not... awareness is not done very well, so we don't know whether it's good for us, whether it's bad for us, that's our big question. (Interview 2018-02-01)

The alleged mega-project thus disintegrates into eight little concrete blocks, some of which are already crumbled, all of them are hard to make out. What remains is a gesture: somewhere over there, just past that hill, along the old road that nobody is using anymore. What remains is a gesture that conjures motion – not as translocation from point A to point B, but as a general 'elsewhere'. I spent many hours wandering about an area where someone allegedly had seen a beacon, coming back with nothing to show for it more often than not – the beacons, it turned out, were more elusive than their sturdy nature might suggest.

In fact, many beacons had been destroyed by children or sceptical herders. While each beacon marked a particular point, probably according to some GPS coordinates, their significance can only be gleamed by positioning them on a map and drawing a line between them. Only that exercise allows one to follow the traces of the LAPSSET. While standing in front of it gave me the impression of solidity and real-ness, the beacon itself seems to point away from and 'deep without' (see: chapter 3) itself: towards the next beacon a kilometre away; towards the map that would be able to transmogrify the point

indicated by the beacon into a line; towards the GPS-coordinates out of which it was born.

Fig 14: A concrete beacon near Kipsing

In Swahili there is a very useful distinction between two different kinds of locatives, depending on whether the location is definite or indefinite[48]

[48] There is a third form for being 'inside' of something.

(Wilson, 1970, p. 29). Consequently, there are different ways to say 'there'. 'Kule' indicates a movement from one place to another or an indefinite or general position, while 'pale' indicates a definite location, or 'that place' (ibid. p.30). Accordingly, the beacon's substance might be 'hapa' (exactly here, at this place), its meaning, is always 'kule' – just thereabouts. So no matter how many beacons I found, I always felt compelled to keep on walking to the next one. Each beacon is haunted by the ghosts of the next one.

As conceptualised in chapter 3.3.2 (Spectral Landscapes of Anticipation), the beacons are also haunted by ghosts from other times, spinning ghostlines towards bright futures (that contrast against dull pasts and present): the arrival of the state, modernity, etc. In this moment of haunting, space and time meld, get entangled and plied together, as the ideas of modernity and development are intrinsically linked with the notion of statehood, and thus point towards the capital city. 'Development' also resonates with ideas of commerce, a more prosperous life, and many interlocutors indicated that trade – either with the next town, neighbouring countries, or the global market – would be greatly facilitated by the LAPSSET corridor. The haunted beacons thus point at faraway places and things yet to come at the same time. These ghostlines pointing through both time and space can be thought of as a landscape – a landscape that includes not only present things but also those in the past and the future, in short: a spectral landscape of anticipation.

5.4 Dis-Connections

As I have described before, in many interviews being 'passed by' was not the only, or even the most serious, concern regarding the LAPSSET. Mobility that simply happens somewhere else could easily have been ignored, but as I have argued in Section 3.2, oftentimes the movement of some depends on the immobilisation of others. In this context, creating the 'seamless connection' promised by the LAPSSET requires the disconnection of other, less visible ways of being mobile. In this chapter, I show how these invisible, dammed and tunnelled mobilities are often those of pastoralists in the region and, connected to this, of animals.

Fig 15: Crocodile Jaws during the dry season

When we reach the bridge at *Crocodile Jaws* (or Nkutuk Enkinyang in Samburu), Muunganishi stops. She is generally suspicious of walking over anything built by humans, especially when it is made of metal, like the bridge over the Ewaso Ng'iro River that I want to cross. I imagine it reminds her of the metal surface in the truck that was about to deliver her to the slaughterhouse. Maybe she had never passed a metal bridge before and was suspicious of this unfamiliar construction. Maybe she simply didn't like how the metal felt on her hooves. I remember my frustration in the moment: there it was, a clear, direct line across the wayless terrain below us – but in a rare moment of clichéd stubbornness, Muunganishi just would not move. What

appeared as a distinct and obvious connection to the other side of the river to me appeared frightening and repulsive to Muunganishi – as an obstacle that needed to be circumnavigated.

This situation, mundane though it was, highlights one of the main principles that complicate the way we relate to relations such as the LAPSSET corridor. First, it shows how a particular infrastructural line – a metal bridge over a river, in this case – can appear as a connector to some and as an obstacle to others. This observation is not particularly notable in and of itself. In fact, it is self-evident to anyone who has spent impatient minutes at a red traffic light while cars zipped by in front; or to a wanderer who happened upon a river that impedes her journey while allowing fish and other aquatic animals free movement along its course. However, the question remains why a particular relation appears as a connection to some and as an obstacle to others. In Section 3.2 I made the conceptual argument that this always present concomitance of opposites in lines is resolved in the context of the respective embeddedness (cf. Massey, 2005, p. 180) in a relational meshwork that allows for that particular encounter. If this argument does not appear to be comprehensible, it's because it isn't. The situations described above, however, may help elucidate its essence.

Relational embeddedness can take different forms. It can be of a legal or political nature, as the example of the red traffic light demonstrates: laws and regulations govern how traffic participants encounter each other in transport systems. This example further demonstrates a relationship to the respective embeddedness in technical systems: sitting in a motorised vehicle grants users a different (oftentimes privileged status) in traffic regulations. Relational embeddedness is furthermore influenced by our bodies and their abilities (Sheller, 2018, pp. 54–57): a person with a walking disability may encounter stairs as an obstacle even while they provide a convenient connection to others, and a human may be impeded by a river because she doesn't have fins even as the fish swim in it freely. Lastly, and importantly, this example shows that relational embeddedness is not only about how one relates to things here and now, but also how they relate through memory to past experiences (cf. Hockey, Penhale, & Sibley, 2007) and through expectations to possible future events. Muunganishi may connect traumatic experiences of violent animal transportation with the metallic surface of the bridge, thus not seeing it as a pathway, but as a death trap. Similarly, roads in north Kenya do not only carry with them the current currents of traffic, but also memories of past 'lines of occupation', or hollow 'promises of infrastructure' that inhabitants may regard with scepticism.

Whatever her reason for refusing the bridge might be, for a while we just stand there. The view is breath-taking. The stone formation that gives *Crocodile Jaws* its name does not really look like masticatory apparatuses to me – more like giant elephants made from wax, melting in the hot equatorial sun. It's the dry season, so the Ewaso Ng'iro River is only a gentle trickle, but its power to sculpt rock as if it were hot wax is evident and stunning. Some weeks later, I would pass the same bridge again (this time with Naddya, Dan, Seyyid and Anne, the artists from Nairobi, and our driver). It would have rained by then, the statues thus hidden under roaring white water. Every rainy season the Ewaso Ng'iro River swells up and disgorges north into the Suguta Valley.

One project associated with the LAPSSET corridor is a dam across the Crocodile Jaws crossing, which is supposed to regulate the seasonal flow of water. Before I came here, Joan, from an indigenous and women's rights organisation in Nanyuki, had already told me about it. For many years she chaired an organisation that advocates for the rights of indigenous women, publishing reports on issues ranging from preserving indigenous knowledge, activism for the rights of girls, and issues regarding the LAPSSET corridor (Kanyinke, 2015). One issue that she is particularly vocal about is the erection of a dam at the Crocodile Jaw's crossing of the Ewaso Ng'iro River. The dam project is not only supposed to control the river's seasonal flooding, but also to produce electricity and provide the surrounding area with water. However, a big part of the energy, as well as the water resources generated by the dam at Crocodile Jaws, will be used by the planned resort city at Kipsing Gap close to Isiolo, and not for the benefit of the people in its vicinity. Jim, a colleague of Joan explains:

> "If you look at the Crocodile Jaws mega dam, there is a lot of fear that it is going to have a lot of devastating impacts to the ecosystem and displacement of people and loss of land. People have not been engaged, communities really do not understand, there is also fear that the flow of water is going to be affected. We have got a lot of users downstream, so people are worried what will happen if this dam is going to be up there. What will happen to the down flow users of this water?" (Interview, Nanyuki, 2018-03-06)

According to the Environmental Impact Assessment Study Report published by National Water Conservation & Pipeline Corporation (NWCPC), the mega dam project promises to rectify "decades of neglect" (RoK, 2016, p. 2) in Kenyan ASALs. The report frames the benefits of the mega dam primarily in terms of the (meanwhile outdated) Millennium Development Goals and in relation to benefits for the local population: "The

overall ecosystem of the project area stands to get transformed to the benefit of the communities. This fact justifies this project environmental and social benefits" (RoK, 2016, p. 3), the report concludes.

Fig 16: Another present absence: The dam will stretch between the two hills visible in this picture. When I visited the place, I met some engineers who told me that if I looked closely, I could see some white markings indicating the future location of the dam.

Another anticipated effect is the regulation of water flows (RoK, 2016, p. 98 et seqq.). The Ewaso Nyiro River regularly floods during the rainy season and dries out entirely in its downstream stretches during the dry season. The dam is expected to store the excess water during the rainy season, releasing it slowly during the dry season, purportedly benefiting both downstream water users and the ecosystem. According to the report, this is beneficial for the ecosystem and for water users directly downstream who can depend on a reliable flow of water during both wet and dry seasons (ibid., p. 34). Interestingly, the report furthermore stresses that this regulation would also facilitate a "peaceful co-existence of the pastoralist communities" (ibid, p. 34), by rendering migration up and down the Ewaso Nyiro unnecessary following the seasonal availability of water. The regulation of water flows is thus inextricably linked to the regulation of pastoral mobilities.

On the contrary, the construction of the mega dam also implies the creation of other 'unruly' mobilities. Later in the report it is stated that "[t]here is no doubt that the mobilization of a large workforce over the construction

period which may be in excess of 36 months will bring about an intensification of sexual activity in the area" (RoK, 2016, p. 139). On a similar note, a report by the Samburu Women Trust also concludes that the influx of a large construction workforce associated with the mega dam would bring with it a number of negative effects. These include overburdening existing infrastructures, 'social diseases' such as alcoholism and sexually transmitted diseases, and clashes between local communities and newcomers (Kanyinke, 2015, p. 8).

Once more, this shows how *the* LAPSSET, the straight line through empty space seen on maps, is implicated and interwoven in a meshwork of other flows and movements. The LAPSSET is not only a connection for oil and vehicles to travel between the points it connects, it also requires and results in the construction of appendant infrastructures, such as the Crocodile Jaws mega dam, which regulates water flows in the entire catchment area. These regulations in turn have implications for the governing of pastoral mobilities alongside the same flows.

Another aspect that hasn't been mentioned yet but is also entangled in the same infrastructural meshwork is the 'safaris' of tourists who travel to the region to visit one of the many nature conservancies. As the *Investment Prospectus* and many other publications of the LCDA emphasize, the LAPSSET is supposed to have a considerably positive impact on the development of the region's tourism industry, making it one of the six key sectors that are expected to benefit from the corridor (LCDA, 2017a, p. 15). The above-mentioned flows are also conscripted and channelled to support a steady stream of tourists (and their money) into the area. One of the most critical flows for the tourism industry is water. As Jim, who I have already quoted above, said:

> "In fact, if you look at these projects the aim of that Crocodile Jaws mega dam is basically to supply the international Kipsing city with water." (Interview 2018-03-06)

However, it is not only the movements of water that need to be controlled for the tourism industry, but the entire meshwork of lines that I have mentioned above. Joan put this very succinctly:

> You know the resort city where it will be in Kipsing. It will be like Las Vegas where people will fly in and go back. You know, just come for the sun and then we will have, like, you know, double like highways. Where busses will go or even trains to Southern Sudan with stopping stations so… What will happen to the

> livelihood or to the lives of these pastoralists' community, our mobility? It means if the fence is put on the road this side, I cannot be able to cross on the other side. Maybe my family is on the other side, maybe. Maybe I am a polygamous man with three homes, so I have this home and the other one. So, it means I will not pass to the other road. So majority of them are going to be employed to be watchman, or to sell those small, small things or, you know, for tourist attractions.

Regulating a reliable flow of energy and water for the benefit of tourists, who "fly in and go back" with ease, requires the building of fences that regulate and limit the movement of pastoralists moving across these flows. This is what Mimi Sheller describes as *kinetic elites* (2018, p. 130 et seqq.). And it is not a coincidence that Joan compares the resort city in Isiolo to Las Vegas. Both the resort city at Kipsing Gap and Las Vegas are places built in arid or semi-arid areas that are hardly hospitable to tourists unless a comprehensive infrastructure of pipelines, cables and roads connects them to the luxurious amenities of a holiday residence. Furthermore, both are places where profit interests reign paramount. More significantly though, both places only exist (or would exist, in the case of the resort city) because of their ability to allow for the smooth travel of *universals* (Tsing, 2005, p. 88 ff.). The international airport at Isiolo must comply with international standards of aviation; and the roads leading to the wildlife preserves around Isiolo must conform to the prevailing rules of road traffic in order to warrant safe and comfortable *safaris*. The resort city must allow for the travelling to 'Africa' imagined as wild (yet tame enough to be a safe tourist destination), ready for everyone with the appropriate budget to be 'discovered'.

This image of a 'wild Africa' tamed by infrastructure invokes ghosts from the colonial past. The Uganda Railway, which I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 6, promised to make British East Africa a "Winter Home for Aristocrats", who would be able to study "Nature's 'Zoo'" from observation carriages. Even as the poster on the left depicts animals invading the observation carriage, this 'joke' works because this is precisely the opposite of the promise the advertisement is making. The carriage enables the visiting aristocrats to observe and/or hunt 'Big Game' from a safe distance, insulated from 'wild' nature in a way that turns it into a zoo. Of course, a zoo does not only imply the safe and seamless movement of its visitors but also the restriction of 'wild' movements. Joan is acutely aware of the fact that the road on which the tourists can travel safely will be a tunnel in the sense that fences will be erected on both sides, turning the area around the resort city into yet another 'zoo'.

Fig 17: Left: "Winterhome for Aristocrats". Advertisement for the Uganda Railway. First publishing date unknown. Source: Wikimedia Commons (CC license); right: "Step by Step through Nature's 'Zoo'". Uganda Railway poster, 1908 (Carnegie Institute, 2017)

The landscape at Kipsing Gap is indeed breath taking; majestic hills rising to each side of the 'gap' through which I wander with Franklin and Muunganishi. I ask for the name of the hills (and forget the answer immediately). Franklin tells me that it literally translates to 'cow hills', because during the dry season these hills are one of the few areas where one can find enough pasture to feed cattle. For this reason, in particular, people in the area are anxious about the resort city: will they be able to keep grazing livestock around the "cow hills"? Most people I asked about this are rather sceptical and expect conflicts to arise over this in the future. As a resident of Kipsing town told me:

> "So now they would tell the community don't graze around the lodges because the tourists wouldn't want to see people and livestock around. We just want to see the wildness of the area but these people now want grass, so it becomes a conflict, even. There are very many occasions where people have gone and fight even with guns near the lodges". (Interview, 2018-01-26, Kipsing)

Fig 18: The "cow hill" at the Kipsing Gap

Around other lodges in the area, especially in Laikipia and the 'White Highlands' (named after the white colonialists who settled there), sturdy fences and armed patrols limit the mobility of pastoralists in order to maintain the rangelands in their current form. Some weeks after passing the Kipsing Gap, I meet one of the people who are managing the rangelands in Laikipia. His stance is that the fences – and the subsequent protection of the land they provide – are in effect a benefit for the people of Kenya, and that individual politicians and the pastoralists in their constituency should not interfere with this mission. In his own words:

> "There was a huge political hiatus in the last two years; really when there was... the MP for Laikipia North is a complete warlord of a character. The last one. He's called [name redacted], he's from [redacted], an idiot of the highest proportion and he thought that he could create a sort of move and take back land and start talking about historical injustice, and this and this and this. And he created a bit of a political movement and he was sponsored by the opposition – Nasser guys – to do something that they thought that politically it would win

> them votes from the pastoralists. There's conflict, always. You know you have a big piece of land. I'm easy to point a finger at because they say: 'he's a white man!' – although I'm a Kenyan with all the rights and everything as any other Kenyan and I don't own property myself personally, the land is owned by a Kenyan registered trust. This land is owned by a trust which is set up to own the land. And it's for the benefit– a mission trust for the benefit the people of Kenya. But that said, it's easy for somebody to say: "There's a foreigner, owning all this land! What's he doing?"

The planned dam at Crocodile Jaws, and the perennial lake and river it would create, would in fact benefit the range, not only because it would provide water, but also because it would create a harder boundary protecting his land.

> Timmothy: I recognise the need for the dam. And actually, in a way, the dam would benefit me, in a way.
>
> Interviewer: In which way?
>
> T: Because it'll create, you know, a water border which will help protect one side of the conservancy. And you know, if I wanted to bring in rhinos for instance, I don't have to fence that because, I'll have this huge water border.

The dam at Crocodile Jaws demonstrates the ambivalent nature of all relations; their ability to create both connection and disconnection; mobilities and immobilities; flows and barriers. Furthermore, it shows that these apparent opposites do not merely coexist but are mutually dependent. The ability to stop the flow of the Ewaso Ng'iro River during the rainy season is a precondition for guaranteeing continued flow of water during the dry season; the 'water border' it creates for some of the adjacent range lands may allow rhinos to roam the land thus protected from poachers; the ostracising of pastoralists – the fences and water borders they encounter – are necessary in order to safeguard water and electricity for the resort city, and ultimately the smooth and 'frictionless' travel of global *kinetic elites*, such as international tourists. As Sheller (2018, p. 132) puts it:

> "Yet such elite mobility also depends on creating places of stillness, pauses where the elite have the right to remain in place, and a kind of bubble of privilege in which they are suspended, even as 'locals' are forced to move out, to move back and forth, to move as if caught in a circular vortex."

Charis Enns (2018) draws attention to “cases where the spatial reorganization of land that has accompanied corridor development has introduced new patterns of spatial exclusion and immobility”. As she already established in the above quoted paper, the LAPSSET corridor certainly participates in the creation of these spatial patterns. They are built upon the inherent ambivalence of relational lines, thus fracturing the meaning of ‘here’ for some, while extending it for others. A Samburu herder that might have lived *here* suddenly finds himself on the other side of *over there*, defined by lines that appear to him not as a connection but as a barrier.

As the above quote by Mimi Sheller indicates, these infrastructural dis-/connections and im/mobilities imply the politics of scale. In the above quote, Mimi Sheller juxtaposes the movement of ‘locals’ to those of global kinetic elites. At that, she points out that the simple correlation between global = mobile, local = immobile does not hold up. Surely, tourists “will fly in and go back”, as Joan puts it, while inhabitants will face not a road but an electric fence; but the resort city at Kipsing Gap also provides a locale, a “kind of bubble of privilege” (see quote above) as inhabitants of the area may be displaced. Globality is not created by any movement whatsoever, but precisely by those along lines that enable universals (such as capitalist modernity, development, etc.) “to travel with at least some facility in the world” (Tsing, 2005, p. 89). Infrastructural lines, I have argued, provide this facility to universals. Muunganishi would be included in these infrastructural lines, but only under the condition that she travel as a universal, tradable commodity – as meat and hide. Her reluctance to cross the bridge at Crocodile Jaws may also have to do with that.

5.5 The Moving, the Vivacious Many

As this discussion shows, ‘humanimal’ mobilities play a significant role in the context of the LAPSSET corridor. Muunganishi is not an isolated case, but as I have outlined in Section 2.2, movements of and with animals are prevalent in this area characterised by pastoralist livelihoods. Attention to animal mobilities, therefore, reveals important aspects of the corridor. Writing about *the* LAPSSET corridor, invoking the straight line and singular entity reproduced on maps, obscures one of its most striking features: its branching and fraying nature; the way it is interwoven and entangled with a meshwork of other lines. How I met Muunganishi, my donkey companion, illustrates the *hairiness* of conceiving of the LAPSSET corridor.

Already during my preliminary pilot study conducted in late 2016, I realised that I wouldn't be able to travel along the route of the corridor without some help. Using an SUV seemed not only ethically problematic, but also financially unfeasible; public transport does not exist in the area where most 'roads' barely qualify as paths; and walking along would founder on my own physical limits of hauling the necessary equipment across ca. 300km of rough terrain. The most reasonable – and simultaneously most exiting – option, therefore, seemed to be the classic of long-distance travel: a donkey. While I did not expect to be able to reproduce the experience of people who have been moving through the same lands with animals for millennia, I hoped that it would be closer to the existing forms of mobility than an acclimatised SUV.

At the time I met Muunganishi, she was fatally entangled with humanimal lines of transport. According to a report commissioned by The Brooke East Africa, 15 percent of Kenya's donkey population had been slaughtered in four abattoirs between April 2016 and December 2018 (Maichomo et al., 2019, p. 2). The report states that the slaughter rate of donkeys in Kenya is currently about five times higher than their growth rate, leading to worries of their imminent extinction. According to the Brooke report, a main driver for this trend is the high demand for donkey skin in China, where it is used in the production of medicine. This demand has penetrated even remote areas in Kenya's northern ASAL, where donkeys, who were traditionally used as beasts of burden, are mustered and sold to local distributors, who then transport the donkeys by the lorry load to be murdered in centralised abattoirs. It was there, at the last stopover before the slaughterhouse, that I bought Muunganishi off one of the lorries. I knew that every one I didn't choose as my research companion would almost certainly be killed within the week.

Muunganishi's entanglement with global market relations is directly related to the LAPSSET as a way of structuring mobilities. According to the LCDA, one of the goals of the LAPSSET corridor is to "revive the livestock sector" (LCDA, 2015a, p. 35) by aligning it with existing livestock corridors, as "[t]his will tap into three key streams of livestock movement corridor that emanate from the neighbouring countries into Kenya". This "lifeline" (ibid., p. 24) provided by the LAPSSET is supposed to have several benefits. First, it establishes access to formally inaccessible markets for live animals, meat and other animal products, thus stimulating both regional and domestic trade in these products. A second expected benefit of the LAPSSET, not mentioned in the report but repeatedly emphasized by interlocutors, is the issue of transport costs, an issue to which I will get back below. Lastly, the investment prospectus

emphasizes the ability of the LAPSSET to regulate unruly and unwanted mobilities: "the corridor will […] *tame* [emphasis added] the persistent raids that characterize these areas and help control animal diseases associated with livestock movement across the region" (LCDA, 2015a, p. 24). The LAPSSET corridor is not only supposed to facilitate the transportation of animals in the region, but also *civilise* it by replacing dispersed herds with controlled, regulated and secured transportation along predefined lines. This echoes the famous words of Winston Churchill: "Civilization must be armed with machinery if she is going to subdue these wild regions to her authority, iron roads, not jogging porters; tireless engines, not weary men" (Churchill, 1909, pp. 23–24).

What Churchill saw as the conquest of civilisation and,, what the LCDA presents as a "lifeline" for pastoralists are deathlines for the animals who are connected more efficiently to the global trade of animal bodies. This is not to say that bovines, goats, sheep, camels and donkeys would not be killed without infrastructure projects such as the LAPSSET, and pastoral economies by their very definition imply the movement of animals over enormous distances. Still, the LAPSSET has impacts on the structuring and governing of animal mobilities. The mass killing of donkeys in the region to satisfy demands of, a global market is just one example that demonstrates this effect. Traditionally, donkeys in the region are used exclusively as a beast of burden. This also means that when they are not needed to carry water or chattels, they are often left to their own devices. Several times, I encountered small roaming droves of donkeys without a herder in sight. Especially in Pokot communities, eating donkey meat is taboo and even thought to be lethal. For example, in the biography of Domonguria, a Pokot man from the Kenyan-Ugandan border, a group of women tried to commit suicide by eating donkey meat (Robbins, 2010, p. 118). A new infrastructural embeddedness now changes the identity of donkeys from an *unkillable* mode of transport to a *killable* (cf. Haraway, 2008) global commodity to be rounded up and traded on global markets (cf. Bull, 2011, pp. 29–30).

The governing of animal mobilities is a political question, and animals are deeply entangled into seemingly exclusively human politics. Correspondingly, Jacon Bull (2011, p. 28) argues that "[t]hese politics permit and restrain movement with different species permitted different degrees of and extents of movement". Muunganishi, a donkey mare who prefers banana peel to the actual banana, is thus implicated in Sino-African trade relations; as well as the construction of the LAPSSET corridor as a national and regional development project with the aim to increase the efficiency of animal

transportation. The LAPSSET corridor inscribes itself not only in the landscape, but also directly in the biography of individual animals, whose movements are impeded, redirected, governed, tamed and channelled by and through the corridor.

Significantly, many people in the region frame both positive and negative impacts of the LAPSSET in terms of its relation to animal mobilities. Moving with animals is a defining feature of pastoral identities, as articulated in the following quote by a Samburu woman living in Kipsing:

> You know, livestock to our community is everything. It's prestigious and also it's the only thing they depend on. They have got no shambas [arable fields], they don't know the knowledge of business, so if you remove livestock from the Samburu community, you have just took everything from them. (Interview, Kipsing, 2018-01-26)

The risks and benefits of the LAPSSET are consequently often judged in terms of animal mobilities that it facilitates or inhibits.

On the positive side, many people concur with the LCDA insofar as they hope that the LAPSSET is able to make transport of live animals faster and cheaper. The predominant means by which livestock are transported in the area of this study is by way of lorries that haul livestock from small local markets over rugged roads to larger sales markets in Nairobi, Mombasa and other major cities. A grievance expressed by many pastoralists I talked to was the meagre prices the 'middlemen' would pay to herders, and accusations of price-fixing were rampant. However, since the lorries constitute the only way to get livestock to the major national markets, most sellers don't have any choice but to accept the low prices. I could witness this problem myself on a market day in Oldonyiro during phase 4 of my research, when I was cycling the same route I had walked before. People from all over the area would come there to sell their livestock: I saw people again at the market who I had met two days' worth of walking away, only they and their goats had made the same distance in only one day. The market place was filled with lorries, whose operators would buy goats and other livestock and transport them across rugged roads to the nearby Nanyuki to sell them there at a high mark-up.

While this irritated the people selling their goats, the lorry drivers complained that the long route over rough terrain was difficult, time consuming and unsafe. In order to buy replacement parts for my bicycle in Nanyuki, I hitched a ride on one of these animal-transport lorries. Before departing, the co-driver purchased a huge bag of hard candy, making me wonder if he intended to eat it all by himself during the five-hour ride. Instead,

he threw handfuls of candy out the window every time we passed a group of people, mostly children, herding cattle or playing at the side of the road. When asked, he explained that it was important to maintain good relations with the locals, or else the trip could be even less secure. I witnessed how the lorry operators would buy illegal charcoal on the way, getting caught only a couple of minutes later by police who had set the charcoal seller up as a trap. Only after paying a hefty 'fine' (i.e. a bribe) could we continue on our way to Nanyuki. The considerable mark-up the middle-man charged once we arrived in Nanyuki also accounted for all these inconveniences and obstacles on the road. Once the LAPSSET corridor was established, one of the herders at the market told me, transportation would be so cheap and effortless that he wouldn't even need a middle-man but could organise transportation for his livestock himself. A wholesale trader in Oldonyiro offered a similar sentiment when I asked him how long it took him to get his goods from Isiolo. He told me:

> "Six hours probably because the road is bad, sometimes it is impassable, insecurity… but once the LAPSSET is there […] Three times faster! […] I will benefit a lot, because I will be able to transport my things very fast and at a cheaper price." (Interview 2018-02-03)

The emphasis on smooth and effortless transportation enabled by the LAPSSET sits uncomfortably next to the notion of the corridor as an obstacle to animal mobilities when they are not aligned with the direction of the *tireless engines* that ply the corridor. Interlocutors interviewed in areas along the corridor stressed the difficulties the LAPSSET would pose to the herding of animals. Not only is the road itself presented as a dangerous obstacle, so too are the cars moving along it at high speed. One of my research assistants translated the concerns of a young Samburu herder:

> "What they understand is that the LAPSSET – they know that there will be a very big road here […]. When it passes here, all our animals, our goats, will be finished because, they don't... animals, they have never seen these things, these machines, so they will just come across the road, and then they are being swept away by the vehicles moving up and down." (Walking Interview, around Longopito, 2018-01-29)

Effortless mobility and smooth, seamless connections are only possible as long as animals are moving with and inside of machines. The faster mobility along these roads, the more dangerous it becomes to cross it, the more successful the LAPSSET is as a connection along this route, the more it functions as a

disconnection for traversing movements. Without wanting to romanticize existing modes of transport, what distinguishes them from the anticipated mobility of the LAPSSET is that they are negotiable and that travellers have to negotiate them. The driver has to negotiate his or her own desire to reach the destination quickly with the demands of the landscape, taking turns and detours to avoid potholes, rocks and sandpits. Herders and lorry drivers negotiate the usage of the road, and the latter often have to wait patiently while a pastoralist is driving hir herd across or along the road. Even passage has to be negotiated with police, who block the road and demand fines for actual or contrived charges. Landscape, animals, humans, technology and social power all have a say in who moves when and where. The road is only one of many lines that cross the landscape.

This contrasts with the way the LAPSSET is conceived on maps and in the general imagination as a solid line on an empty canvas (see: Chapter 7).

Fig 19: Muunganishi eating some acacia husks after a long days walk.

My own conflict between different kinds of lines simulates and illustrates a dynamic that I believe is at the heart of what makes the LAPSSET a “controversial corridor”: the conflict between straight, hard and bold lines with those that are multiple, interwoven, and negotiable. Here, as well, animals and their mobilities are “good to think with” (Levi-Strauss, 1991, p. 89) about these different ways of conceiving lines.

When walking on a road, it is easy to forget that it is but one of many lines in a meshwork of a landscape. Walking with animals forces the human companion to recognise these often-invisible lines. Muunganishi had keen senses, and often I would be made aware of other people coming our way by a sudden twitch of her ears or more cautious body language long before I saw what she was reacting to. It made me aware of a landscape of sounds and smells to which I had been largely ignorant before: the direction of the wind as a treacherous companion revealing the presence of potential danger to her sensitive nostrils, then betraying our own presence to others' snouts, muzzles and trunks downwind. Muunganishi showed me these previously hidden layers of the landscape.

While I had a general idea of where I wanted to go based on the fragmentary maps and information I had gathered about the planned route of the LAPSSET, Muunganishi constantly opposed this straight line I was staring at on my GPS device with sensible objections regarding the way we should take, and the pace to get there. She would not only find the safest way down and up gullies that often crossed the way we were taking, but also suggested breaks, and made sure that my impatience to get to the next destination didn't allow me to forget about our surrounding (as I am want to do when walking alone). I had to be constantly aware of the vegetation surrounding us: acacia bushes obstruct a way as efficiently as barbed wire but would also provide the blossom or acacia husks she liked so much; thick vegetation would be revealed as the green deserts they were, as they only consisted of the most hardy, inedible plants that looked green but were an indicator that the area was being overgrazed.

Walking with Muunganishi introduced a central tension that I keep struggling with throughout the dissertation: between abstract but unambiguous relations (bold lines on a map) and the messy meshwork of lines 'on the ground' that sometimes appear as a connection, sometimes as a boundary. Before I started the fieldwork, the only way I had encountered the LAPSSET was through my own GPS device, through a global perspective detachedly looking down on a landscape through the eyes of satellites – and I missed the mark pretty badly. On the ground – hoofing through the landscape instead of hovering above it – the LAPSSET wasn't as present and didn't appear as a lone bold line through empty space, but (if at all) as one of many lines that crossed the landscape. This illustrates another aspect of the politics of scale: the ability to render lines invisible. Zoomed out from the landscape, taking up the positionless position of a map, the LAPSSET is solidly present as a 'thing', while the lines of humanimal mobilities are invisible. As soon as this

universal non-position is abandoned in favour of an embeddedness in the landscape, the bold line of the LAPSSET is revealed as an invisible ghostline, and the traces, smells, and trails of the 'moving, the vivacious many' appear.

5.6 Repulsions

So far, I have discussed two ways in which pastoral mobilities encounter (or anticipate the encounter with) the LAPSSET corridor. Section 5.1 described how these different lines can miss each other entirely, as if one were hovering above the other, while Section 5.4 described how the lines known as the LAPSSET corridor are expected to block and hinder anyone that attempts to move across it. This chapter takes up another worry that is present for many people living in the vicinity of the corridor: evictions.

In the previous chapter I have already qualified Larkin's (2013, p. 328) definition of infrastructure as "built networks that facilitate the flow of goods, people, or ideas and allow for their exchange over space", by adding that they do not only facilitate but also – and necessarily – obstruct and block flows. This chapter further qualifies Larkin's definition by questioning its implicit assumption that the movement infrastructure generates flows on, through or alongside the lines it draws. I have previously argued that the apparent singularity of infrastructural lines dissolves under scrutiny, revealing a myriad of intersecting, entangling, deviating and repelled threats. Regarding infrastructure as tissue (instead of pure, clean and linear relations) opens up a space for inquiries into these marginal lines that would otherwise remain concealed by the bolt strokes commonly used to mark infrastructural relations.

When talking to people about their expectations of the LAPSSET, the first thing many people mention is not anticipated movement along its course, but rather worries about movement away from it:

> "I'm worried, even the LAPSSET… maybe one day one time we shall be moved from this place and we don't know where we go. So I can't assure that I'll stay here forever, I can't guarantee", (Interview, Oldonyiro, 2018-01-31)

A primary school teacher in Oldonyiro tells me. A woman in Kipsing described similar fears like this:

> "Those who have money will start finding land here, and maybe the local people might be pushed away to somewhere they can get pastures for the animals, so you find that even now they are telling the people to move from those sides where the road is passing. So you might find that maybe in the future this community might be pushed to somewhere else where they don't belong and where they will

> be congested such that the animals cannot get the pastures." (Interview, Kipsing, 2018-01-26)

After one focus-group discussion with a group of women's rights activists in which I asked a lot of questions about gender relations, one of the women turned to me in the end and insisted: "Okay, so let me ask *you* a question. Will the serikali [the government] force us to move? Where shall we move, tutaenda wapi?" (Group Interview, Churo, 2018-02-14). For a long time during fieldwork, I underestimated the importance of this question – Tuetaenda wapi? Where do we go? – and only with time did I realise its meaning. It is a question that the LAPSSET itself does not ask: it creates a very clear directionality, just follow the road in one of two directions! It is, however, a question that arises from an encounter with the LAPSSET that is not aligned with this directionality; from an encounter that creates expulsion instead of acceleration.

Pastoralists are often portrayed as detached from any place (Kabachnik, 2012), or as one government official I talked to put it: "They have to move from one location to another. So they don't know the value of the land" (Group interview, Isiolo, 2018-01-22). Or, as one of my research assistants said, "The locals do not have a defined place to live, they live here and they move to another point". This can create an image of detachment, as if movement through a landscape indicated that land didn't matter. This image seems to contradict the scalar framing of pastoralists as 'the locals', as their local-ness is defined by their independence from any specific locale and, thus, by their "excessive, nomadic, and 'jumpy' movements" (Sheller, 2018, p. 123). As Kabachnik (2012, p. 212) notes, this allows them to be "constructed as out-of-place wherever they are", or as one interlocutor in Oldonyiro put it: "No matter where, we go we are always marginalised" (Interview, Oldonyiro, 2018-01-31). The corollary of this peculiar scalar framing that casts 'the local' as detached from any locale is that they are easily displaceable; this, in turn, casts a capitalist vision of modernisation and globalisation characterised by frictionless movement in rigid concrete.

This chapter is an attempt to grapple with sub-question 1 of this thesis: *What mobilities and immobilities is the LAPSSET anticipated to create and for whom?* The answer to this question may be found in the scalar framing that delineates 'global' kinetic elites and the 'local' on the basis of their ability to align their movements with the directions inscribed by infrastructural lines. The discussions of this chapter also anticipates the subsequent motif of anticipation. As Doreen Massey puts it: "Movement, and the making of relations, take/make

time" (2005, p. 119). Or in the words of Tim Ingold (2007, p. 102): "Places do not just have locations but histories"; places, Massey would add, that consist of "bundles of trajectories" (ibid.) that run next to and on top of each other, revealing a rich archaeology of lines. Lines in a landscapes like the creases in the palm of a hand that reveal to a palm-reader "a visual map of life, representing time as a series of interlocking paths, routes and journeys" (Hallam, 2002, p. 181). The story is also one of erasure and domination. Mimi Sheller points out that the famous Broadway in Manhattan followed (and thus overwrites) a trail by the Wappinger First Nation; its traces immortalised and yet erased.

6
Lines of Anticipation

It's coming, it's coming!
– Bertram, Oldonyiro, Isiolo County

Movement is linked to anticipation both conceptually as well as practically. Movements not only come from and go *somewhere*, they also relate to a past and future *somewhen*. The livestock following the trail blazed by an elephant align themselves with past movements across the same space; the elephant whose traces they follow went that particular route in anticipation of a particular destination or with the future prospect of plentiful browse plants somewhere else, at any rate. Current hopes and memories guide and direct movements that inscribe themselves into the landscape, thus lingering to influence future hopes and memories that in turn guide subsequent movements.

I like to imagine this process of engaging with these layers of inscriptions to an archaeological survey: time manifesting as traces in soil, unearthing memories as much as past futures, building an understanding not only of what was, but also of what might be. And similar to archaeologists, people in the area with whom I have conducted research do not have a lot of material evidence to judge the LAPSSET by. They might have seen one of the inconspicuous beacons; some people may have met surveyors or know someone who did; and of course, there are quite a lot of rumours floating around. However, the corridor itself remains unseen, despite its asserted mega-ness. One elder, during a focus group discussion in Churo, summarised a common sentiment quite succinctly when I asked the group how they would explain the LAPSSET to their grandchildren: "It's a road.", he said matter-of-factly, "I don't know what kind of road it is, because I have not seen it" (Interview, 2018-02-15).

I argue that the 'filling paste' used to fill in the gaps between scant material evidence to create a complete image of what the LAPSSET is (or might be) are hopes, dreams, fears, memories and expectations. As Müller-Mahn (2019, p. 2) maintains, "future possibilities are discursively turned into matters of fact, as if the future was already there" through "performed visions

of desirable futures" (Jasanoff, 2014, p. 4). Similar to envisioning an archaeological work, a material vision of an infrastructure project – its skeleton, as it were – is assembled in performative and affective acts at different sites and by different actors. Even though different "promises of infrastructure" (Appel et al., 2018b) may refer to the same material artefacts, extrapolations from them can be wildly different. Analogous to how the interpretation of archaeological artefacts depends on the beliefs, hopes, memories and imaginations of the archaeologist, these extrapolated infrastructural imaginations are contingent on the interpreter as well.

Infrastructures have often been described as a tool for powerful planning authorities to impress their ideals and imaginations into the landscape and people's realities. It is indeed important to recognise that large-scale infrastructure projects (and development corridors in particular) are highly impactful "tools of spatial planning" (Müller-Mahn, 2019, p. 1) with effects on many different levels ranging from the technical to the political and the poetic (Appel et al., 2018b, p. 134; Larkin, 2013, p. 335). Especially when considering the effects that development corridors have on different forms of movement, it is important to recognise that the "introduction of new mobilities and disruption of existing mobilities through corridor construction can be understood as an exercise of power over territory and population" (Enns, 2018).

However, a focus exclusively on infrastructures as 'tools' or as a way to 'exercise power over' runs the risk of neglecting the active role that people over whom power is exercised take in filling in the gaps – through their hopes, fears, memories and expectations – between the material artefacts that attest to the actuality of infrastructure projects. This chapter engages with the anticipations of people living in close vicinity of the corridor, avoiding a framing of them as the 'affected' population, and seeing them instead as active dreamers, rememberers and hopers.

6.1 Waiting for Something That Is in an Envelope

> Already now we are hearing that the map on how the resort city is expected to be, is already there. And people are not aware. People in the county government are not aware. It is not disseminated. But up there, the national government, they have the map on how the resort city is likely to be. But the owners of that land, the locals, they are not aware. Yes. If you are shown now, this is the resort city, this is how we expect it to be you can prepare yourself for this and this. […] Then you plan and then you move in one direction. So now we are waiting for something that is in an envelope. […] But we understand that it is a beneficial

> project; that it is a good project; that we need support. But the idea is closed in an envelope". (Group interview, Isiolo, 2018-01-22)

In 5.1 I have described how the LAPSSET bypasses pastoralist communities living in its vicinity. As a matter of course, this bypassing is not a current actual encounter, but an anticipation of a non-encounter based on past and current experiences of absent government officials and life in Kenya's marginalised North. In the previous chapter, I had to brush past this anticipatory character of (non-)encounters between different lines of movement. This chapter compensates for this previous omission and delves deep into the different ways in which the LAPSSET corridor is present through dreams, hopes, fears and expectations. In this chapter, I start by describing waiting as an active engagement with uncertainty and spectrality; as a companion to being bypassed, left out, ignored, missed or overlooked (for a more in-depth 'ethnography of waiting', see e.g. Bandak & Janeja, (2018).

Being bypassed by the stream of information about the LAPSSET has implications for the ability to navigate both space and time. The ability to plan ahead – or in the words of Appadurai (2004), the "capacity to aspire" – is seriously limited, and one is unable to "move in one direction" (see quote above). Consequently, one is left "waiting for something that is in an envelope", something unknown and uncertain; unable to plan or move ahead. When I asked a herder I met on my way to Oldonyiro how he expected life to change through the LAPSSET, he told me "We can't see that because that thing, we have not yet seen, we are waiting for it, because maybe it will come with other changes. I have no answer to answer you that, because we have not yet seen it" (Interview, 2018-01-29). Waiting for the *idea in the envelope*, unable to make plans for the future, is therefore literally and figuratively demobilising. *Being bypassed*, however, is not something that people are passively exposed to; it engenders an active anticipatory response.

This 'active waiting' is one of the few common themes that concerns not only a particular group, but essentially everyone – from marginalised herders to county governments. The quote at the beginning of this chapter is by one of the sub-county governors who I have already introduced in the previous chapter. It speaks about the suspicions that 'up there' information about the resort city in Isiolo (which is part of the LAPSSET project) is already available but not disseminated locally, making it impossible to plan ahead and suspending 'locals' and the county government in a state of waiting for "something that is in an envelope". The image of the envelope has different concurrent connotations: for one, it is hidden and clandestine (maybe secretly

exchanged bribes or plots) – but the envelope also evokes the notion of something official and important. Together, these aspects create an image of important and powerful, yet inscrutable, machinations one cannot dare to influence but can only wait for.

This state of waiting, however, is also used as a negotiating position by the county government. Just before the quote about the envelope, the three administrators enumerated a long and elaborate list with explicit demands they had for the national government: the establishment of representatives with a clear mandate, public participation that is not only symbolic, establishment of civil educators in all wards, involvement of the media and local radio stations, better transmission of information to local leaders, and clear identification of the route (Group interview, Isiolo, 2018-01-22). When I ask them if they expected any kind of violent resistance from the population in the area, one of the men answered, "No, at the end of the day, when things are followed the way they are supposed to be, there is no problem" (Group interview, Isiolo, 2018-01-22) – which could be read as a threat: for now we are waiting, but if you don't do this the way it's supposed to be, there might be resistance.

One place where the sense of active waiting and suspension in uncertainty was particularly palpable was Oldonyiro, a town in the westernmost part of Isiolo's 'Scorpion's Tail'; the last settlement before the vast 'white highlands' (conservancies and rangelands that are mostly owned and managed by white Kenyans, descendents of British colonisers), that stretch out to the west. To me, Oldonyiro felt like how I imagined towns in North America's Western frontier. It consisted of a single packed-dirt road on either side of which was one row of buildings with colourfully painted facades (Fig 20). During the day, this road is filled with bustling activity: people shopping for groceries or hanging out under one of the acacia trees; goats, chickens and occasionally cows rummaging for food residues in the trenches lining the road; children playing; motorbike drivers loudly chatting with each other, waiting for customers; packers unloading big sacks of grain from pick-ups and larger trucks. These scenes are set against the background of rolling hills and angular cliffs that mark the boundary to the high plains of Laikipia in the west and the relative lowlands of Isiolo in the east.

About a week after I had started my fieldwork one of the people I met there put the uncertainty and eerie absence of 'things that are in an envelope' into words that would change my way of thinking about the LAPSSET:

> I started hearing of the LAPSSET project. 'It's coming, it's coming' – but to date I don't know if it's a ghost or a white elephant[49] project. But I hope it is still coming. (2018-01-31 – Oldonyiro – Paragraph 56)

Fig 20: Streetscape in Oldonyiro

A couple of days later I wrote in an email to my supervisors:

> One of the interviewees said LAPSSET was like a ghost, and I agree 100%. It haunts me everywhere I go, but it's never quite there. The only physical evidence I've seen are the little concrete beacons that have a serial number etched in them (when they haven't been destroyed be sceptical herders). They remind me more of tombstones than of beacons of a bright future.

It is common to refer to the LAPSSET as something unseen; not only as something that is in an envelope, but as a hyena lurking in the shadows, an unseen monster (see: 5.1 and 7.2.2) or – as in the quote above – a ghost. The expected benefits are equally ephemeral – at the time of the research it was even unclear whether the LAPSSET would come at all. When I visited Oldonyiro for the first time in 2018, I had heard rumours about its rerouting, which I shared with one of the shopkeepers in town who had asked me if I had

[49] Projects that include big promises regarding development, but in the end never materialise or have little to no impact are often referred to as 'white elephant projects'

any information about the project. When I revisited the town in 2019, he confessed that he had been sceptical about the rumours I had heard, but said that it seemed that I had been right,[50] and that the corridor would indeed bypass the town. On the one hand, the LAPSSET corridor is absent, not even 'in the future', as that would imply the possibility of it eventually being actualised in the present. It is *a venir*, as Derrida (1992, p. 27) would say, always approaching but never arriving; an orientation but not a goal; it is both 'kule' (thereabout) and 'pale' (over there) (see: 5.3).

Additionally, it is also both 'good' and 'bad'. It is a curious pattern that showed up in many interviews: people would list off the negative impacts they expected the LAPSSET to have on their livelihoods, only to conclude that they could not wait for the project to finally commence – or the other way around. This might appear as a paradox or logical inconsistency. However, I argue that these ambiguous anticipations are a completely rational way to engage with a deeply ambiguous situation. The following examples are to illustrate this point.

Julius is the owner of one of two hotels in town and conservation manager of a small-scale conservancy in Oldonyiro Constituency. We drink luke-warm sodas at a small table under a pavilion on his compound; one of the chairs is a discarded LAPSSET beacon, which I can now see in its entirety for the first time. "The LAPSSET people stayed here while they were doing the beaconing, they were doing the casting of the beacons, right here in this compound",[51] he explains. At the end of our interview I ask him a question I ask every person I met during my fieldwork: "If you imagine we sit here ten years from now, the LAPSSE has been finished, and we're sitting here looking out, what do you see? What has changed in this particular place?" Julius looks around the area, the compact soil under our feet, the pavilion of weathered and warped wood next to us, the looming acacia tree above.

> "Probably I'll imagine that Oldonyiro will be developed...", he says.
>
> "Meaning?", I ask him.
>
> "Food security will definitely be there because of transportation and all that, big hotels, yeah? So I am imagining a new Oldonyiro, a developed Oldonyiro, that's my imagination." (Interview, 2018-02-01)

[50] Based on fieldnotes taken during my stay in Oldonyiro

[51] Transcript from memory, research diary, 2018-02-01.

Bertram is a primary school teacher who is part of a group I would end up spending almost every evening with. He was the one who compared the corridor to a ghost. Nevertheless, he seems to be very optimistic regarding the future:

> Right now this is a small market. When we count these houses that we have here or when you move from one side to the other in just a matter of five minutes… I believe in some years to come we are going to have estates in those points. We are going to have another town, stopovers maybe. We will have our people here moving to those places maybe to sell some small *nini*[52] because I believe those people who will be passing there, they will not be passing through express. At least you have to quench some thirst, you know? So, I now take Oldonyiro as a place maybe in some years to come it will be bigger than Nanyuki [one of the larger towns close to Oldonyiro] […] Let [the LAPSSET] come, let it kick off and let development come because we don't tend to look back. All these other countries are moving on, why not us?" (Interview, 2018-01-31)

Seyyid, the poet and playwright with whom I also spent many a night talking and chewing *miraa* answered that question:

> After knowing the meditation of the project, this small town shall not be using solar in power. Even when you enter the hotel, you just charge your phone there! At least it will be easier. Also the transportation will also be easier.

Judging by these quotes, one could expect a considerable amount of optimistic anticipation of the LAPSSET. Food security, development, a Kenya that is competitive globally, a booming economy, growing city, easy transportation and phone chargers in every restaurant – an indeed a "powerful blend of commerce and imagination" (see the poem on Cecil Rhodes in Section 3.3.1). However, the anticipation of the LAPSSET is more ambivalent. Julius follows up the above quote like this:

> I think the manyattas [traditional huts] will be moving, maybe the land will be, you know, the land will have high demand and the manyattas will just move away. (Interview, 2018-02-01)

Bertram also qualifies his optimistic statement somewhat:

[52] Nini literally translates to "what" and is a common placeholder for, "whatchamacallit", "thingy" or "whatshisface".

> Where you have positive things, you can never lack negative things. Now climate: we expect climatically changes. So grazing areas maybe they can be affected. (Interview, 2018-01-31)

Seyyid is sceptical about the benefits he had just listed before as well:

> Though also I worry where I could be in this place or I will be displaced? Because we are not even assured – as I told you we live in a trust land. We don't know. Even the cruel president is the one who intends to take our land as his plot and his business, and put his resort hotel, and call the tourists and we are taken to survive somewhere else. (2018-01-31)

Suspended in waiting, the LAPSSET appears to the people in Oldonyiro and other places along its route as both good and bad at the same time. On the one hand, it is anticipated to attract investments, tourists, and thirsty truck drivers on a stopover. On the other hand, it is expected to be repulsive in the sense discussed in Section 5.6: the manyattas – symbolising traditional pastoral livelihoods – "will just move away", as Julius put it. The prolonged moment of waiting is defined by its ability to contain these apparent contradictions; it is this suspension that conjures LAPSSET as a ghost. Until these contradictions are resolved – if they are ever resolved – the LAPSSET truly is both good and bad, already here and never to be realised, simultaneously a road and a fence.

The remainder of this chapter expands on the previous argument that the way in which people are waiting for the LAPSSET corridor in Oldonyiro and elsewhere constitutes an active engagement with it, rather than passive inactivity. As a representative case of 'active waiting', I introduce a group of people that are bound together by their common ambition to improve their community and their belief that this can be achieved through the power of poetry and theatre.

Seyyid is the unofficial leader of this group. They meet almost every evening in the *Comfort Zone*, a bar at the town's only street. I was introduced to him by my research assistant at the time, who insisted that I meet 'our poet', and dragged me into the *Comfort Zone*, where he knew he would find Seyyid. This place became a second home for me during my time spent in the town, and I would pass by almost every evening to meet Seyyid and his friends. That said, the *Comfort Zone* does not provide much comfort: it consists of one small room, a table and a couple of plastic chairs. Someone has written "No Smoking" with a sharpie on each wall, at least twenty times (Fig 21). Apart from that, the walls are bare concrete. As smoking is obviously disallowable, the drug of choice is miraa or khat: green leaves that are passed around in a

paper bag and chewed, staining the teeth of the patrons green. The sounds from the gravelled murram-road outside, sputtering motorbikes, people talking, yelling and the clucking of chickens, all intrude on the *Comfort Zone* and clash with the music and muted atmosphere inside – the doorway only veiled by a thin curtain.

Fig 21: Smoking in the comfort zone is apparently not desirable.

A heterogeneous group gathers in the Comfort Zone: Bertram, a primary school teacher with a special interest in European history; Thomas, with the big floppy hat that protects his white skin from the sun, who helps the priest of the local congregation and aspires to be a preacher himself one day; Eugene, who doesn't say much during the meetings but who quietly runs the entire organisation as treasurer, management and HR, all in one person; Joseph, who is constantly drunk to cope with the pain in his leg and who promises every day that he will stop drinking; Albert, who plays the main character in almost every play they perform, whose radiant smile, booming voice and imposing physique cover up his shy and modest nature while he is not on stage; and of course Seyyid himself; Seyyid the poet, who emanates a palpable melancholy, who sits diminutively in one corner of the room, speaks with a faltering voice; Seyyid, whose unwavering belief in the power of words is the reason everyone else is here at the *Comfort Zone* talking about how to improve the lives of the people in the community with nothing but poems, songs and theatre.

A sense of isolation saturates the place, and I wonder how voluntary it is. There is hardly any passing trade – during the time I spent at the *Comfort Zone* I saw the same faces over and over again. Even the regulars didn't strike me as customers, and at one point I realised that I had never seen any of the patrons buy anything in this bar – its function appearing to be more a living room existing in an uncomfortable zone in-between the private and the public. It is a waiting room, in which one not only waits to be called upon, but in which information is shared, plans are hatched and performances are rehearsed that are meant to call upon others, to tell them about the injustices that one experiences and expects.

Many of the people gathering here are outcasts of one kind or another: people from ethnic groups other than the dominant Samburu – a history geek, a person with albinism,[53] eccentric poets and other artists. It is a layered isolation: a cocoon of a room, within a small town that is located hours away from the next larger city. More than anything though, the group feels isolated politically and financially, especially when compared to people from privileged backgrounds. Several times Seyyid told me how many important things he wants to share with other people and how frustrated he is that nobody is listening, because unlike those from wealthy backgrounds, he doesn't have the means to make himself heard:

> "I am a poet, I am very creative. Maybe – I say maybe – another one is from a rich parent and the chances are there, automatically! Money is bribed for the rich person to be… [he trails off]. that gap is what is confusing us." (19-180131 - Seyyid - Eng - part1, Paragraph 76)

In defiance of this confusing gap between the chances for rich and poor, Seyyid and his troupe refuse to give up on their ambitions to improve the world around them through poetry, even as the world proves to be quite resistant to the change they envision. Besides his conviction that poetry and art can be a force for good, his voice exposes a deep frustration when he talks about corrupt officials that cancelled a performance his troupe has been working on for weeks, because they weren't able to grease the right palms; about NGOs and churches that praised his group's efforts but wouldn't spare a single shilling to help them; about the ease with which people from wealthy backgrounds access

[53] The *Equal Rights Trust* concluded that "[…] it is clear that people with albinism face severe problems in Kenya, arising in part as a result of prejudice and superstition and in part as a result of failure to make reasonable accommodation for their particular health and social needs" (Equal Rights Trust, 2012, p. vii).

funds for projects that are – in his opinion – way less effective; and above all, about the feeling of being ignored, unheard, screaming out beautiful healing words with nobody around to listen. Being ignored, invisible, bypassed, and marginalised appears to be a grave concern for Seyyid, not only as a poet, but also as Turkana (the area where he lives is mostly inhabited by Samburu). As he puts it: "As a Turkana, everywhere you go you are a minority". This also implies political isolation. Betram told me that the problem was that "[w]e don't have electricity, we are very much marginalized, almost to a point of being forgotten. That's why you find most of us, or most of these people in this community, they don't go for the government" (Interview, 2018-01-31).

An excerpt of a poem titled "The chances have been taken", that Seyyid posted on Facebook in February 2018, expresses this triple isolation he experiences not only as a member of a minority ethnic group, but mainly as a 'whacky poet' without any money.

How long will you live
When you ignore the artists?
When you overlook them, hastily?
Be cautious, and encourage!
The suppression of artists,
An ongoing contention.
I wish they would show them
That the chances have been taken.[54]

In speaking out about this isolation, in writing poems about it and posting them on social media, in performing it in plays on market day, it becomes an active engagement with the LAPSSET, a demand. And the fact that they are not informed about the project by the authorities does not mean that they are uninformed. Talking about the LAPSSET corridor with the people in the *Comfort Zone*, I realised that the allegation of allegedly ignorant 'locals' couldn't be further from the truth. Of course, this is also indicative of class divisions within the towns and settlements along the corridor. With the limited resources available, many people seemed to minutely and critically assess the possible implications of the LAPSSET corridor in their area, drawing from past experiences and examples in other areas of Kenya. For example, Julius, the owner of the hotel and manager of a local conservancy, who I already quoted above, said:

[54] The original poem was published in Swahili, and was translated by myself, with the subsequent approval of Seyyid.

> "To me, okay, me being probably professional and all that, I have seen a LAPPSET project which has happened some other places, like probably Isiolo-Marsabit road, it's part of the LAPSSET thing, I have even seen the standard railway line on the way from Mombasa and all that, and I have read it in the books, so to me, it's gonna be good news in a way but you need to balance." (Interview, Oldonyiro, 2018-02-01)

6.2 The House on Top of the Hill

This balancing act between the positive and negative aspects of the LAPSSET is something that many people take into their own hands. One of those people is Jack, who is currently building a house close to where he anticipates the LAPSSET corridor will cross the town. Listening to the recording of Jack and me walking up the hill to the house he is building is humiliating: both of us are panting after only a couple of minutes hiking (though he has the excuse of being a heavy-built man in his late fifties and I don't). He used to work as a teacher in different, mostly faraway towns and only came back to his place of birth recently after resigning his job. "Tired", he pants, "I am tired. I have really fought enough". Rather than waiting until he reaches the official retirement age, he came back to his hometown to start a small business. When I asked him if he would like to retire, he answers: "Ah, I would die, bwana [respectful address for older people – in this case it's used jokingly]! So let me go and do something while I'm still able". For almost thirty years he had been studying and working at different places, but eventually, he says, he wanted to return. Why? "The goodness of these people, the goodness of the place". By that point we had reached the top of a hill and looked over the landscape; the town only a diminutive scattering of geometric shapes in an otherwise round and rolling topology.

> Jack: You see that rock over there? The coming up rock?
> Interviewer: Yeah, I see it.
> Jack: That is what we call *Ngasisu Rock*.
> I: What does it mean?
> Jack: Ngasisu means, it is on the viewpoint where the wind blows.

Fig 22: Ngasisu Rock, the viewpoint where the wind blows.

The Ngasisu Rock stands out majestically, but also a bit lonely on a plain of dry grass. Jack describes to me where he thinks the LAPSSET will cross it; just there next to that hill, and then, "how will they pass over this… whatever [he means a deep canyon]? Do they have pillars?", he asks me, as if I knew. The deputy chief had told me they were going to blow up the canyon, which I have a hard time believing. I imagine how the 500-metres-wide corridor would cross this landscape. It really is a good place, I think, beautiful even. As always, I have a hard time holding back when a landscape strikes me as beautiful.

> Interviewer: Wow, this is actually – it looks pretty nice! There is someone else standing there! (Laughs)
> Jack: They are looking after the animals, they are looking after goats, you see there are goats there, there are goats, the others here… they are now looking over this area; this is a grazing land, this is a grazing land.
> I: Yeah, so if this is a grazing land, but there would be a big street…
> Jack: Aha, that's now another problem.

Maybe, Jack speculates, they will build a tunnel under the corridor for herders to pass through. But eventually many people would live along the street so the herders would need to move elsewhere: "People will go up to that rock grazing the animals."

"The windy Rock?" I ask, and he nods. I imagine how different the landscape would look from up there once (if) the LAPSSET is built and actually passes this area, and I feel a sudden rush of sadness come over me. I ask him: "So, when you look at this landscape where you grew up and it seems to mean a lot to you, are you somehow sad—" At this moment my phone starts ringing. It's a person I've been waiting to call me back for days, so I have to take it. Before I do though, Jack gets one more word in to correct my assumption: "Proud", he says.

Jack shows me the house he is currently building not far from the centre of Oldonyiro, and in view of Ngasisu Rock. We are standing in the ruins of his not yet built house, something he might be even prouder of than the fact that the little town he was born in might finally be connected to a real road. For the last year or so he had put the construction on hold for lack of material, but he's sure that when I come to visit again in a couple of years, he'll be able to host me. I'm sure that he would have enough space for that if he actually finishes this house. It is huge, and even though it doesn't look like much now, it shows a lot of ambition and optimism. With the help of Jack describing his vision to me, I imagine what the house might look like once it's finished. "Here's where my son can stay when he comes to visit, and this room is for my daughter". For some reason I am moved by the confidence of this man, who clearly struggles financially to finish this building project, but is nevertheless sure that he's going to do it; that his children will come to visit all the time, and that he can, eventually, stop fighting. Most of the walls are only knee-high, so we can cross through the walls, like ghosts. These fundaments look bare now, but they're alive with his hopes, dreams and expectations.

> Jack: The end of this year is roofing – on top – then the other year is finishing so many rooms.
>
> Interviewer: Wow, so many rooms!
>
> J: Yeah, it has so many rooms.
>
> I: This is a really nice house! How do you think is it going to be if you have, like, the major highway, only two thousand meters from here?
>
> J: Ah! That's good! That's good! It will be having more advantage, I don't know whether there will be a [bus] stage, I don't know, or it is a WRRRR [he imitates the sound of cars passing by without stopping]... I don't know whether they will put a stage for us here...

The question of whether or not there would be a stage close to the town would come up several times, also with other interlocutors. It is a major concern of the people living close to the anticipated corridor not to be literally passed by by the new road. A bus stage means access to the road as a connection; it means not having to encounter it merely as an obstacle, like it would appear to the herders; it means being able to intertwine one's own paths with the LAPSSET's, aligning oneself with it.

For Jack, the LAPSSET points mostly towards one place: Isiolo, the biggest town in the area. As things are right now, a trip there takes many hours – the LAPSSET would reduce that time at least by a factor of three. Right now there's a market once a week; people from the surrounding areas as far away as Isiolo and Nanyuki come to sell and buy goods. With a better road, there would be a market every day; goods and services could easily and quickly be acquired from the next town, and Jack is expecting this to create a huge economic boom for his town. The house he is building himself is part of that; not only as evidence for economic prosperity, but also as a beacon for others to follow, as a pointer towards a brighter future and thus a signpost for others to follow:

> Jack: Another bigger house makes them go to school so that they can come back and develop the community, a modern house like this one now not everybody can build this one; it's only somebody who has gone to school, somebody who has seen far...
>
> Interviewer: And then come back.
>
> J: So when I finish this, I will call them [pointing at a small hut close by] to see the modern house, so they will move from a small manyatta like this now to that one [pointing at the construction site of his own house].

Permanent houses, education, the ability to trade commodities with bigger towns, development, economic prosperity, travelling – for education, not pasture! – all these hopes and expectations ply with the lines drawn as the LAPSSET corridor. Before I had found it confusing that he said he was proud of the LAPSSET, and not sad, like me, for the landscape it would undeniably change. But now I thought I understood a bit better: the LAPSSET is also *his* way, the way towards a good life, down from his house on the top of the hill to the bus stage connecting him to the world – or at the very least, Isiolo town. And he may even be able to lead others down (or up) the same road, blazing a trail for others to follow. And others do seem to want to follow. While we are

walking, we meet a herder sitting on a rock and chewing tobacco. We talk a bit about his life, and I am interested to find out what he thinks, whether he anticipates, like Jack, that the LAPSSET will be an improvement for the area and himself. I expect him to be worried about the loss of the traditional way of life. To my surprise, he tells me how little he actually appreciate the 'traditional' life. Herding goats is a full-time job, twelve hours a day from sunrise to sundown. He says he barely sees his children, and wishes for them to have a different life than him. I ask, "So he doesn't want the same life for his children?" Jack translates for me: "He doesn't want... No. He says after school, they will get engineers working in this… nini ['thingy'] along the road; they will get work, they will get employed, they will get self-employment and they will do businesses like that."

Jack, like the people in his town, does not merely anticipate an infrastructural project. Instead, he navigates a complex landscape of anticipation in which his own house, the development of the small town below it, his own past journeys throughout the country, the road to Isiolo, the flow of commodities in and out of his shop, and the pastoralists grazing their goats on top of the windy hill are all intertwined. His anticipation of this landscape is not merely a passive imagination of a possible future, but an active participation in it. The walls of his own building project – only set back by a temporary lack of funds – are alive with the spirits of the future: his children studying in faraway places, coming to visit him and his wife every once in a while; the vista over a vibrant settlement below him. Standing there with Jack, I wish that all these dreams will come true.

However, not everyone is as optimistic about the future as Jack is, and some do not anticipate the LAPSSET to be a path that they will be able to align with. The next section explores how these more sceptical anticipations of the future are also implied in an active engagement with future-making practices.

6.3 Ghost Manyattas

As I have already mentioned several times, many people living close to the planned route of the corridor have the impression of being "forgotten" or "left behind" by the planning of the LAPSSET. This is particularly true for those who feel marginalized within their respective community, i.e. women (see also: 7.2.2) and 'traditional' pastoralists with little to no official education who live outside of the main settlements (see also: 7.2.3). Based on past experiences, some people assume that whatever work the government does to align

pastoralist communities with the LAPSSET cannot be trusted, as there were simply too many promises in the past that were not kept. In Section 2.2 I outlined several historical and present reasons why pastoralists in the area may feel like that. To repeat the main point, there is a general sentiment that the government, which is mostly dominated by people from central Kenya, where farming and business are the primary sources of livelihoods, is not interested in the fate and well-being of pastoralists and tends to make policies that favour people who do not live a pastoralist lifestyle.

There seems to be a general sense among many people in pastoralist communities that whatever benefits the LAPSSET may bring, it is not 'for them', but for people from abroad, people from central Kenya or educated people living in settlements. This point is illustrated by the kind of mobility that many pastoralists associate with the LAPSSET. The LCDA and the government of Kenya emphasize the ways in which the corridor works as an accelerator: as a connection that facilitates travel and increases speed and ease of movement across formerly hostile landscapes. In Section 5.6 I showed that most people I talked to emphasized a different form of mobility caused by the LAPSSET: being displaced. So while both the LCDA and pastoralists living around the corridor agree that the LAPSSET will create new forms of mobility, the direction of that mobility is anticipated very differently. In defiance of the asserted efforts of the central government to include 'local communities' in the planning and the benefits of the LAPSSET, many affected people do not anticipate any sort of alignment with the corridor, but rather, a violent expulsion from it. However, some people also take their alignment with the LAPSSET in their own hands, as if to say: if the government is ignoring us and doesn't include us in their plans, we will include ourselves.

Apart from some communities along the corridor refusing to be put in line with the LAPSSET corridor, there are other cases in which people add 'foreign' elements to it. On our way back from the beacon that Franklin and I had eventually found (see: 5.3), my companion told me about a curious thing that lately some people had begun doing: building houses on the way of the corridor. At first glance, that didn't seem to make sense at all – if people are concerned about being evicted from their homes, why would they deliberately build a house in a place where they know that the corridor will pass? Franklin shows me one of these apparent settlements and explains that in fact nobody lives in them; nobody has or ever will, because that isn't their purpose. When I later mention this in a conversation with Patrick (the former pilot I had first met in Kipsing), he told me:

> The communities won't even know what's happening project-wise, the millennium goals, what have you, they have no idea. The Vision 2030 of Kenya – they have no idea, so for them they won't even know there is a LAPSSET coming in unless a politician tells them there is a project coming. […] You know, to be compensated you have to be in that area of demarcation, so everybody comes now and lines up there, like you will see it in this area when you go this way, in where the demarcation is. People you will get these temporary manyattas; people just shift and line up there to wait for the compensation." (9-180126 - Kipsing - Paragraph 86)

I have shown above that the tools used by the LCDA and other agencies involved in the construction of the LAPSSET are not always suitable to aligning pastoralist communities with the mega-project (see Section 5.1). These newly erected ruins, therefore, answer to and make a parody of an important precondition to receiving compensation for being evicted by the corridor. In order to be eligible, one needs to prove ownership of a particular place that is intersected by the LAPSSET – something that is difficult to provide for people who practice transhumance and who traditionally rarely build truly permanent structures. In this sense, these 'temporary manyattas' – or ghost manyattas as I came to call them, as they testify to the LAPSSET's ghostly presence – are a way of dealing with the fact that on the ground the LAPSSET corridor does not, in fact, exist in the cohesive and unambiguous way in which it is presented elsewhere. This practice adds some odd foreign objects that will be demolished sooner or later into the way of the corridor. More fundamentally, however, it adds another timeline, another way of anticipating the future. The benefits promised by the LAPSSET corridor, the maendeleo (development) it has promised to bring, are not something that most people feel negative about. However, many do feel rather sceptical about the prospects of these benefits actually materialising for them. As Bertram, one of the members of Seyyid's troupe, put it when I asked about the promises made by the government of Kenya regarding the LAPSSET:

> Interviewer: And you believe that they are telling the truth when they are talking about the benefits?
>
> Bertram: To some extent. No, I don't because, you know, we are Africans. Africans do believe in what they see, those are facts. What they see not what they hear. You might tell me that 'I'll buy you a car'; Africans don't believe unless…
>
> I: …Unless you see the car. (Interview, 2018-01-31)

In a way, the 'ghost manyattas' are a refusal to align with the anticipated future promised by the corridor. Or rather, they symbolise that their builders are calling out the promises of development, modernity, globalisation as a bluff. As a group of elders in Longopito grumbled when the 'promises of infrastructure' were mentioned during a comic workshop:

> Person 1: They promise, they promise, but *nothing*.
> Interviewer: So they say a lot?
> Person 2: Eeh.
> Person 3: *Empty promises.*
> P1: They will do this someday, they will do that; and this is what your 'father' is going to do for you ['baba yenu' or 'your father' is a common metaphor for the government].
> Person 4: Many promises but all of them are empty lies. They make many promises but they are false.
> (Focus Group Discussion, 2018-04-04. The Interview is translated from Swahili by the authors; words in italics were in English in the original quote.)

The 'temporary' ghost manyattas recognise the emptiness of the mega-imaginary and attempt to fill it up with own dreams and hopes: using the compensation to send one's children to a good school; to buy a motorbike; more cows; medicine. Far from an attempt to block these aspirations, the architects of the ghost manyattas try to hitch a ride on them, adding their own anticipations and hopes for the future. The LCDA is of course aware of this, and as a result tries to leave even less material evidence of the route in an attempt to counteract the contentious materialisation practiced by some pastoralists. As the deputy chair of an organisation that advocates for indigenous people's rights in the region reports:

> Yeah, I think basically one of the things the authority is doing is that they don't want the people to know the actual route. […] Communities are also organizing for themselves to seize on especially the benefits which are in form of compensations. So those are the things that they [the LCDA] are trying to avoid. (Interview, 2018-03-06 - Paragraph 105)

The ghostly ambivalence of the LAPSSET project that I have described in the previous chapter thus becomes a new layer of significance. In order to maintain the promise of a bright future, the future itself cannot be certain, and the more vague the future is, the more powerful it becomes. One might argue that the uncertainty regarding the LAPSSET is a matter of course, as planned projects are uncertain by their very nature. The fact that the benefits of

infrastructure projects often remain elusive for the people in its vicinity is also well established (Howe et al., 2016; Majoor, 2018; Salet, Bertolini, & Giezen, 2013). However, the elusiveness of the project itself has significant consequences for the people living in its vicinity – not only in terms of having a diminished capacity to anticipate their own futures (see: Appadurai, 2004), but also in terms of being able to organise opposition against, or at least involvement in, the project. One herder I met on the way to Oldonyiro told me that he did not expect anything good to come out of the project. When I asked him if he planned to resist[55] the project if his fears should come true, he just gestured towards the open landscape and said, "I can't see anything to resist" (Walking Interview, around Longopito, 2018-01-29).

Without going too deep into social movement theory, I refer to Sidney Tarrow and his recognition that a successful social movement must identify a unifying experience of injustice and attribute it to a particular actor – to "name an enemy" (Tarrow, 2011, p. 145). This resonates with the Marxist notion of antagonism as a dialectical driving moment of class struggle (Lukács, 1923; Marchart, 2013, p. 271): Lukács (1923, p. 80) maintains that any class can only emerge as a class in antagonistic relation to another class. I argue that this is not only the case in struggles of class against class, but also when formulating opposition against injustices in general. What if the antagonistic relation is denied; if the potential antagonist is so elusive as to evade any conflict; if what Lukács calls an "image of frozen reality that nevertheless is caught up in an unremitting, ghostly movement" (Lukács, 1971), is not, as he proposes, eventually embodied in the form of class struggle, but maintains its 'ghostly movement' perpetually? This is the reality that some of the people I talked to struggle with: the impotence of being faced with an elusive, ghostlike universal abstraction such as 'property' or 'development' – there is simply no one to blame, no one to ***point at.***

The problem of not being able to point out the problem came through most explicitly in an interview with Karen,[56] an environmental activist who I met at her organisation's headquarters in Nairobi. She told me about the problem of mutual blindness: according to her, pastoralists living in the vicinity of the LAPSSET corridor are not partial to the decision-making processes leading to its construction; they do not understand the risks and benefits involved; they don't even see anything materially in the landscape apart from

[55] At the time, I had still thought that my research would be about resistance against the LAPSSET.

[56] She asked me not to record the conversation, so the following recollection is based on notes I took during the interview.

some mysterious beacons. Simultaneously, she told me, the government is ignorant of the real needs of the people inhabiting the landscapes intersected by the LAPSSET.

According to her, there are basically two options: either one could organise a big protest in a town like Isiolo, or one could follow a more decentralised approach, focussing on the rural areas that are intersected by the LAPSSET. The first option, says Karen, would guarantee media coverage, but would run the risk of excluding the very people it is supposed to represent: one could not expect pastoralist communities from the surrounding area to abandon their livestock for several days and undertake the possibly long and expensive journey to the next town. The result would be that – once again – urban elites would speak on behalf of rural pastoralists whose voices would remain unheard. Conversely, if her organisation supported a decentralised protest that would happen around the dwelling places of pastoralists, media attention would conceivably be low. What news service would care enough about a couple of herders staging a protest in the middle of nowhere to send a team to report on it? Again, the voices of affected pastoralists would remain unheard.

As I outlined in Section 2.2, this mutual blindness and sense of isolation has a long history. Some authors have explored the 'imperial remains' of infrastructure projects in East Africa (Enns & Bersaglio, 2019; Kimari & Ernstson, 2020), and some interlocutors such as Seyyid have mirrored that sentiment. The next section explores this imperial debris (Stoler, 2008) further.

What I discussed in this chapter does not mean that there is no resistance against the LAPSSET. However, it might be difficult to identify it as such. This became particularly clear when I discussed one of the comics (Appendix-C1) that addressed the 'ghost manyattas' with Dimingis, a young history teacher in Kipsing. As we talk about his area of expertise, he speaks slowly, almost reverently, choosing each word with care. We talk about the history of resistance in Kenya, and how the Nandi fought against the railway project (see: next chapter). I ask him whether he believed that in the context of the LAPSSET corridor people would use similar tactics:

> Interviewer: So they will fight, like the Nandi?
>
> Dimingis: Not really fight. They will be unhappy, because they have to abandon where they live and withdraw. You know, sometimes war doesn't start with the barrel of a gun. Unhappiness does it. War is a result of unhappiness, isn't it? It starts from the heart. If you don't like something, it doesn't really have to appear, to be seen as if you are fighting. Even withdrawing silently can be an indication

> that you don't like something. It can be another kind of resistance. Either willingly or simply because we find it difficult, you see, because I can't fit in here. So let me adjust, let me give way, now that I can't stop it. The government is also going to be authoritative. If it says we *must* do this, then people can be forced to move. (Interview, Kipsing, 2019-03-22)

The people who are building the ghost manyattas withdraw silently because, as Dimingis put it, "I can't fit in here". This silent withdrawal may not "be seen as if you are fighting", but it is also not pure resignation and submission to the authority. Instead, people "adjust", they "give way", they subtly evade the authorities in "another kind of resistance". They know they cannot stop a government project, but they also do not have to buy into the temporality of progress and development when they have found these promises to be empty. As I have argued already in Section 3.3, the multitude of lines implied in the LAPSSET are not only spatial, but temporal: different ways of remembering the past and anticipating the future. The next chapter, therefore, addresses the multiple timelines of the LAPSSET corridor.

6.4 Turning History on Its Head

> The dream of a just, equitable and prosperous nation set out in Vision 2030 is as relevant to people in the arid and semi-arid lands as it is to those in any other part of Kenya. Vision 2030 acknowledges the special circumstances of previously marginalised communities, and places a premium on reducing poverty and inequality and re-balancing regional development.
>
> In this respect it offers a chance to turn history on its head. Until recently the distribution of investment in Kenya favoured the so-called high-potential areas […]. Vision 2030 imagines a future which is the polar opposite – one where the hopes and dreams of all Kenyans can be realised. (Extract from Kenya's *Vision 2030 Development Strategy for Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands* (RoK, 2012, p. 7)

> They say that all winners are visionary, and without a dream, a nation withers. A dream to be an oil-producing country unites us with the Kenyan people. This shared dream is brought to life through the joint partnership under Project Oil Kenya – a catalyst for the opening-up of Northern Kenya. […] And just as the transport sector – the old railway over a hundred years ago – opened up Kenya's only development corridor that has been the anchor of Kenya's development, the new oil and gas industry represents our opportunity to open up Norther Kenya for expansion and development. (Project Oil Kenya, 2018)

Fig 23: History on its head or parallel histories? Two still frames from the video accompanying the second quote above. The left image depicts the Uganda Railway ("the old railway"), the right image indicates the planned route of the LAPSSET corridor. Source: Project Oil Kenya, 2018

The two above quotes summarise an important aspect of the LAPSSET corridor: its incoherence. At first glance, they appear to be saying the same thing – northern Kenya needs to be 'opened up', it can develop, and, importantly, we are all together in this *dream*! At a second glance, however, the quotes reveal two completely different timelines: while the quote from the Vision 2030 promises to "turn history on its head", the second quote promises a continuation from "the old railway" (i.e. the Uganda Railway already mentioned in Section 5.4, visible on the left in Fig 23) to the LAPSSET corridor (visible on the right in Fig 23). The first quote promises to reverse past injustices. The LAPSSET constitutes a "Game Changer Infrastructure", as the footer on every single page of the "Integrated Transport Infrastructure Master Plan For Lamu Port City" (LCDA, 2018) proclaims. The LCDA announces the LAPSSET corridor as a historic event (Lundborg, 2012), a *game changer* that clearly defines history in terms of 'before' and 'after' the LAPSSET; a straight road and pipeline not only for cars and oil to travel, but also a straight path through history from marginalisation, poverty and inequality to "a just, equitable and prosperous nation". In contrast, the second quote promises a return to a glorious future. The time-line thus created describes a resumption of a process defined by continuous progress along the path of development (a word that appears three times in one sentence), following the same direction indicated by Uganda Railway.

In this chapter I will address the different and often contradicting historicities of the LAPSSET corridor. In Chapter 7, I will then describe how these timelines of the LAPSSET corridor are encountered by the inhabitants of the area it is crossing, using Seyyid's poem and other 'collaborative comics' as an example. In order to do that, some history cannot be avoided, and I

suggest that juxtaposing the LAPSSET corridor with the Uganda Railway (as the quote by Oil Kenya did) can be quite instructive in that regard. Parts of this chapter are already published in a previous article (Aalders, 2020), to which I refer for an even more in-depth analysis.

In the early years of British colonial dominance in East Africa, the area today known as Kenya was mainly perceived as an inconvenient obstacle in the path that lead to Uganda. To the Europeans, the lands between the coast and Lake Victoria seemed to be wild and uncivilised, while Uganda was important geopolitically due to its position at the source of the Nile and its population was generally regarded as superior to its surrounding people. Around the end of the 19th century, Germany had evolved to become a major challenge to British rule in East Africa and threatened to incorporate Uganda into its 'sphere of influence'. The British government was concerned that Germany would literally "make their road" (McDermott, 1893, p. 107) to Uganda before them. The only solution was seen in beating the Germans to it – building a railroad to Uganda and thus laying claim to it. The timely completion of the railway was thus seen as an essential condition to consolidating the British 'sphere of influence' (Gunston, 2004). In Chapter 3 I have already described the importance of infrastructure for imperial projects. This illustrates the point further, showing that the 'sphere' of influence, in fact, took the shape of a (railway) line.

The construction of the railway from 1896 to 1901 was afflicted with several challenges from the beginning: a sceptical public in Britain that was reluctant to cough up the money for a project whose benefits were largely elusive; a challenging topography; certain tribes, particularly the Kamba and Nandi (Hill, 1949, p. 202 f.); and the notorious 'man-eating lions of Tsavo', who were only one among the many dangers faced by the coolies, workers from British India employed under extremely harsh conditions to build the railway. Despite these challenges, the railway was completed in 1901. While it was never able to shake off its image as the 'lunatic line', it was also seen as a necessary precondition for all of Britain's colonial projects in the region. Edward Grigg credited the railway with being the "beginning of all history in Kenya" (quoted in: Hill, 1949, p. v); and he continued: "it is the railway which created Kenya as a Colony of the Crown". As Sir Gerald Portal put it:

> "The whole problem of the development of East and Central Africa […] all resolve themselves into the all-important and overshadowing question of transport and communication." – Sir Gerald Portal, 1894 (quoted in: Hill, 1949, p. 120)

The LAPSSET corridor, like the Uganda Railway, not only establishes a fixed directionality of travelling through space along the road, but also particular anticipations. 'Chaotic' movement of pastoralists is associated with a past that needs to be overcome by 'modern' and orderly movement afforded by infrastructural lines. As I have argued in Sections 2.1, 3.2 and 3.3, the conflict of pastoral and infrastructural mobilities are thus projected onto a clash between the past and the future.

The opposition of pastoralist mobilities, on the one hand, and modern or civilised ways of using the land and being mobile in it, on the other, is a common thread in both the LAPSSET project and the Uganda Railway. The British colonialists took particular offense with the fact "that so small a tribe of such barbaric habit should lay claim to so vast an area of land" (Hill, 1949, p. 262). Their (semi-) nomadic livelihood was regarded as a danger to other tribes and – what might have been regarded as at least an equally serious offence – wasteful: "nomad tribes must not be allowed to straggle over huge areas that they cannot utilise", Sir Charles Eliot (1905, p. 310), the commissioner of British East Africa, proclaimed. This way of arguing allowed to present pastoralist mobilities as wasteful, greedy, and selfish. One of the railway's advantages mentioned in the Report on Mombasa-Victoria Lake Railway Survey in regard to the suggested route was, that "[b]y this route the Masai would be prevented from raiding Ukambani, Kikuyu, Kitosh, and Kabras" (quoted in: Hill, 1949, p. 89). As they posed a "formidable obstacle to the development of the protectorate" (Hill, 1949, p. 275), unless they were settled in enclosed reserves, significantly restricting, if not prohibiting, autonomous mobilities.

Likewise, the positive effect on 'development' of the LAPSSET is also seen by its incentive to pastoralists to 'modernise' by settling down. The corridor would not only be an obstacle to pastoralist livelihoods, but would simultaneously mobilise capital (Enns & Bersaglio, 2019), which in turn may help to create employment opportunities for the educated children of pastoralists. People living in major settlements along the LAPSSET's route, in particular, see education and (motorised) transportation as both the necessary precondition for development, as well as its major manifestation. However, many interlocutors who went to school themselves see pastoralism and the associated semi-nomadic lifestyle as the major obstacle for education and thus development itself – a problem that required someone to 'show them the way'. Patrick, who lives in Kipsing and had worked as a pilot for a nature conservancy, explained the situation like this:

> People normally tend to resist change. It will be very hard although if education comes first to the people then that will change definitely, 'cause a learned person comes in, you'll see more opportunities within the system or in the projects that come. But the local people around here, it will be very hard for them to change their way of life. The only way is if they see somebody come and practice another way of livelihood, they can easily adapt and copy that. But they cannot think on their own. (Interview, Kipsing, 2018-01-26)

Through better connectivity, settled residents expect the LAPSSET to create jobs, which would incentivise people to abandon their pastoralist and semi-nomadic lifestyle, which in turn would enable them to send their children to school.

> When the LAPSSET will come, so many people will be employed and with that time, no children will go to graze the animal, they will all go to school because now everyone will be working, the parents will be working so they will have fees to pay for their children. (Interview, 2018-01-26)

The LAPSSET corridor conjures a very particular vision of what it means to be modern: to be integrated into a capitalist system of production and locomotion. It may seem paradoxical that settling down is seen as a prerequisite to participation in a modernity defined by hyper-mobility. However, as I have discussed in Sections 3.2 and 3.3, the mooring provided by a fixed residence is regarded as a basis for facilitating participation in a national project as well as global flows of goods and capital (see: Enns & Bersaglio, 2019).

The hopes and anticipations of the colonial government in Kenya seem hauntingly similar. In 1920 the House of Commons (H.C. Deb, 1920, pp. 930–332) debated the "ultimate goal of colonisation" as developing "the progress of the natives". A quote by Sir Edward Grigg that he made in relation to employing indigenous labourers in the Uganda Railway project read:

> "With regard to native labour there are two points to consider. First, that native labour is required for the proper development of the country, and, secondly, that we must educate the native to come out of his reserve and work for his own sake."

However, in the same debate in 1920, M.P. Spoor expressed

> "[…] a very shrewd suspicion that the motive behind the suggestion contained in this circular is not altogether the benefit of the native, but in order that the native may become a better wealth-producing machine".

Past anticipations and suspicions of a country civilised and developed through the discipline required by salaried labour retain a ghostly presence in current discourses about the potential transformations of infrastructure projects.

Müller-Mahn (2019) has described the 'dreamscapes' that are created by mega infrastructure projects in East Africa and the way they overwrite other, marginalised ways of imagining the future. As I have argued throughout the thesis, the overwriting of marginalised timelines is entangled with the overwriting of pathways through space. The history of the Uganda Railway illustrates this entanglement. Paving the way for the empire did not only entail the creation of new infrastructural pathways but also – and perhaps principally – the severing or assimilation of existing pathways, mainly caravans that were dominated by Swahili and Arab traders. The disruption of existing caravan routes was seen as a major benefit of the railway and was used as a way to justify the project – "iron roads, not jogging porters", as Winston Churchill (1909, pp. 23–24) urged. During the hearing for the funding bill for the Uganda Railway in 1896, Lord Salisbury argued, "Caravans will cease to be profitable and therefore will cease to exist" (Hill, 1949, p. 137). Ostensibly, this would mean a deadly blow to slavery that depended in no small part on caravans. However, it also had the additional – and likely decisive – benefit that controlling the railway was expected to create a monopoly of transport under British control. As I mentioned before, the establishment and solidification of Britain's 'sphere of influence' required the establishment of secure infrastructural lines. Britain's claim to Kenya, its claim to power, required a monopoly over mobilities in the area, and as the same Lord Salisbury stated during a speech five years prior:

> Now the peculiarity of a railway, […] is that where it is once laid it kills every other mode of locomotion that formerly held the same ground. (Hill, 1949, p. 54)

The ruins of empire are themselves built upon what the imperial project has ruined. In this case, this also means the ruination of caravan economies and existing pastoralist modes of mobility. At least to some degree, as I have argued in detail in Section 5.4, the LAPSSET seems to have that effect as well, given that most pastoralists seem to encounter it as an obstacle rather than a relation (Enns, 2017, 2018).

This ruination of pathways implies yet another time-line that is present in neither of the two quotes at the beginning of this chapter. Unlike the excerpt from vision 2030, the group of elders who speak with scorn of 'empty promises' or the architects of the 'ghost manyattas' do not believe that history will be

turned on its head, but that the same marginalisation will be repeated. They also do not align with the time-line produced in the video by Project Oil Kenya and its imaginary of a resumption of the path of development taken by the Uganda Railway – and now, following its trace, the LAPSSET corridor. It is not a straight line from one development corridor to the next towards modernity, but ruins built upon ruins, similar to what Walter Benjamin's angel of history must see, looking upon the rubble as he is blown towards the future. If "a dream to be an oil-producing country unites us with the Kenyan people" then, as Dimingis put it, 'I can't fit in' this dream.

What kind of future imaginary does the LAPSSET create? What kind of history does it imply, and how does it encounter other ways of anticipating the future and remembering the past? The last two chapters have considered different pathways through landscapes, and different timelines through histories. The answer to Research Question 2 may be found in the entanglement of these two kinds of lines. These lines, I have argued, are written by movements and infrastructured lines, such as the LAPSSET corridor. However, as I have also shown, the LAPSSET corridor does not exist as a material pathway in the segment that I studied during my fieldwork. Yet, as I have illustrated in this chapter, it has a powerful impact on imaginaries of the future and memories of the past. Some people resist these imaginaries – not through obvious fights, as Dimingis argued, but through subtle forms of resistance and non-compliance. The next chapter explores in more depth the ways in which the LAPSSET is already present through drawings, but also how 'counter drawings' can make other, marginalised timelines visible.

7
Drawing of Lines

We sit in a small group, all men, at Patrick's bar in Kipsing; Patrick himself, the area's chief, one of the village's elders, my research assistant Franklin and me. We drink warm beer or coke and talk about this and that until I steer the conversation in the direction of the LAPSSET corridor. Immediately, a discussion breaks out with several people claiming to know where exactly the corridor is going to pass the small village. Short walking sticks that every self-respecting Samburu man carries with him at all times are wielded like swords, gesturing this way and that. As gestures and words do not suffice, an impromptu map is sketched on the sandy ground, using the walking sticks as styluses. The chief, who is quite optimistic about the benefits of the corridor, draws a circle representing the village and a line next to it representing the course of the LAPSSET. Immediately someone else interferes in the drawing, almost batting the chief's stick away with his own. No, the corridor is much wider! Five kilometres wide? 500 metres wide! How much is 500 metres though? Questioning glances in my direction. I get out my GPS device and gauge the distance to a small nearby hill, which turns out to be about 500 metres away; a bit less. About as far as from here to this hill, I say. See how wide it is!, the owner of the second stick exclaims, drawing a third line, now with even more confidence and emphasis, slicing the ground in a definitive gesture. All this area between the lines will be taken up by the LAPSSET corridor! How are we supposed to get over it when we want to go north from here? Is there going to be a fence? – another question for me, but I don't know the answer.

This discussion shows something peculiar about lines on a map. If we imagine the line indicating the route of the LAPSSET corridor on maps produced by the LCDA (e.g. Fig 24) as an actual object true to scale, it would be truly monstrous. The three parallel lines, in the colours of the Kenyan flag, indicating the pipeline, highway and railway lines would be approximately 15 to 17 kilometres wide, if they were as big as indicated on the map. In current plans, the total width of the corridor is supposed to be only 500 metres – still

a considerable gauge, but not even close to the behemoth indicated by the line when regarded in scale.

Simultaneously, the line has no width at all, as it is implicitly understood that the line is only as wide as it needs to be to be discernible on a map. The true width of the corridor is irrelevant; what matters is the route, the itinerary. For the man drawing a second line in the sand, insisting on the true width of the corridor, the lengthwise direction and destination of the corridor itself was irrelevant, because he thought about crossing it, not following it. The lines on the improvised map are both material and imaginary at the same time. They are both an immaterial indicator of a direction, a vector, a ghostline – but they are also the distance from here to the hill over there, and *how do you think you will cross that with your herd?* This does not only refer to this particular map drawn into the compact earth in front of Patrick's pub, but to any image and idol that is created of anticipated landscapes, including those produced by the LCDA or the consultancies they employ.

One the one hand, it would be naïve to disregard these concrete images as unreal, as they do real work in giving the corridor its shape. On the other hand, these images are a plan, insofar as they depict something that does not yet exist, but might exist in the future. The concomitant uncertainty, however, can be occluded by the map's assertive presentation of realness. Baxstrom (2013, p. 142) consequently suggests we regard "the plan as an image of the material, itself and at the same time material", and thus as a virtual object that is simultaneously material and/or imaginary. This is one of the most terrifying aspects of ghosts: their ambivalence towards material presence, asserting themselves through a flickering light, a distant sigh, a book tumbling out of the shelf, while always leaving just enough room for doubt whether this is in fact all just a figment of one's imagination. On the one hand a map can be understood as constituting a material practice enacting the LAPSSET, on the other hand the map could be interpreted as a cartography of the ways in which some people have imagined the LAPSSET at one point. In the end, it is very difficult to determine whether any map projects a real thing, or is just full with imaginary *Here Be Dragons*. The LAPSSET exists as a ghost in between these positions – and maybe exists precisely because it remains ambivalent.

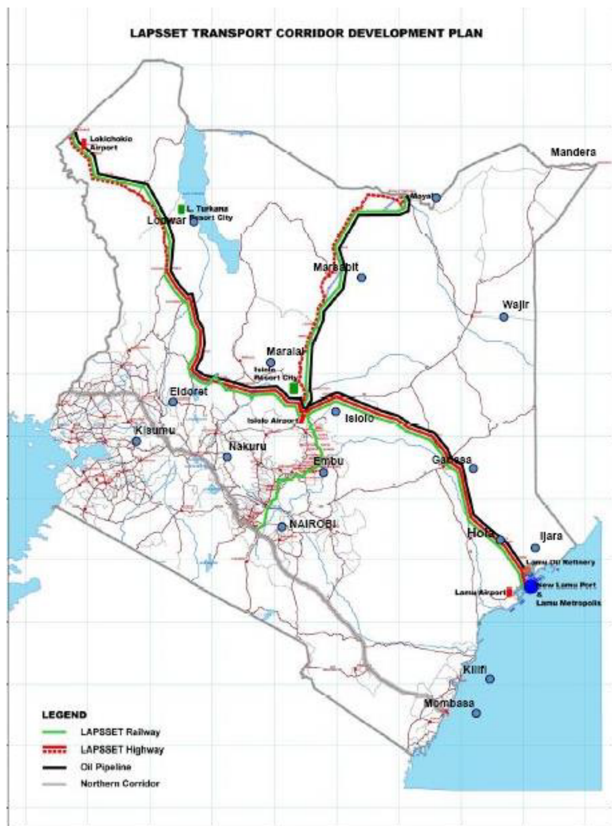
This chapter explores these lines drawn on maps and other images of landscapes of anticipations; it investigates their thickness, texture and their layers. To that end, I pick up the descriptions of the images that produce imaginations of the LAPSSET, the images of 'corridor master plans' (Müller-Mahn, 2019), even as it does not yet exist as a physical infrastructure. Subsequently, I explore other ways of imagining mobilities, the past and the

future that might be cut or covered by the images producing the corridor master plan. Here, the products of the 'collaborative comic creation' (CCC) methodology will take centre stage, providing a way to make unseen ways of anticipating and moving visible.

7.1 Images and Imaginations of the LAPSSET

> Writing has nothing to do with signifying. It has to do with surveying, mapping, even realms that are yet to come (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 4 et seq.).

Fig 24: Ceci est un LAPSSET (Source: LCDA 2017, p. 1)



'When does fieldwork start?', asked my supervisor. A great, interesting question that only has one boring answer: 'it already has'. My fieldwork had already started when I sat in my office in Göteborg, mapping out the route of

the LAPSSET corridor that I had to walk in a couple of months to come. In the proposal for this dissertation I had written that I intended to 'follow the planned route of the LAPSSET corridor', as if there was a plan, as if there was one route, as if there was one LAPSSET, as if I was able to follow it. I had seen the maps that circulate on the Internet: they proclaim the LAPSSET in bold straight lines. With such confidence did these maps mark out the route that I didn't even consider the possibility that what they mapped out was not yet resolutely decided. The first problems arose when I overlaid different maps of the corridor, projecting them onto the same landscape. They roughly made the same gesture reaching from South Sudan, via Isiolo to Lamu. Once zoomed in to a degree that would enable me to determine the actual path, I could walk along the planned route, the line was so thick that it wasn't much help. Minute deviations between different maps compiled into enormous distances. Several bold lines that seemed to express the same thing on a map of Kenya suddenly disagreed fundamentally when I zoomed in a bit more.

At the time, I was in contact with a person at the LCDA responsible for physical planning. He told me that the current route of the corridor was actually being re-negotiated at that moment; that an imminent meeting would then determine the final route. Tenaciously, I asked him almost every week if this meeting had taken place, and every time he told me that it was postponed for one reason or another. My journey along the LAPSSET was scheduled to start in a couple of weeks, yet I didn't even know where the LAPSSET corridor was! At one point he sent me some preliminary data points, but instead of closing the matter of the map, it just added some more scattered data points to the increasingly messy map I had of the LAPSSET. What had started as one bold line now resembled a meshwork of fibres; plied at some parts (between Isiolo and Lamu), but increasingly fraying at other parts, especially the one I was most interested in, between Isiolo and Lokichar. At this point in the research I felt as if the disintegration of the map I had been building to be my main guideline throughout my fieldwork said something profound about my research in general. Things that were so obvious, meaningful and clear at first – my conceptual ideas about relational scale, environmental justice and other theories that had made so much sense when I read them – fell apart the closer I looked. Looking at the same maps again and again was like saying the same word, over and over, until it loses all meaning – *Gestaltzerfall*, the loss of form.

The apparently solid concept of the (singular) LAPSSET corridor reveals a further dimension of fraying when looking at the different components of the corridor, namely: the pipeline, the highway and the railroad. Each of these

lines has different requirements in terms of engineering them, but also in terms of the ways they interweave with other lines. Ideally, the highway would align and intersect with as many existing roads as possible (LCDA, 2017a, p. 137, item v). However, an intersection between roads and railroads requires extra costs for tunnels or bridges (ibid., item iii), and should thus be avoided. In order to achieve the shortest way possible (ibid., item ii), it might be necessary to build tunnels, but for safety reasons the pipeline cannot be installed in the same tunnel as a railway or pipeline (ibid. p. 136). This inherent hazardousness of the pipeline renders it undesirable for the residents of the area, while an improved highway or railway is considered an improvement by most people I have talked to. Lastly, compared to a pipeline or a highway, railways are more ‘unwieldy’ in terms of their ability to cope with steep angles, both vertically and horizontally. In this way, the stubborn materiality, the literal rigidness of the railroad’s permanent way, asserts itself, and the more this material waywardness inscribes itself on the map, the more it frays, fizzles and forfeits its presence as a map: yet another stray fibre following its own rules instead of the neat weave portrait in the map. As a result, an ‘honest’ map, showing all the different routes, taking into account all the quirks of landscape, landownership, political interest and engineering demands would not be able to assert its material presence with as much aplomb as the arguably imaginary straight lines commonly seen in maps of the LAPSSET (for example Fig 24).

When the engineers limit the curvature of the railway, or suggest routes based on topographical remote-sensing data, the maps of the LAPSSET corridor appoint imagined materialities, and these thus inscribe themselves into the map. At the same time, the map itself constitutes a material imaginary[57] that inscribes itself into the landscape, when at some point the bulldozers will follow a GPS trail very similar to the one that I followed (but perhaps being less averse to use violence to pave the way). It is therefore very difficult to separate a ‘material LAPSSET’ from its vision or visualisation. Every imagination is always haunted by the absent/present materiality of landscape and infrastructure; every material object bespeaking the LAPSSET – a concrete beacon, a map, a poster – is animated by the ghosts of imagined futures and landscapes of anticipation, and the maps they refer to.

Then, just weeks before I actually started my fieldwork, I heard a rumour that the entire route might change. Not some minute details of it, but that it would now pass from Isiolo to Archer’s Post, and from there through Samburu

[57] Imagined, in this case, by the cartographer and the people on whose behalf he was working.

County and the inhospitable Suguta Valley. Panicking, I scrapped all previous plans and started working on a new route. At this point, my supervisors reminded me: "this is all part of the fieldwork".[58] So instead of starting anew, I just went with the information I had and put one of the many different routes that I had mapped out into the GPS device. On the way to Isiolo, where my journey would start, I visited CETRAD in Nanyuki (a research agency where I had done an internship some time ago). They had a more or less precise and recent map of the LAPSSET – and it was an entirely different route yet again! Quickly, I got into an Internet café and changed the route once more on my device. Was this how I created certainty? Stumbling from plan to plan, adding hesitant lines, as in a careful drawing, until a form emerges?

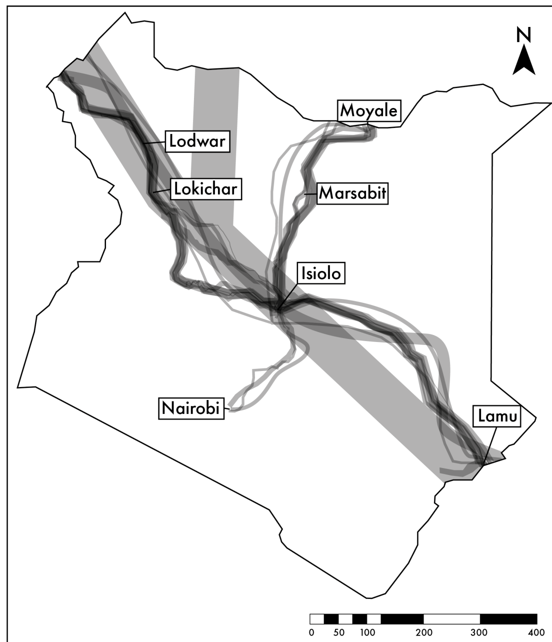
What I want to draw out is the contrast between the images of straight lines through the landscape (see chapters 3.4.1), the unwavering timelines that are braided into them (see chapters 2.1.2, 3.3 and 6.4) and the hesitant uncertainties that characterise the navigation of the landscapes intersected by the former kind of bold line. Müller-Mahn (2019) has shown the power of these lines to overwrite and cut other lines of movement and anticipation. In the following, I want to explore the ways in which images of a closed and solid 'mega' project, of tightly braided lines that constitute the corridor, exhibit signs of fragility and fraying that allow for counter-imaginaries.

This exploration requires close attention to the visual in a way that does not degrade it to a mere superficiality. In particular, it requires attention to the way that the visual is related to mobilities and temporalities. The Vision 2030, of which the LAPSSET corridor is an integral part, helps to illustrate this point. The fact that the term *Vision 2030* suggests both a plan for the future and an explicitly visual sensation is perhaps a coincidence, but it happens to be a rather accurate double meaning. At the time of writing, Vision 2030 in general and the LAPSSET corridor in particular exist mostly in the form of images: maps and digital renderings that make the vision visible. As I will argue below, these visualisations are, to a large extent, images of a future defined by mobility, as well as movement towards this promised future. For the most part, this thesis is concerned with the ways in which these visions and visualisations are opposed, suggesting the creation of collaborative comics as 'counter-cartography'. In order for this argument to make sense, though, it is important to establish how the LAPSSET corridor appeared to the people living in its vicinity, as well as to me while doing research.

[58] A quote I now use as a justification to write about this episode in such length.

The first image that appears when one searches for 'LAPSSET' on the Internet, and even the first image in many reports and scientific publications, is a map of the corridor's planned route (Fig 24). In fact, I have made the conscious decision not to use any maps in the introduction of this thesis, as it would not square with this polemic on infrastructural aesthetics. The second image one usually sees when searching for images of the LAPSSET is another map. This second map might be similar, showing Kenya and its neighbouring countries as well as a thick line depicting the corridor itself, roughly resembling an Ursa Major flipped over its longitudinal axis. The lines are straight and confident and do not show any of the precariousness that I have described in the introduction to this chapter. On closer inspection, as I have mentioned before, one will notice that this second image deviates slightly from the first. If one goes to the trouble of compiling, georeferencing and overlaying ten different maps of the LAPSSET corridor (For example: Kenya Railways, n.d.; LCDA, 2016, 2017b, 2019; Natural Justice, 2019; Njiru, 2012), one would get an image looking something like this:

Fig 25: Composition of ten maps of the LAPSSET corridor. Base map derived from GoogleEarth. Cartography by the author.



This contrary dynamic between converging and bifurcating lines representing the LAPSSET corridor is explored in more depth in an upcoming article currently under review on the 'alignment', 'fraying' and 'entangling' of the LAPSSET corridor. While I refer to this article for an in-depth exploration of the material practices that constitute dynamics of aligning, fraying and entangling, I want to pick up on the aesthetics of alignment in this chapter, which is also one aspect that is not discussed in-depth in the article. The mapped lines asserting the LAPSSET corridor with aplomb, mentioned above, are one example of these aesthetics. They produce an image of straightforwardness and alignment, even as the project itself is anything but. A similar but different kind of alignment-aesthetic is produced in photos of the corridor (Fig 26).

Fig 26: Aligning with lines: images of a highway, pipeline and railway on the lapsset.go.ke homepage.

These images indicate yet another fundamental antagonism that has been explored throughout the thesis: the simultaneous presence of any line as both a connection and disconnection. Aesthetically, the photos in Fig 26 and Fig 27 represent a pure connectivity. Even though nothing moves – they almost appear as still lifes – they imply pure, incorporeal movement; movement independent from a moving body or a specific place but movement per se along the infrastructural line. All lines are pointing elsewhere, to a point on the horizon but not a specific place – a vanishing point. The beholder's gaze coincides with this vanishing point of the road, pipeline and railway; they are aligned. The image views the road like a car driver would, views the railway like a train would, views the pipeline like oil would. All lines of sight have a single (yet undefined) destination; lines indicating movement across this one-directionality – like perhaps a pastoralist and his herd seeking grazing grounds on the other side – are not present.[59]

Fig 27: Conceptual Design of the LAPSSET corridor. Source: Kasuku (2013, p.18).

[59] It was pointed out to me that these image constitute an opposite gesture to the 'interlocutors pointing out the LAPSSET' in Fig 11. Their arms are opened wide, instead of narrowed to a single point

Another form in which the LAPSSET is presented before its construction is finished is digital renderings. In order to create a sense of realness to construction plans that are often unintelligible for people who aren't architects or engineers, computer generated graphics are commonly used as a tool to give investors and the general public an idea of what the final project may look like eventually. They, too, exhibit a particular aesthetic. They produce modernity in that they depict as a future characterised by clean, unimpeded movement; as frictionless as polygon moving in a computer simulation. Even though they may remind the beholder of early 3D-graphics from the late 1990s, they are modern in the sense that they aesthetically reproduce the vision of frictionless and seamless mobility that defines the infrastructural modernity the LAPSSET corridor represents. Something does not have to be new to be modern.

Fig 28: Development is when white people feel safe enough to cycle without a helmet. Digital rendering of the convention centre in Lamu. Source: Kasuku (2013, p. 22).

There is yet another kind of image that is not associated with mobility per se, even if the one-point perspective is sometimes the same as in the images shown above. These are the digital renderings of the 'resort cities': places not defined by pure, incorporeal movement, but renderings meant to entice/inspire one/you to linger, sit on the grass, or hold a bunch of balloons in your hand (Fig 28). As Lesuti (2019, p. 5) observes, these images constitute a "reference to the symbols of capitalist 'development'", thus reproducing a

particular definition of both modernity and development – and maybe more importantly, they raise the question of who is included in these visions. It is peculiar that the LAPSSET is often advertised as bringing development and opportunities to pastoral people, yet in the images of the LAPSSET, these people are suspiciously absent. In the concept drawings, every sign of pastoral lives and livelihoods is eradicated and replaced with cars or white people on bicycles. As I have argued in Section 3.4.1, this omission can be understood as a product of scalar politics: the images and imaginations of the LAPSSET represent a universal and global idea of mobility, modernity and development in which 'details' – such as the lives of people actually living in the area – are omitted.

From this, the question arises how these omitted visions, the absent presences of pastoralists and other inhabitants of the landscapes crossed by the LAPSSET corridor look like. For this purpose, I now look at the 'counter drawings' produced in the collaborative comic creation workshops.

7.2 Counter Drawings

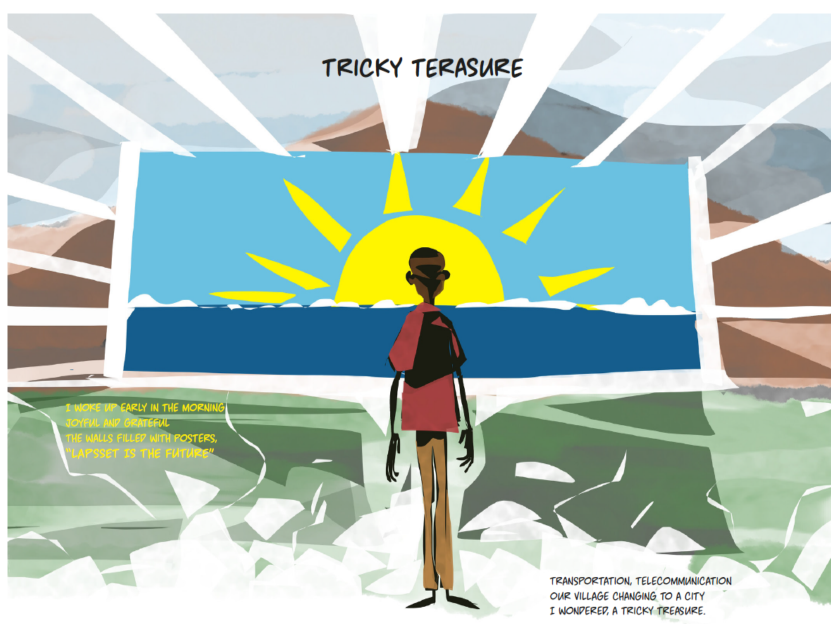
In this Section I will explore four of the CCC-workshops that I have outlined in 4.5. First I will dive deeper into the poem 'Tunu Lenye Utata' that was mentioned in the very beginning of the thesis, exploring its particular temporality. Second, in 'Kufungua Zaidi' I juxtapose two comics done in collaborationw with members of two different women's and indigenous rights organisations, emphasising the importance of individual biographies to understand people's encounters with and anticipations of the LAPSSET. Lastly, the particular landscapes of anticipation of a group of samburu herders are explored in 'Bara ya Maisha'.

7.2.1 Tunu Lenye Utata

During the conversations I have with Seyyid, the past always comes up. At one point we talk about his parents, and how he came to live here. He tells me: "My parents were from Turkana county but they came many years ago to this place. They are pastoralists, you know, and pastoralists move from one place to another" (Interview, Oldonyiro, 2018-03-31). He tells me how they had been moving through a vast area: "They were even neighbouring Ethiopia, neighbouring Uganda and up to the neighbouring counties, and then they came to Isiolo and further to Oldonyiro" (Interview, Oldonyiro, 2018-03-31). Indeed, this mobile livelihood was not uncommon for Seyyid's parents' generation, as has been discussed in Section 2.2.

What strikes me about his family's story is that it challenges some of the assumptions of what defines a mobilised modernity vis-a-vis a 'stuck' traditionalism. "Seamless" movement[60] of both people and capital within and across territories seems to correspond to the modernist vision of the LAPSSET corridor. Within the New Mobilities Paradigm, it is recognised that modernity is not defined by movement per se, but rather by the right kind of movement. As I have already mentioned in several chapters, the regulated and motorised movement provided by infrastructure projects such as the LAPSSET is thus a pathway towards modernity, while the "excessive, nomadic, and 'jumpy' movements of the 'wild' man" (Sheller, 2018, p. 123) constitute an antithesis to it.

Fig 29: Opening panel of "Tricky Treasure" showing Seyyid standing in front of a poster.



Even when I ask Seyyid to tell me about how he imagines the future to be, about his expectations of what will happen once the LAPSSET corridor is built, he refers to the past. He tells me:

> "The corridor, each and every time, changes. I don't know – the crude petroleum oil is even dangerous to our people because in our country – sometimes we get some incidents, accidents happen when the tankers fall; we

[60] See phrasing on the LAPSSET homepage (www.lapsset.go.ke).

> imagined when the pipeline passes along our place, here we have a river in between, a neighbouring river. One, our fisheries will never be productive; it will kill our economy. Second, I remember when Germany in the 2nd World War somewhere in our place… I was shown where Germany – people were fighting with Britain-people, and they bomb until now the place [the marks can apparently still be seen today] … So when I recall that and this LAPSSET; when I compare now the colonial and the 1st and the 2nd World Wars, I saw damage terrible, terrible damage." (Interview, Oldonyiro, 2018-01-31)

Yet he also expresses cautious hope over future developments – I call to mind his vision of prosperity characterised by phone chargers in every hoteli (small restaurant). As I mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, Seyyid expresses scepticism towards these promises, as expressed in his poem 'tricky treasure'.

When Anne, Dan, Naddya and I met Seyyid in the Comfort Zone, we had already decided that we would use the poem he had written earlier as the text for the collaborative comic that we were to create that day. The first stanza, and subsequently the text of the first few panels, reads:

"I woke early in the morning,
Joyful and grateful.
The walls filled with posters,
LAPSSET is the future! [...]
I wondered, a tricky treasure".

He suggests drawing this scene quite literally: him standing in front of a giant signboard promising a way forward while simultaneously blocking his way (Fig 29). I had told Naddya, who illustrated the scene, about the curious predilection for one-point perspective in official LAPSSET information material, so she emulates that style for the panel. In content and style, if not in size, the billboard is therefore similar to the LAPSSET information material and newsletters[61] that can be found at the chief's office a couple of houses up the road from where we sit. The issue the researcher had seen during his preliminary survey, for example, claims that "the LAPSSET Corridor Program is one of the flagship Vision 2030 projects intended to spur economic development by creating new opportunities and unlocking the latent economic potential in the larger hinterland of Northern and North Eastern and Western parts of Kenya" (LCDA, 2017d, p. 2). Next to it, the glossy brochure depicts a GIS-rendered map of the corridor's growth areas and a picture of a group of

[61] For examples of the newsletters that are delivered not quite regularly to the chief of each location *en route* of the LAPSSET corridor, visit: http://www.lapsset.go.ke/newsletters/.

twenty smiling, pot-bellied men and two women. The future, it seems, is so bright that most of them have to wear sunglasses (Fig 30).

Fig 30: Screenshot from page 2&3 of the LAPSSET Quarterly Newsletter (LCDA, 2017d, pp. 2-3).

Building Transformative and game changer infrastructure for a seamless connected Africa.

THE LAPSSET CORRIDOR PROJECTS

1. Introduction

The Lamu Port South- Sudan, Ethiopia Transport (LAPSSET) Corridor Program is a regional multi modal infrastructure program integrating roads, railway and pipeline components in Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia. The program is the single largest project of its nature in Eastern Africa and is intended to provide seamless connectivity, enhance trade and logistics within the region by providing an alternative and strategic corridor to serve the landlocked neighboring countries of Ethiopia and South Sudan. The scope of the truck infrastructure includes:-

i. A 32 Berth Port in Lamu intended to unlock logistics and trade and create regional transport hub;
ii. Interregional Standard Gauge Railway lines from Lamu to Isiolo, Isiolo to Nakodok and Juba (South Sudan), Isiolo to Moyale and to Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), and Nairobi to Isiolo;
iii. Interregio nal Highways from Lamu to Isiolo, Isiolo to Nakodok and Juba (South Sudan), Isiolo to Moyale and to Addis Ababa (Ethiopia);
iv. Crude Oil Pipeline from Juba (South Sudan) - Nakodok – Lokichar - Isiolo – Lamu; and
v. Product Oil Pipeline from Lamu - Isiolo- to Moyale (Kenya) and Moyale to Addis Ababa (Ethiopia).

While the artists tended to focus on drawing Seyyid and the signboard, he was more concerned with the surrounding environment. The hills, he suggested, should be dried up and barren, rendered in brown, contrasting with the beautiful image on the poster. The promise of the LAPSSET would be enticing but at the same time suspicious – could the future really be this bright, if the present held that much hardship? How could he possibly trust the promises of the glossy brochure in the chief's office – how could he possibly not wonder if they might be true after all?

This suspect promise – or "Tunu Lenya Utata"[62] as the poem's title in Swahili reads – is the central concern for Seyyid. The contrast between the

[62] "Tunu" translates to "a thing/present of value", while "lenye utata" could be translated as being complex and debatable.

bright future promised by the corridor and the often-difficult reality he and others face every day is for him symbolic of many other contradictions that the infrastructure project implies. The next stanza reads:

Transportation, telecommunication
our village changing to a city
I wonder, a tricky treasure.

On the one hand, improved transportation and telecommunication are certainly beneficial; on the other hand, Seyyid worries that the local culture might be paved over in future.

"Let me show you something", he says at this point. Realising that the grey pencils and brightly coloured markers won't do, he goes outside and collects some leaves, twigs and soil from the ground. Explaining how he uses this technique to teach his pupils how people in the area used to draw pictures before the arrival of the Europeans[63], he chews on a twig until it fringes and bristles develop, then mixes the soil with some water and starts painting a landscape (Fig 31). For trees and shrubs, he uses rolled-up leaves.

Fig 31: Left: a workshop participant suggests using soil and leaves to draw landscape and flora. Right: artist's rendering of the scene based on the participant's sketch.

The contrast between the glossy pages in the newsletter or the poster Seyyid's comic persona encounters in the first panel couldn't be more drastic. On one page are straight, computer-generated lines of a map that seems to depict only the "national perspective" and an unequivocally bright future. On the other page are muddy lines, soil depicting soil, that leave plenty of space for tautologies and paradoxes. They express the uncertain ambivalence that

[63] I have no proof that this is actually true, but in this case, Seyyid's reasoning matters more than the actual circumstances.

Seyyid feels in relation to the future – indeed a tricky treasure. It is in this way that collaborative comics can provide a critical counter-cartography. To a small extent, they are able to represent invisible and marginalised imaginations of the future, which challenge the otherwise monopolistic images provided by the LCDA.

The time-line Seyyid draws in his comic is different from the ones expressed in the quotes in the introduction to Section 6.4, in that he does not see a continuation along a path, but a repetition of past injustices:

My great-grandfathers suffered greatly,
It is my turn to face and test the worst!
LAPSSET, a tricky treasure,
History repeats itself!
Where will my home be?

It is not a historic event that the LCDA creates through talk of "Game Changer Infrastructure", but a 'pure' event in the sense that Lundborg (2012) describes (see Section 3.3.1). Seyyid's engagement with the absent presence of the LAPSSET corridor escapes into the past and the future at once: the LAPSSET is what *had* happened to his grandfathers and *will* happen to him, but is not happening now. The ambivalence and 'trickiness' of the LAPSSET is due to this intangibility of its meaning in the present moment. Projecting this tricky image unto a piece of paper is how the CCC method attempts to present LAPSSET's absence.

Thinking about how to illustrate this scene, we talk a lot about his ancestors: what garments they would wear, the kind of stool they would sit on. The illustrators condense this into a picture showing Seyyid facing the same test of the 'tricky treasure' as generations before him, which are depicted as ghostly figures behind his back, gone but present in his mind as he contemplates the asserted benefit of the LAPSSET corridor. What promises mobility along the corridor for some threatens expulsion away from it for others – and as history repeats itself, Seyyid does not see himself in the former group. As he said in an interview during the preliminary survey: "My hopes for the future? Right now, even my hopes are diminished". Fearing a repetition of the colonial past, there is no future.

These, too, are lines crossing and opposing those drawn by the LCDA, though maybe not as literally. The comic depicts an alternative timeline; one that does not follow the one straight, tarmacked path of 'Development' of the historic event, but the erratic movements of the pure event, which meanders, bends back upon itself, loops and repeats. Instead of a clear goal – from the drill site to the harbour, from underdevelopment to modernity – there is again ambivalence and uncertainty: "Where will my home be?". In my opinion, this

is the most important aspect of social foresight methods: the ability to express the trickiness, the 'tunu lenye utata' of facing many doubtful futures, opposing the bold certainty of the one straight line along the LAPSSET towards modernity expressed by the "corridor masterplan".

Fig 32: Extract from Seyyid's comic strip: he is faced with the same "tricky treasure" as generations before him.

7.2.2 Kufungua Zaidi

Throughout the first two-hundred-something pages of this thesis, I might have created the impression of a dichotomous juxtaposition between 'corridor master plans' on the one side and pastoralist imaginaries on the other. In chapter 7.1 I have shown that the solid imaginary produced by the LAPSSET corridor development authority on the national scale appears as frayed and uncertain when regarded in other scalar contexts. In this section, I want to

emphasise that the 'local population' does not constitute a solid and uniform unit in terms of their anticipations and imaginations of the LAPSSET corridor either.

In order to draw out this point, I juxtapose the proceedings and results of two comic workshops that appear to be rather similar on their face. The first workshop this section builds on was conducted with Nina and Joy, two members of a women's rights network in Tangulbei, as well as Mercy, the organisation's chair. The other one was conducted together with Joan, the women – and indigenous rights activist – who was quoted comparing the resort city in Isiolo to Las Vegas in Section 5.4. Both organisations are similar in many aspects – for example, both advocate against female genital mutilation (FGM) and forced child marriage, and for more access to education for girls. Yet, as the discussion of the two CCC-workshops will show, they differ quite fundamentally concerning some aspects of the LAPSSET corridor. While Joan and her organisation emphasise the disruptive effects the development corridor will have on pastoral livelihoods, Mercy and the members of her organisation focus more on the ways in which it could help with the empowerment of women in the area.

I start with describing and analysing both workshops in turn, subsequently drawing out what the distinctions could mean for different ways of navigating and negotiating the landscapes of anticipation created by the LAPSSET corridor. Since Joan's position has already been covered in some detail in Section 5.4, I spend more pages describing the organisation, general situation and the comic workshop in Tangulbei.

***

On the way to Tangulbei we get lost, once again. It is the first stop after the group of Anne, Dan, Naddya, myself and our driver Abdi have passed the vast 'white highlands' on rough dirt roads and barely passable trails. For most of the day, we had seen more zebras than humans. By the time we reach 'civilization' – marked, of course, by reaching a paved road – it is already dark, and most guesthouses in the little settlement are already fully booked. These mostly accommodate traders from the wider surrounding areas who flock to Tangulbei for its famous weekly market.

The first and only historical mention of this town that I could find is related to this market, or more precisely the establishment of a trading centre in Tangulbei by "an Indian of Pakistani origin" (Mutsotso, 2013, p. 113). When Muunganishi and I first arrived in Tangulbei a couple of weeks earlier, I met the presumed grandson of the founder of Tangulbei's first trading post.

He invited me for a cup of coffee – the first I'd had in weeks! – and told me how his grandfather had made his way to Tangulbei in the 1930s, transporting wares on a donkey, not unlike I had done myself. The town, he tells me, has been defined by the paths that cross it: from Pokot pastoralists in the area that come to sell their livestock, and traders from Loruk in the west, Mukutani in the south, or the 'white highlands' in the east. The town and roads that lead to it open up all these movements – inakufungua zaidi' it opens everything. Now the LAPSSET corridor is projected to pass the town only a few kilometres to the north, adding yet another path that crosses and thus (re-)defines this town.

The town's position as a resting stop *on the way* to elsewhere has led to its establishment as a place. In Section 2.2.3 I have already described the importance of pathways for the identity of many Pokot. Michael Bollig et al. (2014) describe an interplay between place and path and the way in which they mutually define one another:

> Numerous roads crisscrossing the country and connecting newly founded marketplaces, villages, and fields are another emergent feature of the landscape. As with the instantiation of new modes of place-making, new kinds of mobility are created and old paths are also reevaluated. (Bollig et al., 2014, p. 72)

Places like Tangulbei mean the end of the path for many biographies of people who decide to settle there permanently, but at the same time "new kinds of mobility are created" – *kufungua zaidi.*

***

These biographies are the main focus of this section. More precisely, I discuss the biographies of three women who work and volunteer at the Tangulbei Women Network (TAWN) and who have participated in a CCC-workshop: Nina, Joy and Mercy. So far, the pathways created or implied by the LAPSSET corridor have largely been discussed in terms of infrastructural mobility; commerce and 'mobilising capital' have similarly been discussed in the context of capitalist modernisation, of 'opening up' new markets. The work on the comic with Nina, Joy and Mercy shows that these pathways also have a personal and emotional significance that is expressed not only in landscapes but also in individual biographies.

Throughout this section, the women of TAWN will use words such as development, modernity and tradition. The phrase 'kufungua zaidi', to open up everything, is itself reminiscent of the agenda of both colonial policies and the LAPSSET corridor to 'open up' Kenya's north (see: Section 2.1). However, I am not making the argument that these lines of thought are therefore

identical. Instead, I argue that these concepts and directions – towards modernity on the road of commerce, away from tradition – are appropriated by Nina, Joy and Mercy to such a degree as to make them distinct from the dreams of the 'corridor masterplans'. Similar to the story of the Ghost Manyattas (Section 6.3), the pathways and connections they anticipate may align with the LAPSSET corridor. Simultaneously, they add foreign elements to it, telling stories not of economic success as the ultimate goal but as a pathway towards emancipation and empowerment: 'turning history on its head' (RoK, 2012, p. 7) not in terms of regional development but in terms of gender relations; opening up the area not only for investment, but to *kufungua zaidi – to open up everything*, creating relations of empathy and solidarity. In 2.1.1 (footnote 10), I have mentioned that the 'opening up' and subsequent penetration of virgin lands by male explorers is the product of a particular

male gaze on landscape. Nina's, Joy's and Mercy's 'kufungua zaidi' stands in stark contrast to this vision of 'opening up' as conquest.

The most striking feature of the workshop we did at the TAWN office in Tangulbei was how little the LAPSSET corridor was mentioned, even though we talked about it for almost five hours. Our question to Nina, Joy and Mercy about how they thought their lives would change with the construction of the corridor lead to a discussion of their own biographies, how strikingly similar they are and their shared pain and common goals for the future. The collaborative comic (Fig 33, Fig 34) attempts to capture these biographical strands that run parallel to and apart from each other. Both of these collaborative comics capture past traumas ('bad things') in these women's lives but also how the women had carved out spaces of autonomy – by running away, finding and managing business opportunities, or insisting on getting a secondary school education.

Fig 33: Page 2 of "Kufungua Zaidi". Even after successfully fighting patriarchal family structures individually, Mary, Joy and Nina feel isolated.

What have these stories to do with the LAPSSET corridor? Mercy's, Nina's and Joy's all tell very different stories, but they all shared the experience of being taken against their will, of being imprisoned and powerless in the face of injustice. At first appearance, these biographies may seem unrelated to the LAPSSET corridor. However, I believe that it is not by accident that discussions about an infrastructure project during the workshop and several other interviews quickly developed into recollections of these childhood experiences. For Mercy, Nina and Joy, the LAPSSET has everything to do with it, and the way they weave together personal biography and infrastructural lines creates profound counter- (or rather: juxta-) imaginaries to existing 'corridor master plans'.

It might be argued that they mentioned these experiences only because as a women's rights organisation this is simply the most important topic for them as women's rights activists. However, this is precisely the point I am trying to make: during the interview Mercy, Nina and Joy embed their anticipations vis-à-vis the LAPSSET into the larger context of their own priorities and expectations. In the process of doing so, they change elements of the LAPSSET corridor narrative in order to adapt it to their lived realities. In order to understand how exactly they align with and deviate from the dominant official narratives of development and modernity, it is necessary to acknowledge the importance of remembered biographies for understanding a mega-infrastructure project such as the LAPSSET.

All participants of the workshop talked about 'bad things' from their past, which resulted in the collaborative comic in Fig 34. For Mercy, being able to stand up against these bad things also involved a lot of luck: she had an accident that made it impossible for her to do hard manual labour on her husband's homestead. Since she was 'useless' at home, she was sent to school. Life at the boarding school wasn't easy either, but she shared this fate with other girls from Mombasa, Kisumu, Eldoret - at least she was not alone. For

Nina, it was the experience of oppression she shared with her husband's other wives that made her realise the power that lies in building connections of empathy and solidarity:

Fig 34: Page 1 of 'Kufungua Zaidi': bad things happened.

> "We saw that one woman alone cannot save her own future. So we said, let's unite so we can advocate for our rights together. And we said: they will not hear an isolated voice, one lonely woman won't win the fight, even if she has the right ideas. So we said, it is better to speak with many voices, so that when we speak, we speak as a group or a movement.[64] (CCC-workshop, 2018-04-16)

They founded the Tangulbei Women Network to find and to express this common voice. This act of defiance, of unity against oppression, marks the opposite of the powerless isolation they all experienced in different yet similar ways during their childhood and adolescence. For the women who took part in the workshop, the founding of the network constituted a turning point not only in their own lives, but for Pokot women in general:

> "So we started to think that even if we grow our network, we do all of these things, but we don't have anyone who will address the policy level, maybe at the County Assembly or at the National Assembly. […] *So we need to have a woman to be -- to sit in that decision making space*. So we started teaching mothers that if there is a school committee, they need to be there. If there is a water committee they should be there. Any committee that is available! So we started the group *at village level and then* we go up. So that we are starting to *groom* women in powerful political positions who we can contact. You know everything *in this Kenya* is *political* so we need to extend our network with women who will *advocate for our rights* – very much like *gender mainstreaming*, things like that."[65] (CCC-workshop, 2018-04-16, phrases that are English in the original quote are marked in italics.

It is all about coming together as women, growing the network, creating solidarity, opening up organisations and institutions that were formerly closed to women, *kufungua zaidi – to open up everything*.

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[64] Freely translated from Swahili by the author. Original quote: "Tukaona ya kwamba there's no future for a woman tukasema ya kwamba ni heri tujikakamue tukuje kwa pamoja tuone kama tunaweza at least kuadvocate kwa rights zetu. And tukasema one voice haitaweza kwa sababu mwenye alitoa uwazo hataweza kama ni yeye pekee yake atapigwa vita mingi so tukasema ya kwamba it is better tuwe na many voices sauti mingi ili kwamba tunapoongelea tuongee kama kikundi or a movement."

[65] Freely translated from Swahili by the author. Original quote: "So tukaanza ya kwamba kufundisha wamama ya kwamba kama kuna kamati ya shule wanahitaji kua pale. Kama kuna kamati ya maji wanapaswa kua pale. Kamati yoyote yenye inapatikana within so tunaanzia uongozi penye tuko at village level and then tunaenda juu. So that tunaanza kugroom mwenye ataeza kucontest ili kwamba aweze kuingia katika hiyo position ya political unajua kila kitu in this Kenya ni political so kama hatutakua na wanawake wenye wataadvocate for our rights, sana sana kama mambo ya gender mainstreaming vitu kama hiyo."

This is the context, I think, in which one needs to understand why Mercy, Nina and Joy are so optimistic regarding the LAPSSET corridor. It is the context in which one should interpret what Joy says about the anticipated effects of the LAPSSET:

> I foresee that it will definitely boost the economy here because trade will go up, the economy will grow a little more in the future. *Secondly*, there will be more *foreigners*. I believe those people will come here to work, which will bring *competition*. […] I believe that everyone will push themselves. The importance of *culture* [i.e. the traditional way of life] that abounds here will decrease as well because the culture is very powerful here. If nobody works, others will come to work, you see, the *idleness* will go down and people will make great maendeleo [= development, here: progress].[66] (CCC-workshop, 2018-04-16, phrases that are English in the original quote are marked in italics.)

During a previous interview, Nina had answered a similar question regarding the changes she anticipated the LAPSSET would bring:

> "More people from other places, they might be here, they might come here, and the Pokot culture through this kind of development, religious factors, I believe it will go down. And when the cultural goes down, the Western Union[67]– no, the Western culture will come, and more… even more children will live this kind of [Western] life and enjoy the fruits of LAPSSET." (Interview, 2018-02-18)

[66] Freely translated from Swahili by the author. Original quote: "Mimi naona... nimeona kabisa itainua uchumi ya hapa kwa sababu biashara itaenda juu, uchumi itakua high kidogo kuliko ile hali ya mbele. Secondly, itakua na foreigners naamini wale watu watakuja kufanya kazi kama italeta competition. [...] ingine tena ata ile maneno ya culture yenye imejaa hapa hiyo itaenda chini pia sababu ile utamaduni imejaa hapa ya kua hakuna watu watafanya kazi lakini wengine watakuja unaona ile idleness itaenda chini juu watu watafanya maendelelo kubwa kubwa."

[67] When I first heard Joy say similar things during a previous interview, I was surprised and, I must admit, even a bit disappointed. The (in my eyes) Freudian slip of mixing up the wire transfer company Western Union and Western culture was indicative of what I perceived to be an internalised colonial mindset that regarded Western culture as superior to traditional Pokot culture. I saw a trust in the powerful blend of 'commerce and imagination' (Milliken, 1892, p. 267) appearing in the poem on Cecil Rhodes quoted in section 3.3.1, and which I simply did and do not share. The work during the comic workshop, however, revealed that for Joy, in particular, it wasn't a naïve belief in 'trickle down economics' and the blessings of Western culture.

At one point during the workshop, we broke the group up into pairs to work on particular aspects of the comic book. The aim of this exercise was to identify important scenes that could be used in the final comic and work on the visuals in order to make sure that they represented the memories and imaginations of the workshop participants. I observed Naddya and Joy, who talked about how she looked like as a child, before she started to go to school and afterwards. For nearly twenty minutes Joy described the attire she wore at home: a leather loin cloth, her earrings, her haircut. Then she described the Western-style dress she wore later, after having gone to school, detailing the length of the skirt, the embroidered flower patterns (Fig 35). Even though she was describing a scene from 1976, she remembered every detail of that particular dress. The lines on this dress were more important for Joy than the precise route of the corridor. The modernity the LAPSSET promises appeared here as a promise about emancipation from oppressive gender norms, rather than a vision of hypermobility. Admittedly, it is not a story about the LAPSSET, but a story about

Fig 35: Sketches during the workshop depicting the workshop participant in a 'modern' dress (left) and traditional attire (right).

Being able to go to school – against the resistance of her father, and later her husband – was an important step for Joy in emancipating herself from the men that had dominated her life. It enabled her to, instead, connect with other women, to find her voice, and it opened up a world outside of the strict constraints of traditional gender norms, to *kufungua zaidi*. The Western-style dress marks this transition, this opening up. The dress is not about a macro-

economic perspective of economic and financial flows, but about her ability to find solidarity, to see opportunities for personal fulfilment outside of the constraints that powerful men impose with reference to 'tradition and culture'. A similar perspective came through during an earlier interview I had with Mercy, when I asked her about the changes she thought the corridor would bring. She answered:

> You know this thing [the LAPSSET] is interaction! Interaction! Now the engineers that will be coming around would not only be men, we will be having women, and both doing that work. Then this community will say: 'Really? If these women can do it, do we think that we don't have girls who can do this?' You see? (Interview, 2018-02-20)

Not every counter drawing is necessarily diametrically opposed to the ways in which the corridor masterplan envisions the LAPSSET, as was the case with Seyyid's. The anticipations of the women at TAWN align with the general notion that the LAPSSET corridor constitutes a path out of a dark past and into a bright future. However, this does not mean that their vision is identical, and it brings in elements that play no, or only a minor, role in official visions and visualisations. They take up strands of the LAPSSET its promises of better education, higher employment, maendeleo, and splice these together with their own hopes and memories. They weave a rope that is, more than anything, about relations and solidarity among women. As Nina said during the comic workshop:

> I remember when we first started, when we spoke to each other, as Mercy said. We held on to the rope, the rope that we made together. 'Don't braid this strand, braid this, you braid one strand after another, so the rope stays strong'. And everyone kept holding on to the thread."[68] (CCC-workshop, 2018-04-16).

[68] Freely translated from Swahili by the author. Original quote: "Nakumbuka wakati sana tulianza wakati tuliitana vile yeye amesema. Tukashika kamba, kamba yenye ilikua ina usi. 'Usi unatupia huyu, unatupia huyu, unatupia huyu baada ya mwisho ile usi inakaa kama ni umbo moja'. Na kila mtu aliishika ile uzi."

Fig 36: The last page of the first version of "Kufungua Zaidi". Here 'Kufungua Zaidi' was translated as 'to open wider'.

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"It's just, it's actually a monster", Joan says, "a monster that is waiting sijui nitapelekwa wapi (I don't know where it will be sent)" (CCC-workshop, 2018-04-30). Joan – the women and indigenous rights activist whose take on the Crocodile Jaws mega dam project I quoted at length in Section 5.4 – seems to have a fundamentally different opinion of the LAPSSET than the group in Tangulbei. In the following, I will tease out these differences, and in so doing, show that her opinions are, in fact, not that far removed from those of the women at TAWN. Here as well, I will start with Joan's personal life story, because I believe that it is relevant to understanding her particular take on the LAPSSET corridor.

To do this, I will mostly rely on the comic workshop in which she participated. I was unable to attend the entire workshop for logistical reasons, because we had another one scheduled with Patrick at the same time. The second half of the workshop, therefore, was conducted only by Anne (the author) and Naddya (one of the illustrators). They recorded the conversation, and we shared information about it in a de-briefing afterwards. Still, because I was not present myself during most of it, my interpretation of the workshop is somewhat limited.

We meet in Joan's office in Nanyuki and take seats around a big conference and meeting table. We are lucky to have caught her, because Joan is a busy woman. She has just come back from a conference on indigenous rights in the US, and she constantly keeps dozens of different balls in the air. Yet she is always available when she's needed:

> *So my phone is on 24/7,* mimi sizimangi simu (I never shut down my phone). *Call me in the night, me, I pick anybody's phone* ata ya mgonjwa, ata ya mwendawazimu (a call from a patient, a call from a lunatic).[69] (CCC-workshop, 2018-04-03, Swahili parts are translated by the author).

This turns out to be true, as her phone interrupts the workshop several times. But even so, Joan finds time to work with Anne and Naddya for several hours on 'her' comic about the LAPSSET corridor. Similar to the workshop in Tangulbei, a lot of the conversation is about Joan's biography, and how she grew up to be the person she is now. Her story is remarkably similar to those of Mercy, Nina and Joy, even though she belongs to a different ethnic group.

[69] In Kenya, it is quite common for people who speak Swahili and English to mix both languages, which poses some difficulties in terms of translation. I have decided to retain this structure in order to represent the quote as best as possible, even if this is at the expense of readability.

Like all girls, Joan had to help herd her father's livestock – a herd of ca. 1 000 goats – when she was young. One day, she says, hyenas stealthily approached the herd she was supposed to be guarding and killed ten of them (Fig 37). Her father was furious and sent her away to a nearby mission, because she was so 'useless' as a herder – this way at least she would at least get an education (Fig 38).

Fig 37: First page of Joan's collaborative comic about how a hyena killed one of the goats she was taking care of.

Her family urged her to stay with her father, to take care of his homestead and his wealth of livestock. But she refused, saying she would rather go to school. She would take care of herself by getting an education, by going to university and by finding a job – then she would be in a position to take care of her father on her own terms. Her family, of course, was highly sceptical, but Joan persisted – she had to prove a point, after all:

> You know, I had to prove them. I had to prove them, you know, they keep on saying you are very useless, there is nothing you're going to do after all. Wewe tu utazaa tu (you will just give birth) and you get married. (CCC-workshop, 2018-04-03, Swahili parts are translated by the author)

Fig 38: Two panels from Joan's collaborative comic: her father takes Joan to the mission because she was "useless" as a herder.

She persisted and convinced her father to let her continue her schooling, where she did not only received an education, but also the confidence to stand up against her family, who for example would not accept her legal rights to her father's inheritance. Now, she says, she has her own herd of goats. And she owns it with pride:

> "Mimi [I/myself], I supply this town. I am a single mother [which is quite rare and often frowned upon], I prove to them that I can own anything just like anybody else. I own a very big maisonnet here. (CCC-workshop, 2018-04-03)

Again, it might not be immediately apparent how Joan's biography relates to the way she opposes the LAPSSET corridor. And again, to understand this relationship, it is important to consider the specific temporality produced during the comic workshop with Joan. Much like the women of TAWN, Joan manged to define herself in opposition to and defiance of patriarchal structures. Unlike Mercy, Nina and Joy, though, she regards the LAPSSET corridor as yet another male-dominated project that she opposes in the same way she has opposed patriarchal oppression before: through education and by insisting on facing challenges on her own terms.

> Na nikawaambia mnaenda hapo tuna*camp* kwa *governor*. Siku ingine alikataa tukaenda kwake nyumbani (and I told them that we would go to camp at the governor's place. One day, we went to his house). *Me, I can be very fierce.* Akatuona mpaka akatuskiza. (So he received us, and we made him listened to us). Kwanini hataki kutuskiza? (Why would he not listen to us?) Na hao wamama wakamwambia "*categorically* sisi ndio tunakua *displaced"* (And these women said to him, "categorically, we are the ones who are being displaced!") "*You have children*! Unaona watoto wako mahali wanaishi, wetu wataenda wapi?" ("You see where your own children live – so where will ours go?"). (CCC-workshop, 2018-04-03, Swahili parts are translated by the author, see Fig 39)

Fig 39: Excerpt from Joan's collaborative comic: Joan is confronting the governor.

Her goal is to change the narrative, to create a counter-narrative that refuses to accept the position of indigenous women vis-à-vis powerful men. Like Seyyid, she regards the LAPSSET as a continuation of previous social dynamics – not explicitly colonialism, but rather of patriarchal structures. However, she also sees the politics around the LAPSSET corridor as an opportunity to 'turn history on its head', to change the narrative and the position of women in society. Her own life is testament to her ability to do so, and her current advocacy for women and indigenous rights regards the corridor as yet another arena in an ongoing struggle to redefine the position of indigenous women in Kenya; a chance to show that being a woman does not have to be a "curse", but can be an identity one lives with pride:

> "Let's also change the narrative ourselves. It's not easy, especially when you don't have support, you just need to have that courage and you believe in yourself. […] I never applied to be born as a girl first of all. […] You know? Because you know that perception, you're a girl, you even start now demeaning yourself. Mimi kwa sababu mimi ni msichana, mila na desturi nasema 'I cannot'(I, because I am a girl, traditions and customs say 'I cannot'). You know, it's also ... they also profile you. You are just useless because you are a girl. Let's not accept that reality. We also need to create our own space. I am also a woman by choice, not by a mistake. (CCC-workshop, 2018-04-03, Swahili parts are translated by the author)

Echoing the strategies of the women of TAWN, Joan saturates the vision that the LAPSSET corridor produces with her own meaning, instead of imposing it outright. This includes a re-scaling of terms such as modernity and development. In previous chapters I have shown how the LAPSSET produces a national vision. In contrast, Joan moors her understanding of modernity and development in the consultation, involvement and participation of indigenous people in whose territory the LAPSSET is or will be constructed. She makes it very explicit that she is not against development per se, but against the imposition of a particular kind of oppressive development:

> "Of course, when you talk about modernity and traditional occupation, those are two separate worlds, but at the same time there is somewhere that it will come and intertwine. And we don't say that development is bad as such, no! Development is good, but it is good when the people are consulted, involved and participate fully – and then we see. This is how we want this development to be done in our territory! That is now when we say that development is good. But now when it is vice versa that development is being brought and imposed on us – and then they say that we don't want to develop! Then we say: "That

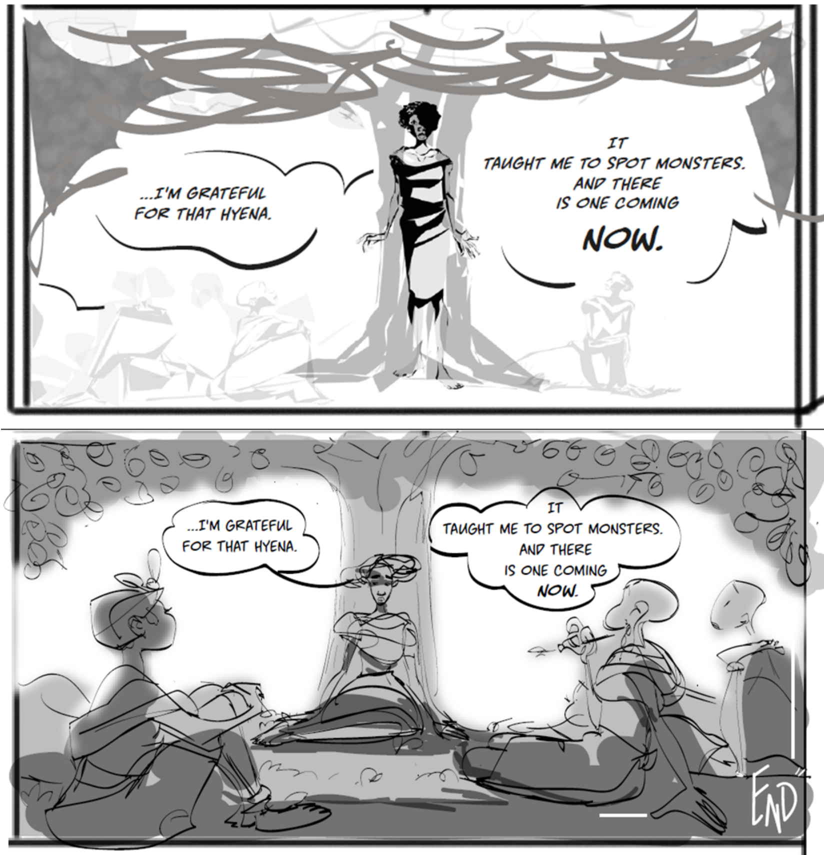
> development is not development; it is harmful to our livelihood, it is harmful to identity and it is harmful to our self-determination as indigenous people!"

The LAPSSET corridor is an arena in which indigenous people and women are struggling to define themselves vis-à-vis their traditions – not as something that is inherently bad, outdated and/or that needs to be overcome, but something that is *intertwined*, as Joan puts it, with modernity. She, therefore, proposes a radical temporality that dissolves the prevalent dichotomy between tradition and modernity. She sees the LAPSSET, the Hyena or monster as she calls it, as a lurking threat similar to the "animal called LAPSSET" that Abdul talked about in Section 5.1. At the same time, she says that she is grateful for the hyena that killed the goats she was herding, because it helped her to become the woman she is today:

> "*I keep on asking* aki nilitafuta hiyo fisi niende niichinjie mbuzi (If I hadn't found this hyena and it hadn't killed that goat) ... *It really saved me that* fisi (hyena), *let me tell you the truth. It really saved my life. I could be married, aaah...a mother with several kids*". (CCC-workshop, 2018-04-03, Swahili parts are translated by the author, see Fig 40)

When I came back a year later to ask Joan what she thought about the final version of the comic we had produced based on the workshop, she was rather sceptical (see Fig 40 in Section 4.5.2.4). She didn't like the way she was portrayed standing alone under a tree and asked me where all the other people were – this story, after all, wasn't about her, but was about all Samburu women alongside whom she was working (see: Fig 40). I am aware of the irony that this section also focusses mainly on Joan as a person. However, the point of focussing on a single biography is to show how each life is intertwined with other timelines and does not stand by itself. Hopefully addressing Joan's concern, in the next section I will focus again on pastoralist livelihoods, mobilities and temporalities that are crossed by an infrastructural line.

Fig 40: Two versions of the same scene. Top: the protagonist is the centre of the story (first version). Bottom: After feedback from the workshop participant, the protagonist is depicted as part of a community (second version).



7.2.3 Bara ya Maisha

The last collaborative comic that I want to discuss here is the result of a workshop that we conducted with Jeremiah and his family, who live in a traditional Samburu boma (homestead) in Longopito, a loose and scattered cluster of similar bomas around the midpoint between Isiolo and Oldonyiro. In this section I want to focus on the landscapes of anticipation that were the focus of this particular comic workshop.

After a stopover in Kipsing where we meet Andrew, who had previously worked with me as a guide, travel companion and translator, we arrive at the

homestead just before noon. We are lucky to meet Jeremiah at home, and he shows us around, introducing us to his extended family who are gathered under an acacia tree, the skull of a cow watching over us, and we are not sure if its gaze is gracious or accusing. Jeremiah tells us that he has hardly any cattle left in his herd, so they keep the cow's head as a way to remember when they were able to keep more cattle:

> "Wanai *preserve* tu *for remembrance* (They just preserve it for remembrance). [Laughs.] *For remembrance.* Mfupa… utatupa huko mfupa lakini kichwa utaeka tu mahali (The bones… you just throw away the bones, but the head you will keep in place). Ni kama kumbukumbu kwa hiyo ng'ombe (It's like a memorial for that cow).

Fig 41: "Like a memorial for that cow"

Even though this section is mostly about landscapes of anticipation – and thus ostensibly about the future – memory, and what is "preserved for remembrance", is equally important. As I have argued in Section 3.3, anticipation of things to come always and necessarily implies a particular way of remembering the things that have been; landscapes of anticipation are woven from the lines that span past, present and future.

Under the watchful eye cavities of the cow's skull, stories about the past are shared. Years ago, the men tell us, the landscape around here was still fertile enough to support cattle, who are much pickier eaters than goats and

camels, who can even eat the roots of grass and are able to pick acacia leaves from between spines and thorns:

> When we came here… When we came here, there was grass, there was enough grass. Nowadays, I don't know, we don't grow enough. It's lost, lost, all lost! You can see a cow, but after just one month, you may lose it again. Or it is going to die before you even see it! (CCC-workshop, 2018-04-04)[70]

In Section 6.3 I have already described how the promises of development in general and the LAPSSET corridor in particular are seen as empty. While maendeleo ('development') implies progress and improvement, the history that is told now is one of regress and degradation. Again, the LAPSSET is compared to a hyena[71]: "it's like a herder letting a hyena guard his goats".[72] Another time, Jeremiah compares the government constructing the LAPSSET to a bulldozer. He doesn't mean that in the sense that it blazed a trail of development – figuratively and literally, in the case of the LAPSSET corridor. Rather, the progress promised by a bulldozer ploughing plants to make way for development mainly means: inevitability, futile resistance. You cannot stand in the way of maendeleo. Based on past experiences, maendeleo, here, is something one incurs, not something one receives. It also shows how change or development is seen as something that is literally inscribed into the landscape; and that landscapes (apart from the size of herds) are the media in which change can be read.[73]

[70] Original quote translated by the author: Wakati tulihamia hapa, wakati tulihamia hapa, kulikua na nyasi, kulikua na nyasi ya kutosha. Sasa wakati hii, sijui tulikua wengi sijui tulikua nyasi yamepotea, yakapotea, yakapotea kabisa. Unaeza kuona ng'ombe, mwezi moja ikapotea tena, ikaenda kuisha hata bila kuona.,

[71] Later in 2019, Jeremiah told me he had met Joan, so this figure of speech might have been directly adapted from her.

[72] Translation by my colleague Benard Musembi Kilaka. Original quote: "ni kama mkuki [mchungaji?] imeingiza fisi kabla [katikati] ya mbuzi".

[73] The counterfactual, here, would be, for example, one's own body; a line graph indicating GDP, CO2 ppm, or daily revenue; or the speed of one's internet connection.

Fig 42: CCC Workshop in Longopito: Drawing Landscapes of Anticipation

Consequently, most of the workshop was taken up with descriptions of the landscape: what it looked like in the 1990s when the boma was first established in this area; how it has developed since then; and how everyone thought it would develop in the future. Here, the CCC-method helped evoke landscapes of anticipation and how they are based on memories and past experiences (Fig 42). A group gathers around Dan, who is sketching the landscape around us. Workshop participants are pointing at nearby hills, describing how they used to look thirty years ago, what is different now, and

how they expect them to look in the future. No other workshop was able to depict landscapes of anticipation and memory so explicitly.

The comic we create, therefore, focusses on the changing landscape, essentially consisting of an array of landscape drawings and the ways people are interacting with it. The other recurring topic is livestock[74]: the changing composition of herds, the feeling of contentment one feels when looking at a fat goat, how goats deteriorate the landscape by pulling out even the grass roots, the times at which herds leave and return (and how these schedules change during a drought), livestock in figures of speech ("it's like a hyena guarding a goat"). After the workshop, we decide to tell the story from the perspective of a cow – like the one whose skull has been placed as a memorial between the branches of the acacia tree under which we sit. The oblong field of vision of cows lends itself to landscape drawings, and it reflects the tendency of the men who tell us about the past and future of the landscape around us as a way of focussing on the effects that each change has on the fate of their livestock.

Fig 43: Page 1 of *Baraka* - the LAPSSET only exists as a beacon.

[74] A considerable part of the workshop is spent listing all the different sounds that are used to communicate with animals.

The story is divided into three parts, roughly corresponding to past, present and future. Baraka, one of the herder's cows, observes the interactions of two friends over the course of ten years. The story's central tension is created between these temporal instances as the two herders take up different positions vis-à-vis the anticipated LAPSSET corridor. Direction of movement melds with the direction of time, as one of them wants to stay (stay here, stay a herder, stay Samburu, stay with "how we have always lived") while the other recognises that the "LAPSSET isn't going to wait" and urges his friend to hurry up and go with the times, lest he be left behind. Over the course of the comic, Baraka observes not only the two friends but also changes in her natural surroundings: what first appears as an abundant landscape browsed by a large herd slowly deteriorates as trees are removed, roads and buildings are constructed and rivers dry up. In the end, Baraka is the only cow left, and she is famished.

Fig 44: Second page of *Baraka*: the LAPSSET is being constructed

The time-line drawn from and of the comic workshop with Jeremiah and his family is different to the optimistic idea of progress produced by the LCDA, and that was appropriated in their own ways by Joan and the women of TAWN; it is also differs from the idea of a repetition of past injustices as expressed by Seyyid. Instead, it depicts a story of constant decline; a negative mirroring of the progress-through-mobility vision described in Section 7.1. It

differs as well in its depiction of mobility. Throughout the comic, the animals and humans are constantly moving, but their movement is increasingly limited – first by the construction sites and later by a network of roads, buildings and fences around the corridor. The speed of the cars does not increase mobility but limits it. During the workshop, the speed of cars is often described as something harmful:

> Jeremiah: Because you hear a person from Nairobi – he's over there, but *we* only see the cars go wroom wroom… Aaa, he comes and just steals children!
>
> Andrew: You find the goats coming back alone!
>
> Jeremiah: You just put [the child] into a car and wuiii [imitates a car speeding away]. You can't see anything; the road is just straight. *At the end of the day*, in the evening you find the goats coming back alone, they come one by one. (CCC-workshop, 2018-04-04. Phrases in italic were English in the original quote)[75]

Fig 45: Third page of *Baraka*: the LAPSSET corridor is now built.

[75] Freely translated by the author. Original quote:
Jeremiah: Kwa sababu mtu unaskia ako Narobi –- yuko huko we naona tu magari vuum vuum... Aah anaingia nyuma, anaiba tu watoto.
Andrew: Unakuta mbuzi imekuja tu peke yake na hakuna mtu.

I have not heard of any actual cases of abducted children, but the recitation of people coming in cars from Nairobi to steal children is an expression of a general sense of suspicion towards the fast-moving cars. Another potential danger is seen in the possibility of goats being run over by cars, as depicted on the last page of the collaborative comic (Fig 45). These and similar concerns express a notion that I already discussed throughout Chapters 5 and 6: that the LAPSSET corridor might bring benefits to others, but the "middle areas are left with zero" (see: 5.1), or are harmed in other ways. This unjust distribution of risks and benefits of the LAPSSET is expressed by the two herders in *Baraka*, one viewing the LAPSSET as a possibility, the other regarding it with scepticism. The workshop participants mostly relate to the second figure. As Jeremiah put it:

> Lakini bado sasa hatujaona uzuri yake, kama wengine bado hawajaona ubaya wake (But still, we haven't seen its beauty/goodness, as others have not seen its ugliness/badness). CCC-workshop, 2018-04-04

***

In the small survey I conducted in 2019, Baraka was often selected as a favourite among all the collaborative comics. People who themselves related to a pastoralist lifestyle found that the comic's melancholy strongly resonated with their own perspectives. And the relative ambivalence of the comic's ending, in particular, allowed people to project different meanings onto it. For example, Patrick, who had participated in another workshop, said about Baraka:

> "You know, it's going to be like – have you ever seen those movies which end where you don't know what is going to happen? [both laughing] It just ended but, you know, so many outcomes [are possible] because this guy – there are only two options here. He either comes and, you know, tries to find himself fitting to the new system. Maybe all the cows are dead because… maybe he tries to find a job like watchman, because nowadays there are people who are doing that, trying to fit. And sometimes they even get and become very successful fitting into the system, because now – I don't see his future going because with all this. […] You know, I have experience with these people; most of this community are still in this quagmire. Though for me, I think the best way to help such a person – or for him to help himself – is to take their children to school. That kid will change;

Jeremiah: Unaeka tu kwa gari wuiii. Si unaona barabara ya lami ni straight. at the end of the day jioni unakuta mbuzi inakuja tu peke yake, mbuzi inakuja moja moja

but his life won't change, because it's already too late." (Survey Interview, 2019-03-17)

Fig 46: Jeremiah, his wife, mother and son discussing the collaborative comic he helped create.

Others have a more positive interpretation of the comic. Nina, one of the members of TAWN, for example, summarised the comic like this:

> Nina: What I think about this one now, it is drawing from the kind of life that we had before the LAPSSET. Now we have many animals and the land is green, but after LAPSSET started, you see, some animals are going down because of the drought because people have ventured into other activities – like economic activities. And even the lifestyle, the mode of dressing, has become more developed because of the maendeleo of LAPSSET. This is now the point whereby many people have already come with other businesses like biashara [trading, merchandise] business, and the lifestyle for pastoralists now is going to be down and the life of LAPSSET comes up. So the livelihood for the people now is going to change from pastoralists to modern kind of life, and that is why there are more vehicles. Animals have reduced and some of the accidents taking place.
>
> Interviewer: So, do you think there is a positive story about development or a negative story about development?
>
> N: It is positive. Even though the livestock are going down, many people will open up their mind to do other activities apart from keeping animals. (Interview 2019-04-01)

Jeremiah himself was mostly surprised that I had come back at all. After I showed him the comic that was produced during the workshop (Fig 46), he told me that he had expected me to disappear, never to be seen again. He told me that seeing a representation of himself and his life and the landscapes we had drawn together in an 'official' print product meant a lot to him.

When I passed by Oldonyiro a couple of days after showing Jeremiah the finished collaborative comic, I ran across him again as he was selling a couple of his goats at the weekly livestock market. Seyyid and his troupe had prepared a play based on 'Kufungua Zaidi', which had drawn a crowd, and afterwards Jeremiah showed and explained his and other collaborative comics to the gathering people (Fig 47). *Here, this is my story! This is what it means.* This context illustrates precisely what is perhaps the most important feature of these collaborative comics: their ability to literally point out images and imaginaries that are different to and that challenge the vision produced by the LCDA. As Hannah Knox put it during a seminar on a previous version of this paper: the collaborative comics open "the possibility to cut through the visual normativity of infrastructure megaprojects". They do so by foregrounding the lived experiences of workshop participants; their memories, hopes and worries; the often ambivalent and open-ended meshwork of lived lines.

Fig 47: A couple of days later, Jeremiah shows his and other collaborative comics to a crowd at the livestock market in Oldonyiro.

8
Bottom Lines and Loose Ends

A small concrete block in the middle of the savannah looks like a gravestone, and like a gravestone it has worked in this thesis as a placeholder for something that is not there (anymore, yet). Like a gravestone, there is a certain comfort in the ritual of revisiting it. The LAPSSET beacons stand in and symbolise many of the central points I have been trying to make with this thesis.

The first of these is the way these concrete blocks can be understood as points in relation to lines of movement, as fixed positions in relation to mobility. Infrastructures are characterised by the mobility they enable, but also the fixity they create and require. The beacon constitutes a promise of transportation and seamless connectivity, but the promise breaks and crumbles the moment it cannot maintain its fixed position – either because it literally crumbles or because people start doubting the project it stands for.

Tim Ingold has juxtaposed different forms of moving through space, and the LAPSSET beacon works as a stand-in for both: lines of transport that are imagined as an array of points (each marked by a beacon) and straight incorporeal lines in between that mark the shortest way between A and B. But the beacon also invokes lived lines of wayfaring; those that are created by bodies moving through a landscape – perhaps a researcher, his research assistant and his donkey, who stumble across a beacon, take a rest, a photo and then resume their wandering, walking in the *middle area*. I have written about these lines of im/mobility under the motif of moving in Sections 3.1, 3.2, 3.5, 4.4, as well as Chapter 5.

Second, the beacons are a placeholder for a particular understanding of timelines that I have conceptualised and used throughout the thesis. Like a gravestone, the LAPSSET beacons point towards the past. When Jeremiah passes a beacon while herding his goats, he might be reminded of past infrastructure projects that, like many of the beacons, crumbled to dust before they were realised, newly erected ruins. And this memory of the past would be haunted by visions of the future: by broken promises, but also real hope that

everything might open up for marginalised pastoralists, for women in forced marriages, that, perhaps, it will be possible to 'kufungua zaidi', to open up everything. I have written about these timelines under the motif of anticipating in Sections 3.3 and 4.5, as well as Chapter 6.

Third, the beacons are placeholders for the images they invoke, and through which they are invoked in turn. I mean: the photos I took of men standing next to a beacon, spreading their arms wide open, saying "here, this is the LAPSSET". I mean: the photos that follow the gaze of one beacon to another, along the road, the pipeline, the railway towards a vanishing point in the distance. I mean: the computer-generated images that fill out all the blanks; that take a landscape in which only small concrete blocks exist and project onto it all the dreams and hopes of the national Vision 2030. I mean: the arms of Dan and Patrick intertwining as they are drawing the 'ghost manyattas' erected around a LAPSSET beacon. I mean: the maps that were used to find the right location for each beacon, the map of which Franklin only managed to steal a glimpse, the *global map* that all roads must follow, as he said. I have discussed these visions and visualisations under the motif of drawing in the Sections 3.4 and 4.5, as well as Chapter 7.

Like a gravestone, the beacon is a place, pointing at the ground below it. As that, it is as local as it gets, a point with virtually no dimensions. Through the ghostlines attached to these virtual points, however, beacons point not only at themselves but, like gravestones, towards the past, and what's to come. They point towards the '*dreams of a nation*' they help build, as well as the global economy Kenya can be a part of once the LAPSSET is built: a tiny local globe.

8.1 Bottom Lines

In this first part of the conclusion I want to address each research question in turn in order to summarise how I have attempted to answer them throughout the thesis. Where definitive answers are not possible, I recapitulate the conceptual, methodological and empiricial challenges that have thwarted more satisfying solutions. In these cases I also suggest possible ways to avoid these obstacles where possible.

The first research question addresses the motif of movement and asked:

> What mobilities and immobilities is the LAPSSET anticipated to create and for whom? How is it able to create, simultaneously, mobilities and immobilities?

In order to answer this sub-question, I first explored the conceptual implications of the interplay between movement and repose, immobility and

immobility, flows and moorings. In 3.1.2, infrastructure studies offered a basis on which to explore this tension. With reference to the eclectic literature on infrastructures, I have shown that some scholars have emphasized the ability of infrastructures to create flows (even to the degree that this was declared their defining feature), while others have stressed how infrastructures are often used to cut off or block flows by channelling them in certain directions. Based on this, I have proposed my own working definition of infrastructures as 'linear, dis/connecting technologies'. This definition offered a somewhat tautological answer to the second part of the first research question: infrastructures such as the LAPSSET corridor, are able to create mobilities and immobilities simultaneously, because that is what infrastructures do.

In order to supplement this unsatisfactory answer, I have suggested the New Mobilities Paradigm as a way to emphasise the political nature of the tension between mobility and immobility. Building on this paradign, I have argued that the way infrastructures distribute mobility and immobility is not random, but is based on an expression of, and is constitutive of, political contestations. This means that the people who get to decide where and how an infrastructure project such as the LAPSSET is built can inscribe their particular interests in terms of who or what the project moves and who or what it fixes in place. In addition, I have also argued that the mobility of one class of people, things or ideas produces the immobility of others, not as an involuntary side effect, but as a necessary precondition for their own mobility. This argument made the answer to the above question more concrete: the LAPSSET creates mobilities for oil, capital, tourists, cars and trade by way of creating immobilities for pastoralists and animals; and it creates these immobilities by way of mobilising the former.

I have discussed the empirical findings of this thesis in relation to the motif of *moving* before the backdrop of this theoretical argument. For that purpose, I first developed a method that was able to appreciate movement by 'mobilising' the research itself. In my case, this meant hiking across a segment of the corridor together with my donkey, Muunganishi, as well as conducting 'walking interviews' while wandering about with interlocutors.

In the empirical chapter on the motif of moving (chapter 5), I identified three related but distinct kinds of movement. First, there are movements that simply miss each other. Here, I described how pastoralists, in particular, expect the LAPSSET to pass them by, leaving all the benefits to the urban centres on the way, while 'the middle area is left with zero'. Second, I built on the theoretical argument regarding the simultaneous creation of mobilities and immobilities mentioned above, by describing how, for example, the planned

resort city in Isiolo is expected to mobilise tourists (and their currency) from all over the world, while creating fences for the inhabitants of the area. Lastly, I described how the LAPSSET is also anticipated to create orthogonal movements away from the corridor, repulsions in the form of people being evicted and displaced to yet unknown locations.

The first empirical chapter not only gave substance to the theoretical answer of how the LAPSSET creates both mobilities and immobilities, but also answered the first sub-question by exploring many different kinds of im/mobilities that are related to the LAPSSET. These include not only the above-mentioned bypassings, dis/connections and repulsions of pastoralists, but also what I called the 'moving, the vivacious many' non-human mobilities. Here, and with the help of Muunganishi, I explored an often-overlooked meshwork of lines created by animals, humans, machines and forces of nature. In order to answer the question *What mobilities and immobilities is the LAPSSET anticipated to create and for whom?*, I believe that it is necessary to consider this meshwork in all its more-than-human abundance. The LAPSSET corridor, then, does not appear as one line of movement across a still and empty plane, but as one fraying braid of lines amongst many – a particularly dominating braid and one that has the ability to cut and slice, but not the only by any means.

The second research question followed the motif of *anticipating* and asked:

> What kind of future imaginary does the LAPSSET create? What kind of history does it imply, and how does it encounter other ways of anticipating the future and remembering the past?

The theoretical groundwork to answer this question involved a grappling with the concept of temporality in general and a way of imagining the past and the future in particular. Referring back to infrastructure studies, I compiled different perspectives on how infrastructures are not only witnesses to the past, but also structure memories and anticipations. I have emphasised how infrastructures are present not only through what they represent in the moment, but, decisively, also through the promises they make about the future, namely development towards a particular modernity characterised by seamless and ceaseless mobility. I furthermore built on the image of 'ruins' to show how infrastructures are built from and on the debris of previous infrastructure projects. This argument prepares answers to the first two sub-questions regarding the motif of *anticipating*.

I have explored the simultaneous presence of both past and future by conceptualising infrastructures as spectral. Ghosts, as I conceptualised them, haunt the presence both from the past (think of the ghosts of Christmas past haunting Scrooge in Dicken's *A Christmas Carol*) and from the future (think of Marx' spectre of communism haunting Europe as something yet to come). These pasts and promises, I have argued, often point at faraway places. In the case of the LAPSSET, for example, at a history of infrastructure projects imposed by colonial Britain, and the promise of global connections via visiting tourists and oil exports. This creates a complex meshwork of relations that cross both time and space, which I have called *Spectral Landscapes of Anticipation*. These landscapes, I have argued, are also political in the sense that different people might have different memories and anticipations regarding the same infrastructure project. While one may remember historical neglect and anticipate – finally! – a way to turn 'history on its head' by developing a marginalised region of Kenya, others may remember an array of broken promises and regard the LAPSSET not as a 'game-changer infrastructure', but as a continuation of past injustices.

I argued that these timelines between past, present and future are imagined in relation to the im/mobilities the LAPSSET is anticipated to create. (Anticipated) mobility through space affects both memories of the past and anticipations of the future. What I have not managed (and not attempted) to define, however, are the precise mechanisms through which timelines and lines through space redefine one another. I suggest that a more quantitative research design might be able to explore this question better.

In order to undergird this theoretical argument empirically, I suggested the use of collaborative comic creation (or CCC for short) as a way to engage with and substantiate marginalised future imaginaries. Researching perspectives on something that will happen in future in the present moment entails a methodological challenge. Based on an extensive review of existing 'social foresight methods', I have suggested using the production of short comic stories as a way to create a presence for these future imaginaries.

Based on empirical material generated through this method as well as conventional and walking interviews, I then explored these different and sometimes opposing temporalities in more depth. Referring back to the common notion of being passed-by by the LAPSSET, I first described waiting (for something that is in an envelope) as an active way to engage with the corridor. Not only the corridor itself, but also a stream of information was seen by many as flowing past or above them. Workshops and conferences were usually held in 'big hotels' rather than engaging with 'the common man on the

ground'. The anticipation of the LAPSSET, I therefore argued, is prominently characterised by uncertainty, contributing to a sense of isolation, instead of the promised 'seamless connection'.

Others, however, are more optimistic about the prospects of the corridor. I portrayed one of these people, Jack, in detail. He had started building a house nearby the anticipated route of the corridor, hoping that his small wholesale shop in the nearby town would benefit from it. He, too, waits for the LAPSSET, and I have shown this waiting to be a process of engagement, an active shaping of the spectral landscapes of anticipation mentioned above. The subsequent case of the 'ghost manyattas' shows a similar active engagement but one based on a different temporality. Instead of anticipating progress, the architects of the ghost manyattas expect to be bypassed by the LAPSSET yet again, making it necessary to 'trick' the government into paying them compensation by erecting ersatz-huts that are built to be demolished. Both Jack and the architects of the ghost manyattas build structures in anticipation of the LAPSSET, yet the temporalities they assume and build are quite different.

The contrast between different temporalities is particularly pronounced in the context of Kenya's colonial history of infrastructure projects. In the last part of the empirical chapter on *anticipating*, I have therefore explored the 'colonial debris' on which the LAPSSET is built, namely, the Uganda Railway. I contrasted a promotional video that praises the LAPSSET corridor as a continuation of 'the old railway' with the advertised effect that the corridor will not continue on the colonial path towards development, but instead will 'turn history on its head'.

This partly answers what kind of future imaginaries the LAPSSET creates, by emphasizing the different and often contradictory temporalities. It furthermore substantiates the theoretical arguments recapitulated above, about how and why the LAPSSET spells a glorious future for some and a return to past injustices for others. The answer, again, can be found in the way that lines of movement through space and lines of development through time are intertwined. Simplified, someone who anticipates being cut off from seasonal grazing grounds does not regard the corridor as a harbinger of a better future, while someone who conceives of the LAPSSET as a way to facilitate trade for one's business may consider it as a pathway towards a better life. Again, I did not manage nor did I try to categorise these different landscapes of anticipation in terms of class, race, gender, age or any other social category. The reason why people imagine different temporalities,

therefore, remains underexplored in this thesis, which merely observed that and how they do it.

The last research question referenced the motif of drawing and asked:

> How are different im-mobilities and future imaginaries visualised? How can marginalised ways of moving and anticipating be made visible, if they are not already visualised?

The theoretical foundation to answer this question was yet again partly provided by insights from infrastructure studies that emphasise the aesthetics of infrastructures as one of their essential features, especially in terms of creating future imaginations. I supplemented this by adding approaches from critical cartography that stress the political, i.e. contestable, nature of images and the temporalities they help produce. This allowed for a conceptualisation of 'counter cartographies' or, more generally, 'counter images' that contest dominating forms of visualising infrastructural pasts, presents and futures.

The above mentioned CCC method was based on this contestable nature of images. It not only helped reveal future imaginaries, but also produced 'counter images', thus providing a way of answering the sub-question: *How can marginalised ways of moving and anticipating be made visible, if they are not already visualised?*

These counter images were explored in depth in the last empirical chapter in order to answer the first part of the research question – *How are different im-mobilities and future imaginaries visualised?* First, I analysed dominating visions and visualisations of the LAPSSET corridor present in the 'corridor masterplans' that support and justify the project. I stressed how the images create a notion of alignment towards a single yet undefined vanishing point, but also a notion of seamless and frictionless mobility in which pastoralists as well as 'the vivacious many' non-humans are notably absent. Here, the answer to the question may suffer from the lack of a more cohesive analytical framework for the interpretation of images of different kinds.

I contrasted these visualisations with the results of the CCC workshops. In 'Tricky Treasure' I revisited the argument regarding opposing temporalities, showing how Seyyid, one of the workshop's participants, regarded the corridor as a repetition of colonial injustices. His idea to render his account visually in mud and leaves contrasts with the clean computer-generated lines used in most of the reports and information material produced by the LAPSSET Corridor Development Authority (LCDA). In 'Kufungua Zaidi' I juxtaposed workshops with two indigenous and/or women's rights organisations, in which opposite yet also similar opinions on the LAPSSET

were expressed. The positions differed in that one group largely expressed support for the project, while the other was more sceptical. The first group anticipated that the corridor would help women's emancipation by challenging old gender norms. The second group likened the LAPSSET to a hyena, prowling the dark and waiting for a chance to kill. Both groups are similar in that they saturate the vision produced by the LCDA with their own dreams, hopes, memories, traumata and fears. Lastly, in 'Bara ya Maisha' I discussed a collaborative workshop conducted with a group of Samburu herders. The comic produced there depicted a spectral landscape of anticipation emphasising the decline of pastoral livelihoods, again contrasting both with the imaginary of a resumption of colonial-era development, as well as the notion of 'turning history on its head'.

Each of the comic stories, therefore, not only offered an analytical tool to explore how people related their own biographies to the LAPSSET corridor, but also a visualisation of future imaginaries that would otherwise have remained invisible. The analysis of the collaborative comics thus provide a concrete and tangible answer to the sub-question *How can marginalised ways of moving and anticipating be made visible, if they are not already visualised?*

Each research question implies and refers to the others. Taken together, the three research questions answer the overarching question of this thesis:

> How do people who live in the LAPSSET's vicinity navigate and challenge the uncertain spatio-temporal landscape it creates?

The motif of *moving* has shown that the navigation of spatio-temporal landscapes can be understood literally as different ways of moving across space. In this respect, I have identified bypassing, dis/connections and repulsions as three anticipated forms of mobility. This orientation twoards what is yet to come suggests that navigation also has an anticipatory quality, including both memories and imaginaries of the future. Lines of movement and timelines are thus intertwined: the one-directionality of corridor mobilities (actual concrete liens, as well as lines on the map) not only tunnels and cuts other forms of moving through the landscape but also implies a one-directional temporality towards a single vanishing point – towards modernity. Cutting across these one-directional lines challenges the LAPSSET by insisting on both different mobilities (for example of animals) and different temporalities (for example imagined as a repetition instead of a one-directional development). Visualising these mobilities and temporalities further helped to illuminate exisiting challenges to the LAPSSET corridor.

Yet again, I am compelled to refer to Seyyid's poem *Tunu Lenye Utata – a Tricky Treasure*. The image in the collaborative comic of him standing in front of a billboard that promises a way forward while blocking his way offers, perhaps, the best answer to the overarching research question. It is a moment in tension – still, yet pregnant with movement. *It's coming, it's coming!* It depicts a crossroad, and while it is not clear which way will be chosen, there is a choice – the image demands it. It offers an opening for the ghosts – the memories, the promises, the anticipation – haunting Seyyid in this moment to appear. It answers the research question in the only way possible, by drawing the answer in ghostlines.

8.2 Loose Ends

That last point implies the emancipatory potential and illusion of counter-drawings. This research has not yet been able to explore this potential in depth. This constitutes a loose end that I hope can and will be followed up in the future. I am particularly excited about exploring the potential of collaborative comics in other contexts and with respect to other questions, such as the imagination of new urban futures (e.g. car-free cities) or humanimal relations (e.g. cruelty free food production), where the literal and figurative path dependencies of existing infrastructures prevent even the ability to imagine how things could be different. This 'capacity to aspire' or imagine relates to the political potential of contentious utopias (or heterotopias). As Walter Benjamin said: "The original task of a genuine revolution is never merely to 'change the world,' but also—and above all—to 'change time'".

Together with Naddya, Anne and Dan, I am currently working on a long-form comic book that builds on and elaborates the results from the collaborative comic workshops. I hope that this will introduce a wider audience to the counter-images produced in the collaborative comic workshops. This long-form comic would take up action research as an aspect that already has been part of this thesis, though not explicitly. The fact that action research has not been discussed more thoroughly could be seen as one of the shortcommings of the thesis. It is my hope, therefore, that I will be able to explore this aspect of collaborative comic creation in more depth in the future, referring to previous work by Dominic Davies (2019), among others.

In this context, the CCC method would need to be further developed to improve upon some of its shortcomings, which I have discussed above, particularly in 4.5.2. Action research suggests working more closely with local activist groups in order to create content that is relevant for existing struggles

for justice. Furthermore, workshops participants should have even more agency in shaping both the visuals and the storyline of the comics, potentially even producing the entire comic themselves. The artists would then take on the role of teachers and facilitators, rather than drawing a large part of the comic in post-production.

This point relates to the agency of people in navigating and shaping landscapes of anticipation. Appadurai's 'capacity to aspire' is a well-established concept, but I think that it could be further developed based on the conclusions of this thesis. This topic, I believe, is particularly relevant in the context of climate change. Greta Thunberg has called out world leaders with the pointed accusation 'you have stolen my future'. This accusation can be understood in the way that the current political and economic system irrevocably sets the world on the path towards climate crisis. It can also be understood as a limitation of imagination: alternative futures become unimaginable when the looming climate crisis overshadows everything. As either Fredric Jameson or Slavoj Žižek said: "it is easier to imagine an end to the world than an end to capitalism". The results of my thesis suggest ways to explore how fossil-fuel infrastructures limit our capacity to aspire to different climate futures, and how other futures might be imagined and made visible.

Another aspect of these landscapes of climate change anticipation is the different ways in which neoliberal responses to climate change require and construct a temporality based on a continuation of the previous trajectory, essentially attempting to 'grow out' of the climate crisis. This particular neoliberal climate temporality contrasts with those produced by climate modelling as well as climate justice activism. Climate models, I would argue intuitively, without having conducted much research regarding this particular issue, present the future and particularly future uncertainty through so-called 'spaghetti graphs' that display different timelines (usually best- and worst-case scenarios) increasingly fraying into the future. In contrast, many climate justice organisations seem to produce a vanishing point similar to the one produced by the one-point-perspective of the LCDA photos mentioned in 7.1. The vanishing point here is to be understood quite literally, though, as the prospect of apocalyptic destruction of humankind as we know it at some unspecified point in the future. Here, I suggest that the CCC method and similar social foresight methodologies could be used to identify and explore other, perhaps marginalised ways of imagining a future in this time of climate change.

Another necessary constraint of this study was the limitation of the area (or rather: study line) to the segment between Isiolo and Lokichar or Kapedo. A wider range – for example, one that included the developments at Lamu –

would have offered the potential to explore more diverse mobilities and temporalities than I was able to do in this study. It would be particularly interesting to extend the scope of this research into the aquatic realm, exploring how the mobilities of manatees around Lamu, or the mobilities of small-scale fishermen, are affected by the development of Lamu port. Since the construction of Lamu port has already commenced, and in fact is close finishing, it would be possible to explore landscapes of anticipation that are much more characterised by already present changes in the landscape.

Since I have now mentioned manatees, I should also emphasise the general importance of more-than-human mobilities for the study of infrastructures, an aspect that remains underexplored as of yet (cf. Shell, 2019). This thesis has demonstrated the potential of this intersection between infrastructure and critical animal studies, but unfortunately was unable to fully realise this potential itself. Considering animals as 'research assistants' (as Muunganishi's role in this thesis could be understood), 'mainstreaming' animal mobilities in studies of (urban) infrastructures that are not exclusively about animals, and considering more generally the way in which the linear dis/connecting technologies of infrastructure cut through but also interweave with 'moving the vivacious many' all offer interesting research approaches.

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All of these loose ends are meaningless without the one that is perhaps most pertinent. The ultimate question: So what? Why care? Is a more than 250-page thesis going to do anything about the issues that it discusses? I have answered this question very differently myself throughout the process of writing this thesis, but I came to the conclusion that yes, it does. The most important aim of this thesis was to appreciate and embrace the LAPSSET's trickiness and to show how people living in the corridor's vicinity actively engage it. This meant to appreciate the buzzing richness of entangling, fraying, plying lines that weave the landscapes the LAPSSET corridor is crossing; that this meshwork is not a passive receptor of a future designed in faraway places, but that these lines insist with a vivacious obstinancy that only lived lines can muster – think of roots busting concrete.

As I write this thesis, the future appears increasingly barren. Or rather: it seems to shrink in its scope and vitality from an open landscape to be explored to a desperate one-directional yet disoriented hope to find that one narrow path that leads the way to something better. During this times, it comforts me to think about all the different ways in which this image is in fact not true; how Seyyid, Joan, Jack, the architects of the ghost manyattas,

Franklin, Jeremiah, Mercy, Joy, Nina and even Muunganishi insist on being part of their own future, and refuse to follow a single track.

So why care? Because the future is a tunu lenye utata, a tricky treasure, and it's trickiness means that it's not yet decided. Because when Seyyid stands at the crossroads, there is danger – yes, uncertainty – for sure, but there is also possibility. What this thesis did, I hope, is to show how the people I met during the research haven't allowed their futures to be narrowed down to a single track, but navigate them like an open landscape, bustling with gullies, bridges, desired paths, animals, ruins, memories, traumata, hopes, dangers, silences, fears, dreams, anticipations and life.

Epilogue: How Lines Are Made

Ting-ting-ting-ting-ting go the keys on Franklin's belt loop. We had found the first beacon of the pair we were investigating and were now on our way to the second. Together, both beacons – approximately 500 metres apart – would indicate the width of the corridor. Perambulating that distance through thick shrubbery gave us a visceral sense of the enormity of the project. Tracking our direction on the GPS device, I noticed that an orthogonal line to our direction of movement would not run parallel to the main road, but in a shallow angle to it. Franklin confirmed that observation and explained that according to his understanding, the LAPSSET would not follow the existing road but instead the old 'colonial road'. I had seen remnants of this road before, odd canyons running parallel to the way we walked. Odd, because on the side of the old road, fragments of an old concrete pipe were visible, monuments to their own failure to prevent the soil erosion that now laid them bare. They were the ruins of an infrastructure project built by the British colonial government in an effort to – in the terminology of the time - 'open up' (Lonsdale & Berman, 1979, p. 488) areas in the north of Kenya. Today, relentless erosion caused by the annual rainfalls has turned these roads into their opposite: instead of a connection between places, they now mainly constitute an obstacle to anyone attempting to cross the steep gullies.

I asked Franklin why he thought the LAPSSET would follow the old colonial road instead of the existing road system. "They follow the colonial road because all maps in the world are in the global… Global map", he explained (Walking interview 2018-01-27). "So, and all roads and structures and infrastructure in Kenya, all are in the map so that's why we follow the full road. Yeah, even the full road is in the map" (ibid.). Indeed, a feasibility report for the LAPSSET argues that due to "missing links" it would be necessary to deviate from existing roads in the area between Isiolo and Nginyang (JPC & BAC/GKA JV, 2011, p. 3). The 'International Trunk Road' A10, which is the official denotation of the LAPSSET's highway component, indeed deviates quite substantially from the existing roads in the area. It is unclear whether

this deviating route follows the *global map* of old colonial roads that Franklin mentioned, but it is at least conceivable that he is right.

As we continue our walk, we talk about the creation of roads more generally. I had noticed a number of small paths that would branch off the main dirt road we had been walking on. We had followed one of them into the dense shrubbery and brambles abutting the road in order to inspect the LAPSSET-beacons that were placed a little off the main path. Like a capillary system, these little paths permeated the landscape, branching, converging, intersecting in ways that seemed both purposeful and inscrutable. Where do these paths come from? Where do they originate and where do they lead? Franklin tells me that many of these paths are caused by elephants. Unlike most other human and non-human animals, the powerful pachyderms are able to ignore the thorny thicket that covers most of the landscape. Franklin explains that as elephants walk where they please, they make a convenient breach through the acacia shrubs that other animals then follow. Among these animals are the goats, sheep, cows, camels and donkeys of the pastoralists in the area.

Unlike I had imagined before participating myself in herding animals in the region with Samburu and Pokot, most pastoralists do not lead the way in front of the herd, but rather impel them with shouts and gentle prodding from behind. While they thus determine the general direction of movement, the herd is trusted with the micro-navigations through the landscape. In order to avoid the wicked thorns of acacias, they would oftentimes follow the desired paths beaten by antecedent elephants, the herders in turn following their lead. "Then afterwards water comes", Franklin continues. "When the water comes, soil erosion happens". With the gruelling forces of feet, water currents and time, he explains, these paths would become wider and wider, some of them turning into established pathways between places.

In his history of the Uganda Railway, Mervyn Frederick Hill describes how the first survey expeditions that were to map the area and determine the optimal route of the railway relied heavily on local guides to navigate the unfamiliar landscape. One of the survey parties "had marched straight up to the forest-clad heights of the Mau, following a Masai track which had been worn wide by the hooves of cattle" (Hill, 1949, p. 77). Frederick Lugard, one of the directors of these expeditions wrote in his personal memoir about a time when he deviated from these beaten tracks:

> "Next day, with a folly which I am at a loss to account for, I attempted to cut my way due west through the pathless forest. It was too dense to crawl into except

> on one's stomach. By near mid-day we had accomplished but a couple of miles. Range on range lay before us, all clothed in the same interminable forest, and I saw that I had attempted the impossible." (Lugard, 1893, p. 344)

After realising his folly, Lugard took a different route; he eventually came upon "innumerable game paths of elephant and buffalo" (ibid.) that finally led him out of the impasse. All that is to show the importance of existing tracks and pathways – be it those used by human or non-human inhabitants – for surveying and mapping expeditions and for the roads and railways that would later be built by means of them, and eventually the 'global maps' in which the route of these roads are registered.

Eventually, Frankling continues to explain, with more time passing and more water slowly eroding the murram,[76] the road is eaten away and eventually turns into a gully. The result is the laid-bare ruin of a road depicted in Fig 48, a connection-turned-barrier that now indicates the way for the LAPSSET, turning the barrier into a connection for some and an even more insurmountable obstacle for others. Connection and disconnection weave into each other, gently at times, forcefully at others, but always inseparably; history inscribed in the landscape.

This history of paths that Franklin tells me *en passant*, while we walk alongside the planned route of the LAPSSET corridor, fascinates me. Elephant feet, followed by hooves, followed by human feet, followed by water, followed by local guides, followed by surveyors, followed by marks on a map, followed by roadbuilders, followed by more water, followed by digital marks on a GPS device, followed by Franklin and his beaconing crew, followed by bulldozers, followed by road-paving equipment that finally builds the LAPSSET corridor. And yes, this text, too, traces the same path. A bundle of lines that stretch far through space and time, all align with one another but also bifurcating, deviating, intersecting and re-joining; blazing and following; fluidly moving around obstacles; writing a line into a landscape, but also reading it at the same time. These lines re-re-re-re-re-re-re-re-re-re-rewrite history into the landscape, tracing predecessors while leaving traces for succeeding lines. Each of these lines struggles to achieve permanence and is surely washed away by the relentless forces of time and water. A line is not simply 'there', it is drawn in ever-fading ink. Spatial permanence is reached only through temporal consistency, through constant repetitions, by moving, repeatedly tracing what has gone before while anticipating what lays ahead:

[76] Leterite soil, often used for gravel roads in East Africa, is locally referred to as murram.

ghostlines from the past and from the future to and fro far-away places, plying, fraying, cutting, interweaving.

Fig 48: Ruined remains of a colonial road near Kipsing.

Svensk Sammanfattning

Denna avhandling utforskar utvecklingskorridoren Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia-Transport (LAPSSET) i Kenya i kontexten av tre teman. I *rörelse (moving)* undersöker jag hur LAPSSET förväntas skapa både mobilitet och immobilitet. Denna *förväntan (anticipating)* utvidgas sedan mer detaljerat med fokus på olika temporaliteter som planeringsmyndigheten och invånare skapar i förhållande till LAPSSET-korridoren. Slutligen används *teckningar (drawings)* av temana för att utforska de olika sätt som mobiliteter och temporaliteter i LAPSSET-korridoren föreställs och visualiseras.

Den övergripande frågan som denna avhandling försöker besvara är: Hur navigerar och utmanar människor som bor i LAPSSETs närhet det osäkra spatio-temporala landskapet? För att svara på det ger jag först en kort sammanfattning av både LAPSSET-projektet och de människor som bor i området där jag har bedrivit fältarbete. Sedan utvecklar jag ett teoretiskt och metodologiskt ramverk som tar upp vart och ett av ovan nämnda temana. Detta är innehållet för första halvan av avhandlingen, medan den andra halvan diskuterar det empiriska materialet genom det tidigare presenterade ramverket.

Under avhandlingens första hälft undersöker jag först de konceptuella konsekvenserna av samspelet mellan mobilitet och immobilitet med särskild tonvikt på bidrag från infrastrukturstudier. Baserat på detta föreslår jag min egen arbetsdefinition av infrastrukturer som ”linear, dis/connected technologies”. Genom att bygga vidare på New Mobilities Paradigm, hävdar jag vidare att sättet infrastrukturer distribuerar mobilitet och immobilitet inte är slumpmässigt utan baseras på ett uttryck för, och utgörs av, politiska strider.

För att adressera det andra temat, *förväntan (anticipation)*, sammanställer jag först olika perspektiv på hur infrastrukturer inte bara är vittnen till det förflutna utan också strukturerar minnen och förväntningar. Jag betonar hur infrastrukturer är närvarande inte bara genom vad de representerar just nu utan också genom de löften de ger om framtiden, nämligen utveckling mot en viss modernitet som kännetecknas av sömlös och oavbruten rörlighet. Jag argumenterar för att infrastrukturer antyder både det förflutna och framtida, och utforskar denna samtidiga närvaro genom att konceptualisera infrastrukturer som spektral, hemsökta av närvaron av både det förflutna och framtiden. Dess förflutna och dess löften pekar ofta på avlägsna platser. Detta skapar ett komplext nätverk av relationer som korsar både tid och rum, som jag har kallat *Förväntans Spektrala Landskap* (*Spectral Landscapes of Anticipation)*.

Den teoretiska grunden till det tredje temat, *teckning (drawing)*, baseras, återigen, delvis på insikter från infrastrukturstudier som betonar estetiken i infrastrukturer som en av deras väsentliga egenskaper, särskilt när det gäller att skapa framtida föreställningar. Jag kompletterar detta med tillvägagångssätt från kritisk kartografi som betonar bildens politiska, d.v.s. dess omstridda natur, och de temporaliteter de hjälper till att producera. Detta möjliggör en konceptualisering av ”mot-kartografier” (counter cartographies) eller, mer generellt, ”mot-bilder” (counter images) som ifrågasätter dominerande former av visualisering av infrastrukturella förflutna, nutider och framtider.

Efter det teoretiska ramverket beskriver jag metodologiska verktyg som har hjälpt mig att skapa det empiriska materialet. Även här betonar jag de tre temana. Jag utvecklar först en metod som kan appreciera rörelse genom att ”mobilisera” själva forskningen. I mitt fall innebar detta att vandra längst en del av korridoren tillsammans med min åsna, Muunganishi, samt att genomföra "gå-intervjuer" medan jag vandrade omkring med interlokutörer. För att engagera sig i teman som *förväntan* och *teckning*, användande jag mig av kollaborativt skapande av tecknade serier (collaborative comic creation, CCC) som ett sätt att engagera sig i och dokumenterade marginaliserade framtidsbilder.

Den andra halvan av avhandlingen ägnas sedan åt det empiriska resultatet. I det första empiriska kapitlet om temat *rörelse* identifierar jag tre relaterade men distinkta former av rörelser. För det första finns det rörelser som helt enkelt går om varandra. Här beskriver jag hur pastoralister, i synnerhet, förväntar sig att LAPSSET ska passera dem och snarare gynna stadscentrumen på vägen, medan ”mittområdet får noll”, som en intervjuad uttrycker det. För det andra bygger jag vidare på det teoretiska argumentet angående det simultana skapandet av mobilitet och immobilitet som nämnts ovan, genom att beskriva hur till exempel den planerade semesterorten i Isiolo förväntas mobilisera turister (och deras kapital) från hela världen, samtidigt som de skapar barriärer genom att föra upp staket för invånarna i området. Slutligen beskriver jag hur LAPSSET också förväntas skapa ortogonala rörelser bort från korridoren: bortstötningar i form av människor som avisas och bortträngs till ännu okända platser. Detta kapitel innehåller också diskussioner om djur-mobiliteter.

Baserat på det empiriskt material som genererats genom det kollaborativa skapandet av tecknade serier (CCC), liksom konventionella och gå-intervjuer, undersöker jag sedan dessa olika och ibland motsatta temporaliteter mer djupgående. Med hänvisning till upplevelsen att

”passerad” av LAPSSET, beskriver jag först *väntan* som ett aktivt sätt att engagera sig i korridoren. Inte bara korridoren i sig utan också den ström av information om projektet, sågs av många som att passera förbi eller ovanför dem. Workshops och konferenser hölls vanligtvis i ”stora hotell” snarare än att ta kontakt med ”den vanliga människan på marken”. Därför argumenterar jag att förväntningen på LAPSSET kännetecknas tydligt av osäkerhet, vilket bidrar till en känsla av isolering, istället för den utlovade ”sömlösa anslutningen”.

Andra ser dock mer optimistiskt på korridoren. Jag skildrar en av dessa personer, som börjat bygga ett hus i närheten av den förväntade korridorrutten, i hopp om att hans grossistbutik i den närliggande staden skulle dra nytta av den. Han väntar också på LAPSSET, och jag illustrerar denna väntan som en process av engagemang, en aktiv utformning av förväntans spektrala landskap. Det efterföljande fallet av ”ghost manyattas” visar ett liknande aktivt engagemang men, baserat på en annan temporalitet. Istället för att förutse framsteg förväntar arkitekterna av ghost manyattas att passeras igen av LAPSSET, vilket gör det nödvändigt att ”lura” regeringen att betala ersättning genom att upprätta falska hyddor som är byggda för att rivas. Kontrasten mellan olika temporaliteter är särskilt uttalad i samband med Kenyas koloniala historia av infrastrukturprojekt. I den sista delen av det empiriska kapitlet om *förväntan* undersöker jag därför de ”koloniala spillror” som LAPSSET är byggt på, nämligen Ugandas järnväg.

Det sista empiriska kapitlet utforskar ”mot-bilder” som kom ur CCC-workshopsen. För detta ändamål analyserar jag först dominerande visioner och visualiseringar av LAPSSET-korridoren som finns i de formella planerna för korridoren som stöder och motiverar projektet. Jag betonar hur bilderna skapar en uppfattning om en inriktning mot en enda men odefinierad gränspunkt, men också en uppfattning om sömlös och friktionsfri rörlighet där såväl pastoralister som de många icke-människorna är frånvarande.

Jag kontrasterar sedan dessa visualiseringar med resultaten från CCC-workshopsen. I ”Tricky Treasure” återbesöker jag argumentet angående motsatta temporaliteter och visar hur en av workshopens deltagare ser korridoren som en upprepning av koloniala orättvisor. I ”Kufungua Zaidi” jämför jag workshops med två lokala- och/eller kvinnors rättighets-organisationer, där motsatta men också liknande åsikter om LAPSSET uttrycks. Slutligen diskuterar jag en workshop som genomförs med en grupp Samburu-herdar. Serien som produceras där skildrar ett förväntas spektrala landskap som betonar nedgången i pastoral försörjning, som återigen står i kontrast till det imaginära om en återupptagning av kolonialtidens utveckling,

liksom tanken att ”vända historien på ända”. Var och en av serierna erbjuder inte bara ett analytiskt verktyg för att utforska hur människor relaterar sina egna biografier till LAPSSET-korridoren, utan också en visualisering av framtida föreställningar som annars skulle förbli osynliga.

Jag avslutar avhandlingen med en sammanfattning samt några ”lösa ändar” som öppnar upp för framtida forskning.

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