

Dynamics Of Lake Victoria Territorial Disputes On Kenya-Uganda Econo-Political
Relations

BY

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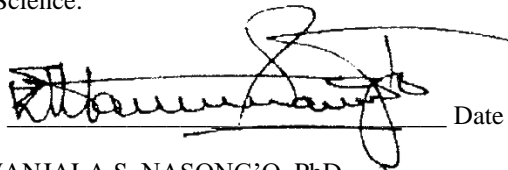
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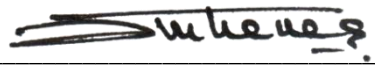
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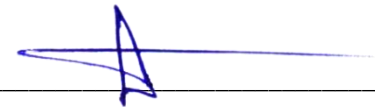
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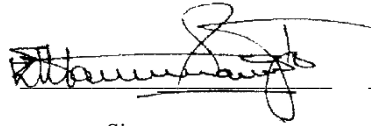
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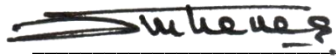
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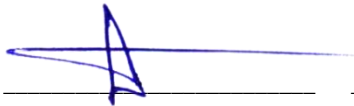
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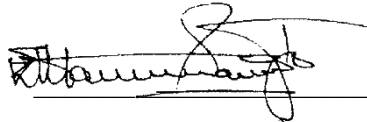
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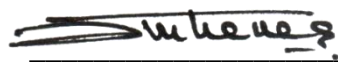


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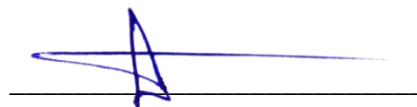


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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my wife Sarah Njoki and children: Wanja, Tony, Esther, Caro, the late Christiana, and Billy. My late parents: Mzee Wafula Wamalwa, and Mama Roselinda Sahina Naliaka.

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ABSTRACT

This study interrogates dynamics of Lake Victoria territorial disputes on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations. From global, regional, and local perspectives, maritime territorial disputes are difficult to resolve. The problem of the study is that territorial disputes between Kenya and Uganda have adversely affected their micro econo-political relations, yet they are members of East African Community (EAC) which has established protocols for regional co-operation and integration. Relations between the two states have suffered intermittent tensions and this manifested in variations of trade volume as well as erratic political relations. Lake Victoria territorial disputes adversely affect micro econo-political activities that involve fishing communities around the lake on Migingo, Mageta, Remba, Wayasi, and Sumba islands. The study was guided by the following objectives: (1) to evaluate the impact of intractability of resource-based disputes on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations, (2) to examine the extent to which national sovereignty influences Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations, (3) to determine the contribution of territorial integrity issues to Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations, and (4) to establish the effect of political agency on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations. The study utilized political realism theory to interrogate the problem of study. There is a gap in the existing body of literature leading to incomprehensive policy framework that led to intractability of crossborder resource exploitation, national sovereignty, territorial integrity violations, and political agency. Little focus has been put on dynamics of territorial disputes on micro econo-political activities that involve local people at the transboundary level. Mixed method research was applied whereby both qualitative and quantitative research designs were used in data collection. Respondents for the study were sampled across the two countries. The study sample comprised officials from East African Community (EAC), Interior Ministry, Fisheries Department, local administrators, Beach Management Units (BMU) officials, key respondents, fishers and fish mongers. Purposive and random sampling techniques were used to yield data to address controversies shrouding Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations in Lake Victoria. Data collection techniques applied were interview guides and questionnaires. Research findings show that territorial contestations between Kenya and Uganda in Lake Victoria are: resource based, national sovereignty, territorial integrity issues, and political agency. These have made it difficult for amicable settlement of the dispute and impact on econo-political relations of the states. The study contributes to policy formulation at county, national, and regional levels on sustainable management and utilization of Lake Victoria resources. It provides insights on the importance for consideration of micro econo-political parameters to arrive at an amicable settlement of disputes arising from a shared water resource. In academia, the study contributes to the existing literature, and fills in the gap on micro econo-political relations of states. Most of the existing literature on interstate econo-political relations dwells on macro econo-political aspects. In conclusion, the study recommends intervention of a neutral arbiter and adequate participation of track three in dispute resolution. The study also recommends further research to be done on dynamics of ecological factors that bear on Kenya-Uganda territorial disputes in Lake Victoria.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
ASEAN	Association of South East Asia Nations
AU	African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BMU	Beach Management Unit
CNMC	Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
EEBC	Ethiopia-Eritrea Boundary Commission
EIA	United States Energy Information Agency
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FLC	Front for Liberation of Congo
GOS	Government of Sudan
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICGLR	International Conference of the Great Lakes Region
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JTC	Joint Technical Committee

KMFRI	Kenya Marine and Fisheries Research Institute
LAPSSSET	Lamu Port South Sudan-Ethiopia Transport Corridor
LC	Local Council
LCDA	LAPSSSET Corridor Development Authority
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
LVBC	Lake Victoria Basin Commission
LVEMP	Lake Victoria Environmental Management Programme
LVFO	Lake Victoria Fishers Organization
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
NRM	National Resistance Movement
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OPEC	Organization of Oil Producing Countries
PFLP	Popular Front of the Liberation of Palestine
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
RCD-ML	Congolese Rally for Democracy-Liberation Movement
RENAMO	Mozambique National Resistance Movement
SADC	Southern Africa Development Corporation
SAF	Sudan Armed Forces
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SGR	Standard Gauge Railway
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SPLA-IO	Sudan People's Liberation Army In Opposition
SRPU	Special Revenue Protection Unit
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TPLF	Tigray Peoples Liberation Front

UN	United Nations Organization
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNLF	Uganda National Liberation Front
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
URA	Uganda Revenue Authority
US	United States of America
USAID	United States of America International Development
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics/Soviet Union
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organization

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Territorial disputes between states in different parts of the world more often degenerated into econo-political crises, with implications for the management of their relations. Most of the disputes that arise between different states are maritime border contestations that have impacted on regional and international security. The countries are concerned about marine resources control because global economy has been diversified to its exploration and exploitation. Diminishing land resources and the consequent urge to exploit marine resources have initiated scramble for prospection. Initially, there was minimum attention on the economic potential of marine spaces by the countries. These areas remained largely untapped, and now the realization by states of the huge economic importance of marine bodies has immensely contributed to disputes globally, regionally, and locally. To that effect, states lay claim and improve jurisdiction over resources based on their own interests that eventually lead to disputes. The resolution of ensuing disputes has involved a number of actors and methods that have inadvertently exacerbated strained relations between the disputants (Monjur, Alam, and Chowdhury, 2019).

Contemporary global econo-political dynamics have experienced a clash of competing interests. This has been the case in regions which are considered to be of geostrategic importance particularly for the control of global economy and politics. Countries of the Middle East, including Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Qatar and Irag, have been unstable because of the Arab Spring and the invasion by the United States of America (US) (Zulfqar, S2019). The Persian Gulf, has huge resources of marine life that is diverse and energy that include natural gas or oil. According to Zulfqar, it is

estimated that the region holds 52.5% of the total crude oil reserves of the world as well as 44.6% of total natural gas.

Econo-political relations in the Middle East have further been a factor in international transportation that involve maritime checkpoints that include Bab-al-Mandab, the Suez Canal, and Straits of Hormuz. These transport routes hold geostrategic importance in the control and sustenance of global economy. The region's geostrategic importance has attracted intervention of the US, Russia, and China leading to prolonged civil war in Syria. Midrange powers such as China and India keenly focus on their economic expansion in parts of the world where they have economic interest (CSIS) (2021).

The most interesting of global disputed territory comprise the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea that has had six claimants, and its complexity based on the loopholes that exist in the international maritime law that provides alternative frameworks for settlement. According to Gonzales (2014), the aforementioned dispute on Spratly Islands in South China, pits China against five other states that claim it wholly, or in part. They base their arguments either on historical precedents, or legal provision as established in international public law. The dispute is regional as well as maritime and involves several countries that include Taiwan, China, Philippines, Vietnam, Brunei, and Malaysia.

Geographical features of the Spratly Islands are at most barren, uninhabitable, and contain little land resources. According to statistics from United States Energy Information Agency (USEIA), it was estimated that there were approximately eleven (11) billion barrels of oil reserves and a volume of 190 trillion cubic feet volume of natural gas reserves and abundant seafood in the South China Sea. Specifically, the Spratly archipelago contains geopolitical or geostrategic importance in military navigation

worldwide. There is no global maritime power that can ignore Spratly archipelago because all maritime traffic traversing this island pass here (Gonzales, 2014; Sacha, 2014).

Barton (2017) provides a critical analysis of the claim by China over the Spratly. China claims huge portions of the Sea in the South, and to boost its position, its government has built artificial islands to turn the dispute over the ocean into one about land. It is estimated that \$5 trillion in trade travel through the South China Sea. This implies that any slight disruption can have profound effects on economies and investors across the globe.

In Africa, border wrangles amongst states have degenerated into wars. The battle between Burkina Faso and Mali over the Agacher strip in which the Bobo live is an illustration of improper delimitation of borders in Africa during the Berlin Conference (1884-1885). The Bobo find themselves on either side of the states of Mali and Burkina Faso as a consequence of colonial partition of Africa (Twum, 2015). Notable examples of African states that have been embroiled in border disputes are: Nigeria and Cameroon, Kenya and Somalia, Ethiopia and Somalia (Ikweba, 1996). Sovereignty issue as well as territorial integrity issues led to emergence of disputes that the African continent is grappling with.

Wrangles between Cameroon and Nigeria over the Bakassi Peninsula are about the struggle for control of fishing grounds. One of the major reasons that escalated territorial dispute over Bakassi is the potential for oil reserves. The deep sea is very rich with fish, shrimp, prawns and lobsters and it has been acknowledged as being with the highest

concentration in the world fishing sector (Oluropo & Olanyinka, 2013). Both Cameroon and Nigeria had laid claims over Bakassi so that each can control the area's economic potential. Territorial claims by the two countries were based on the struggle for resource control and national sovereignty.

Eritrea and Ethiopia had a territorial dispute that escalated over the control of Badme town (Meala, 2011). Unclearly demarcated border raised the question of boundary delimitation between Ethiopia and Eritrea, raising sovereignty issues. The problem started when farmers from Badme in Eritrea were evicted by Ethiopia's militia and skirmishes erupted.

To resolve the Ethio-Eritrea dispute, Organization of African Unity (OAU) initiated a peace settlement in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso but the process did not succeed. However, a comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed in Algiers by both Eritrea and Ethiopia. It called for an end to hostilities and the constitution of a boundary commission was set up at the Haque. Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission (EEBC) decided to allocate Badme to Eritrea. Demarcation of the border has not been implemented although the countries have normalized their diplomatic relations. Therefore, the complex problem of sovereignty is still lingering on the two states and conflict may resume (Meala, 2011).

Another territorial dispute in Africa is between the United Republic of Tanzania and the Republic of Malawi over the border on Lake Malawi (Lake Nyasa). Lake Malawi is the third largest in Africa and spans an estimated area of 29,600 square kilometres (Mahony, Clark, & Meghan, 2014). The central issue of the dispute between the duo, is economic prospects of Lake Nyasa. Lake Nyasa has the potential for mining, commercial

agriculture through irrigation by tapping in the lake's water, tourism, and energy generation. The government of Malawi, through oil prospecting and exclusive permits awarded four companies 6 blocks on the lake. The desire by the government of Malawi to explore oil in Lake Nyasa escalated the dispute. Both Malawi and Tanzania are Member states of Southern African Development Corporation (SADC). The dispute was referred to SADC for settlement. However, Malawi withdrew citing bias on the part of SADC's official who was a Tanzanian. Malawi is reluctant to the SADC mediation process since it referred the matter to ICJ (Mahony, Clark & Meghan, 2014).

On the other hand, Somalia has pursued irredentist demands to unify all of its ethnicities which lived on either side of Kenya or Ethiopia' borders. The pentagon star on Somalia's flag symbolizes five states where the Somali tribes inhabited i.e., Northern Kenya, Somalia, Djibouti, Eritrea and Southern Ethiopia. There have been three long lasting conflicts in Kenya, Ethiopia, and Djibouti where governments of these states fiercely fought against secessionist attempts by the Somali tribes' desire to become part of Somalia (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2011). This explanation raises territorial integrity issues in Somalia's relations with her neighbors.

Apart from Somalia's secessionist desires, Somalia and Kenya have a maritime boundary dispute in Indian Ocean. The dispute was sparked by Kenya's desire to license oil and gas exploration along the Indian Ocean coastline (Farah, 2015). Foreign affairs ministries of Somalia and Kenya worked on a memorandum of understanding to bring the dispute into conclusion. However, the Somalia parliament rejected the agreement on grounds that it had given an upper hand to Kenya. Somalia filed a case at the International Criminal Court (ICC) (ICJ, 2017), whose ruling favored it against Kenya. Somalia is not a member

of EAC and therefore the country's wrangles with Kenya cannot be considered under the framework of the regional organization.

At the local scene, Uganda has made territorial claims over ownership and occupation of Migingo Island in Lake Victoria. Kenya's response was a diplomatic option to resolve the dispute amicably. Both countries formed a Joint Technical Committee (JTC) on Migingo Island to survey the disputed boundary in Lake Victoria (Shaka, 2013). Uganda recalled its team of experts from the JTC before the conclusion of boundary demarcation process. This led to collapse of the JTC process. Since then, *ad hoc* committees comprising local administrators from transboundary districts and counties have been involved in mitigating crossborder disputes that emerge between the two countries. Relations between the two states seem to be normal but Migingo Island issue has been sensitive considering Uganda's military action with respect to her deployment of the military and incessant arrests and harassment of Kenya fishers in Lake Victoria.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Notwithstanding the fact that Kenya and Uganda are members of EAC, econo-political relations between the two states have suffered intermittent episodes. This manifested in variations in the volume of trade as well as erratic political relations between the two countries sparked by territorial disputes. Territorial disputes adversely affect micro econo-political activities that involve fishing communities around the lake. Marine crossborder relations between Kenya and Uganda have scanty featured in the discourse on bilateral relations between the two countries unless there are incidences of territorial violations by fishers or security personnel in Lake Victoria. Thus, marine territorial factor has not been considered as a factor in Kenya-Uganda relations. The study focused on

dynamics of territorial disputes on bilateral econo-political relations between the two countries at micro level whose manifestations are: intractability of resource exploitation, national sovereignty, territorial integrity issues, and political agency. Attempts by the countries to amicably resolved Lake Victoria territorial dispute collapsed under the JTC, yet both countries are members of EAC.

1.3 Justification of the Study

This study is timely to address the problem of territorial disputes that states have grappled with at the global, regional, and local levels. Territorial disputes have persisted and no amicable resolution has been achieved despite efforts being done by various actors. There is urgent need to carry out studies to establish real policy problem and recommend possible solutions.

The study will significantly contribute to new knowledge in the body of existing literature. It will also be a resource for practitioners of foreign policy formulation to gain new ideas in the realm of transboundary interstate relations. The study will generate new ideas and desire for further research on dynamics of territorial disputes and its influence on interstate econo-political relations.

1.4 Limitations of the Study

The study was constrained in cases where some respondents refused to be interviewed during data collection. They did not trust the researcher who was a stranger to them. This limitation was overcome by enlisting research assistants who were familiar to respondents. There were also financial constraints since the researcher was not able to secure research funding or a scholarship to facilitate field research. This limitation was

catered for through borrowing of funds from financial institutions. The facility was costly and inadequate.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- i) To evaluate the impact of intractability of resource-based disputes on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations.
- ii) To examine the extent to which national sovereignty influences Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations.
- iii) To assess the contribution of territorial integrity issues to Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations.
- vi) To analyze the effect of political agency on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations.

1.6 Research Questions

- i). In which way does intractability of resource-based disputes impact on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations?
- ii). How does national sovereignty influence Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations?
- iii). What are the contributions of territorial integrity issues to Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations?
- iv). How does the political agency affect Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations?

1.7 Research Premises

- i). Intractability of resource-based disputes impact on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations by escalating mistrust between the two states.
- ii). National sovereignty influences Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations by setting up protocols.
- iii). Territorial integrity issues contribute to Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations by enhanced marine border surveillance.
- iv). Political agency affects Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations by undermining dispute resolution efforts.

1.8 Scope of the Study

The scope of this study was to conceptualize how marine territorial dynamics at the transboundary resource exploitation influence econo-political relations of states. It focuses on territorial disputes between Kenya and Uganda in Lake Victoria. Kenya-Uganda Lake Victoria borderland is referred to as Sector One border in some literature. The study is more specifically on Migingo, Sumba, Magera, Wayasi, Khanete, and Sigulu islands. Both Kenya and Uganda have laid territorial claims over these islands. The islands are host to the most important BMUs that serve as fish landing sites from Lake Victoria. The islands are easily accessible by boat from Kenya because of their proximity to the nearest mainland point of Muhuru Bay or Port Victoria.

The study was carried out in the counties of Busia, Migori, Homa Bay, and Kisumu in Kenya, and Namayingo District in Uganda. These are administrative jurisdictions that border Lake Victoria in both Kenya and Uganda. The following Beach Management Units

(BMUs) were visited for primary data relating to fish landing sites from Lake Victoria: Maninga, Buraba, Migingo, Mulukoba, Marenga, Sinyenye, Sumba, Mugabo, Pier, and Sori. Lake Victoria territorial disputes between Kenya and Uganda serves as a trigger to underlying variables that determine states' econo-political relations.

Although there exist contested border issues on the other sections of Kenya-Uganda border, this study did not delve in that since the scope would be enormous. The two sectors refer to territory between the mouth of River Sio to the north up to Mount Zulia (Losolia). This study was focused on the marine section or Kenya-Uganda borderland of Lake Victoria. Future studies may focus on the two sectors not covered by this work.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

1.9.1 Political Realism

This study utilized political realism theory to interrogate the problem of the study. According to tenets of political realism, politics is about interests and the struggle for power whether social, economic, or political (Mearsheimer, 2001). Political realism enables one to comprehend events happening in the real world, making the study of politics at local or the international stage an empirical science dealing with practical issues.

The struggle for power has caused states to accumulate arms for strategic defense. According to political realism, every state aims to advance militarily and economically. Political realism was propagated by Alexander Hamilton, E. H. Carr, Nicholas Spykman, Kenneth Waltz, and Hans Morgenthau. Political realists argue that the logic of national interest and power comprise what guides the state in its relations with others. Political

realism is inspired by the selfish nature of human beings. Egoism and self-interest are central to *homo politicus*, and thus at the core of the realist theory (Holsti, 1985).

As a theory, political realism is traced to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 when sovereign states were considered dominant actors in the international system. Further, it affirms that states seek power and attempt to decrease the power of their enemies. This argument is based on the maxim that people are greedy, insecure, and aggressive and since states are governed by people, they have the same characteristics (Morgenthau & Thompson, 2004).

Modern political realists led by Kenneth Waltz adopted new approaches by analyzing the international structure and interdependence and how it affects states' relations. States attempt to change status quo of the international system if the expected benefits outweigh costs. A state will seek change through territorial, economic, and political expansion until the marginal costs of further change equal or exceed marginal benefits (Bueno, 1992).

Problems of disputes arise out of distribution of raw materials, sovereignty over national minorities, struggle for markets, and territorial claims (Morgenthau & Thomson, 2004). They aren't problems that can be solved precariously and temporarily as per power distribution among conflicting nations. Territorial disputes are technical in nature and reason will obtain one correct solution for each case.

Kenya's response to her territorial aggressors can be explained in political realism power relations theory (Sergiu, 2014). Foucaultian arguments hold that power operates in a certain way and its strategies can be adopted by an individual state to position itself in the international arena and even exert power on others so that the one which is coerced

affirms identity and resistance to that effect of power. Therefore, power relations among states cause certain behavior to emerge amongst them. Foucault's analysis of governmentality, is that the state is fragile and has a great potential to change according to power relations among different nations as they subject themselves to negotiations to regularly renew and affirm their positions.

The applicability of political realism by Kenya's power relations in response to Uganda's aggression was diplomatic and sought negotiation as the best way possible out of the Lake Victoria territorial crisis. However, power theorists tend to tilt to the idea that international politics is predominantly exercised by displaying the nation's preponderance in terms of military capabilities. That might not always be the case in the New World Order of interdependence and the need for co-operation.

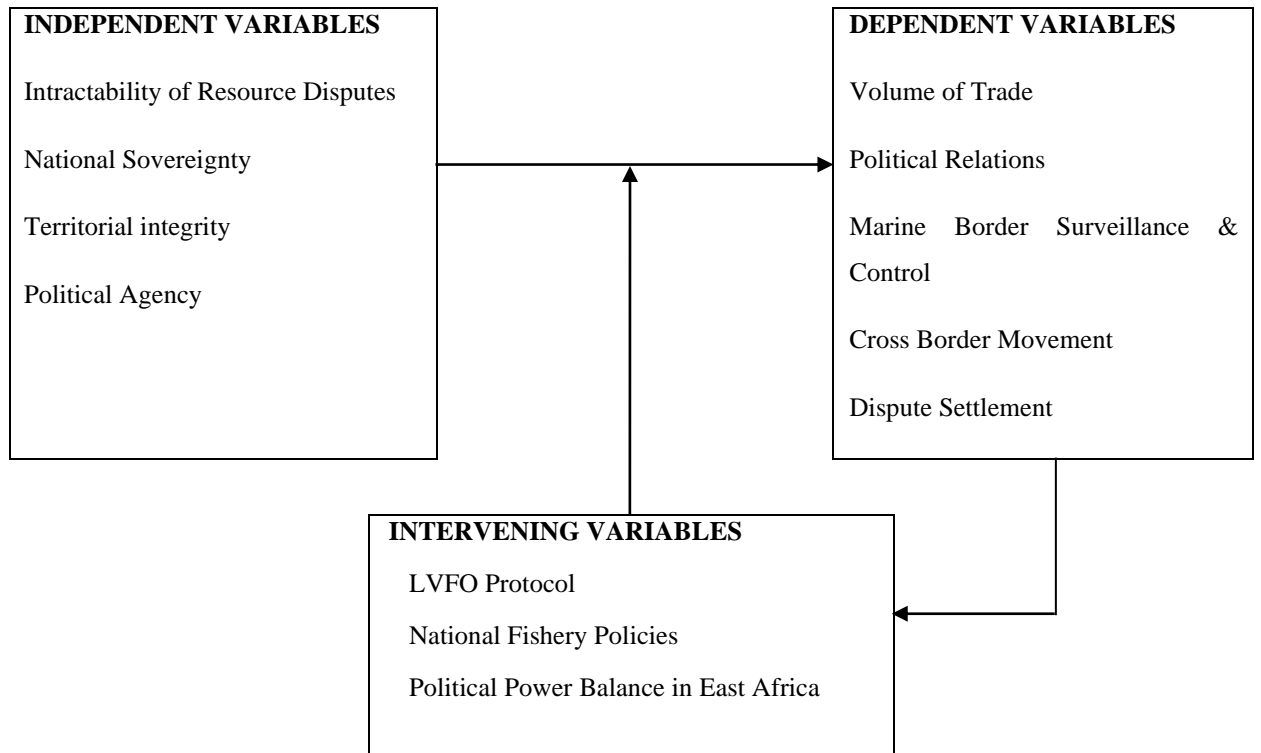
Kenya has been faced with security threats of annexation, from its neighbours. In response to the country's security concerns, Britain was commissioned to conduct a defense review. It came up with recommendations to increase the size of the country's army and equipped it. According to the report, Kenya's military was well trained but it was very small and lacked essential equipment. It was recommended to enlarge the airforce and its capability. The army was supposed to be expanded to two brigades and acquired its first tanks and field artillery. US has been Kenya's military partner for many years (Hornsby, 2013).

According to Hornsby, power relations in Eastern Africa made Kenya to agree to host the US military in the region. The pact provides US military access to Mombasa naval base to secure American interests in the region. In return, US gave credit to Kenya to

buy 12 new *Northrop F5* fighters to boost the airforce and better interceptor capacity (Hornsby, 2013).

However, Kenya adopted a diplomatic approach towards resolving the territorial dispute between her and Uganda. It preferred the establishment of a technical team with representatives from both countries to work out a settlement. Uganda's approach to settlement of the dispute was by military means. This was justified by deployment of UPDF in Lake Victoria.

1.9.2 Conceptual Framework



The conceptual framework adopted here illustrates the interplay between independent and dependent variables that eventually shape relations of the two states. The territorial dispute in Lake Victoria is an independent variable or a causal phenomenon. The territorial disputes affect Kenya-Uganda relations by way of; reduction in trade volume across the disputed areas, weakening political ties between the states, marine border surveillance, crossborder movement, and has led to attempts to resolve the dispute through the states' own joint initiative. Intervening variables are; Political power balance in East Africa, national fishery policies, and Lake Victoria Fishers Organization (LVFO).

1.9.4 Definition of Terms

Territorial dispute	A geographical area whose jurisdiction is contested by two or more states based on its historical, strategic, and economic importance.
Intractable resource	A transboundary resource that is difficult for states to agree on how it can be utilized.
National Sovereignty	Manifestations of the independence of the state by way of institutions or offices.
Political agency	Personality traits, perception, or attitude of a leader.
Interstate relations	The way in which states continuously engage each other to normalize their economic and political activities that pertain to them.
Territorial integrity issues	Illegal crossborder activities such as terrorism, smuggling, and illegal fishing.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This section reviews various literature from the global, regional, and local perspectives that relates closely with the study. A cursory glance at the available literature, points out various perspectives which are closely related to the conceptual framework and objectives of the study. The formation of nation-states in Africa with regard to the creation of borders or boundaries during the colonial period, led to the establishment of territories which have acted as obstacles that curtail free movement of people across the continent. There are numerous disputes among different states about the control of their frontiers. This chapter points out various gaps in reviewed literature to justify the validity of the study.

2.2 Intractability of Resource Based Disputes

Intractable disputes emerge from the context of contesting parties holding irreconcilable interests to the issue of reference. There exist numerous territorial disputes at the global and regional levels, yet these disputes are difficult to resolve. At the global level, territorial disputes that have persisted without a lasting settlement are: the Arab-Israel dispute over Palestine, Britain-Argentina dispute over the Falklands Islands in the South Atlantic Ocean, Spain-Britain dispute over the Strait of Gibraltar, Greece-Turkey dispute over Cyprus, India-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir and South China Sea dispute over the Spratly Islands (Gonzales, 2014).

It is agreeable among most scholars that territorial disputes emerge as a result of interstate competition for control of natural resources. However, there are still knowledge

and policy gaps as to why these disputes have not been decisively settled by the adversaries. Interstate econo-political relations should be interrogated in the perspective of the international system and local dynamics to comprehend what makes it difficult to resolve territorial disputes in most parts of the world.

Most territorial disputes that have emerged in various parts of the world are contestations over the control of natural resources by states (UNEP, 2019). Natural resources refer to oil, minerals, water, fisheries, forests, and fertile land that occur in nature and can be exploited for economic gain. These resources represent an important source of income and power. When poorly managed, distributed or controlled in an unfair or equal manner, natural resources can be a major driver of instability.

Among the most complex disputes that are difficult to resolve in the international arena are those within the realm of shared water bodies between states. Literature indicates that interstate water disputes are common (USAID, 2014). As the demand for freshwater resources become ever more stressed, there is need for a careful consideration of ways in which water may be a dimension of econo-political conflict at international, regional, and local levels. Water interests often influence politics and policy decisions which fuel international political agendas and inform relations between countries. Inter-state water politics and tensions can have ripple effects that affect the ability of national institutions and local users. It is important that both diplomatic and development interventions consider hydro-politics in order to manage and prevent conflict escalation.

The context under which this can be analyzed is that most world powers emerge and seek to control strategic territorial areas of the high seas in order to be able to advance their econo-political interests at the local, regional, or global scene. Competition for

control of geostrategic areas in the world has sparked stiff rivalry between different states. This section explored a number of related literatures to the study to assert the view that Kenya-Uganda territorial dispute is not a unique phenomenon but pointed out gray areas that need to be addressed, with a clear focus on dynamics of territorial disputes to interstate econo-political relations.

2.2.1 Geostrategic Importance of the Spratly Islands Dispute in the South China Sea

The Spratly Island in the South China Sea has taken complex orientation owing to its potentiality of controlling maritime territories, abundance of natural resources and the strategic importance of the changing power dynamics amongst various countries. This has led to unending dispute over it. The dispute has significant international geostrategic, economic, political, and legal implications. Features of the Spratly Islands are at most barren, uninhabitable, and contain little land resources (Gonzales, 2014). According to the United States Energy Information Agency (EIA) it is estimated that there are approximately 11 billion barrels of oil reserve and 190 trillion cubic feet of natural gas in the South China Sea. The Spratly archipelago also holds geostrategic importance in global military navigation. The dispute involves six claimants namely: China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia, and Brunei.

The issue of the Spratly Islands is closely related to the territorial dispute in Lake Victoria between Kenya and Uganda on the basis of the geostrategic importance of the two areas in accessing valuable water resources. The subterranean importance and benefits of the area under description is enormous and that is a clear indicator of the protracted dispute among different players of the Spratly.

China persistently continues with her military expansion and construction of artificial islands in the South China Sea, despite the heavy ruling against her in favor of Philippines by the ICJ. The ICJ under Article 287, Annex VII of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), ruled heavily against China. The court nullified China's doctrine of 'historical rights' which has served as the foundation of Beijing's expansive claims across the South China Sea (Heydarian, 2017).

According to ICJ ruling, China's claims are incompatible with the prevailing international law. ICJ argued that, there is no evidence that China had historically exercised exclusive control over the waters or their resources in the South China Sea. The court also ruled against China's massive reclamation activities because they inflict irreparable harm to the maritime environment, and destroy evidence of the natural condition of features in the area (Heydarian, 2017).

The existence of international law and conventions are meant to regularize interstate relations, but countries still abuse or wantonly violate such principles that don't suit their national interests. The case of China is one best example to emphasize here. Most of the disputes have remained unresolved across the world. This study digests the problem by pointing out weaknesses of the international system in particular, track one diplomacy. The international organizations have weaknesses in the policy enforcement framework that makes it difficult to resolve intractable disputes. The dispute has eminently contributed to mistrust and political tensions between players because of China's revised policy which states that South China Sea and the Spratly archipelago is the country's core interest. As already observed, South China Sea is an important gateway to international

trade and the control of this strategic trade route can have a large impact on international security and commerce (Sacha, 2014).

The reviewed literature highlights the problem of policy gaps between international organizations and sovereign states. National interests override international protocols. The reviewed literature enriched this study by providing insights that helped to provide a basis to extrapolate underlying issues of territorial disputes between states. The reviewed literature does not examine micro econo-political relations as a result of the territorial dispute between various claimants of the Spratly Islands disputes. The economic prospects of the Spratly and its geostrategic importance have led to a protracted dispute between the six claimants of the islands at the macro level.

There is also a lacuna in the reviewed literature in that its focus is on macro dynamics. The application of political realism theory is relevant in China's quest to expand territorial claims over the Spratly in order to enhance its global power. According to political realism, the ultimate goal of the state is power and protection of national interests. This study is unique in that it examines influence of dynamics of territorial disputes on micro econo-political relations of states.

Basing arguments from the literature provided above, implications of the territorial dispute in the South China Sea between China and its neighbors have strained their macro political relations. Escalation of the territorial dispute in that region is a threat to international security. From the analysis, the impact of the dispute on interstate relations manifests sovereignty claims by the parties and can be witnessed at the macro political level between them. China's relations with her neighbors have been politically implicated by the Spratly Islands' disputes at the macro level. Although, the countries' focus on the

control of the Spratly indicates macro econo-political maneuvers in its present form by the concerned parties, bilateral trade ties between China and its neighbors are cordial. There is a knowledge gap in the reviewed literature with regard to micro econo-political aspects of the Spratly Islands dispute.

2.2.2 Britain-Spain Territorial Dispute over Strait of Gibraltar

Britain and Spain have had a protracted territorial dispute over the Strait of Gibraltar due to its geostrategic importance of the area attached to the water courseway that links Western Europe to the lucrative international trade in the eastern world. Gibraltar Strait provides access to the Mediterranean and the Suez making it a major and important route for international shipping and trade. Britain and Morocco have maintained a joint military control of the Gibraltar Strait although Spain has military bases nearby (Diver, 2011).

The assumption of the Utrecht treaty caused France to surrender some of her territories to Britain in North America notably Newfoundland, Hudson Bay, and Acadia. Even after relinquishing its territorial possessions to Britain in the Americas, France retained exclusive fishing rights in Newfoundland which it valued most (Wallace, 1948). The greatest weakness to the Utrecht treaty was its provisions which served as a temporal truce that left the door open for further territorial disputes in Europe. The continual fishing operations in Newfoundland by France were in itself a threat to the British political control of the island. On her part, Spain has attempted to capture the Gibraltar through sieges albeit unsuccessfully (Akadame, 2014; Belanger, 1949).

The territorial dispute between Britain and Spain over the Strait of Gibraltar focuses on macro econo-political aspects of the countries. The reviewed literature highlights macro dynamics of the dispute in the theater of resource use dispute between Britain and Spain

over the Strait of Gibraltar. The reviewed literature indicates that there is policy gap in the international system in the management of interstate territorial disputes thus failure to have an amicable settlement. There is also a gap in the reviewed literature that would be filled by this study since Britain-Spain dispute focuses on macro econo-political relations. This study examines territorial disputes with focus on micro econo-political aspects.

2.2.3 Territorial Claims in South Georgia and South Sandwich

South Georgia and South Sandwich are both claimed by Britain and Argentina. These islands have been the focus of rifts between Britain and Argentina caused by the struggle to control fish resource. When the British annexed the island, the company started to use British whaling licenses (Diver, 2011). The dispute between Britain and Argentina over South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands is linked to the geostrategic importance of the territories to the two countries. The commercial importance of the area has a great influence to the relations of these states. Both the states have fishing interests attached to the two islands as opined by Diver (2011). The competing economic interest of these powers in that area has implications on their political relations.

Argentina's claims and threats of war made Britain to refer the matter to the International Court Justice (ICC) at The Hague, Netherlands for arbitration. Despite the matter being at the ICJ, Argentina has been agitating to take over the island. The islands became distinct territories of the British overseas provinces. The sovereignty claim of the islands by Argentina continues (Diver, 2011).

The above literature relates very closely with this study given that it deals with dynamics of territorial disputes between states. The dispute between Argentina and Britain revolves around intractability issues over the control of the islands given the economic resources

in the close proximity. The econo-political relations between the two countries in the struggle for control of enormous fish resources in that area plays out the level of war threats between them. However, there is a lacuna in the reviewed literature in that the author does not examine dynamics of territorial disputes at the level of micro econo-political relations between the states.

2.2.4 Desire for Self-determination in the Palestinian Conflict

Palestine is one of the major territorial disputes that have left the world in a desperate situation without a meaningful option for settlement. The Jews and Arabs have fought for generations over the land of Palestine and each believe that they have the right to live there. The issues of Arab-Israel war discussed by Calvocoressi (2000), is complex. Palestine-Israel dispute is a complex dispute that has evaded the world efforts to resolve.

Arab-Israel war is closely linked to the US involvement in the Middle East affairs and the emergence of international terrorism. Although, the origin of international terrorism is critically associated with the colonial era and failed post-colonial attempts at state formation, the creation of the state of Israel engendered a series of Marxist and anti-Western transformations and movements throughout the Arab and Islamic world. The growth of revolutionary movements echoed the view that terrorism could be effective in attaining political goals thus generating the first phase of international terrorism (Moore, 1995).

The available literature dwells on causal factors on perspectives of territorial claims leading to escalating political dynamics of the disputes. There is little information on the economic aspects of the dispute from the reviewed literature. This outlines a gap in the

reviewed literature based on the political realism theory of power relations on economic and political factors in interstate relations.

2.2.5 Regional Ties on Territorial Disputes in the Middle East

In the Middle East the territorial dispute between Iraq and Kuwait was rooted in the history of the two countries but it escalated because of the discovery of oil in the region in the 1930s. The discovery of the Middle Eastern oil enchanted global powers and attracted the flow of foreign capital, with specific reference to the US. The American romance started when the Standard Oil of California discovered commercial quantities of oil on the eastern shores of Saudi Arabia (Kuwait, 2014).

The discovery of oil caused the US President Franklin Roosevelt to host Abd al-Aziz ibn Saudi, the founding monarch of Saudi Arabia aboard the US Quincy on Egypt's Great Bitter Lake in 1945 (Craig, 2012). This meeting permanently linked American national security and the Middle Eastern oil. Saudi Arabia started to supply the global markets with cheap oil in exchange for American protection. The preservation of security of the entire Persian Gulf region and the flow of Middle Eastern oil became the main concern of the US economic and political interests in the region.

Craig illustrates that the American intervention in the Gulf has made security an elusive thing in the region. Safeguarding the Persian Gulf oil producers has increasingly led to more direct and costly forms of US intervention. The US militarism in the Middle East was coined around strategic thinking and policy formulation about oil. War and oil in the Middle East are increasingly interconnected. The reviewed literature enriched this study by pointing out how territorial disputes impact on economic and political dynamics of interstate relations.

The concerns of US have been to keep prices of oil stable and to maintain pro-American regimes in power as central to the American strategic policy. The pattern of militarism in the Middle East began when the US deliberately offered support to brutal and vulnerable authoritarian regimes. This policy contributed to massive sale of weapons to autocrats that created a fragile balance of power in the region with regard to arms stockpile in Iraq and Iran. Oil producing states in the Middle East have faced repeated internal and external threats featuring out as domestic unrest, invasion, civil, and regional war.

Radical transformation of the balance of power in the Middle East that was characterized by a theocratic state in Iran threatened Saddam Hussein's political survival. This prompted Saddam to order a military incursion on Iranian oil facilities (Pipes, 1983). The long military struggle between Iran and Iraq became the genesis of the Gulf crisis that has persisted for years (Craig, 2012).

After the war with Iran, Iraq wanted Kuwait to dissolve the debt but the latter declined. There emerged a rift between the two states over the settlement of debts by Iraq. According to Fitzgerald (2013), Iraq asked the Organization of Oil Producing Countries (OPEC) to reduce oil supply in the world market to cause an increase in the price of crude oil that would enable her to raise enough revenue to pay back its debts. Other countries complied but Kuwait did the opposite by increasing its quota in the world market. Iraq found an excuse to accuse Kuwait of slant drilling in the Rumailah oilfield territory along the common border between the two countries. Iraq invasion of Kuwait was motivated by the desire to control oil.

The UN drew up resolution 678 in which Iraq was ordered to leave Kuwait unconditionally or face military intervention (Fitzgerald, 2013). Accordingly, the UN

Security Council responded by imposing sanctions against Iraq. A coalition of nations led by the US and Saudi Arabia began 'Operation Desert Storm.' Massive air strikes against Iraq military were launched and after it was realized that Iraq military was exhausted, the coalition forces launched ground assault that eventually forced Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.

From the above literature, the discourse on Iraq-Kuwait war in the Middle East is centered on macro econo-political struggles of interested parties on the monopoly of oil resources. The explored literature has a lacuna with regard to micro level econo-political ramifications of territorial disputes which is explored by this study. However, the applicability of political realism is relevant in this review given its demonstration on econo-political power struggles between states with the aim to control strategic resources to enhance their global power.

2.2.6 India-Pakistan Territorial Dispute over Kashmir

The disputed territory of Kashmir is about 86,000 square miles. Geographically, Kashmir is famed for the beauty of lakes, meadows, and snow-capped mountains. Disputed borders caused high tension between three South Asia countries of India, Pakistan, and China over Kashmir (Economist, 2012). The British demarcation of the boundary between India and Pakistan lacked technical expertise about the history of the area. Illustrations from the Center for Preventive Action (2022), indicates that Pakistan was given the territory dominated by Muslims in the North West and another territory in the East, which later became independent as Bangladesh.

Therefore, Kashmir remained in the balance and its rulers were told to decide which country to join. The Kashmir Hindu preferred an independent state for self government.

Pakistan decided to force Kashmir under her control since it was predominantly a Muslim territory. In response, India was invited by Kashmir Hindu rulers and deployed her national army to stop invaders from taking Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir. Both India and Pakistan have maintained huge military presence in Kashmir. To make matters more complicated, China extended its influence and took control of portions of Kashmir largely with the support of Pakistan as an ally (Economist, 2012).

Pakistan-India territorial dispute has also been escalated by the sharing of the waters of Rivers Chenab, Indus, Ravi, Sutlej, and Beas. All these rivers flow from India. At one point India stopped the water of these rivers causing political tensions with Pakistan. The signing of Indus Treaty provided for Pakistan to use water of Rivers Jhelum, Chenab, and Indus, while India was to use Rivers Sutlej, Beas, and Ravi (Center for Preventative Action, 2022).

India and Pakistan have fought three wars over Kashmir territory. Each of the countries asserts claims on the whole territory. Military incursions between India and Pakistan caused loss of lives for both civilians and soldiers from either side of the protagonists. The war also disrupted crossborder movement of people and trade. India-Pakistan war over Kashmir also, led to insecurity in the area. Terrorist attacks in the Indian city of Mumbai, Pathankot, and Pulwama caused a lot of suffering to the locals (Wani, 2020).

It was established that terrorists or Jihadi fighters were hired from Afghanistan by Pakistan to fight in Kashmir to destabilize India. Kashmir militants are arguably sponsored by Pakistan to subvert stability in India (Center for Preventative Action, 2022). From the analysis, the Kashmir territorial dispute has both econo-political implications at

both the macro and micro levels of the two countries' bilateral relations. The reviewed literature enriched this study.

2.2.7 Resource Based Territorial Disputes in Africa

The African perspective of territorial disputes is extensive since it covers both land and maritime issues. Further, conflict systems in Africa have been identified geographically in the context of East, West, South, and North African conflict system. These conflicts can be identified thematically but in relation to regions, for example the Horn of Africa conflict system or the Great Lakes conflict system. The Horn of Africa conflict overlaps with the Great Lakes and North Africa conflict systems to form the Greater Horn of Africa conflict system. The Horn of Africa conflict comprise of Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, Djibouti, and Kenya. The Greater Horn of Africa conflict system encompasses states of the Great Lakes conflict system such as Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, and some states of the North Africa conflict system such as Chad and Libya (Mwagiru, 2006).

Mwagiru (2006) precisely identifies conflict systems in Africa, which by and large, are very closely related and overlapping. These conflicts have threatened to plunge the entire region into war. The conflicts have also led to the emergence of subversive elements in the region notably al-shabaab that has caused enormous destruction to human live and property. The Greater Horn of Africa has always encountered political instability that bears with it implications to economic progress of the region. The above author clearly articulates perspectives of the conflict systems in Africa but does not capture micro level economic and political implications of resource use in the conflict systems of the African continent.

2.2.8 Struggle for Control of Water Catchment Areas between South Africa and Lesotho

According to Homer-Dixon (1994), river water is a renewable resource that is most likely to catalyze interstate resource wars. Water remains a critical natural resource for national and individual survival. In most cases river waters flow from one area usually upstream to another (down stream). The access of these waters by one country can be affected by the other country's actions. Two scenarios that can bring conflict may be when downstream riparian is highly dependent on river water, and the upstream riparian is weak compared to downstream riparian. The downstream riparians usually stay in fear that their neighbors upstream will use water to coerce them. This situation is dangerous particularly if the country downstream believes it can use military power to survive or rectify the situation.

Lesotho case is quite interesting especially with its neighbor, South Africa which faces acute water shortage. South Africa began negotiations with Lesotho, for thirty years in an arrangement that would divert water into Transvaal, the arid South African province. These efforts were in vain, until South Africa supported a successful military coup against Lesotho's tribal government in a decisive move. South Africa explained why they gave a helping hand to the coup, and that this was because Lesotho had provided refuge to guerillas of the ANC (African National Congress). Undoubtedly this was the main motivation and following this, the two governments reached an agreement, within months, to construct the huge Highlands Water Project to meet the water needs of South Africa. In this instance, the desire for waters was the ulterior motive behind South Africa's support for Lesotho coup (Homer-Dixon, 1994).

A review of the above literature indicates how the struggle for resources between states can cause hostilities and political instability through external intervention. Macro level econo-political struggles between South Africa and Lesotho led to the countries' hostile relations. However, the author did not examine dynamics of territorial disputes on micro level econo-political relations of states. This study fills that gap.

2.2.9 Prospects for Economic Resources in the Ethiopia-Eritrea Border Dispute

Another account of a territorial dispute in Africa is the one between Ethiopia and Eritrea. The two countries have had adverse territorial conflict on the common border, motivated by prospects for economic resources. The most important stake of Ethiopia in this conflict is the port of Assab and claims of potential oil reserve in the Red Sea. The International community led by the US recommended separation of the two areas which are historically and culturally closely bound together, but also economically interdependent (Ikweba, 1996).

Ethio-Eritrea territorial dispute has been relaxed since the countries normalized their diplomatic relations. However, the provision of economic incentives to Eritrea will be central to improving relations with Ethiopia. Eritrea requires trade and investments that would foster a sense of stable economic sovereignty in the face of Ethiopia's economic and demographic dominance. The Algeria Peace Agreement under the sponsorship of AU marked the formal end of Ethio-Eritrea war. However, terms of the peace agreement are yet to be fully implemented since the talks collapsed. Border conflicts in Africa are partly attributed to the consequences of the Cold War rivalry that allowed arms proliferation among allies of the US and the former Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) (Mosley, 2014).

The Ethiopia-Eritrea territorial dispute had micro level econo-political implications of inter-states relations. The micro level economic and political implications of the dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea can also be analyzed in view of the diplomatic efforts that led to the restitution of the countries' macro level bilateral relations. The illustrations given by Mosley (2014), show that Ethio-Eritrea territorial dispute was externally motivated by arms proliferation from the world powers. It also points out the intricacies of how the country's domestic econo-political interests can lead to conflict with its neighbor. But the very pertinent issue to be raised is that how has the problem of territorial disputes settlement been addressed by the international community. The Ethio-Eritrea territorial settlement helped the countries to normalize their relations. The review enriched this study.

2.2.10 Prospects for Marine Resource Exploitation on Malawi-Tanzania Territorial Dispute

Another illustration of a regional territorial dispute is that of Malawi and Tanzania which have had a dispute over the border between the two countries in Lake Malawi (also called Lake Nyasa). The dispute sprung up when Malawi awarded a license to a British firm called Surestream Petroleum to explore gas and oil in the lake. Lake Nyasa is at the border of three countries: Tanzania, Mozambique, and Malawi. It is the 3rd largest lake in the whole of Africa after Lake Tanganyika and Lake Victoria. It is rich in fish species in the world, and it also supports a livelihood to fishers, water for transportation, irrigation, and generation of hydroelectricpower. The lake is also a tourist attraction site (Maseko, 2014).

According to Malawi, the Tanzanian shore of the lake is the border. Tanzania claims that the median line of the lake is the boundary. Malawi has argued on the basis of the 1890

Anglo-German Agreement, also referred to as the Heligoland Treaty, which only subdivided the Malawi-Mozambique sector of the lake and left Malawi-Tanganyika (Tanzania) sector untouched. Mozambique was colonized by Portugal. Tanganyika, Rwanda, and Burundi were ruled by Germany until the First World War when she lost all her colonial possessions in Africa, following the Versailles Treaty of 1919. Therefore, Germany's colonial possession of Tanganyika was taken over by Britain, and by virtue of her control of the two neighboring territories i.e., Malawi and Tanganyika, Britain did not amend the Malawi-Tanzania borderline on Lake Nyasa (Maseko, 2014; Mahony, et.al. 2014).

Although there exists a territorial dispute between Tanzania and Malawi in Lake Nyasa, the author does not discuss dynamics of territorial disputes on micro level economic-political aspects on interstate relations. The literature as examined focuses on macro level economic-political dimensions of the territorial dispute. This study fills the gap by examining micro economic-political dynamics on interstate relations.

An account of Kenya-Uganda interactions on Lake Victoria sector raises the problem of discussion in this thesis. The trans-boundary dispute between the two states regards extraction of the lake fishery. The wrangles between Uganda and Kenya on the Lake Victoria sector are well comprehended under political realism theory. The power relations between the two states are tilted in favour of Kenya. Initially, Kenya was deriving more revenue from Lake Victoria than Uganda yet it possesses only 6% of the total lake surface area. The adoption of aggression and territorial integrity violations by Uganda was an economic-political strategy for the country to protect its resources (Were, 2013).

Were (2013) illustrates that a large number of Kenya fishers on the Ugandan side of the lake has led to increased fishing effort and contributed to huge exploitation of the lake resources. Uganda has adopted a coercive fish policy on Lake Victoria to protect her national interests. The territorial row over Migingo Island between the two countries springs from the states' realization of the island's strategic importance and security reasons than whom between the two own it.

The above analysis enriched this study by providing insights on how resource struggles have shaped the emerging territorial disputes between Kenya and Uganda in Lake Victoria. It extensively accounts for the micro level econ-political determinants as the core drivers in the disputes and resultant macro level econo-political relations between the states. The reviewed literature forms basic arguments on how economic resources have become a key variable to most contemporary territorial disputes worldwide. However, the author dwells extensively on micro economic ramifications of the territorial dispute and puts to the periphery political aspect. This study addresses this gap by assessing micro level econo-political dynamics of the Lake Victoria territorial disputes on Kenya-Uganda relations.

Studies on Migingo Island dispute point out issues leading to territorial contestations between Kenya and Uganda (Wekesa, 2010). The Berlin conference of 1884-1885 enabled European powers to subdivide Africa and created precarious territorial spheres of influence that sought to extend economic, political, and strategic interests of imperialists in Africa. Issues of territorial dispute behind Migingo Island is the sovereignty of states, dwindling fish resources in Lake Victoria, and geostrategic importance of the Island in the exploitation of the lake resources. Migingo Island is 10 kilometres from Muhuru-Bay

in Kenya's Migori County. However, the island is 100 kilometers from the nearest land point in Uganda. The proximity of the island to Kenya's shore has enhanced the utility of the Island to Kenya fishers than their Ugandan counterparts (Wekesa, 2010).

2.3 National Sovereignty Issues in Interstate Relations

The evolution of the theory of sovereignty is found in Aristotle's *Politics* and the classic body of the Roman law. In the *Politics* there is recognition of the fact that there must be a supreme power existing in the state. Among the Romans the idea of sovereignty was expressed that the 'will of the prince has the force of law, since the people have transferred to him all their rights and power. St. Augustine and later St. Thomas Aquinas taught that the supreme power came from a purely human foundation. The authority of the Pope came directly from God, and that of the emperor from the consent of the people. From the 13th century it was justified that all government lay in the voluntary submission of the community that was ruled (Merriam, 2001).

The first systematic discussion of the nature of sovereignty was made in France by Jean Bodin (1530-1596). In his work, *On the Commonwealth (1577)* he became the framer of the theory of sovereignty upon which the French monarchy was to rest, and modern political science was to be built. Bodin explained sovereignty as the absolute and perpetual power of a commonwealth or as a supreme power over citizens and it is unrestrained by law. Bodin's analysis of sovereign power of the state distinguished it from all other human organizations. Hugo Grotius made remarkable contributions on sovereignty in his concept, *The Law of War and Peace* in which he argued that sovereignty rests with the people who with full consent donates it to the ruler (Merriam,

2001). Other thinkers that deliberated on the concept of sovereignty are: Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) on his *Leviathan*, John Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and Friedrich Hegel.

2.3.1 National Sovereignty Doctrine

Components of sovereignty are explained as external independence and internal supremacy of the state. In a classical perspective, a sovereign state was one that exercised authority over all the property and people inside its borders, and was not dependent of direct control of any other power. Sovereignty in the strict and narrowest sense implies independence all around, within and without the borders of the country. It is the component of sovereignty that guarantees the existence of the state. The Peace Treaty of Westphalia contained constitutional provisions for imperial estates as illustrated here:

[To] prevent for the future any differences arising in political matters, all and every one of the Electors, Princes and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, are so established and confirmed in their ancient rights, prerogatives, liberties, privileges, free exercise of territorial right both in ecclesiastical and in political matters, in their lordships and sovereign rights, by virtue of this present transaction: that they never can or ought to be molested therein by any whomsoever upon any manner of pretence (Buschmann, 1984).

All politics is local, whether domestic or international it starts with the state. In view of this, the interaction of states is relatively similar to that among individuals in one or more relevant respects. States are seen as agents in the global arena whose sovereignty ought to be respected. Sovereign states have immunity from external interference or intervention (Ronzoni, 2019). The state possesses internal resources to decide which kind of policy it wants to enforce and acts on it successfully. Sovereignty indicates the capacity of the state to be their own master by making and effectively implementing meaningful discretionary choices on institutional and econo-political policy matters.

The discourse on sovereignty and interstate relations in the formative years of the Westphalia Treaty focuses on macro econo-political relations of states. This study, analyzes the dynamics of national sovereignty over the micro econo-political relations of states with due reference to Kenya-Uganda territorial disputes in Lake Victoria.

2.3.2 National Sovereignty Issues at the Global Levels

The fact that water is mobile resource gives rise to tensions pertaining to ownership and control. To this regard, global and regional organizations have been established to address trans-border water issues. The establishment of multilateral forum assists to work out common goals, agreed rules, values, and principles that are observed by players. The UN through its affiliate agencies such as United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP), and United Nations Development Program (UNDP), have focused more on water issues to protect the available sources (Jo-Ansie, 2002).

The maritime dispute between Turkey and Greece revolves around sovereignty issues touching on the disagreement over boundaries of Greek territorial waters and the ownership of some islands in the Aegean Sea, the ownership of eastern Mediterranean, and the unresolved nature of the Cyprus crisis. The disputes between the countries are interlocked with prospects for energy in the eastern Mediterranean and geopolitical importance of the area (Dalay, 2021). The reviewed literature highlights macro level econo-political relations of states. The author does not examine micro level econo-political interstate relations.

According to Granier (2015), international relations theorist Captain Mahan Thayer Alfred (1890) opined that, the rise of Britain into the stage of world power in the earlier

modern world was because of its ability to control the seas. In a strategic move the African states have focused on control of territorial waters because those waters are considered to contain huge economic resources, which are yet to be mined or exploited. The dispute between Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus is motivated by the control of resources between the two states. The analysis as examined by the author illustrates the macro econo-political dynamics of resource struggle between countries. This study fills the gap by examining dynamics of national sovereignty on econo-political relations of states at the micro level.

2.3.3 China's Territorial Claims over Tibet

The sovereignty of Tibet is a controversial and complex situation since China views Tibet as an indivisible part of it by law. Several world powers such as the US, Britain, and France accepts Tibet as part of China. The communist government of China is determined to 'liberate' all Chinese territories and incorporate them as one political entity. Initially, Tibet governed herself although it was considered as part of China. After the Chinese invasion Tibet was incorporated in China with a 17-point agreement with Dalai Lama (Diver, 2011).

With reference to the 17-point agreement, Tibet was to become an autonomous region under China. It was however, claimed that Tibet delegates were forced to surrender under duress. The world did not assist Tibet as it was widely believed that Tibet and China would find a peaceful solution with the help of India. Since then, there have been many attempts to rebel against China but to no avail. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) gave financial support to Tibet to assist in her liberation struggle but it bore no fruit. The

Central Tibetan Administration remains in exile in India and there is no sign of Tibet gaining independence (Diver, 2011).

Stokes (2010), argues that the problem of Tibet raises territorial integrity issues going by China's invasion of the territory. China's move to liberate all its territories has been anchored on the security concerns that granting the independence of Tibet will inspire other territorial secessionist movements. China has fear that the declaration of the independence of Tibet will lead to secession struggles of other Chinese territories such as: Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, and Taiwan.

The above review focuses on dynamics of national sovereignty issues and its consequences on interstate econo-political relations in view of the disputed territory. It however, does not examine the micro level econo-political implications of the referenced territorial dispute. The reviewed literature does not examine micro level aspects of dynamics of national sovereignty on interstate relations. This study fills in this gap.

2.3.4 Influence of National Sovereignty Issues on Territorial Disputes in Africa

Territorial disputes in Africa by and large, revolve around national sovereignty issues as demonstrated by various literatures in this study. The literature under review in this study aimed at pointing out gray areas or gaps that were addressed. Apart from identifying study gaps, some of the literature reviewed in this work enriched the study. The concept of territoriality is also fused in the principle of sovereignty of states which entails the right and power of the state to regulate its internal affairs without foreign dictation (Black Law Dictionary, 1856).

National sovereignty is subordinate to international law much as it guarantees the right to self-determination by states. This illustration can be examined by the Eritrean declaration of independence from Ethiopia. Eritrean revolutionaries gained independence and their own economic policy to control development of their country from Ethiopia after a bitter struggle (Mosley, 2014).

As Mosley (2014) puts it Eritrea was faced with difficulties creating institutions, national identity and cohesion after achieving self-determination. The Ethio-Eritrea war was not the best means of settling an economic dispute between the countries. It fundamentally reflected the countries' contradictory approaches towards rectifying decades' marginalization in Tigray and Eritrea as provinces under ethnic Amhara dominated Ethiopia government. It was a bitter struggle for self determination invoked by historical injustices that were committed against Eritrea.

The above work explores consequences of border conflict between states by clearly pointing out weaknesses of national sovereignty and how political instability in domestic affairs of a given state impacts on its neighbors. The reviewed study assessed how military backing and accumulation of military capacity by states is likely to provoke conflict among them and minimize diplomatic process. The reviewed literature shows the econo-political dynamics of territorial dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea. The study enriched this work by demonstrating how disputed territories affect inter-state econo-political relations. However, there is a missing link on the micro econo-political aspect on interstate relations in the reviewed literature.

Kenya and Somalia are embroiled in a maritime boundary dispute in the Indian Ocean. Kenya's desire to license oil and gas, or mineral firms along the Indian Ocean coastline

attracted Somalia's resistance on grounds that Kenya had trespassed into her territorial waters. Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute in the Indian Ocean emerged because of the prospected oil and natural gas at the sea bed. A memorandum of understanding was worked out between the countries' ministries of foreign affairs to resolve the dispute. However, the Somalia parliament rejected the agreement because it had given an upper hand to Kenya. Somalia referred the matter to the ICJ whose final ruling on the case is yet to be determined. Kenya tried to use the memorandum of understanding to meet the deadline set by the United Nations Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (UNCLOS), which required countries to submit agreements with neighboring states on the limits and orientation of their maritime boundaries by May, 2009 (Farah, 2015).

The reviewed literature examines dynamics of national sovereignty on macro economic-political aspects of the dispute between Kenya and Somalia in the Indian ocean. The author examines political structures that engaged diplomatic attempts by both countries to settle the maritime dispute in the Indian Ocean. Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute illustrates how national sovereignty overrides international treaties. The Somalia parliament's rejection of the memorandum of understanding between Kenya and Somalia to resolve the maritime dispute between the two states is a point of reference. Reviewed literature points out that national sovereignty as a concept has its own strengths enshrined in the powers of internal supremacy of the state. However, the reviewed literature has a lacuna since it does not highlight micro economic-political implications of the maritime dispute between Kenya and Somalia.

2.4 Territorial Integrity Issues in Interstate Relations

This subsection reviews related literature to the study by focusing on the conceptual framework highlighted by territorial integrity issues and how it is a factor to inter-state econo-political relations. Territorial integrity in political discourses is traced at the same time with the emergence of world economy. However, it was sealed by the treaty of Westphalia which confirmed that within its territory, each state is sovereign. Interference in the internal affairs of another country was the first offence of international law. To ensure internal order, the territorial state was deemed the most durable and comparatively most efficient unit (Daud, 2006).

Daud reinforces his argument on the evolution of territorial integrity issues that during the Second Annual message to the Congress, US President Abraham Lincoln identified the main ingredients of the state as: its territory, its people, and its law. He asserted that territory is the only part which is of certain durability. The importance of state territory lies in the fact that it is the space within which the state exercises its supreme authority.

Territorial integrity was developed on the basis that intruding into another's territory is an act of aggression which justifies war (Voeten, 2014). It seeks to protect states from acts of aggression by other states. It also protects borders of states from external aggression. Territorial integrity is important for stability in international system.

To forestall the above argument is that territory is the most important ingredient of statehood. It is a tangible attribute of statehood, defining and declaring the physical area within which a state can enjoy and exercise its sovereignty. State territory is that defined portion of the surface of the globe which is subject to the sovereignty of the state. A state

without a territory is not possible. Within the territorial space there exists a population and resources for strategic considerations.

2.4.1 Issues in the Ukraine-Russia Conflict

Ukraine-Russia conflict is deeply rooted in the long history between the two states. Also, in this conflict global politics is linked to the Cold War issues of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the former Soviet Union (Donahue & Daryna, 2022). Russia backed separatist groups in Ukraine that proclaimed independence in the two republics in eastern Donbas. President Vladimir Putin justified the invasion by accusing Ukraine's government of committing genocide against ethnic Russians and native Russian speakers.

Putin emphasized that Russia's invasion was to demilitarize Ukraine so as to make it unable to join NATO. The war in Ukraine has led to loss of many lives, displacement of people, and destruction of property, and it is a threat to world security if not resolved amicably.

The reviewed literature enriched the study by providing valuable information on territorial integrity issues. The study highlights dynamics of territorial integrity violations on micro level econo-political aspects on interstate relations. This study thus draws insights from Ukraine-Russia war on the dangers of unresolved territorial disputes between states.

2.4.2 Irredentism in the Horn of Africa

The desire for the realization of the Great Somalia in the Horn of Africa contributed to political instability in the region (Hornsby, 2013). Somalia wanted to bring all the Somali speaking people under one state. Somali speakers occupy the Horn of Africa countries of Kenya, Federal Republic of Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Djibouti. Somalia's claims

over the Ogaden region of Ethiopia led to the conflict. Ethiopia-Somalia dispute over the Ogaden was caused by Somalia's claim of that territory based on historical issues and the desire to have all the Somali speaking people governed from Mogadishu. Somalia military invasion of Ethiopia posed security threats in the region. Ethiopia was given military support by the Soviet Union to boost its military capabilities against Somalia aggression during the Cold War. This provides arguments on the role of global powers in interstate disputes. The conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia was settled through a military option demonstrating power relations among states in view of the political realism theory.

Somalia's military activities in the region were motivated by that country's desire to expand its territorial borders through annexation of neighboring states. Its military intervention in Ethiopia was linked to the country's macro econo-political activities. Political instability in the Horn of Africa had a bearing on the economy of the region. Reviewed literature does not examine dynamics of the Ethiopia-Somalia dispute on the micro level economy of the two countries. The author focused on macro level political dynamics and not micro econo-political aspects of the conflict on interstate relations, thus the gap will be filled by this study.

2.4.3 National Security Concerns on Regional Conflicts

Another instance of territorial integrity issue in Africa is that of Eritrea and Ethiopia military involvement in Somalia by proxy. Both the countries have attempted to counter each other's influence in the region through military intervention or support of militia groups in Somalia. Ethiopia has accused Eritrea of sponsoring subversive elements in Somalia to destabilize it through the Ogaden. Ethiopia's engagement in Somalia is

largely based on her security concerns related to her own Somali population and the perceived threat of militant Islamist spillover from Somalia. Ethiopia troops are part of the direct intervention through African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) (Moresby, 2014).

Crossborder communities in the region have been divided thus cutting the long-standing economic linkages. Eritrea's loss of access to Ethiopia's market has been compounded with her opaque economic policy framework, leading to a period of economic stagnation (Moresby, 2014). Crossborder political relations in Africa are linked to the colonial legacy in the continent based on the opaque partition process that created artificial and unclear demarcations between states.

Eritrea has developed a reputation as a regional spoiler and exporter of instability. Its perceived defensive and acerbic diplomatic policy engagement has not helped to dispel this impression. It has valid security concerns that must be addressed by finding ways to encourage and engage her to create more linkages between the government, economy, and the outside world. There is need to give incentives to draw Eritrea out of its narrow rhetoric focus on the border (Moresby, 2014).

The above study explores issues of territorial integrity and how it has influenced political relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and also Ethiopia and Somalia over the Ogaden. However, literature does not examine how the problem of territorial integrity dynamics affects interstate relations at the micro econo-political level. The limitation of the reviewed literature is that the author focuses on macro dynamics in total disregard to micro dynamics at interstate econo-political relations. The focus was mainly about

weakening macro political ties between states because of military interventions. This study fills that gap on territorial integrity dynamics in interstate econo-political relations.

2.4.4 Military Misadventure in Uganda-Tanzania Territorial Dispute

When Amin invaded Akagera region of Tanzania, the Tanzania military forces in alliance with the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) launched a massive assault on Entebbe and Kampala leading to the collapse of his administration (Jorgenson, 1981). The unfortunate political developments in Uganda were based on Amin's personal miscalculations that jeopardized Uganda's economic and political prosperity. The country's diplomatic relations relied heavily on the personality of its leader which exhibited dictatorial tendencies.

Tanzania-Uganda adversarial relations over the Akagera region illustrates how a state can react towards aggression to safeguard its territorial integrity. It started in 1974 when Tanzania foresaw Uganda's military ambitions under Amin and the general arms race in the Horn of Africa regional relations. The power play of regional politics in the Greater Horn of Africa region was a buildup to territorial aggression as evidenced by military activities of Uganda and Somalia (Katete, 1989).

According to Katete, Tanzania foresaw the danger from Uganda and quickly but quietly modernized her forces. In the 1970s, Tanzania expanded her forces from 10,000 to 50,000 men by the time she mobilized against Uganda. The country's equipment included Chinese *T-59* and *T-62* battle tanks, two squadrons of *MiG 17s* and *19s*. She also acquired some ex-Chinese *P-6 Swaton* class patrol boats for the navy. The arms race in the Horn of Africa greatly influenced international relations of the region and power politics of international territorial aggression on the part of Uganda and Somalia.

The reviewed literature interrogates macro political dynamics of the territorial dispute between Tanzania and Uganda over the AKagera valley. It dwells on the political implications of the dispute that led to the removal of Amin from power and the second takeover of Dr. Milton Obote as president of Uganda. However, there is a missing link on the dynamics of territorial integrity issues on econo-political relations of states. This study examined implications of territorial disputes on interstate econo-political relations at the micro level.

Despite being a major center of regional commerce and communication, Kenya had external threats in the North when Somalia became of concern. Threats from Somalia made Kenya to replicate in two ways by extending an offer of good neighborliness and a stern warning that Kenya was determined not to give up even an inch of her territory. The war of attrition with the *Shifita* over North Eastern province or North Eastern Frontier Districts as it was referred to, was motivated by Somalia irredentism and had to cost Kenya an unplanned \$70,000,000 for military expenditure. Kenya rapidly expanded her military from a mere 6,500 officers at independence to 16,000 officers in 1967. The country pursued a military option in addition to seeking a peaceful settlement. President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia acted on behalf of the OAU to mediate successfully between the two countries (Katete, 1989).

2.4.5 Kenya-Uganda Territorial Dispute in Lake Victoria

This study focused on the Sector One borderland between Kenya and Uganda. Lake Victoria is the largest fresh water lake in Africa with a surface area of 68,800 square kilometers (Ogello, 2013). The lake is shared by three East African countries in varying proportions as follows: Kenya whose total surface area is 6% of the total, Uganda

controls 43%, and Tanzania 51% of the total surface area of Lake Victoria. According to seismic reflection profiles, Lake Victoria originated as a result of regional tectonic tilting, and it is estimated to be 400,000 years old.

Large portions of the lake fall under territorial jurisdictions of Uganda and Tanzania. The lake has an average depth of 40 meters and the deepest point is 84 meters. Lake Victoria is currently faced with a number of ecological health problems namely: pollution from urban centers that surround the lake and dump raw sewage into it on a daily basis. Another pollutant is fertilizer and chemicals from farms around the lake (Karanja, 2018).

Then there is the problem of water hyacinth, which makes access to lake waters problematic. According to Karanja (2018) the weed reproduces rapidly and covers large portions of the lake, and blocks sunlight needed for survival of aquatic life. The other problem facing Lake Victoria is overfishing caused by the lucrative fish export market that has rapidly increased in Africa and other parts of the world (Africa Facts, 2017). Lake Victoria territorial disputes in this context include the border space covering 138 km long and comprising of islands and territorial waters in the Sector One portion of Kenya-Uganda borderland (Rossi, 2018). The borderline is marked by islands including: Migingo, Pyramid, Usingo, Remba, Mageta, Sumba, Sigulu, Wayasi, and Siro Islands. These and the adjacent waters are the main areas of focus for contextualization of the problem of this study. Pilot study indicated that unclearly demarcated border in the lake and the struggle for control of fish was at the centre of the dispute. See Appendix III: showing Map of Kenya-Uganda borderland of Lake Victoria. The Kenya-Uganda border in Lake Victoria is located by use of the Islands as described by the British Order in Council, 1926.

Migingo Island's proximity to the rich fishing grounds in Lake Victoria has made it to be central to the dispute (Wekesa, 2010). The island is a rocky piece of land with little vegetation. It is in close proximity with other two islands: Usingo which is 200 meters away, and Pyramid Island which is 2 km from Migingo Island. These three closely situated islands are found in the eastern waters of Lake Victoria. Migingo Island is approximately 10-15 kilometers from the nearest Kenyan mainland port in Migori County. It is 200 kilometers from the nearest mainland port in Uganda of Bugiri town in Namayingo District (Mayoyo & Otieno, 2009).

The Island measures about one acre in size (Wekesa, 2010). Studies indicate that initially the island was submerged by water until the effect of climate change that led to receding water levels in the lake exposed a craggy shore as a port in 1991. Reports indicate that the surrounding waters earned fishers three to four times a day what their shore-based counterparts could earn in a month. Migingo Island's reputation as a rich fishing ground swelled its population to more than one thousand inhabitants, thereby, quickly turning it into a slum.

Migingo Island's position in the lake has made it a strategic off-shore weigh-station and encampment for commercial export of the Nile perch (Chemiatu & Nasong'o, 2022). The island has been an attraction center for pirates and smugglers who posed a security threat. The geostrategic importance of Migingo Island has led to contested claims of sovereignty between Kenya and Uganda.

Kenya fishers and fish traders occupied the island in 1991 (Mayoyo & Otieno, 2009) and there are claims that by then the island was covered with weeds and that it was infested with snakes and birds. Ugandans followed in 2004 and hold claims that they found an

abandoned house on the island. Other fishers from Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda followed because of its proximity to rich fishing grounds of the Nile perch.

This territory has been contested between Kenya and Uganda with each country claiming sovereignty. Uganda deployed its security forces to control activities on the island thereby prompting Kenya to send its security personnel to protect Kenyan citizens on the island. The Migingo Island dispute heightened tension between the two countries leading to the formation of the Joint Technical Committee (JTC) to locate the territoriality of the island in order to resolve the dispute (Mayoyo & Otieno, 2009).

On 29th April, 2009, President Mwai Kibaki of Kenya and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda issued a joint communiqué having agreed to establish a joint technical survey team that would resolve the dispute over Migingo Island in Lake Victoria. The technical team was tasked with surveying and mapping the boundary in Lake Victoria, as well as installing buoys and markers to make the border line visible. It was agreed that the joint exercise would be guided by the British Order in Council (1926), the Kenya constitution (1963), and the Uganda constitution (1995) (Zambezi Travel, 2017).

The 1926 British Order in Council delimited Kenya-Uganda boundary in Lake Victoria from the tri-point with Tanzania at 1° South latitude to the north. The boundary is a 138 km long straight line connecting the westernmost points of Kenya's portion of Lake Victoria on a number of islands to the mouth of Sio River. Ugandan administered waters extend directly to the shores of the islands named in the 1926 Order in Council (Zambezi Travel, 2017).

The nature of Kenya-Uganda border in Lake Victoria is characterized by unclearly and poorly demarcated borderline. This has contributed to the Kenya fishers' trespass to the Uganda waters without notice. Uganda authorities through the Uganda People's Defence Forces have accused Kenyans for trespass, use of illegal fishing gear, poaching, and smuggling. To deal with this problem, Uganda authorities unleashed a crackdown on fishers, destruction of fishing gear, and confiscation of fish (Jacobson, 2019).

Lake Victoria disputed territories had a bearing on Kenya-Uganda economic and political relations. The relations with regard to the disputed territories have either positive or negative results. Kenya-Uganda relations over disputed territories affect the countries' economic and political processes. This study examined how the Lake Victoria disputed territories influence Kenya-Uganda economic and political relations.

Reviews on regional interstate relations in Eastern Africa indicates that eastern Africa countries focused more on macro political engagements. Border violations in the region raise territorial integrity issues in the reviewed literature. The reviewed literature pays little attention to micro econo-political dynamics in territorial disputes between different countries. The gap is filled in by this study.

2.5 Dynamics of Political Agency on Interstate Econo-political Relations of States

The political leadership as demonstrated by the character and attitudes of various rulers and how that poses implications on interstate relations is a concept of great interest in the study of contemporary global political discourses. According to Scott (2013), the political agency refers to officials who hold office over a period of time, or state officials who hold office and are accountable to the citizens. However, in some cases, some rulers get themselves to power through force and they do not possess sovereign legitimacy of the

people. Political agency focuses on understanding political processes and its outcomes. The political leadership plays devices which can enable them to lead their countries effectively and also, have a great influence on interstate relations. The actions of the ruler can promote peace or cause war.

2.5.1 The Rise of Dictatorships in Global Politics

An illustration of the political agency and its influence on interstate relations is that of Adolf Hitler's rule in Germany. When he captured power under the Nazi Party, Hitler ensured that the political structure of his government translated his foreign policy into actions. His administration employed terror, intimidation unleashed by secret police and powerful propaganda machinery. People were not allowed to express their views freely. Hitler's adoption of the expansionist demands led to remilitarization of the Rhineland. He was emboldened by the aggressive policy to enhance his personal standing within Germany, an opportunity he used to gain capacity to retaliate against the Versailles and Lorcano treaties (Piangtawan, 2009).

Piangtawan (2009) alludes to the fact that dictatorial tendencies of a leader, can lead to the adoption of the aggressive policy that eventually causes war. Economic difficulties in Germany prompted Hitler to call for the overthrow of Czechoslovakia and Austria governments to access iron and grain in those countries. Domestic leadership dynamics affect micro econo-political state relations. This explains how it shaped Germany's expansionist foreign policy. Britain and France had also adopted an appeasement policy towards Germany, a factor analysts argue contributed to Germany's aggressive policy. A combination of regional dynamics, as well as internal factors play a critical role in shaping a contry's foreign policy. The reviewed literature enriched the study by

providing illustrations on how leadership dynamics has impact on interstate economic-political relations.

In the Middle East, Saddam Hussein took reigns of power under the Baath Party and himself was a devout Sunni Muslim. Concurrently in neighboring Iran, fundamentalist Islamic revolutionary of the Shiite Muslims established a theocratic state under the Ayatollah Khomeini. The developments in Iran caused upheavals in parts of Iraq that are occupied by Shiite communities. Saddam responded by revoking the Iran-Iraq border settlement and occupied the entire Shatt al Arab River, a critical water resource to both countries. The war between the two states started and lasted for nearly a decade. Western powers and the Soviet Union offered military support to Iraq. Their motive was driven by the desire to control the Middle East oil (Andrews, 2002; Pace, 2002).

During the war Iraq borrowed heavily to prosecute the war against Iran. Among the creditors of Iraq was Kuwait. Kuwait's demands for repayment from Iraq prompted Saddam to invade that country. The UN Security Council intercepted by imposing sanctions against Iraq. USA led coalition forces against Iraq to expel her forces from Kuwait. The war affected world economy caused by sky-rocketing oil prices (Pace, 2002). The above reviewed literature provides insights on dynamics of leadership personality on economic-political relations of states. The reviewed work enriched this study.

Schmeier (2019) analyzes the problem of water insecurity as a phenomenon that affect interstate relations. In the Greater Horn of Africa, there are common clashes between farmers and herders. Violence in the Lake Chad region along the River Nile Basin is influenced by micro economic activities between different local communities. The

reviewed literature relates closely to this work. It provides highlights on regional territorial and dictatorial leadership styles as a dynamic that influences economic-political aspects of states.

2.5.2 Foreign Intervention in African Territorial Disputes

Conflicts over natural resources in Africa were as a result of the plundering of the continent's riches through comprador practices that were established by the colonial administrative systems. It has been argued by Sackey (2021) that economic disparities in the African continent are attributed to different leadership characteristics which impact on their countries' development. Leaders matter in ensuring growth since their competencies are likely to influence national policies for better or worse. External powers capitalize on weak micro level economic-political systems in Africa to manipulate and national exploit resources.

Literature indicates that leadership impact on the country's economic-political relations with others. Leadership perspectives in this context focus on regime type and its nature of ideology. Sub-Saharan Africa states have witnessed various forms of regimes including royal dictatorship, military dictatorship, and civilian dictatorships, as well as democratic regimes based on parliamentary democracy, mixed democracy, and presidential democracy. These political regimes have weakness at micro level economic-political linkages that make it difficult for them to function effectively at macro level interstate relations.

From the reviewed literature, leadership of the country holds enormous power to determine national foreign policy direction. Such a leader can commit foreign policy

based on ones' personal political interests and also according the country's internal dynamics. Internal dynamics can influence foreign policy at micro econo-political aspects, which in the long run impacts on interstate relations. Uganda's security concerns have contributed to that country's aggressive relations with its neighbors. This work enriched the study on account of perspectives of leadership styles as key in determining foreign policy.

2.6 Summary

A review of literature indicates that most territorial disputes at global, regional, and local levels revolve around: competition for economic resources, national sovereignty, territorial integrity issues, and political leadership dynamics. Resources competed for by states are either subterranean or maritime and that there are prospects for such resources in huge amounts, awaiting exploitation.

Most of the territorial disputes examined in this chapter show that the competition for economic resources at the state-to-state level led to disputes. The influence of economic activities on political relations of states in the context of this study is referred to as macro econo-political relations. However, in the reviewed literature, there is a lacuna in that studies do not examine how dynamics of territorial disputes impact on micro econo-political activities that involve ordinary citizens. This study fills in the gap by examining micro econo-political relations. The next chapter examines research methodology that was used in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter examines various techniques that were applied to collect data for analysis. It explores research design, area of study, target population sample, sampling procedure, data collection procedure, methods of data analysis, reliability of the study, and ethical considerations. The above techniques are discussed as follows.

3.1 Research Design

The study used Mixed Method Research (MMR). MMR is considered as a broad inquiry logic that guides selection of specific methods informed by the problem of study. The persistence of dynamics of territorial disputes affects econo-political relations of states without amicable settlement. MMR is suitable in that its application to this study interrogates controversies surrounding Kenya-Uganda territorial disputes in Lake Victoria to establish empirical solution to the problem (Timans, Wouters & Heibron, 2019). The adoption of MMR in the study utilized both qualitative and quantitative techniques in data collection. Qualitative techniques entailed the use of indepth interview guides. On the other hand, quantitative technique involved the use of research questionnaires.

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) illustrate the application of qualitative and quantitative techniques in social science research. As already highlighted, qualitative technique was used to generate data from key respondents, Fisheries Department, Ministry of Interior, EAC, and local administrators. Indepth interview guides were used to collect data from the above respondents. Quantitative technique involved the use of research questionnaires

that were used to collect data from knowledgeable respondents such as fishers and fishmongers.

The use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches on data collection provided a systematic subjective approach whose analysis of the problem of study provided experiences and meaning in its right context. This methodological approach examined and evaluated the problem and reported the way things are.

3.2 Study Area

There are five counties bordering Lake Victoria in Kenya, and these include: Busia, Homa Bay, Kisumu, Migori, and Siaya. Kenya has 310 registered BMUs on Lake Victoria. BMUs are responsible to file fish stocks on daily basis. On the Uganda side, the study settled on the more accessible Sigulu Island in Namayingo District (initially Bugiri District) as study areas for data collection. Justification to select Namayingo District was based on its strategic importance to Uganda in the administration of Lake Victoria.

3.3 Target Population Sample

According to Vasileiou (2018), social science sample size should be large enough to sufficiently describe the phenomenon of interest and address the research question at hand. The goal of qualitative research should be the attainment of saturation. Saturation occurs when adding more participants to the study does not result in obtaining additional perspectives or information. The objective of MMR research is to lessen discovery failure, thus 30% of the total actual population is preferable for comprehensive assessment in social scientific study.

Target population sample of the study was 117 respondents drawn from various clusters of state departments and other agencies. The study targeted 70 Kenyan respondents and

47 Ugandan respondents across various clusters of sectors related to the study, thus giving fair chance to each country. These were state officials especially in the Ministries of East African Community (EAC), Interior Ministry, Fisheries Department, beach management officials, fishers, fish mongers, and key respondents from both Kenya and Uganda. A total of respondents that were sampled are summarized in Table 3.1

Kenya (Fishers): tabulations based on Vasileiou (2018).

Number of Kenyan boats operating in Uganda waters =300

Number of fishers per boat =3

Total Number of fishers =300×3=900

Total Number of BMUs sampled =8

Therefore: $\frac{900 \times 30}{8} = 33.75$

100

Total fishers sampled= 34

Uganda (Fishers):

Total Number of boats operating at Maninga =45

Total Number of boats operating at Buraba BMU =14

Total Number of Fishers is $59 \times 3 = 177$

Therefore $\frac{177 \times 30}{2} = 26.55$

100

Total Number of Fishers Sampled at Maninga and Buraba BMUs =27

Table 3.1: Summary of Sampled Respondents

DEPARTMENT/ AGENCY	TARGET SAMPLE		SAMPLED		SAMPLED GENDER	SAMPLING TECHNIQUE	
	Kenya	Uganda	Kenya	Uganda	Male Female		
Ministry of EAC	01	01	01	-	- 01	Purposive	
Marine Police (Sigulu & Muhuru Bay	02	02	02	-	02	-	Purposive
Local administration	02	02	02	01	03 -	Purposive	
Fishery Department	01	01	01	-	01 -	Purposive	
BMU Officials	16	-	12	-	11 01	Random	
Fishers	34	27	23	16	39 -	Random	
Fish Mongers	10	10	08	05	03 10	Random	
Key Respondents	04	04	03	01	04 -	Purposive	
TOTAL	70	47	52	23	63		

3.4 Sampling Procedure

The study used purposive and random sampling procedure to capture data from expert and knowledgeable respondents on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations with regard to Lake Victoria territorial disputes. Purposive sampling procedure was applied in the collection of data from key respondents, Fisheries Department, Ministry of Interior, local administrators, and respondents from EAC. Random sampling was used to collect data from fishers, fishmongers, and BMU officials. This is an empirical study that involved knowledgeable respondents.

3.5 Data Collection

The study used interview guides to collect data from key respondents in the ministry of EAC, Interior Ministry, and Fisheries Department, and key respondents. In-depth interview guide schedules were contacted to lead respondents through data collection. Open ended questions were used because this offers an opportunity for the respondent to explain or to give personal views in detail and it is flexible when dealing with some response in social scientific study of this nature. Questionnaires were used to collect data from fishers, fishmongers, and BMU officials.

A total of 97 questionnaires were administered to a target cluster sample population of fishers, fishmongers, and BMU officials. Of the total questionnaires administered, 64 were returned, thus representing 66% success on returns. Questionnaires were administered in the following counties: Busia, Homa Bay, Migori, Kisumu, Siaya, Sigulu and Migingo islands as shown in Table 3.1

3.6 Data Collection Procedures

The collection of data for the study involved primary, secondary and tertiary data collection procedures. Primary data was generated from fieldwork which encompassed interviews to sampled respondents. Primary data was also obtained from government documents. Secondary data was acquired from Kisii University library, Kenya National Library Service, Kenyatta University Library, Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology Library, and the British Institute in Eastern Africa. Tertiary data was generated from internet.

In order to yield reliable data for analysis research design focused on purposive and random sampling of knowledgeable respondents. There was deliberate selection of

respondents from both divides of the countries to increase reliability of the population sample. First hand information or data was obtained from fish mongers, fishers, BMU officials, and local administrators who in one way or the other have had an encounter with the dispute between the states.

3.7 Methods of Data Analysis

Exploratory data analysis was used to provide for indepth explanation of relationships between variables to establish existing patterns between them, and how they cause Lake Victoria territorial dispute on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations. Indepth analysis of variables established a pattern that exists between them. According to Baha (2016), this technique describes the phomenon based on what norms exist and then establishes trends of relationship between study variables. Exploratory analysis is credited for its objectivity in social science study. Analyzed data was presented and explained in form of pie charts and bar graphs to show the relationship between Lake Victoria territorial disputes on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations.

3.8 Reliability of the Study

This study yielded reliable results based on the research instruments deployed in data collection and analysis. Due consideration was made on sampling of respondents as explained in the research design to enhance the score component and minimized the error component that would have led to inaccuracy. Research instruments were tested to determine their reliability by conducting a pilot study at Muhuru Bay between 23rd and 24th June, 2016. Although, the pilot project was carried out in Kenya, there was a representation of respondents from Uganda who were readily available. Pilot study was meant to test the validity of research tools and to serve as a reconnaissance to the

researcher of the prospects and limitations that would come up during research. A total of fifteen respondents were sampled to test research instruments.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

The study conformed to integrity issues by the use of true data that was collected at various research sites. This study focused on originality and acknowledgement of other scholars whose work was reviewed and cited. The researcher sought permission from respondents and organizations for data collection. A research permit was obtained from NACOSTI to comply with all requirements for research in Kenya. The permit was also important for the researcher to secure entry to various research sites. All data collected by the researcher was treated with utmost confidentiality and the comments made in the research report should not be liable to the source. The findings of this study were presented in thesis form to disseminate knowledge for public good.

3.10 Summary

This chapter discussed MMR as applied in the study based on justifications of its objectivity in social scientific research. It also explained target population sample that was used in the study in addition to methods of data collection. The next chapter examines raw data from the field study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes data based on various themes that emerged from research findings of the study. Themes that emerged from research findings are linked to objectives and the application of theoretical framework. The following is the analysis of data obtained from the field.

4.2 Intractability of Resource based Disputes and its Effects on Interstate Economic Relations

Dynamics of territorial disputes about resources have implications on economic-political relations of states. Resource competition among states lead to war. According to Okoth (1992), Kenya-Uganda territorial dispute originated during the colonial period because of non-uniform development of both countries. The decline of economic-political relations between Kenya and Uganda originates from disparities of the countries' economic development. There exists an economic imbalance between the two states in terms of infrastructure and industry. This has given rise to intermittent tensions in their bilateral relations. Uganda is worse off since the country's economy was shattered by political upheavals that faced it after independence. These political upheavals worked to Kenya's economic advantage.

4.2.1 Resource Scarcity

A fisher at Pier BMU near Homa Bay town was categorical to observe that:

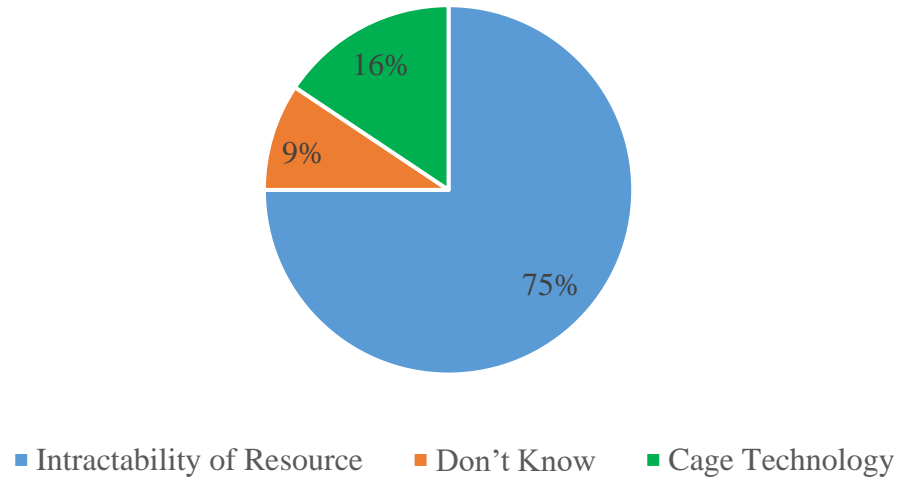
Nile perch, a popular fish species to consumers retailed at about KES. 450/- per kilogram net. Nile perch is in high demand given its commercial and medicinal value. It has high demand in both local and international market. Its bladder is used in production of surgical threads (Respondent 013, 2018).

The aforementioned statement suggests that territorial disputes related to resources emerge due to competition over acquiring the same resources. This becomes particular when such resources are unevenly distributed or when a sense of scarcity is perceived. There are two types of scarcity as illustrated by Oba (2011) and Machira (2008) i.e., scarcity associated with resource degradation, and scarcity induced by population growth. Kenya-Uganda territorial dispute in Lake Victoria is mainly driven by resource struggle as demonstrated by the high number of fishers that have invaded the lake (Okumu, 2010).

Field data from questionnaires affirmed that territorial disputes between the two states is caused by the struggle for fish resources. A total 64 respondents were interviewed using questionnaires and 48 of them agreed that the dispute is resource based. This formed 75% of the total respondents who were interviewed using questionnaires. This cluster confirmed that scarcity of fish prompts Kenya fishers to venture into Uganda's territorial waters in search of fish. This has contributed to dispute escalation between Kenya and Uganda. From this argument the study confirms the objective that intractable resource exploitation affects econo-political relations between Kenya and Uganda. The unique aspect of this power relation is more felt at the grassroots level where local fishing communities suffer most due to military crackdown on fishers.

A total of 10 respondents (15%) affirmed that scarcity of fish contributes to territorial disputes leading to new fishing technology in Kenya. This led to introduction of fish cages technology in Kenya to mitigate fish shortage. A total of 6 respondents (10%) did not give their response although they returned the questionnaires. This group was classified under 'Don't know.' The responses are represented by the pie chart below:

Fig. 4.1: Intractability of Resource Exploitation on Kenya-Uganda Relations



From the analysis, intractability of fish resource exploitation escalated territorial disputes thus causing sharp drop of fish stocks on the Kenya side of the lake. This caused loss of livelihood among local communities that rely on fishing industry. The government of Kenya introduced new technology of fish cages to mitigate shortage of fish in Lake Victoria. Introduction of new technology illustrates the relevancy of political realism theory. It explains how the state of Kenya devised a policy on fishing to protect national interests on economic enhancement. Kenya's economic interests in the lake are taken care of by the adoption of new technology to enable the country to have a steady supply of fish.

Uganda's territorial claims over islands like Migingo, Mageta, Wayasi, and Remba within the lake was to restrict Kenya fishers from accessing its territorial waters for fishing. The significant demand for fish both locally and internationally has also played a

role in exacerbating territorial disputes due to overfishing and the use of illegal fishing equipment.

Uganda's military intervention was motivated by the desire to patrol Lake Victoria waters with a view to enforce control measures that could ensure the protection of its resources. From the analysis, state intervention adversely disrupted livelihoods of Kenya fishers who dependent on Lake Victoria. Local communities residing around Lake Victoria heavily rely on fishing as a key economic pillar, although there exist other economic activities that could be tapped for future development. According to Respondent 04 (2018) who is an official at Sori BMU, the main focus area of economic utility in Lake Victoria is fishing. Majority of fish species that are frequently found in Lake Victoria include: mudfish (*kamongo*), *fulu*, *mumi*, tilapia, *dagaa* (*omena/mukene*), and Nile perch (*mbuta*). Fish from Lake Victoria has both commercial and medicinal value, and this provides an illustration based on the intense competition for fish resource extraction.

The scarcity of fish along Kenyan shore of Lake Victoria was confirmed by minimum fish landing stocks at Pier BMU near Homa Bay town in Kenya. The scarcity of fish was illustrated by the photograph in Plate 4.1. Fishers find it difficult to access sufficient fish stocks from Uganda's Lake Victoria territorial waters. The shortage is attributed to Kenya-Uganda territorial impasse in the lake.

Application of political realism theory in this analysis demonstrates that states strive to enhance their power and protect national interests. Uganda's deployment of UPDF in Lake Victoria was to stop Kenya fishers from exploiting its resources. The idea of resource struggle among states is to enhance the countries' econo-political power in the community of nations.

Kenya fishers cannot move freely to exploit fish in Uganda territorial waters since boundaries define national jurisdiction of each state. The problem of boundaries has impacted negatively on micro econo-political aspects of local communities as they are arrested or harassed by Uganda authorities whenever they fish in the country's territorial waters.

4.2.2 Prospects for Oil in Lake Victoria

Appart from fisheries, there exist strategic considerations and prospects that Lake Victoria hosts huge amounts of oil that would be of great economic value in future. According to Anderson & Browne (2011), the discovery of oil has opened up new economic opportunities for the entire continent of Africa. Future oil market will see a significant contribution from Africa as prospects have demonstrated. For offshore oil reserves, the eastern African region has both possibilities and discoveries. Larger multinational firms, who continue to control Africa's established oil markets, are leading the way in the search for new oil fields with highly promising returns that could position Africa as a world leader in oil production.

The discovery of Uganda's Lake Albert Basin oil field has raised stakes in the region and made it easier for companies from the US and Britain to raise funds for exploration. A number of deals have revealed exploration blocks around the area. The discovery of oil blocks in the hinterlands of DRC, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Puntland puts an indicator that there could be prospects for oil in Lake Victoria. Prospects for oil in Lake Victoria is partly considered as one of the factors that contribute to the stalemate between Kenya and Uganda over territorial claims. As it has been highlighted by Anderson & Brown (2011), speculations for oil resources along disputed territories in Eastern Africa are common,

and this has exacerbated border disputes thus impacting on econo-political relations of states.

Due to overcrowding, fishers on the Kenyan coast of the lake are compelled to enter Ugandan territory by trespassing outside of their country's territorial waters. Overfishing has also caused dwindling fish stocks on the Kenyan side of the lake. Kenya fishers venture ahead thereby trespassing into the Uganda territory of Lake Victoria in search for rich fishing grounds. Kenya fishers are aggressive and outsmart their Ugandan and Tanzanian counterparts in fishing skills. A key respondent at Port Victoria's Marine Police Station observed that:

[P]rior to Uganda's military's intervention in 2006, Kenya fishers in the lake were mostly unregulated by the state. Uganda military was at first invited by Kenya fishers to provide security in the lake at the time when robbers infiltrated Lake Victoria and became a serious security threat as early as 2004. It is possibly out of Uganda's military patrols on the lake that the country realized Kenya fishers were making huge fish catch, hence benefiting Kenya's economy. By 2006 UPDF had occupied most islands in Lake Victoria. Most of the islands under Uganda's military control are on the Kenyan side of the lake (Respondent 001, 2018).

When Kenya fishers' trespass into Uganda territorial waters in Lake Victoria, they are either arrested or harassed by Uganda authorities. Intimidation of fishers by UPDF has contributed to declining fish landing stocks especially the Nile perch on the Kenya side of the lake. This affects livelihoods of fishers and fish mongers for loss of jobs leading to high poverty levels. Apart from fish scarcity, Kenya's share of the lake is small compared to Uganda portions. Kenya's small portion of the lake, though not clearly demarcated between the two countries, has contributed to territorial impasse as the struggle for control of fish resources intensify at the micro econo-political level.

4.2.3 Insecurity in Lake Victoria

Respondents confirmed that emergence of insecurity on Lake Victoria raises transboundary security concerns, thus affecting fishers' economic activities. Insecurity on Lake Victoria became a major problem when a group of robbers started to operate near Migingo Island. According to an account of fishers who operate at Sori BMU, robbers looted fishers more often on a weekly basis. They originated from Tanzania and their hideout was Alur Island in Kenya's territorial waters. Kenyan security agencies did not act on reports of insecurity encountered by fishers until the Uganda military intervened.

Uganda's policy of militarization of Lake Victoria was motivated by the desire to control 'illegal' fishing in its waters. A fisheries official who works on Sigulu Island at Maninga BMU pointed out that:

[A]n agreement was reached through Lake Victoria Fishers Organization (LVFO) that allows Kenya fishers in Uganda's side of the lake provided they pay taxes. Every Kenyan boat operates on payment of a monthly license fee of ksh.10,000/ to Ugandan authorities. There are over 300 Kenyan boats that operate in the Uganda territorial waters in Lake Victoria. Fishers who violate the agreement are arrested by Uganda authorities and their fishing gear impounded to Bugiri headquarters of Namayingo District. In Uganda they are prosecuted in court and fined. In most cases the fishers prefer to pay penalty for immediate release before being arraigned in court (Respondent EXP013, 2020).

LVFO was founded to coordinate the management and growth of fisheries and aquaculture resources in the EAC region (EAC, 2021). European Union (EU) has provided the organization with financial and technical support. For instance, Sori BMU received funding from EU to build modern offices and storage facilities.

Kenya fishers transgress into Ugandan territorial waters in search for rich fishing grounds (Ogello, 2013). Kenya has a modest amount of control over Lake Victoria. In proportion, Tanzania owns 51% of the lake, Uganda 43%, and Kenya 6%. Of the rivers that empty into Lake Victoria, 75% originate in Kenya. Given the quantity of water entering the lake, Kenya is home to majority of Lake Victoria fish spawning grounds.

Establishment of BMUs helped to coordinate local fishers' activities into sustainable management of the lake resources. BMUs coordinate micro level econo-political *ad hoc* frameworks to mitigate disputes that arise among fishers and state authorities. It is a track three approach that can be explored in the management of territorial disputes at micro level interstate relations. BMUs are managed by grassroot leaders elected by fishers themselves. This means that through BMUs fishers have been able to develop a framework of understanding to facilitate crossborder fishing especially Kenya fishers to access Uganda territorial waters.

However, this activity is limited to regulations stipulated by Uganda authorities as observed by Respondent EXP013 (2020). Different national fisheries policies and foreign policy of an individual state has little regard to *ad hoc* frameworks such as initiated by BMUs network in Lake Victoria. This addresses the concerns of foreign policy formulation pitfall that disregards micro econo-political relations. There is need to rethink foreign policy formulation since focus has mainly been on macro econo-political considerations at the expense of micro level activities.

4.2.4 Fish Resource Extraction

Initially, Kenya had the ability to catch 180,000 metric tons of fish annually for export, while only controlling 6% of Lake Victoria. Uganda with 43% of the lake, used to

harvest only 70,000 metric tons of fish for export annually. The Nile perch is the main fish product of Lake Victoria that is in high demand for the international market and export. Tilapia and *dagaa* are meant for the local market (Sida, 2004).

Although Kenya controls a small portion of the lake, it was clear that it had a monopoly over Uganda given the size of fish extraction margin from Lake Victoria. Arguments have been advanced that rich fishing grounds are closer to the Kenyan side of the border than to Ugandan side. Faster transportation of fish to markets is made possible by Kenya's sophisticated infrastructure, which is immediately connected to and terminates at the Lake Victoria shoreline and even at additional access points into Uganda. Once more, Kenya's robust financial and banking industry, coupled with its open and free market, allowed it to defeat Uganda (Respondent EXP01, 2018).

Arguments raised by the above respondent are basic evidence to demonstrate how Kenya has strategically benefited from fish resources of Lake Victoria. The geostrategic importance attached to Lake Victoria islands in close proximity to Kenya are used as launch pads by fishers to access rich fishing grounds (Chemiatu & Nasong'o, 2022). Trans-boundary fishing expedition in Lake Victoria is micro level econo-political relations. It influences Kenya-Uganda macro econo-political relations as manifested by territorial claims by both states in Lake Victoria. Based on research conclusions and the island's geostrategic significance, Kenya and Uganda have both asserted territorial claims over Migingo Island in Lake Victoria. Power relations between Kenya and Uganda territorial claims manifest political realism theory in the analysis of the state.

4.2.5 Crossborder Movement of People and Fish Trade

According to a respondent who is a fishery official based at Busia-Uganda border point:

[T]echnical difficulties related to cross-border transportation and merchandise smuggling have been encountered when attempting to restrict fish flows from Uganda to Kenya. Fish mongers who move fish across the border in small amounts using bicycles and human porters are some of the crude transit methods that the operators in this industry employ to dodge taxation and control from Ugandan authorities. Without being seen, porters and cyclists sneakily cross the border between Kenya and Uganda with fish before loading it into trucks and transporting it to upscale domestic and worldwide market places connected to Kenya (Respondent 07, 2019).

Kenya-Uganda fishers and traders have interacted well over years and they have established close ties. They have good relationship through intermarriage and frequent trade of commodities. However, illegal, unregulated, and unreported fishing threatens fish population in Lake Victoria (Daghar, 2019). Kenya fishers cross to Uganda waters to fish at night or practice overfishing and that is why Uganda authorities have raised sentiments of fish poaching by Kenya fishers. In contrast, because of Kenya's ready market and competitive rates, Uganda fishers travel there every day to sell their catch.

Daghar (2019) claims that Ugandan officials forbid vehicles or lorries from Kenya to purchasing fresh fish in Uganda. Uganda intends to process fish at its facilities in Jinja and export it to Kenya. However, Kenyans own some of the fish factories in Uganda, with the exception of those in Jinja that are held by Uganda military. Fish scarcity and restriction to export raw fish to Kenya by Uganda authorities has caused traders to devise underdog methods to access the product. Such unregulated means as quoted above lead to loss of revenue for the country. It contributes to acts of economic crime if not well monitored, even if it benefits small scale fishers.

According to the Ministry of Water Development, Kenyan side of Lake Victoria contains more fish during wet seasons than other areas of the lake. It is caused by rivers that enter the area naturally. Lake Victoria reservoir is nourished by a number of rivers from

western Kenya region. Elgeyo Escarpment, Mount Elgon, Nandi Hills, Mau Forest, and Lake Victoria are Kenya's water towers. In this catchment area, Lake Victoria is fed by seven significant rivers. According to Okungu (2017), rivers that discharge water in Lake Victoria include Sio (4%), Nzoia (39%), Yala (13%), Nyando (6%), Sondu-Miriu (14%), Mara (4%), and Kuja (20%). Although Mara River flows through Tanzania to reach Lake Victoria, it starts in the Mau jungle in Kenya.

Kenya fishers are adamant that the Nile perch breeds in shallow waters of Lake Victoria off the swampy coastline of their country before migrating into deeper waters near Migingo Island. They assert that they have a right to fish everywhere in the lake. Despite the fact that this argument lacks a legal foundation, it serves as an example of co-dependency situation that arises when managing fluid water resources. Even though Migingo Island is without a doubt in Kenya's territorial waters, a lot of disputes are caused by Kenya fishers' fishing activity in Ugandan territorial waters. As described by fishers, this is when the macro econo-political facets of Kenya-Uganda relations are influenced by micro economic activity.

4.2.6 Uganda Military Deployment in Lake Victoria

Uganda's deployment of security personnel on Migingo Island led to escalation of the dispute. A key respondent based in Nairobi explained that:

Kenya-Uganda dispute in Lake Victoria became complex when it was reported that Ugandan interlopers (settlers) had moved to Migingo Island. By 2009 Uganda had sent its customs officers and security forces to impose levies on Kenya fishers. In order to manage tax and other administrative fee collection, Uganda established the Migingo Beach Management Unit. Kenya's response to Uganda was to deploy marine police for intelligence (Respondent 016, 2020).

When UPDF took Migingo Island in 2009 (Abila, 2020), they ejected Kenya fishers for not paying license fees and for refusing to use Ugandan fish processors for all of the fish obtained in Ugandan territorial waters. This led to an uptick in tensions between Kenya and Uganda. To exert her control over Migingo Island once more, Kenya sent 12 marine police officers. The following day, 60 marine military vessels from Uganda were sent to the island as a result to display Uganda's military preponderance.

Heavy security presence of Uganda military in Lake Victoria is a reflection of the political aspects of the state that reinforces national sovereignty. Similarly, the presence of Kenya Marine Police is a reflection of political aspects of the state. The security presence deployed by both states illustrate Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations with regard to territorial dispute. The political interaction of the two states is motivated by the control of fish resources in Lake Victoria.

4.2.7 Rich Fishing Grounds Around Migingo Island

According to Sida (2004), yearly export revenue from Lake Victoria fisheries is currently valued at roughly US\$600 million. The Nile perch contributes to almost 90% of all export revenue. The Nile perch and tilapia fish species are abundant in fishing areas near Sigulu and Migingo Islands. This is according to a respondent who works for Kenya Marine and Fisheries Research Institute (KMFRI). Initially, BMUs around Port Victoria in Busia County and Sori BMU in Migori County received most of the catch from the aforementioned fishing sites. Most of the residents of Migingo and Sigulu islands are Kenyans, although Uganda military forces are firmly in control of the islands on an administrative level and frequently monitor the area (Respondent EXP 014, 2018).

Increased fishing efforts in Lake Victoria are caused by a number of factors as provided by KMFRI. First, is high population growth rate and unemployment around the lake basin that has propelled local people to the lake as a major income earner through exploitation of fisheries. Secondly, is high demand for fish in the local market especially from hotels and homes. Lastly, is the existence of a lucrative international market for Nile perch in Europe.

A key respondent based at KMFRI stated that:

[T]he existence of fish resources in Lake Victoria has continued to influence crossborder migration, especially Kenyans' migration to Uganda side of the lake. The trend has been facilitated by the proximity of the islands on the side of Kenya compared to the side of Uganda. The Islands are Kenya's but most Kenyans cross to Uganda for fishing and to visit their relatives on the Ugandan side of the lake. Uganda fishers also prefer selling their catch on the Kenyan side because of a ready market and good profits. The issue of harassment of fishers by Uganda security forces should be stopped and both governments to look into possible ways to assist fishers to carry out their activities. No single country can claim to monopolize fish resources in Lake Victoria (Respondent 026, 2018).

As alluded to by Abila (2003), high demand for fish, especially Nile perch contributed to increased competition between industrial processors and artisanal fishers. The end result of this competition led to use of illegal fishing methods to obtain high catch. Illegal methods involve the use of small gill nets, cast nets, and fish poisoning which enable fishers to capture juvenile and immature fish. Territorial disputes impact on the struggle for control of fish in Lake Victoria. The following tables show how Kenya's economic reliance on fishing for tilapia, dagaa, and Nile perch was impacted by the territorial dispute.

Table 4.1: Stocks of Nile Perch Landing from Kenya’s Lake Victoria, 2004-2009

Year	Annual Quantity (Kg)	Annual in Revenue in KES
2004	1, 721, 526	430, 381, 500
2005	1, 468, 904	367, 226, 000
2006	1, 593, 837	398, 459, 250
2007*	827, 640	165, 538, 000
2008*	417, 832	85, 566, 400
2009*	425, 164	85, 032, 800

Source: Fisheries Department; Sori BMU, Migori County (2018).

Analysis of fishing statistics above show that Nile perch landing stocks on the Kenyan side of Lake Victoria encountered a severe decline. The decline in annual quantity and revenue between 2007 and 2009 was almost three times the amount seen between 2004 and 2006. Implications of this decline are directly related to the ongoing dispute in Lake Victoria. It is not appropriate to ignore in this study the significance of the Nile perch in the dispute between the two nations over ownership of fishing areas in Lake Victoria. The dispute between Uganda and Kenya in Lake Victoria significantly affected the volume of fish landing stocks on the Kenyan side with consideration to tilapia and Nile perch species. Nile perch was the most affected during the dispute period. Due to Uganda's military presence in Lake Victoria, there was a dramatic and abrupt decline in supplies on the Kenyan side. Similarly, during the same period, there was a significant drop in tilapia fish species landing stocks on the Kenya side during the dispute period.

A senior research official at KMFRI stated that both domestically and globally, Nile perch is in high demand. Conflicts over ownership of fishing sites in Lake Victoria are exacerbated by high demand for Nile perch. Nile perch breeds in Kenyan swampy shores,

and then it moves to inhabit deep and cool waters of Lake Victoria. Thus, rich fishing grounds of Lake Victoria are mainly under territorial jurisdictions of Uganda.

On the other hand, a research official at KMFRI negates dwindling fish stocks in Kenya from Lake Victoria as being attributed to the dispute between Kenya and Uganda. The argument raised was based on environmental factors:

[D]eclining fish stocks from Lake Victoria is linked to environmental factors especially pollution from major towns surrounding the lake, farms, and industrial affluent. The problem of overfishing has also led to depletion of some fish species especially Nile perch which is on high demand. However, Kenya has continued to gain more fish stocks from Lake Victoria because artisan fishers from Uganda and Tanzania prefer selling their catch in Kenya because of profitable market (Respondent EXP018, 2022).

Table 4.2: Stocks of Tilapia Landing from Kenya’s Lake Victoria, 2004-2009

Year	Annual Quantity (Kg)	Annual Revenue in KES
2004	420,115	78,943,173
2005	411,107	73,863,494
2006	417,203	74,971,377
2007*	315,143	70,076,314
2008*	304,272	69,783,451
2009*	217, 819	62, 000, 733

Source: Fisheries Department; Sori BMU, Migori County (2018).

From 2004 to 2009, tilapia landing stocks on the Kenyan side of Lake Victoria produced an annual catch and revenue shown in the table above. There was a slight drop between 2007 and 2009. This drop is partly as a result of the territorial dispute between Kenya and Uganda in Lake Victoria. Ecological factors also affect fish production in addition to the Government of Kenya policy measures on control of overfishing.

Table 4.3: *Dagaa* Landing Stocks from Kenya’s Lake Victoria, 2004 -2009

Year	Annual Quantity (Kg)	Annual Revenue in KES
2004	813, 412	40, 586, 920
2005	812, 971	40, 567, 810
2006	811, 910	40, 576, 340
2007*	790, 673	40, 242, 340
2008*	770, 923	40, 237, 790
2009*	780, 913	39, 667, 780

Source: Fisheries Department; Sori BMU, Migori County (2018).

Although *dagaa* landing stocks in Kenya from Lake Victoria recorded a slight drop from 2007-2009, this drop is not entirely attributed to the territorial dispute between Kenya and Uganda. The drop was partly associated to ecological factors. The Government of Kenya policy measures to control overfishing was also part of the factors that led to the drop.

Table 4.4: Annual Value of Fish Landing Stocks Revenue from Kenya’s Lake Victoria, 2004-2009

Year	Revenue in KES
2004	549, 911, 593
2005	441, 657, 304
2006	514, 006, 967
2007*	275, 856, 654
2008*	195, 587, 641
2009*	186, 701, 313

Source: Sori MBU, 2018

A summary of fish production in Kenya’s Lake Victoria indicates a sharp drop for Nile perch compared to other fish species for the period from 2004-2009 as indicated in Table

4.5

Table 4.5: Fish Landing Data 2004-2009 from Kenya’s Lake Victoria in Metric Tons

Year	Nile perch	Tilapia	Dagaa	Total
2004	57, 235	18, 250	34, 679	110, 164
2005	53, 051	18, 734	56, 475	128, 260
2006	41, 295	18, 303	85, 871	145, 469
2007	32, 199	7, 231	65, 173	104, 603
2008	44, 232	9, 619	46, 966	100, 817
2009	42, 622	13, 850	49, 326	105, 798

Source: Kenya Marine and Fisheries Research Institute (KMFRI, 2022).

Data provided in Table 4.6 indicates a steady drop of Nile perch and tilapia landing stocks in Kenya eventually leading to a drop in the country’s total annual catch from 2004-2009. The struggle for control of Nile perch attributed to Uganda’s deployment of its military in Lake Victoria to bar Kenya fishers from its territorial waters. According to figures in Table 4.6, heightened military surveillance was a major contributing factor to reduced Nile perch catch in Kenya compared to other fish species. As already discussed, the Nile perch inhabits deep cool waters in Uganda.

Table 4.6: Annual Value of Fishery Exports from Uganda’s Lake Victoria, 2003-2009

Year	Revenue in US Dollar
2003	82,000,000
2005*	140, 000,000
2007*	120,000,000
2009*	107,000,000

Source: FAO, 2017

Table 4.5 reveals that Kenya's fish landing stocks, particularly for Nile perch, decreased dramatically in the 2000s. The reasons for these declines are mostly attributable to Uganda's recognition of the economic importance of Lake Victoria fishing sector and its willingness to use force to dissuade Kenya fishers from fishing in Ugandan waters.

Following Uganda's intensive border surveillance and control, Kenya fishers were not able to have free access to Uganda territorial waters.

However, Table 4.6 shows that Uganda's income from Lake Victoria fish stocks has increased. Uganda's fish revenue began to rise dramatically during the same period, but Kenya's fish revenue began to decline in 2007. In the middle of the 2000s, trends in Uganda's tilapia and Nile perch catches dramatically rose, leading to improved processing for the export market. During this time, Kenya's haul of Nile perch decreased correspondingly. Even though both nations saw increases in the number of fishing vessels, Uganda saw a proportionately bigger and more consistent rise than Kenya (Glaser, 2019).

Analysis of findings as indicated by figures in the tables above inform of a sharp fall of tilapia and Nile perch stock landings on the Kenyan side. On the other hand, Uganda's fish exports from Lake Victoria increased tremendously during the same period. This is attributed to Uganda's territorial claims and military intervention in Lake Victoria. The reduction of fish landing stocks on the Kenyan side which in the context of this study is a micro level econo-political relation.

4.2.8 Increased Fish Exports from Uganda

Monthly catch estimates for Uganda have tremendously increased in comparison to Kenya leading to the country's enhanced exports as shown in Table 4.7. Since fishing and fish trade in Lake Victoria is done by fishers and fish mongers at both formal and informal level, their contribution is considered to be a micro level economic activity. Informal crossborder trade in fish products leads the process to micro econo-political

relations. Formal fishing process goes through BMUs where fish extracts from the lake are documented on a daily basis.

Table 4.7: Monthly Catch Estimates on Lake Victoria for Uganda and Kenya in Metric Tons (June, 2021)

Species	Uganda	Kenya
<i>Bagrus docmack</i> (BD)	229.8	1.4
<i>C. gariepinus</i> (CG)	1,269.1	40.2
<i>R. argentea</i> (DA)	31,061.0	14,695.6
<i>Haplochromines</i> (HA)	2,740.3	614.8
<i>Momyrus spp</i> (MK)	63.1	-
<i>Lates niloticus</i> (NP)	5,145.4	5,520.1
<i>P. aethiopicus</i> (PA)	1,956.6	34.6
<i>S. victoriae</i> (SD)	12,651.0	1,353.0
<i>Tilapines</i> (TL)	2,363.7	558.1
<i>Caridina nilotica</i> (CA)	-	696.5
Total	57,480.0	23,514.3

Source: KMFRI, 2022

Table 4.8: Monthly Revenue (mil. USD) of Catch in June, 2021 for Uganda and Kenya

Species	Uganda	Kenya
BD	0.26	0.001
CG	1.999	0.073
DA	5.311	4.718
HA	0.813	0.282
MK	0.103	0
NP	13.695	13.367
PA	2.794	0.064
SD	6.897	0.988
TL	4.515	1.02
CA	-	0.089
Total	36.39	20.476

Source: KMFRI, 2022

There was a sharp increase in fish exports from Uganda through 2000's (Abila, 2003), and fishing industry remains the second largest foreign exchange earner for Uganda after coffee. The sector contributes to livelihoods of close to 1.5 million people or 4% of the

population. The EU is the largest market for Nile perch, followed by Australia, South East Asia, the Middle East and Africa.

According to Abila (2003), informal fish exports from Uganda to nearby nations has significantly increased totaling to above 60 million US dollars annually. Informal exports are largely comprised of undersized or immature fish. These types of fish are mostly under the control of small-scale traders especially fishmongers. Informal export fish are smuggled and end up in Kenya, DRC, South Sudan and Tanzania regional market places. In the context of this study informal fishing and trade across the border is a micro economic-political relation that has an effect on Kenya-Uganda economic-political relations.

Table 4.9: Value of Fish Landing Stocks from Kenya’s Lake Victoria; 1965-1996

Year	Revenue (KES)
1965	74, 670, 000
1970	96, 460, 000
1975	81, 960, 000
1980	145, 930, 000
1985	281, 060, 000
1990	1, 532, 960, 000
1995	2, 173, 860, 000
1996	2, 608, 440, 000

Source: Fisheries Annual Statistical Bulletin; Fisheries Department, Kenya.

From Table 4.9 above, it can be observed that Kenya’s extraction of fish from Lake Victoria from 1965-1996 was enormous and on a steady upward trend compared to the preceding years as from 2004. The country’s annual revenue from fish exports turn up was exemplary as demonstrated by Table 4.9. The 1965-1996 years could be described as Kenya’s undisturbed fishing era in Lake Victoria. In the 2000s the Uganda military intervention in the lake witnessed a drop on Kenya’s fish landing stocks since Kenya fishers were deterred from fishing in Ugandan territorial waters.

Despite the fact that both countries are yet to agree on the settlement of the territorial dispute, it is agreeable among local fishers and administrators that the islands are Kenyan. For instance, the current Member of Parliament for Bukooli Islands (Sigulu), which is administratively in Uganda, is a Kenyan. He speaks both Luyia and Luo languages. There are many residents of Kenyan origin on Sigulu Island.

4.2.9 Crossborder Trade in Non-Fish Products

A respondent who operates as a transporter on Lake Victoria at Pier BMU near Homa Bay town explained the existence of crossborder trade between Kenya and Uganda. In this trade local people from both countries are actively involved and deal in non-fish items:

[T]here are other economic activities take place between Kenya and Uganda across the lake. Kenyans acquire maize, cassava, tomatoes, green vegetables, onions, mangoes, and charcoal from Uganda. Ugandans come to Kenya to purchase items such as sugar, and to fuel their motorboats. Most of these items are restricted by Uganda authorities only to be ferried in small portions for consumption purposes and not for business or stock accumulation (Respondent 024, 2018).

Analysis of activities in Lake Victoria evidenced that crossborder relations between the people of Kenya and Uganda deal in trade of food stuff products. Some of the food stuffs commonly traded are such as cassava, sorghum, groundnuts, sesame, and household items. Although, fishing is a significant source of income for local communities, trade activities mentioned here are complementary and help to enhance economic diversification for the locals.

4.2.10 Struggle for Resource Control

A key respondent from the fisheries department argued that:

Uganda military intervention in Lake Victoria is a demonstration of economic and political engagements between the two states. From the Ugandan perspective, it is a strategy or a dissuasion technique to prevent Kenya fishers from fishing in the nation's territorial seas and protect its national interests. Kenyans are very aggressive and hard-working fishers. This observation points out clearly the reason that enabled Kenya to benefit more from the Lake Victoria fish resources as opposed to Uganda. Although, Kenya dominates a small section of the lake compared to Uganda, its annual turnover from fish exports were high during the pre-dispute years (Respondent EXP016, 2018).

Uganda's military presence in Lake Victoria, implies that the struggle over the lake's fish resources has political repercussions for the two governments. High-profile political meetings between the presidents of Kenya and Uganda have been held to try and reach a peaceful resolution to econo-political tensions. There have been attempts to resolve the dispute by involving local administrators from both countries to settle emerging disputes (Tristan, 2009). This argument confirms the premise that intractability of resource exploitation led to establishment of frameworks for dispute settlement between Kenya and Uganda.

The despute leading to Uganda's military placement in Lake Victoria was caused by a number of issues as pointed out by Heck (2004) as follows:

- i) Fish trafficking from Uganda to Kenya given it has a more developed fish market than Uganda.
- ii) Kenyan fishers argue that fish does not know the boundary between Kenya and Uganda and therefore, they have the right to fish in any part of the lake.
- iii) Fish from Ugandan side must pass via the border crossing at Busia border point in order to comply with revenue regulations. This in accordance with the Ugandan government policy, fish caught in Uganda should be landed in

Uganda before being designated elsewhere for export. However, fishers view the process as complex, far, expensive, and slow.

- iv) Harassment of fishers by enforcement authorities in Uganda is common especially when there is non-compliance of the regulations, misunderstanding, and generally officials who are ill trained or lack understanding on matters of fishing regulation.

4.2.11 Military Surveillance on Lake Victoria

A local administrator based at Buraba BMU on Sigulu Island noted that:

Kenya and Uganda are yet to resolve the common border dispute to locate territoriality of strategic islands in Lake Victoria, but Uganda deployed her security personnel on Mizingo Island and other islands such as Wayasi, Remba, and Sumba. Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF) has a wing that patrols the lake to ensure that no contraband goods from Kenya enter Uganda through Lake Victoria. Special Revenue Protection Service operates under the umbrella of UPDF to enforce tax compliance measures on fish catches from the Uganda territorial waters and also to eradicate smuggling of goods across the lake. There exists a checkpoint to monitor and control such trade on the Uganda side of the lake (Respondent 022, 2018).

According to the above respondent, Uganda military has intensified security patrols on the lake to ensure that large fish from Uganda territorial waters is not allowed to the Kenya side of the lake. Large fish is transported for factory processing in Jinja or Majanji. Uganda military mounts keen surveillance not only on their side of the lake but also sometimes crosses to the Kenya side to arrest 'illegal' fishers perceived to violate laid down regulations. The arguments raised above reinforces the application of political realism theory in that Uganda's concern is to protect its national interests against Kenya fishers. This has been achieved through security surveillance.

A key respondent from Uganda who is local administrator observed that:

Uganda has strategically invested in the security management of Lake Victoria territorial water resources. Its military boats are superior or sophisticated in terms of speed, and they can be used to patrol the lake at night as opposed to their Kenyan counterparts. Once a Kenyan fisher is arrested by Uganda authorities, they are arraigned in Court in Bugiri. The fishers' gear is impounded and transferred to Bugiri headquarters of Namayingo District in Uganda. Arrested fishers are penalized prohibitively. Most of the fishers arrested sale their land and other properties to pay the penalty in court or even bribe Uganda security officers to release them (Respondent EXP03, 2018).

Uganda authorities have therefore, devised some methods to make fishing on the Uganda side of the lake unattractive to Kenya fishers. A prohibitive penalty or tax is imposed on Kenya fishers before they are allowed to operate in the Uganda territorial waters. According to fishers at Port Victoria's Sinyenye BMU, each boat operates upon payment of a monthly permit or tax of KES10,000/- in order to be allowed to do fishing in Uganda. Prohibitive tax measures have made most fishers to languish in poverty despite their hard work as they battle cold water and turbulent storms in the lake during fishing.

Militarization of Lake Victoria by Uganda was viewed as a measure to restrain Kenya fishers from exploiting shared fish resources in the lake (Kirema, Owino & West, 2014). Uganda was apprehensive that Kenya gained more from fish in Lake Victoria. Kenya fishers outsmart their counterparts from Uganda because they are innovative and resilient.

Uganda's military activities in Lake Victoria are political in nature, motivated by economic interests. Deployment of the military by Uganda was to protect the country's national economic interests from Kenya's regional economic dominance in all fields. Guttereridge (2007) argues out about a variety of assumptions underlying the purpose of a specific state's military deployment. Protection of national interests is one aspect that is most frequently believed to be factual. In order to keep Kenya fishers at bay, Uganda is concerned about safeguarding its borders along Lake Victoria.

Perspectives on global politics, show that states use resources to fund war (Billon, 2018). States have leveraged territorial disputes to create power tactics based on the commercialization of armed conflict. Because of this, territorializing sovereignty around lucrative resource regions and trade routes has emerged as a frequent cause of conflict in the global order. Under the New World Order power is more often defined by a particular political ecology that is tightly related to geography and the political economy of natural resources.

An observation of Kenya-Uganda relations with regard to exploitation of shared fish resources in Lake Victoria connotes the link of geography, resources and national interests unfolding as a territorial dispute. Excellent fishing grounds in Lake Victoria waters are adjacent to areas or islands that both nations claim. This study was able to identify strategic disputed islands whose surrounding waters have plenty of Nile perch fish species. They are: Remba, Migingo, Lolwe, Sigulu, Wayasi, Hama, and Siro. The islands are under tight security surveillance by Uganda military.

Geographically, traveling by motorboat from Sori Beach or Muhuru Bay in the Kenyan county of Migori to these territories it would take about two hours. To reach the aforementioned islands from Uganda, however, would take 12 hours via the same means. Eastern Uganda's Bugiri headquarters of Namayingo District is the place on the mainland closest to the disputed islands (Wekesa, 2010). Respondent 027, who is fisher-turned transporter at Mugabo BMU near Muhuru Bay was categorical to explain that:

[W]hen it comes to accessing the abundant fishing grounds in Lake Victoria and markets on the mainland, Kenyan fishermen have a significant advantage over their Ugandan counterparts in terms of transport expenses and time. Once fish lands on the Kenyan shore at official BMUs, the stock is recorded to determine the quantity of fish.

Respective county governments levy a tax of KES 2/- per 1kg of fish (Respondent 027, 2018).

The government benefits from accruing taxes of fish returns from Lake Victoria as pointed out by Respondent 027, 2018. The fishers' effort at Lake Victoria therefore contributes to national economic growth in reference to Gross Domestic Product (GDP). GDP of a given country is a cumulative overall monetary or market value of all the finished goods and services produced within the country's borders in a specific period of time. Economic activities of Kenya fishers cannot be ignored by the government. Fishers play a major micro economic role to enhance national economic development (Fernando, 2022).

Economic benefits of fisheries from Lake Victoria are the major attraction of the large number of fishers present to the lake. The presence of state security surveillance that was deployed especially by Uganda to control the fishing sector is motivated by desire to control fish resources. Each state wishes to maximize benefits of Lake Victoria resources to enhance its economic power. The micro economic variable has been the trigger to the experiences of intermittent tensions in Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations. That is the basic explanation of the contestations of the territorial disputes between Uganda and Kenya in Lake Victoria.

According to Abila (2022), there have been concerns that the benefits of fisheries from Lake Victoria are not fairly distributed among the players. High disparities in benefits create a sense of social injustice among players given that fish has been considered a common resource to be exploited for the good of all. However, Abila's ideas on social justice benefits to all with regard to the Lake Victoria fish resources fall short of considerations of national sovereignty issues addressed by this study. The struggle for

control of rich fishing grounds contributed to the territorial disputes between Kenya and Uganda in Lake Victoria, thus raising national sovereignty concerns.

Records show that Kenya had 54,163 officially registered fishers in Lake Victoria. Uganda on her part had a total of 41,674 fishers. Fish from Lake Victoria contributes \$50 million to Kenya's foreign exchange earnings and \$88 million to Uganda's foreign exchange earnings. These figures indicate that Kenya accrues 0.5% of its GDP from Lake Victoria whereas Uganda benefits 15% GDP from Lake Victoria fisheries (Abila, 2022).

Based on the findings, Kenya-Uganda territorial disputes in Lake Victoria are an economic issue arising from the states' desire to protect their national interests. Security surveillance and military presence on Lake Victoria is a display of national power to secure state interests. Military intervention in Lake Victoria impacts negatively on fishers through arrest of those who cross to Uganda territorial waters. Unclearly demarcated border between Uganda and Kenya in Lake Victoria is a critical issue especially to fishers who find themselves on the wrong side of the law. Harassment and arrest of Kenya fishers by Uganda authorities has contributed to a reduction of fish output on Kenya's Lake Victoria.

4.2.12 Dwindling Fish Landing Stocks

According to Respondent 027 (2018) based at Mugabo BMU at Muhuru Bay, reduction of fish stocks is attributed to punitive measures against fishers who trespass to Uganda territorial waters by state authorities. Dwindling fish stocks on the Kenya side of the lake has adverse effect on fishers. Most of the fishers have been driven to poverty, unemployment, or other unproductive economic ventures around the lake. Some fishers have abandoned the venture and resorted to farming along the lake shores where they

cultivate vegetables such as cabbage, kales, tomatoes, watermelon, and onions. The worst bit of fishers' desperate move to venture into farming along the shores of Lake Victoria is that hippopotamus consume everything at night from their farms.

The Lake Victoria region residents also engages in small-scale mining (Karanja, 2018). Different minerals, both metallic and non-metallic, can be found in the lake. Gold, limestone, copper, iron, silver, rare earths, soapstones, quartz, chromium, and lead are a few minerals that have been discovered in Lake Victoria. Prospecting for these minerals is often disorganized and unplanned, which results in unsafe and unethical exploitation techniques and mishaps. Fish become mercury-contaminated as a result of small-scale gold mining. According to Karanja (2018), studies have been done to determine the amount of mercury concentration in the lake water, fish, sediments, soil, and humans. In some cases, it was discovered that concentration of mercury in the Nile perch were above recommended World Health Organization (WHO). The presence of unacceptable concentration of mercury in large fish, underline the need for regular monitoring and risk assessments to be carried out in the lake.

As highlighted by respondents, some fishers abandoned fishing and resorted to the provision of transport services across the lake. This was after venturing in the fishing industry became unsustainable or unprofitable because of the dwindling fish stocks and arrests by UPDF. Some of these former fishers use their boats to ferry passengers and other goods between islands and mainland on the Kenya side of the lake. Passenger boats operate between BMUs on islands such as: Sukuru, Rapondo, Osiego, Kot-Rabuor, Kot-Rateng', Mfangano, and Rusinga. The respondent clarified to this study about fish scarcity as follows:

[N]e aweyo lupu nikech jolueny ma Uganda mane osiko maka. Lupu ne obedo matek nikech ne anyalo tieko ndalo ariyo kata adek e nam ka ok amako rech...to kata ka ne ayudo rech, jolueny ma Uganda ne makowa mayowa rech nyaka gik lupu tema giter Bugiri e Uganda. Jolueny ne sandowa ahinya ka gimakowa. Ne gigowa ma gichunwa ni wacham rech manumu. Ne aweyo lupu ma achako ohala mar kowo jowuoth e ferry ekind chula gi dho nam ma Kenya (Respondent 015, 2018)

When interpreted in the English version the respondent meant this:

[I] decided to abandon fishing because of frequent arrests from the Uganda military. Fishing became untenable since I could spend two to three days in the lake without catching any fish...and even if I succeeded, the Uganda military could arrest us, confiscate all the fish and our fishing gear and take it to Bugiri in Uganda. The military treated us harshly and ruthlessly whenever we were arrested...they could beat and force us to eat raw fish. I decided to quit fishing and now I ferry passengers between islands and mainland Kenya side of the lake (Respondent 015, 2018).

There exist other economic activities on Lake Victoria along the beaches other than fishing. Sand harvesting for construction purposes is a prevalent practice in adjacent towns and offshore communities. Papyrus is also harvested for construction and basketry making. Also, fingerling catfish are caught to be used as bait for long-line fishing for Nile perch. Fishers who harvest catfish fingerlings face disadvantages since they must wade into the water to obtain them. This puts them at risk of infection by schistosomiasis and snakebites (Karanja, 2018).

Fish scarcity had adverse effect on some fishmongers and forced them to close shop, thereby opting for other businesses to earn a living. A section of former fishmongers is dealing in cereals near the beaches when it apparently became difficult for them to obtain enough fish stocks that would make favorable returns. They are now trading in maize, sorghum, millet and cassava. For instance, Respondent 007 (2018) a fishmonger-turned trader based at Pier BMU had to say this:

[O]nge rech to kata ka oyudore to tin ok rom...ma miyo jolupo keto bei ma malo e rech ma oyudore. Ne ok ayud ohala e rech ema omiyo ne achako ohola machielo. Chackre 2005, ne achako ohala bando, muogo, kal kod bel e Pier Beach... (Respondent 007, 2018).

The above sentiments as quoted from the respondent could be interpreted in the English version as follows:

[T]here is no fish and even if it comes the stock is very limited. This makes fishers to place very high prices on the available fish. I could not make any profit and that is why I decided to venture into another business. From 2005, I decided to trade in maize, cassava, millet, and sorghum at Pier Beach (Respondent 007, 2018).

Population pressure and resource constraint can lead to socioeconomic innovation and economic diversity (Billon, 2018). Due to the multiple difficulties, they faced, Kenya fishers on Lake Victoria have developed corrective procedures to guarantee consistent supply of fish. This innovation has been achieved by the practice of cage fishing.

4.2.13 Cage Fishing Technology

Department of Fisheries in Kenya has introduced a new system of fish rearing, which is done in fish cages on the Kenyan side of the lake to mitigate the current fish shortage being experienced as well as monitoring. The project is being piloted and it is still at initial stages. The main objective of fish cages is to ensure a steady supply of fish on the Kenya side and to avert the problem of Kenya fishers from crossing to the Uganda side of the lake.

Fishers have been given training by experts from county governments around Lake Victoria. Several workshops or seminars have been conducted to induct fishers on how to manage the project sustainably. Furthermore, the government in collaboration with other stakeholders has embarked on new measures to restock Kenya side of the lake. Fingerlings are reared in cages to mature into fish ready for the market. As it was

discussed earlier, the purpose of this new technology was to ease overreliance on natural fish stock in the lake which has become unreliable because of increased human population and the high demand for fish products locally and internationally.

There are several technical difficulties about construction of fish cages in Lake Victoria that need to be resolved. In Lake Victoria, for instance, a large number of unplanned fish cages have appeared, endangering safety of fishers as well as local fish species. Fishing business may be in danger if the program is not supervised. Fish cages are owned by both private citizens and commercial companies. Some fishers are worried about the fact that new technology will adversely affect indigenous species. A key Respondent 030 (2018), who is based at Port Victoria opines that this technology has gained support from local communities. The new system of fishing was appropriate to mitigate the problem of fish shortages. However, there is need for a well coordinated project that would not interfere with safety of fishers and avoid extinction of indigenous fish species by exotic ones that are being raised in cages.

According to Respondent EXP12 (2022), who is a senior researcher based at KMFRI, there exists legal frameworks and policy that guide cage fishing investments in Lake Victoria. The new technology is closely monitored since most fishers do not know the types and fish species that are raised in cages. One specification for installation of fish cage is that it should be installed at a depth of 10 meters. The new technology was introduced after trials at Dunga beach by KMFRI. In total there are about 6,000 fish cages in Kenya's territorial waters of Lake Victoria. It is commonly practiced in riparian counties of Kisumu, Busia, Migori, Siaya, and Homa Bay.

4.2.14 Resource Dispute and its Implications on Marine Border Surveillance

This study confirmed that Uganda has maintained a permanent patrol base of its military on Migingo island. The visibility of Uganda security was strong with UPDF at the patrol base. Kenya deployed its Marine Police on Migingo Island to monitor the security situation. They are stationed at mainland Muhuru Bay and travel to Migingo Island on a regular basis.

The Ugandan authorities began stepping up monitoring, surveillance, and control of its territorial Lake Victoria waters to protect its national interests. This was corroborated by fishers in Muhuru Bay during the study. Due to this, it was impossible for Kenya fishers to fish in Ugandan waterways, and Uganda fishers were also unable to sell their catch at Kenyan landing areas. There are quite a number of factors that led to enhanced marine surveillance by Uganda. But of great focus as to why Uganda maintained strong monitoring of its territorial waters is about economic benefits of fish resources in Lake Victoria. Because of tight security surveillance by Uganda, both Kenya and Uganda fishers complained that Uganda military uses excessive force and also extort money from offenders. Uganda's deployment of UPDF has caused a crackdown on Kenya fishers who trespass to Uganda's territorial waters.

4.2.15 Environmental Concerns on the Low Supply of Fish

The expansion of export market, high demand for fish, and in particular commercialization of Nile perch has all contributed to illicit fishing. In shallow waters, illegal fishing methods such as use of gillnets, chemicals, and even trawlers are frequently used, necessitating official surveillance (Mbuga, 1998). Trawlers are the best option in deep waters with powerful undercurrents. Over 1 ton of fish may be caught each

day on a trawler with a 300 HP engine and 10 crew members. Comparatively, 8 artisanal boats with over 30 crew members can capture the same number of fish. As a result, one trawler may displace numerous artisanal boats which could result in job losses.

Environmental concerns were also raised as one of the factors that contribute to low fish supply in Lake Victoria. Pollution from towns around the lake is to blame for destruction of marine life. The release of raw sewage from towns, affluent from factories and carwash near the lake shores are rife. These have led to growth of water hyacinth and other luxuriant vegetation in the lake. Water hyacinth obstructs fishing activities, suffocates fish, and harbors snakes in the lake. Environmental pollution has therefore caused fish scarcity, leading to Kenya fishers to venture deep into the lake. In the process of venturing ahead in deep waters, Kenya fishers cross to Uganda side.

Water hyacinth can occasionally grow so quickly that it blocks access to the lake for fishers. Snakes and other venomous reptiles can also be found in the lake where hyacinth grows. Hyacinth has been controlled through efforts of governmental agencies and other stakeholders, but there has been little success. The EU decided to ban import of fish from Lake Victoria to its markets due to use of chemicals to eradicate hyacinth (Sida, 2004).

Also, other pollutants such as oil, grease, and raw sewage from nearby urban centers have contributed to degradation of Lake Victoria since it serves as the final destination for industrial affluent. Eutrophication, microbiological, chemical, and suspended solids are a direct result of human activities that pollute the lake. Additional factors that contribute to contamination of Lake Victoria include agricultural waste brought in by inflowing rivers, maritime transport waste, runoff, and storm water intrusion (Karanja, 2018).

The lake is experiencing pollution problem as a result of increased human contact and exposure to water, particularly from villages that border its shores, fish landing sites, beaches, trading centers nearby the lake shores, transportation facilities, recreational activities, bathing, swimming, collecting water, washing household effects, car washing at the beaches, and improper fecal waste disposal. Due to degradation of fish production levels caused primarily by human activity, there are currently insufficient supplies (Karanja, 2018).

Proliferation of water hyacinth (*Eichornia crassipes*) and algal blooms is another environmental element that has caused lack of fish resources in Lake Victoria. The first reports of water hyacinth appeared in Uganda's Lake Victoria waters in 1988. Later, the weed invaded the area of the lake occupied by other two East African nations. Unchecked growth of water hyacinth on the lake is linked to a variety of issues, including destruction of wetlands, obstructing waterways, degrading the quality of water, preventing fishing, obstructing recreational activities, and serving as a habitat for snakes. Disease-carrying parasites like encephalitis, filariasis, and bilharzias can also be found in water hyacinth (Karanja, 2018).

Fishers are forced to wade through the weed as they attempt to physically remove and drive the boats through it since water hyacinth also clogs beach landing points and prohibits boat docking. However, the potentially poisonous blue-green species that has grown in Lake Victoria's surface water dominates the algal bloom. Due to deoxygenation of deep water, fish die, migrate, and fish yields are diminished (Karanja, 2018).

To develop a comprehensive strategy for managing the environment of the entire lake basin, an interstate organization was created, such as the Lake Victoria Environmental

Management Programme (LVEMP). LVEMP includes Lake Victoria and its catchments in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. It deals with ecosystem rehabilitation utilizing a regional trans-boundary strategy (Sida, 2004). However, unsustainable yields from the fishing sector have contributed to escalating levels of tensions between fishers and fishers, and fishers and states.

According to a Respondent who is an official at Marenga BMU in Port Victoria, the fishing sector has become highly contagious and a potential source of conflict between Kenya and Uganda due to high demand of fish:

[F]ish from the lake has a large market for local consumers, hotels in the neighborhoods of the lake, and towns such as Kisumu, Migori, Kisii, Kericho, Eldoret, and Nairobi. Fish traders come to purchase directly from fishers. There is no standard price per net weight as dictated by market forces of demand and supply. But middlemen fleece fishers by manipulating prices. They have created a cartel between fishers and consumer market. Fish cartels have ensured that fishers cannot sell their catch directly to consumers. They offer cash installments to fishers in advance even before they receive fish (Respondent 012, 2018).

From the above sentiments, most fishers don't make maximum profit since they have a challenge to access good market. Fishers' sell their catch through middlemen at very low prices. It is common at the fish landing sites in Port Victoria and Sio Port. By the time fishers deliver their stocks, cartels manipulate prices and determine how much to pay, knowing confidently that fishers cannot afford to reimburse them.

There are five dynamics that have been identified as potential sources of the dispute situation in Lake Victoria. According to Okumu (2010), market structures have marginalized local actors as they are relegated to play a peripheral role in the sector. Factory owners are from the Asian community and multinationals whose prime objective is to maximize and repatriate profits. Women have been severely marginalized and their

traditional role in the fishing sector has been shuttered. Initially, women played the role of cleaning and smoking or drying, marketing, and selling fish at the shores of the lake. They also prepared meals and provided emotional support to their male fishers.

Both countries are sovereign states each with its own system of public administration. Each system is varied and designed to serve national interests of the mother country. The absence of joint policy frameworks or lack of a harmonized policy between the governments of Kenya and Uganda on the coordination and management of resources in Lake Victoria is another factor that contributes to conflict escalation in the lake. Joint initiatives between the two countries only emerge on *ad hoc* basis whenever there is an escalating tension between the two states.

Decreased diversity of fish species in Lake Victoria has contributed to reduced fish yields (Okumu, 2010). There exist only three major fish species in the lake i.e., Nile perch, tilapia, and sardine-like fish popularly called *dagaa* or *omena (mukene)*. Nile perch is destined for export market, whereas tilapia and *dagaa* are for domestic consumption. Studies have observed that Nile perch is partly to blame for endangering other indigenous fish species in Lake Victoria, leading to the current fish shortage.

Lack of a clear policy layout on exploitation of water resources in Lake Victoria between the East African states is a contributory factor to territorial disputes. The countries are much focused on securing national interests to maximize gains. This is a key attribute as expressed in the ultimate goals of the state that can be well comprehended in political realism.

A respondent who is a fisher based at Dunga BMU pointed out that fish processing factories in Kisumu reduced their operation capacities because of shortage of fish from Lake Victoria. Fish processors at the East Africa Sea Food in Kisumu and WLT in Nairobi were meant for processing fish for export in the EU market. The factories also produced animal feeds from fish by-products which are sold locally to dairy and poultry farmers. This means that the economic value of fishing industry is big.

Despite the challenge caused by fish shortages, LVFO has always lobbied for investors to increase the proportion of fish processing plants along the shores of Lake Victoria. This would assist fishers to add value to their products. As it has already been discussed, Kenya has 12 fish processing plants whereas Uganda has 10 (Sida, 2004).

According to a fisher at Pier BMU in Homa Bay, the collapse of fish factories is not solely the problem of fish shortage:

[T]he factory at Homa Bay town collapsed because of mismanagement and as a result of fish shortages. Fishers could go without payment of the supplies made to the factory for several weeks. This trend made it difficult for fishers to meet their financial obligations thus the abandonment to supply further fish stocks to the factory for non-payment (Respondent 013, 2018).

Arising from the discussion, it is evident that high demand for fish and its scarcity is caused by environmental factors and illicit fishing practices. Uganda's high security surveillance at the micro level is implicated by the country's national economic interests. This has impacted negatively to Kenya by a reduction of fish landing stocks. Thus, security surveillance mounted by Uganda is motivated by the desire to protect its territorial waters and fish resources from exploitation by Kenya fishers. Power relations

between the two countries demonstrates the application of political realism theory based on its tenets of enhancing state power and protection of national interests.

An assessment of the security situation and state intervention in Lake Victoria with reference to UPDF operations brings out the idea of political realism theory in understanding state control of resources in the interest of the political elites. State intervention has contributed to scarcity of fish resource which is an essential livelihood to most of the local communities around Lake Victoria. Large fish stocks are processed by factories owned by political elites and senior military officers in Uganda. These sentiments were reinforced by a respondent who is a local administrator on Sigulu Island. Political elite interests and national economic interests have compounded to generate a state of resource struggle leading to fish scarcity that has negatively affected livelihoods of local communities.

4.2.16 Resource Disputes and its Impact on Crossborder Movement

A key respondent who is a senior researcher at KMFRI explained that:

[T]otal landings at Kenyan beaches in Busia County have decreased as a result of intensified border surveillance by Uganda in Lake Victoria. Also, fish catches at Migingo Island BMU don't land to Kenya's mainland. Due to increased Ugandan surveillance, Port Victoria and Busia traders from Kenya were obliged to enter Uganda and transport fish by road. As a result, they have to pay hefty production expenses, and the Ugandan government's taxes make fishing an unprofitable endeavor. Costs associated with running fish trading operations have caused a considerable number of businesses to go out of operations (Respondent EXP018, 2022).

According to Okumu (2010), UPDF patrols in Lake Victoria, and Uganda's deployment of Special Revenue Protection Service (SRPS) which has four patrol units with each one based in Sigulu, Lolwe, Hama, and Wayasi has mounted a serious crackdown on Kenya fishers. The security has stopped other domestic goods from being smuggled into Uganda

from Kenya as well as illegal fishing. Only those with a special license are permitted to fish in Ugandan waters.

Compared to the revenue of fishers, Uganda's license fees for non-citizens are too costly. The interventions by Uganda have impacted negatively on the micro-economic dynamics of local communities in Kenya who derive their livelihood from Lake Victoria fisheries. From the above analysis, the applicability of political realism provides an illustration on how political elite driven interests designed stringent policy based on security crackdown and monitoring that locked out ordinary fishers from the fishing industry.

Both Uganda and Kenya subscribed to the EAC protocol for regional integration. The principal purposes of EAC are stated as the development of harmonized policies and programmes aimed at widening and deepening co-operation among partner states in political, economic, social, and cultural fields, research and technology, defense, security, legal and judicial affairs for their mutual benefit (Kagwanja, 2007).

According to Kagwanja, pressure on partner governments to use Lake Victoria's waters has increased as a result of population growth, food shortages, drought, hunger, and rising markets for fish and other marine resources. Both local communities and the states have much focus on Lake Victoria resources. To that effect, Lake Victoria should be carefully treated as a regional epicenter of disputes.

Arising from this discussion there is a problem of policy variation in terms of taxation and exploitation of fisheries across the border by the two states. Both countries have different tax systems and policy measures on fisheries. Varied approaches to tax systems and policy with regard to fisheries extraction in Lake Victoria contribute to non

compliance by fishers. Military crackdown on defaulters has adverse micro-economic implications to local communities.

Military operations and crackdowns on the lake have affected free movement of fishers between Kenya and Uganda. However, the communities across the border live harmoniously with their international neighbors well. Generally, they have good relationships with them through intermarriage and frequent trade of items. A respondent who is a fishery official based at Busia in Uganda pointed out that:

Kenyans are not allowed to buy and transport fresh fish from Uganda by lorries for processing in Kenya. Fish mongers have been used by traders to transport fish by bicycles across the border then load it on lorries inside Kenya. It is an illegal act of smuggling fish that has to be dealt with decisively. Heavy presence of the Uganda security agencies on Lake Victoria has made Kenya fishers to fear going into deeper waters of the lake, which incidentally are on the Uganda side (Respondent 010, 2018).

Ugandan military intervention in Lake Victoria has dismantled free access and smuggling of fish. Armed forces detain, burn boats and fishing equipment after arresting fishers. Uganda's justification for the current crackdown is that it is an effort to halt widespread 'illegal' fishing that is taking place in Lake Victoria. If overfishing is not controlled, the highly prized Nile perch would get extinct. Women are particularly vulnerable because they smoke and sell little Nile perch, which is supposed to be under protection. Women suffer more than men from the nature of the crackdown that has contributed to job loss (Glaser, 2018).

Direct involvement of Uganda's security operations on Lake Victoria is a macro political intervention motivated by economic factors at the micro level. The intervention has a direct effect on micro economic aspect of the local fishers in terms of denying households

a means of livelihood. When Kenya fishers encounter difficulties in accessing fish from Lake Victoria, their economic activities are disrupted. This leads to poverty, and emergence of illegal fishing in the lake.

Direct military involvement reduces fishers' access to the fishing grounds. In order to reach an equitable resolution, the deadlock on Kenya-Uganda border of Lake Victoria must be managed carefully. EAC was established to encourage unrestricted trade and human mobility in the region, but neither precise measures nor a timeline for their execution are provided by the organization (Tordoff, 1984). However, this should not negate respect for international borders whatsoever.

The starting point with EAC formation is harmonization of border disputes. On the key matter of coordinating trade policies, EAC member states also appear to be leaning in opposite ways. EAC countries still have extremely strong nationalistic sentiments, which is why there is mistrust and hostility based on imbalanced regional economy. The ideas raised by proponents of political realism as spearhead by Hans Morgenthau are well justified by the above explanation anchored in nationalistic views.

4.2.17 Resource Dispute and its Impact on Amicable Settlement

A local administrator from Kenya who is in-charge of sub-county administration bordering Lake Victoria in Busia County explained the mediation efforts that have been going on at the grassroots level to ensure normalcy:

[T]here have been ad hoc meetings between Kenyan and Ugandan local administrators or officials whenever there is a crisis in the lake. Some of these ad hoc meetings have bore fruit and helped to resolve disagreements between the Kenyan fishers and Ugandan authorities. Also, a common understanding has been devised and given sufficient fishing rights to

Kenyan citizens of Sigulu Island in Uganda. It was agreed that long term residents of Sigulu Island from Kenya should not be treated as non-residents. These Kenyans are allowed to fish in Ugandan waters provided that they pay annual fishing license to Uganda authorities. Kenya fishers are supposed to pay an annual license fee depending on the size of the boat. Kenyans pay an annual license fee of between USH 500,000 and USH 1,000,000. Comparatively, their Ugandan counterparts pay an annual licensing fee of USH 30,000 (Respondent EXP10, 2018).

There are two levels of dispute management between Kenya and Uganda. High profile and low-profile diplomatic engagements have been employed in dealing with Kenya-Uganda territorial dispute in Lake Victoria. Low profile engagements involve County Commissioners or their representatives from Kenya, whereas the Uganda side is represented by District Commissioners. Low profile dispute settlement framework in the context of this study is micro level interstate relations. High profile dispute settlement framework in this context is macro level interstate relations. Although, the work of these officials has been useful, their effort has short term solutions which cannot attain a permanent settlement to the dispute.

There was also a high-profile diplomatic engagement between the two states. In 2009, both Kenya and Uganda formed JTC to resolve common border dispute and locate territoriality of Migingo Island. However, the JTC fizzled out without any achievement when Ugandan officials pulled out in an explained manner. According to a respondent who is who stationed at the Ministry of East African Community and was involved in the JTC boundary demarcation process:

Uganda pulled out its team of experts from the boundary delimitation exercise as it was earlier anticipated by both countries to come up with a clear boundary mark between states to avoid further disputes. It was probably on Uganda's realization that her underbelly would be exposed upon completion of the demarcation exercise. This is given the country's aggressive nature with the way it has handled the delicate border issue in

Lake Victoria with regard to her occupation of Migingo Island (Respondent EXP15, 2020).

Uganda's response and withdrawal from the demarcation exercise is well contextualized under aspects of national interests (Courtney, 2012). Maritime disputes between countries are hard to resolve. Competing national interests between the two states make it difficult to resolve the dispute amicably. Both Kenya and Uganda would want to control the territorial waters of Lake Victoria with keen interest to control fish resources. Competing national interests are well understood by the application of political realism theory. Both countries are interested in the enhancement of power and preservation of national interests. That illustrates hardline positions that made it difficult for reaching an amicable settlement of the dispute.

Arising from field data and the discussion of findings, Kenya-Uganda economic and political relations in Lake Victoria is heavily influenced by the desire to control fish resources which manifests itself under micro economic activities propelled by fishers. Micro level relations are anchored in particular to the fishers' efforts in extraction of fish resource in Lake Victoria. The fishers' effort contributes to macro level relations of the two states. Kenya fishers have been involved in crossborder fish extraction in Lake Victoria. Unclearly demarcated border in the lake has led to arrests and harassment of such fishers by Uganda military, which in the context of this study is a macro level political intervention motivated by micro level economic activities. In response to this Kenya deployed its Marine Police to engage Uganda military and to monitor security situation on Lake Victoria. There have also been high profile diplomatic and *ad hoc* attempts by the two countries' administrations to resolve the territorial dispute amicably.

Therefore, micro level relations have tended to influence macro level econo-political relations of the two countries.

4.3 Influence of National Sovereignty on Kenya-Uganda Economic and Political Relations

This subsection examines national sovereignty and how it influences states' econo-political relations. National sovereignty in the context of a territorial dispute involving resource exploitation is reflected by each country's instruments of national dominance. These are national organs or instruments of state power visible at the disputed areas and attempts to protect or promote national interests. National sovereignty is manifested by state actors on Kenya and Uganda side of the lake. On the Kenya side are as follows: Fisheries Department, Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA), Kenya Marine Police, Ministry of Interior officials i.e., County Commissioners, Sub-County Commissioners, local chiefs, Kenya Police, Administration Police, and county revenue collection officers. From the Uganda side national sovereignty is reflected by UPDF, Uganda Marine Police, Local Council (LC1-5) representatives, Uganda Revenue Authority (URA), and Special Revenue Protection Unit (SRPU).

Manifestation of national sovereignty on Sigulu Island is significantly reinforced by state installations. There are public institutions for service delivery such as Sigulu Secondary School, Sigulu Primary School, Sigulu Health Centre, Syabalubi Primary School, and Nereah Academy (privately owned). The island is also a constituent represented by a member of parliament.

A respondent who is an official at Sori BMU recalls when Uganda military was deployed on Migingo Island:

[P]rior to UPDF's intervention and occupation of Migingo Island in 2006, Kenya fishers used the lake resources with just a little amount of state oversight. The military was at first invited by Kenya fishers to provide security in the lake at the time when robbers infiltrated Lake Victoria and became a serious security threat. It was possibly out of Uganda's military patrols on the lake that the country realized Kenya fishers were making huge fish catch, hence benefiting Kenya's economy. By 2006 UPDF occupied most islands in Lake Victoria. Most islands under Uganda military control are on the Kenya side of the lake (Respondent 002, 2018).

Uganda's military intervention on Lake Victoria was a display of national sovereignty to secure its territorial space from subversive elements. The responsibility of a sovereign state is to maintain law and order within its borders. Invasion of Lake Victoria by robbers disrupted fishing activities in the lake. Robbers steal fish catches, nets, outboard engines, and kill fishers. They use weapons such as: pangas, arrows, and guns to destabilize the fishing sector. Insecurity problems in Lake Victoria have been linked to high demand of the Nile perch locally and internationally (Rwambali, 2000).

In the context of this study Uganda's security presence on Migingo Island became a complex issue of national sovereignty. Both Uganda and Kenya have placed territorial claims over the island. The disputes have persisted because of the problem of national interests vested in the complex nature of national sovereignty issues. National sovereignty as theorized by Jean Bodin (1530-1596), has problems in the context of reality (Negan & Haddad, 2012).

In the context of national sovereignty, the state is the center of power whose authority cannot be challenged by subversive elements such as robbers (Negan & Haddad, 2012). However, the attempt by Uganda to maintain law and order, and regulate the fishing sector outside its perceived borders was met by Kenya's national sovereignty concerns. Both Kenya and Uganda have unclearly demarcated border which was inherited from the

British colonial government. International boundaries are governed by the international law or conventions. Crossborder movement of Kenya fishers to extract fish from Uganda territorial water is a violation to international law.

Westphalia Peace Treaty of 1648 has concretized national sovereignty to protect state power and preservation of national interests (Gevorgyan, 2014; Fenwick, 1967). This has also been reinforced in the UN convention:

The UN has upheld the concept of sovereignty on the basis that; no state or group of states has the right to intervene directly or indirectly for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other state. Consequently, armed intervention and all forms of interference are violation of international law. Every state has an inalienable right to choose its political, economic, social, and cultural systems without interference in any form by another state (The UN, 1970).

According to the UN's regulations, sovereignty is the state's innate right to rule its territory and maintain its independence from other nations. As long as the state preserves respect for civil and human rights, minority rights protection, and respect for international law, there is no room for external interference. The state has the right to independently make decisions about its internal and exterior policies without interference from outside parties (Gevorgyan, 2018).

In the context of this study, Kenya-Uganda territorial disputes can be managed or resolved by deploying laid down frameworks of the UN or protocols of a regional organization such as EAC. Both Uganda and Kenya made attempts to settle the dispute by the JTC. Kenya's approach to settlement of territorial disputes with Uganda has been through diplomatic channels. High profile diplomatic frameworks under the JTC stalled when Uganda recalled its team of experts. Both countries have since been deploying *ad hoc* mechanisms to deal with emerging issues of crossborder relations with regard to fish

extraction. Local administrators, BMUs, and joint security operations have been used where and when necessary (Shaka, 2013).

Power relations between Uganda and Kenya in Lake Victoria as evidenced in this discussion starts at the micro level resource exploitation of fish resources. Various state actors involved in the entire process are fishers, BMU officials, Fisheries Department for each country, and revenue collection officers. From the study findings, fish landings at BMUs are documented to determine the economic value before it is loaded on trucks for market. At Sori BMU it was noted that KES 2/- are levied for every one kilogram of fish. This tax contributes towards the country's GDP.

As discussed in this chapter, EAC has regional integration mechanisms but national sovereignty issues limit powers of EAC with regard to implantation of joint policies on fisheries development. Each country has a different tax regime and policy of fishing gear. Whereas Kenya allows size 4.5 nets, Uganda banned the use of size 6.5 nets. This makes it difficult to have uniform framework of operation for fishers in the lake. That is why Kenya fishers operating in Uganda are arrested or taxed quite differently from their Uganda counterparts. Such policy gaps are a panacea to emerging disputes in Lake Victoria.

From the analysis, dynamics of national sovereignty in Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations impact adversely on micro level economic activities. The policy on underage fish between the two countries is different. The size of legalized nets used in each country are varied and this is one major problem that face Kenya fishers in Uganda territorial waters. The territorial dispute led to Uganda's crackdown on illegal fishing in its territorial waters thus impairing Kenya fishers' economic venture. Micro economic

activities in the context of the study involve informal fishing in Lake Victoria, which entails local communities.

Sovereignty in international politics is a complicated phenomena with its own constraints. It is not clear if sovereign states would continue to be the dominant focus of political power. Sovereignty is threatened by power structures, particularly the development of regional organizations and other international norms that cut beyond national and international boundaries. Despite a number of obstacles, the state continues to serve as a point of reference for most of the questions related to development of both domestic and foreign policy (Bartelson, 2004).

Each sovereign state decides its domestic and foreign policy bearing into considerations the aspect of national interest (Neumann, 2015). Uganda's crackdown on illegal fishing in its territorial waters impaired Kenya fishers' economic venture. From Uganda's military actions one can argue that foreign policy aims to either maintain power, acquire more power, or display power. The application of political realism theory is displayed by power relations between the two states as they compete for control of fish resource in Lake Victoria.

The scenario in Lake Victoria between Kenya-Uganda engagements affirm the argument raised above considering that the two countries are competing each other for economic gains. Resource struggle has degenerate into territorial claims whose vested national interests are difficult to resolve. The dispute affects micro economic activities of fishers whenever they are arrested and their fishing gear impounded. The territorial dispute leads to loss of jobs and livelihoods among local communities who depend on the fishing sector.

From the above findings, the relevance of political realism is illustrated by the desire of each state to demonstrate its power and protection of national interests through deployment of instruments of the state. The presence of revenue collection officers, BMU officials, and fisheries department are features of state power reinforced in national sovereignty. The presence of state institutions demonstrates its juridical dominance in its power relations with others.

4.3.1 National Sovereignty Issues and its Influence on Dispute Settlement

There have been *ad hoc* or piecemeal attempts to calm the situations whenever disagreements over fishing arise between the two states in Lake Victoria. A respondent who is an area administrator at the rank of Local Council 2 (LC2) in Namayingo District explained the importance of grassroots officials in dispute settlement:

[L]ocal administrators from Uganda and Kenya have been involved in resolving the dispute, and there are some gains. The leadership comprises of county or district commissioners, police commanders, and Lake Victoria BMU network officials, and LC1-5 at all levels. The leaders organize regular meetings to address emerging issues, as they await resolution of a joint survey by both countries. The coordination deals with security enforcement on the lake and crossborder fishing. Uganda authorities have also allowed over 300 Kenya fishing boats to operate in Uganda territorial waters so long as they pay tax and other licensing fee (Respondent 032, 2018).

The use of Track 3 diplomatic channels in the resolution of territorial disputes between Kenya and Uganda in the context of this study illustrates the benefit of application of micro level state relations. Local administrators and BMU officials have engaged in *ad hoc* meetings to resolve the dispute over emerging crossborder issues in Lake Victoria. They deal with matters of illegal fishing, security enforcement, and promotion of co-operation in crossborder fishing compliance.

Kenya-Uganda dispute in Lake Victoria is elusive just like most of the border disputes that have emerged elsewhere in the world. To that extent it is not easy to resolve territorial disputes because of competing national interests between the two states. Based on the conceptualization of state formation from the Westphalia system, none of the states would be ready to cede territory. The existence of the state is defined by territory however small it is and the real existence of each state is enshrined in its territory (Morgenthau & Thompson, 2004).

An *ad hoc* settlement committee under the auspices of administrators of counties or districts bordering Lake Victoria from both countries came up with ten-point resolutions. According to available information from a local administrator from Namayingo district, the resolutions are:

- i) Fishermen to use their organized associations to resolve internal conflicts.
- ii) Commanders from both countries to have regular meetings to resolve emerging issues.
- iii) A hotline to be established and headed by commanders from both countries.
- iv) Complaints on taxes to be addressed to Uganda Revenue Authority (URA) senior officer, Enock Manje.
- v) Google maps should be used to guide officers from counties.
- vi) Fishermen should observe good practices i.e., pay required taxes, and avoid carrying arms, including crude weapons.

vii) Issues raised on corruption should be investigated. All boats used for fishing in Lake Victoria must have visible registration numbers for easy identification.

viii) All fishing equipment that may have been impounded to be released and all cases not yet in court to be dropped.

ix) Joint communication of these resolutions to be made at a central island.

Kenya and Uganda have grappled with Lake Victoria dispute since there is lack of an institutionalized transborder management framework. EAC does not possess the capacity and institutional framework to deal with such a dispute. The dispute heightened tensions between the states. Kenya has responded to the problem and want an amicable settlement. Uganda authorities have been proactive to crackdown on illegal fishing because they perceive a direct danger to their sovereignty by Kenya fishers.

According to Wekesa (2010), Uganda evicted Kenya police officers who lived on Migingo Island. It also imposes revenue tax on Kenya fishers, and arrested Kenyan nationals on the island who disobeyed Ugandan laws, and at one time put the island under a curfew. These actions from Ugandan authorities perpetuated hostility between the two states. Micro econo-political implications of the dispute have contributed to hostilities and mistrust between the countries at macro level.

The dispute was exacerbated when Uganda deployed its customs officers to assess and impose tax levies on Kenya fishers. Further, Uganda Fisheries Ministry planned a Migingo BMU to collect and manage tax from the island. Respondents confirmed that

fish from Migingo BMU do not reach Kenya authorities for documentation. This move had economic implication on Kenya since the country lost revenue.

Uganda Marine Police occupation of Migingo Island was to enforce the country's tax measures. Evasion of tax payments and failure to use Uganda processors for all fish caught within Ugandan national waters, caused the country to ban Kenya fishers. Uganda flag was raised on Migingo Island. Kenyan authorities sent 12 Kenya Marine Police to re-assert the country's sovereignty over Migingo Island. After one day, 60 Uganda Marines were sent out as a response. Kenya and Uganda were on the verge of going to war. A flimsy agreement, as a result of high-level diplomatic negotiations was done. It allowed fishers from both countries to conduct their regular operations under combined police control (Okumu, 2010).

From this discussion it is evident that the impact of resource struggle between states is adverse based on the dispute on inter-state economic-political relations at the micro level. As already argued in this study, territorial disputes between Kenya and Uganda in Lake Victoria are about the control of fish resources. Its implications are felt more by local communities who rely on fishing. Initially, Kenya fishers outperformed their Ugandan rivals in obtaining fish from the lake. In spite of Kenya controlling a small fraction of the lake, this pattern allowed Kenya to increase its economic turnover from fish relative to Uganda. Military presence of Uganda on Lake Victoria served as a deterrence measure by the state in its attempt to protect its sovereignty by restraining Kenya fishers' trespass to its territorial waters. Consequently, military activities in the lake are attributed to dramatic fall of fish catch especially the Nile perch. This has adversely affected micro level economic activities of local communities.

Competing national interests have made it difficult for the countries to initiate a meaningful negotiation process to resolve the dispute. Instead, the countries have delegated management of the dispute to regional administrators whose jurisdiction covers disputed territories in Lake Victoria. The problem of disputed territories requires adequate focus for resolution. It also requires commitment from both parties. High profile diplomatic framework is necessary and can only be affordable by the commitment of top leadership of the two countries. As it is the two states rely mainly on *ad hoc* committees to deal with emerging issues just to calm the situation but not necessarily resolving the dispute.

In international politics, sovereignty enables each country to choose how to interact with others based on its interests. From the analysis, economic growth, security, and political alignment of the state within the international community are defined and quantified as national interests. Kenya and Uganda are both political and economic participants in EAC framework. As sovereign independent states, each one makes its own decisions about how to manage its international relations without intervention from other countries. Each of the states decides its friends based on national interests.

National sovereignty issues have great influence on determining interstate relations. Interstate relations are determined by gains each country stands to obtain from the cooperation. Competing national interests between Uganda and Kenya in Lake Victoria revolves around the management of fish resources. This competition led to territorial claims which serve as launchpads in accessing rich fishing grounds. Geostrategic importance of border islands between Uganda and Kenya in Lake Victoria elucidates the applicability of political realism in this study. According to political realism theory, the

struggle is all about power and it deals with the benefits of territorial spaces in its enhancement.

4.3.2 Colonial Legacy in Interstate Relations

The colonial partition process of East Africa left a landmark problem that Kenya and Uganda grapples with in the management of crossborder relations in Lake Victoria. The colonial boundary demarcation was arbitrary as stated:

[B]eginning in the waters of Lake Victoria at a point due south of Pyramid Island's westernmost point on the parallel 1°South latitude; from there, the boundary follows a straight-line due north to that point; from there, it continues by a straight line northerly to the most westerly point of Ilemba Island; from there, it follows a straight line still northerly to the most westerly point of Kiringiti Island; and finally, it follows a straight line still (Order in Council, 1st February, 1926).

The boundary demarcation was based on arbitrary description of islands in Lake Victoria. According to Labu (2012), Kenya-Uganda borderland issues are well comprehended by a detailed examination of colonial rule and its impact on Africa. But it should be understood that Lake Victoria serves as a crossborder commercial route between Kenya and Uganda and has been in existence from time immemorial.

Trade is conducted between the citizens of the two countries and even beyond in addition to fishing (Labu, 2012). Kenyan exports through Lake Victoria are: construction materials such as steel, cement, and iron or steel structures and poles and petroleum products. To the final destination of these products, passes through Kisumu port to Uganda, Tanzania, DRC, and Rwanda. This makes Kisumu to be a very important linkage town to the land locked neighboring countries of Kenya. Kenyans import cereals such as bananas, sorghum, cotton, seed cake, peanuts, green, grams, sesame, millet,

maize, and fruits from Uganda through Lake Victoria. A key respondent who is an expert at the EAC stated that:

Kenya and Uganda are mutually dependent on one another and enjoy a symbiotic relationship. Kenya offers international market access to Uganda since Uganda is landlocked. The impasse is about national interests meant for the countries' economic enhancement. Strategically Uganda would want to dominate the lake economy to increase its economic power in relation to Kenya's regional economic dominance (Respondent EXP01, 2018).

National sovereignty addresses itself to geostrategic importance of islands in accessing fish resource. This problem has strained the countries' relations. Dynamics of territorial disputes escalate crackdown on illegal fishing. It adversely affects Kenya fishers in performance of their economic activities. There is need for a neutral arbiter especially EAC, AU, or the UN to assist the countries to resolve the dispute.

Unclearly demarcated boundary between Uganda and Kenya in Lake Victoria is a major problem. Kenya fishers find it hard to locate boundary marks when fishing in the lake, thus they cross to Uganda territorial waters. As such they are arrested and harassed by Uganda authorities. Territorial claims are motivated by national sovereignty issues which adversely affect econo-political relations of the two states. National interests involve control of available economic resources in order to enhance state power. Micro level relations in the lake affect Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations at the macro level.

4.3.3 Channels of Fish Trade in East Africa

Arising from complex issues of globalization, fish trade in Kenya has evolved into several channels that spread its tentacles in Uganda (Abila, 2003). Kenya's fish export industry is complex given that one factory can own and manage additional businesses that deal with import, export, transportation, and supply of fish. Also, Kenya's fish

factories extend beyond Kenya's borders as they own similar factories in Uganda and Tanzania. Strategic considerations of these factories are to get fish from Tanzania and Uganda for their mother industries in Kenya. A review of Abila's observation is premised on political realism theory in trying to understand the complexity of national policy design on resource distribution. Policy formulation around strategic national resources marginalizes the masses in favour of political elites and their associates.

However, it is important to highlight that dispute over territorial ownership and management of Lake Victoria's fishing grounds have had a negative impact on Kenya's small-scale fish trade. The conflict has weakened artisanal or informal fish trade sector, which deals with the traditional fish processing subsector. Before being sold in the neighborhood market, fish is smoked or deep-fried in this industry. Lack of fish has caused this industry, which is dominated by women, to decrease. Majority of women no longer work in the industry or simply sit about and process what they can (Abila, 2003).

For a long time, Kenya has mostly benefited from macro trade with Uganda. The customs union was ratified by EAC members in March 2004. The customs union aims to increase local, crossborder, and international investment as well as economic growth and industry diversification. It also aims to further liberalize intra-regional commerce in goods. The common market protocol was signed in November 2009 and came into force in July 2010. It aims to progressively transform into a single market that allows for free movement of goods, persons, services, labor, and capital (EAC, 2020).

Establishment of the above protocols clearly outlines benefits for economic co-operation between member states of EAC. Such protocols are meant to put in place best practices for partner states. National interests have however, scuttled efforts to fully operationalize

customs protocol as states move to protect local industries. This has been caused by protectionism as a policy that further isolates states based on domestic preferences.

4.3.4 Territorial Claims in Lake Victoria

Despite the fact that Kenya is faced with territorial annexation from its neighbor the country has committed to use peaceful channels to deal with the dispute. According to a key respondent based at EAC:

Kenya's foreign policy is based on benign diplomacy, cleverly calculated towards economic dominance of the entire Eastern Africa region. Its diplomacy is strategic for the country's economic advancement. The country does not want to rock the boat from within. Kenya could be the greatest loser in case of regional instability. The country benefits immensely from Uganda's market which is the largest consumer of Kenyan manufactured goods (Respondent EXP06, 2018).

Kenya-Uganda dispute over Migingo Island raises concerns with regard to management of political affairs of the two states. Uganda authorities occupied eight islands on Lake Victoria that Kenya had earlier claimed were annexed (Muchege, 2017). The largest and most significant of the islands is Sigulu. It has a population of approximately 10,000 people, majority of whom are Kenyans of Bunyala, Samia, Suba, and Luo ethnicity. According to Muchege (2017), President Idi Amin of Uganda captured Sigulu Island in the early 1970s. Sigulu Island's residents were later granted Ugandan citizenship through naturalization. Along with other local authorities in Eastern Ugandan districts of Samia Bugwe and Namayingo, they have members in the Ugandan government.

Following Uganda's takeover of Sigulu Island, the Kenyan government never protested diplomatically and has never done so. It is argued that, Kenya's diplomacy in Lake Victoria was more focused on peaceful co-existence. Uganda on the other hand, has been aggressive or abrasive on the handling of Lake Victoria border issues. Kenya is more

focused on macro level econo-political relations with Uganda. On its part, Uganda diplomacy focuses on the micro level economic aspects in its interaction with Kenya, leading to emergence of the dispute.

4.3.5 Containment Policy

The applicability of this policy is a cleverly calculated move by the state to maintain status quo and to ensure its continued gains as a global or regional power instead of going to war. In contemporary world politics, states embark on developing cordial relations in order to facilitate trade or their economic advancement. Their main focus is usually to open up new opportunities for trade and investment growth in the world market. They use diplomatic network to provide commercial intelligence, tourism, marketing, and business link as well as business assistance. Expansion of international trade influences crossborder movement of people (De Mesquita, 2010; Hocking & Donna, 2010).

Kenya's reaction to Uganda military activities in Lake Victoria has been exercised with a lot of restraint to avert war between the two countries. The main objective for Kenya's containment policy is to maintain its economic interests in Uganda. If Kenya was to declare war on Uganda, then the country would be at a great loss. Uganda would sever trade relations with Kenya incase there is outbreak of war.

4.3.6 Kenya's Global Strategic Considerations

Kenya has decided to restrain itself on using military force against Uganda due to the country's strategic importance to the world and her function as a regional economic powerhouse. Kenya is a focal point both regionally and internationally, thus stability is crucial. The country serves as a key financial, transportation, and host of offices for many international organizations with a stake in the Greater Horn of Africa region. Therefore,

Kenya as a country cannot afford war because of irreparable consequences that would follow (Chemiaty & Nasong'o, 2021).

According to Mwesiga (2011), the complexity of interests of various actors has been one of the most troublesome aspects of disputes in the Great Lakes region. There are both real and hypothetical parties to the conflict in this area, and they are both rather obvious. On the other side, there are also a few actors who appear to be working in the foreground while secretly lurking in the background. These kinds of players intentionally use deceit as a tactic to escalate confrontations in order to advance their own goals. Kenya has attempted to avert war with Uganda in order to protect her economic interests irrespective of who the players in the dispute are.

Peace is being undermined in the Great Lakes region by influential economic and political figures with hidden agendas. Some of these actors include secret service agencies, intelligence and security services, arms dealers, money launderers, smugglers, drug traffickers, private military services, security firms, warlords, and lords of poverty (Mwesiga, 2011). One cannot completely rule out the likelihood that any of these players are involved in the present conflict on Lake Victoria between Kenya and Uganda. Their goal is to safeguard their immediate economic and geopolitical interests at the price of local stability.

Political economy of development in Lake Victoria has influenced President Museveni's soldiers' deployment in the lake. This approach is a show of classical realist school of thought. In view of classical realism, the military can be deployed in any area of the state to prove the country's military preponderance and in view of its rivals, symbolizes its sovereignty and independence. In light of disputed Lake Victoria areas, Uganda is

prepared to declare war on Kenya. Additionally, it serves as a disincentive to prevent Kenya fishers and safeguard Uganda's territorial waters from exploitation by outside parties (Janowitzi, 2015).

On her part, Kenya's foreign policy is based on mutual co-operation and peaceful co-existence. As a regional and global economic hub, Kenya has established partnerships with US and other great powers based on strategic considerations. US has strategic interest in Kenya's security and stability whose objectives are:

- i) Improve the military capabilities of Kenya.
- ii) Boost Kenya's capacity for counterterrorism and border security.
- iii) Heighten awareness of maritime security.
- iv) Strengthen its ability to maintain peace.

A number of American companies have established their regional or Africa-wide headquarters in Nairobi. It is verifiable that 80% of East Africa trade flows through Mombasa Port (Bureau of African Affairs, 2020). Kenya's GDP is approximately 43% of the East Africa region. Kenya has increased power generation, significantly to cut the cost of production in the manufacturing industry besides attracting investors. Massive infrastructural projects are also being undertaken by the nation, which end at the borders with its neighbors. This economic picture projects Kenya as regional economic power. Kenya's markets are open and vibrant, and its financial system is developed. Uganda remains Kenya's largest export partner (Goldman, 2016).

Although, economists argue that Kenya's economy is powerful than the military power, the country has attempted to balance both. A robust economy needs an equally powerful

defense and deterrent capability. Since Kenya has positioned itself to become a regional economic hub, military power becomes an aspect of both geopolitical and geostrategic relevance.

From the discussion above it is evident that Kenya has huge economic interests in Uganda based on the two countries' bilateral trade arrangements. Kenya enjoys balance of trade with Uganda. This illustrates Kenya's desire to maintain a co-operative relation with Uganda for mutual economic benefits. Macro level economic gains that Kenya accrues from Uganda have an influence on the country's econo-political relations. This factor is a key a variable that has led to Kenya's aloofness on taking a bold decision to counter Uganda's military aggression in Lake Victoria.

4.3.7 OAU Principle of Non-Interference with Internal Affairs of Other Sates

According to a key respondent based at EAC,

[T]here is a clash between domestic and international law with regard to the disputed territories in Lake Victoria. National interest is sovereign to a greater extent that the international law is silenced. The international community cannot intervene unless there is violation of citizens' rights by the state. In the new World Order, African states are resisting Western dominated agencies, on grounds that the West has ulterior motives. The global south has resisted the dominance of the global north and raised questions of universal acceptability (Respondent EXP02, 2020).

Kenya still emphasizes the OAU's principle of non-interference with internal affairs of other states and that is why the country has pursued peaceful coexistence with her neighbors. To undermine its neighbors, the nation has never taken part in nefarious acts. Kenya has acted as a mediator in regional crises and has always held a firm belief in the peaceful resolution of differences through mediation, negotiation, conciliation, and arbitration. The OAU concept places a strong emphasis on respecting the sovereignty,

territorial integrity, and unalienable right to independence of other states (Chemiati, 2013; Alwanga & Nyanhoga, 2010).

In Uganda, the coming to power by Dr. Milton Obote, led to a new economic and political framework known as The Common Man's Charter. The goal of the policy document was to make Uganda a socialist nation. The document, gave nationalism and socialism priority. It claimed that capitalism, vested interests of the wealthy and educated, foreign influence, and feudalism were to blame for Uganda's socioeconomic issues at the time (Aseka, 2005).

Tanzania's Marxist-Leninist ideology had always influenced Uganda's economic and political policy from the early years of the country's independence. This was as a result of close political ties between Dr. Milton Obote of Uganda and Tanzania's Nyerere. Even after Yoweri Museveni captured power, he and majority of the National Resistance Movement's (NRM) founding members soon started discussing a "revolution" in Uganda. Washington was largely persuaded by the subsequent radical populism that NRM was a Marxist government. Uganda was perceived as having ties to radical leaders in the Global South, such as Colonel Muammar Gaddafi of Libya and Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso (Okoth, 1995).

From the discussion, internal political developments of a country have a bearing on its relations with neighbors. Uganda's political ideology based on sentiments of Marxist approach meant a radical approach towards dismantling of any forms of exploitations as an antithesis to capitalism. Although this ideology was not fully developed in the political economy of Uganda, it had a bearing on the country's foreign policy. This thesis argues that Uganda has focused to ensure fish resources from its territorial waters benefits its

economy whether at micro or macro levels. Therefore, Uganda's approach to micro level economic activities has affected its economic-political relations with Kenya.

A respondent who is a fishery official at Sori MBU explained levies imposed on Kenya fishers by Uganda authorities:

Kenya fishers are required to pay a monthly levy to Uganda authorities to be allowed into the country's waters. Each boat registers with Uganda Revenue Authority (URA). Fishers pay tax worth KES 10,000/= per month for an operation license. UPDF makes regular patrols on the lake to enforce the law on tax compliance. Vessels which do not comply are pursued even to the Kenya side of the lake by UPDF Marine Unit. UPDF is equipped with high-speed boats that are considered to be superior to their Kenyan counterparts (Respondent 015, 2018).

The dispute between Kenya and Uganda has contributed to adoption of isolation policy of which each country is on its own as far as enforcement of security on the lake is concerned and regulation of fishing activities. Each country has its own tax system with internal mechanisms of enforcement. This is part of macro level activity that affects interstate relations at the micro level. Heavy taxes affect net profit of Kenya fishers leading to closure of business.

The scenario in Lake Victoria is synonymous of the case of USA which pursued isolation policy with regard to the protection and global advancement of its national interests (Morgenthau & Thompson, 2004). Kenya and Uganda have each adopted the same strategy. Both the countries are keen to guard their national interests while dealing with the dispute in Lake Victoria. Uganda security surveillance and heavy taxes imposed on Kenya fishers has contributed to the decline of economic activities on the Kenya side of the lake.

However, a local administrator who was interviewed at Muhuru Bay near Sori BMU credit Uganda military for reduction of insecurity incidences that emerged on the lake. Robbers were used to operate from Alur Island as their hideout. They robbed, killed, and terrorized fishers. They dismantled boats and took off with motorboat engines and fish from fishers:

Uganda military set their foot on Migingo Island under unforeseen circumstances. Although Kenya fishers at that time had encountered security problems that had emerged on the lake, the government of Kenya had taken measures to address the security issue. Uganda hosted its flag on the island in 2006 to stamp its authority and sovereignty on the island. Kenya government directed the Migori District Commissioner to hoist the national flag on the island. There are two flags on Migingo Island, one for Uganda, and the other for Kenya. This is to say both countries claim sovereignty over the island (Respondent 011, 2021).

The presence of security forces, the national flag, BMU officials, UPDF, and revenue collection officers from Uganda manifests national sovereignty on Migingo Island. According to the respondent, at some point skirmishes happen between Kenya and Uganda security forces on the island. Such incidences at micro political level raise tensions between the two states at the macro level. It leads to mistrust thus, affecting Kenya-Uganda economic-political relations.

Despite the fact that Uganda military helped to restore security on the lake, there is still tension between security forces. This regards arbitrary arrests, harassment, and impounding of the fishers' gear and the demand for huge bribes as alleged by fishers at Sori BMU. Fishers' rights are grossly violated by such acts which go unaccounted for in Lake Victoria.

4.3.8 National Sovereignty Issues in East Africa

According to a respondent based at EAC:

[S]overeignty issues between Kenya and Uganda are central to the territorial disputes. But the big question has always been why Kenya-Uganda and not Kenya-Tanzania territorial disputes? Kenya has a small portion of the lake, yet 75% of the Lake Victoria waters is filled by rivers from Kenya. There is no clear demarcation of the boundary between Kenya and Uganda in the lake. Kenya and Tanzania reaffirmed their boundary in Lake Victoria (EXP02, 2018).

The starting point of the problem of national sovereignty in Africa was the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, which set the rules of colonial occupation of the continent. The Anglo-German Agreement and other inter-European arrangements were instrumental in erecting artificial boundaries that have come to trouble Kenya and Uganda. Kenya-Uganda boundaries were demarcated without consulting its people. The demarcation brought together over forty previously independent communities into one territorial entity that has espoused the concept of sovereignty thus creating numerous challenges as far as state building is concerned (Ndege, 2009).

Analysis from EXP02 affirms that the territorial dispute between the two states is based on issues of national sovereignty. There are no clear boundary demarcations between the countries in Lake Victoria. This implies that Kenya fishers cross over to Uganda territorial waters without noticing. The smallness of Kenya's portion of the lake is overconcentrated by a large number of fishers who then cross to Uganda territorial waters for fishing. The problem amounts to illegal crossborder movement and fishing that have faced military crackdown from UPDF.

Arising from the discussion, the application of political realism theory involves the aim of every state to enhance its power and protection of national interests. The power struggles between Kenya and Uganda in Lake Victoria are for their economic enhancement through exploitation of fish resource. The uniqueness of this study is that

the territorial disputes between the two states impacts on micro econo-political relations of states.

Most of the crossborder movements are motivated by enhanced economic opportunities in the neighboring countries. Kenya-Uganda crossborder movement has increased tremendously for fishing due to shrinking land resources. East African countries have close ties of crossborder movement thus, there is need to develop a policy that would promote joint utilization of transboundary resources (Odipo, 2015).

4.3.9 East African Community Protocol

As observed by respondent EXP02, 2018:

[S]overeignty is in the nature of states...and each would work to protect its interests even if they are members of East Africa Community. Under the EAC protocols, member states cooperate in many sectors, each of them has the to develop its own policy on taxation and management of national resouces (Respondent EXP02, 2018).

Basing arguments on the above respondent, Kenya-Uganda territorial dispute is about national interests as shrouded in sovereignty issues. Each of the countries has developed its own tax system and policy on fishery management. This points out the problem of resource exploitation on a shared transboundary resource in Lake Victoria. The problem of the territorial dispute between two states therefore, is as a result of policy variation, which in the context of this study rests in national sovereignty.

Crossborder migration of people, particularly the fishing community, is impacted by the territorial dispute in Lake Victoria. Although both nations are signatories to EAC convention, which allows for unrestricted movement of persons throughout the area, this does not relieve each nation of its obligation to abide by any laws or tax regulations. National sovereignty takes precedence over regional integration, hence Uganda's efforts

in Lake Victoria are primarily driven by national interests, which take precedence over the text and spirit of the EAC.

Partner nations are required to comply with the following under Article 16 of the EAC Protocol on Environment and Natural Resource Management of Fisheries:

- i) create efficient institutions and management systems to manage and develop fisheries resources in a sustainable manner.
- ii) co-operating in fisheries resource monitoring and stock evaluation.
- iii) collaborating in the creation and exchange of fisheries management information.
- iv) the establishment of efficient enforcement measures for legislation relating to fisheries.
- v) create regulations for the control of alien aquatic animals and organisms that are introduced.
- vi) take required steps to control the catch of juvenile fish.
- vii) choose the best fishing equipment and techniques, and encourage their use.
- viii) establish protected areas and identify essential habitats for fish survival, such as spawning, breeding, and nursery locations.
- ix) develop and promote aquaculture and cage culture, as well as encourage conformity to international fish quality standards (EAC Protocol, 1999).

Even with EAC protocol on free movement of people in the region, fishers are obligated to comply with registration and pay requisite taxes before they are allowed into territorial

waters of a foreign country. Again, from the above referenced article, member states of EAC formulate their own policy enforcement measures or issues relating to fisheries development in their territorial waters. Although there are efforts to harmonize policy, each state formulates policy as destined by the national fisheries department. That is why there is a variance in taxation, and size of nets to use by fishers vary from both countries. These complex macro level economic policies in Lake Victoria affect Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations at the micro level.

4.3.10 Unclearly Demarcated Border

The Uganda-Kenya boundary in Lake Victoria is quite arbitrary in the manner that an ordinary fisher in the lake cannot notice whether fishing in Kenyan or Ugandan waters thus:

[B]eginning in the waters of Lake Victoria on the parallel 1° south latitude, at a point due south of Pyramid Island's westernmost point; from there, the boundary travels in a straight line north to the most western point of Ilemba Island; from there, it travels in a straight line north to the most western point of Kiringiti Island; and finally, it travels in a straight line north to the most western point of Mageta (Order in Council, 1st February, 1926).

An analysis of the boundary demarcation between Kenya and Uganda in Lake Victoria is an arbitrary description with no visible landmarks. The demarcation was based on islands as guiding reference points of the border. This factor makes it hard for fishers to realize which side of the lake when carrying on with their fishing expeditions. Crossborder fishing activities by Kenya fishers in Uganda territorial waters is a major source of the territorial dispute in Lake Victoria.

The demarcaters heavily relied on the mountains of East Africa, local lakes and the 30°E Meridian. Using geographical features and latitude 1° south, the Kenya-Uganda border

was drawn. Markers, made use of lakeside islets and not pillars on the ground. These characteristics make it impossible to precisely delineate the borders between states in the lake (Okumu, 2010; Kabwegyere, 1974).

Data from questionnaires indicated that 83% of Kenya fishers on Mingingo Island opined that they don't give a lot of weight to Lake Victoria's international borderlines. First, they don't know where Uganda-Kenya border in Lake Victoria is located, nor do they care to find out. Fishing or buying fish in Kenya is not done across any international borders because Kenya fishers firmly think that Mingingo Island is a part of Kenya. From that perspective, micro level sovereignty issues do not matter for fishers or for the local people.

Arbitrary demarcation of boundary grouped the whole 933-kilometre international borderline schedule between Uganda and Kenya protectorates into three (3) sectors. These are from south to north, the thalweg of Sio River to the tripoint border with Tanzania located on the first parallel south (1°South) latitude at approximately 33° 56"east longitude, from Mount Elgon to the Mouth of the Sio River on Lake Victoria's northern littoral. Then from the northern tripoint with Sudan (Mount Zulia) to Mount Elgon, and from with some slight alterations, this later section places the southern tripoint line that separates Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya in Lake Victoria along a meridian that passes through the islands of Pyramid, Ilemba, Kiringiti, Mageta, and Sumba (Okumu, 2010).

Resource linked disputes in the developing world are rooted in their extraction successively translated by mercantilism, colonial capitalism and state kleptocracy (Billon, 2018). Lake Victoria's shared resources are the subject of ongoing dispute between

Kenya and Uganda. As illustrated, arbitrary boundaries between states have contributed to emergence of territorial dispute between Kenya and Uganda.

For purposes of resolving Lake Victoria disputed territories, Kenya and Uganda have been forced to adopt the 1926 British Order in Council, schedules of the Ugandan constitution from 1995, and Kenyan constitution from 1963. The actual location of the 'westernmost' point on any given island, as defined by the British Order in Council of 1926, is disputed by both nations. To understand the precise location, descriptions must be understood as very arbitrary and complex.

4.3.11 Establishment of Joint Technical Committee of Experts

According to an official at the Ministry of EAC, Kenya favoured diplomatic channels and an amicable settlement to Lake Victoria territorial dispute. Military activities by Uganda's forces in Lake Victoria made the countries to stand at the brink of war. A flimsy agreement resulted out of high-level diplomatic negotiations that permitted fishers to carry on as usual under joint police surveillance. To assess the contentious border, the JTC of specialists was tasked to resolve the controversy by demarcation. Surveying activity came to a standstill when the combined verification team couldn't agree on a procedure. The initiative failed as a result of Ugandan experts' withdrawal from the exercise.

The parties involved in the issue took initiative to create the Joint Technical Committee (JTC), which is a recognized method for resolving disputes internationally. An attempt by Kenya and Uganda to resolve the dispute in Lake Victoria with focus on Migingo Island did not hold. Hardening of positions between the two states have emerged bearing in mind sovereignty issues especially that one of competing national interests.

According to a respondent who is an official at the Ministry of East Africa Community:

[T]he two countries' proposal on JTC for a peaceful resolution of the dispute was unsuccessful due to vested national interests. That is why state interests as vested in sovereignty overrides the quest for regional integration, and even disregards international co-operation. Kenya-Uganda issue in Lake Victoria cannot be resolved by the world community unless the parties request for help of an international organization, as long as there are no violations of citizens' rights (Respondent EXP08, 2018).

Local leaders in particular politicians from the Kenyan side have also realized that the two states cannot resolve the dispute on their own without international arbitration. Vested national interests between Kenya and Uganda cannot be reconciled by the states themselves. Leaders called for reference of the dispute to ICJ for settlement. Some leaders from the Lake region of Kenya, where fishing on Lake Victoria supports the community's economy suggested that the dispute can be brought to rest if third party intervention will be engaged.

4.3.12 Limitations of East African Community

A key respondent who is based in Nairobi observed that:

[I]n each of the nations of East Africa, there is still a potent nationalist surge...regionalism is still fiercely opposed. The degree to which East Africans have participated in EAC integration process has given rise to several pertinent challenges. The way EAC operates reveals it to be a club of political elites, who are primarily focused on maintaining their political clout. The procedure for choosing members of East Africa Legislative Assembly (EALA) is defective and alienates the people of EAC, according to a critical analysis. The leadership of political parties or leaders of respective East African nations choose relatives and political cronies to become members of EALA (Respondent EXP12, 2020).

The analysis points to the fact that EAC member states still hold to ideals of national consolidation and have a strong attachment to national identity. EAC has limited capacity to intervene in the mediation process to settle territorial dispute between Kenya and Uganda. Also, political interests of the ruling class manipulate operations of EAC

governance structures, making it weak. Officials of EAC serve under the whims of politicians in their national capitals who are the appointing authority thus, deserve total loyalty.

East African states agreed to complete and actualize regional integration by 2015. Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Burundi, DRC are EAC members. Other states that intend to join are Sudan and Somalia. There is apprehension of some member countries of their labor market being flooded by immigrant labor from other countries. Kenya's capital investment in the region is high and other states are reluctant to open up their territories.

It is clear that EAC organs have weak institutional capacity and cannot decisively deal with Kenya-Uganda territorial dispute in Lake Victoria. Based on the secretariat's expanded authority since the Permanent Tripartite Commission was established in 1993, the Council of Ministers instructed it to commission an institutional evaluation in 2011. Due to shifting policy perspectives and a lack of member state consensus on suggested institutional arrangements, the review is still not finished after several years (Craig, 2016).

The arguments reinforced by Craig, indicate EAC is not vibrant as for the case of ECOWAS which has helped to resolve many disputes that have emerged among West Africa states. Some decisions made by EAC need military action, yet there is no military branch to carry it out. EAC has weak structures which cannot implement tough decisions. It is more of a ceremonial outfit that needs to be reconstituted to make it politically oriented in order to address emerging issues like the one under study. The secretariat should be strengthened by enhancing powers of the Secretary General.

From the analysis, EAC has limitations that hinder its performance. The organization is viewed as an association of heads of state and government in the East African region. A critical examination of the process of nomination of members of East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) is a pointer to this argument. Representatives of various countries are people related to the top leaders of their countries or cronies. The problem of national interest as defined in national sovereignty makes the performance of EAC dismal.

4.3.13 Diplomatic Engagement between Kenya and Uganda

A respondent based at the EAC observed that:

[H]igh profile diplomatic meeting was followed by the setting up of the JTC to demarcate Kenya-Uganda border in Lake Victoria. Presidents Yoweri Museveni of Uganda and Mwai Kibaki of Kenya agreed to set a deadline of 60 days for the JTC survey's completion in order to settle the dispute over Lake Victoria's Migingo Island on April 29, 2009. Lake Victoria boundary was to be surveyed, mapped, and marked with buoys and markers by the JTC in order to make it clear where the line lies. In addition, the two leaders decided to let joint security personnel to be stationed on the island throughout the exercise's surveying phase. The survey was stopped a few days following the agreement when Uganda experts withdrew (Respondent EXP024, 2018).

Analysis of the response as quoted above show that there have been high level diplomatic attempts to amicable settlement of competition over territory on Lake Victoria between Kenya and Uganda. The dispute in Lake Victoria led to high profile diplomatic engagements between the two countries' respective heads of state, though it floundered.

Later it was established that a technical team from Uganda was dispatched to London to examine the colonial records kept by the British archives. The joint survey and demarcation would be suspended pending a Ugandan inter-ministerial emergency meeting to consider the results when the team returns with colonial documents, including a 1948 agreement on the use of Lake Victoria. Uganda's withdrawal from the joint

demarcation of the disputed border with Kenya was a strategy to avoid a binding resolution that would come out of the exercise to the country's disadvantage. It is out of this that Uganda has remained non-committal to settlement of the dispute. Although, both countries stand to benefit from fish resources in the lake, varied policy designs formulated by each member state of EAC is one great impediment to sustainable utilization of the fishery in Lake Victoria.

Kenya-Uganda territorial claims is caused by the ambition to control rich fish trade around the islands. Due to overfishing, Lake Victoria's fish stocks have been declining over time. However, there are still a lot of fish stocks in the deeper waters surrounding Migingo Island, including Nile perch, which is highly valued in foreign markets. Ugandan authorities have laid territorial claims over the island as theirs. Kenya has used both colonial maps and residents of the island who incidentally are the country's Luo community to proof ownership.

4.3.14 Regional Political Dynamics

The aspects of resource disputes as highlighted in this section is determined by numerous dynamics ranging from national interests, scarcity of resources or unsustainable methods of utilization, interest of individual leaders and other invisible actors. There exist numerous players in regional dynamics in Eastern Africa. The complex nature of players and their varied interests has contributed to difficulties encountered in resolving disputes.

There are varied dynamics attributed to econo-political ramifications of sovereignty for relations between Kenya and Uganda as analyzed in this section. National sovereignty determines the state's ability to choose how to interact in a community of nations. This speaks to geopolitical concerns on ownership and control of territories. Territorial claims

by states cause tense situations, thus impacting on econo-political ties. Modern diplomacy focuses on economic advancement of states' interests. Strategically, Kenya prefers to prioritize economic development over Uganda. The greatest consumer of manufactured items produced in Kenya is Uganda's market.

Kenya is a regional economic hub for the entire eastern Africa region. Therefore, Kenya has downplayed Lake Victoria territorial dispute and maintained an appeasement approach with Uganda due to its geostrategic importance. The decision for Kenya's appeasement policy was to create a balance of power that is necessary to achieve regional stability.

Uganda has adopted a coercive diplomatic approach in order to protect her national economic interests as a response to Kenya's regional economic dominance. Uganda's strategy is not unique in global politics as the country attempts to strike a balance of power in response to Kenya's economic dominance. Uganda's military occupation of Lake Victoria was to restrain Kenya fishers from exploiting its fish resources that benefit Kenya's economy. From the analysis it was evident that Kenya was benefiting more from Lake Victoria fisheries than Uganda yet only a little fraction of the lake belongs to Kenya.

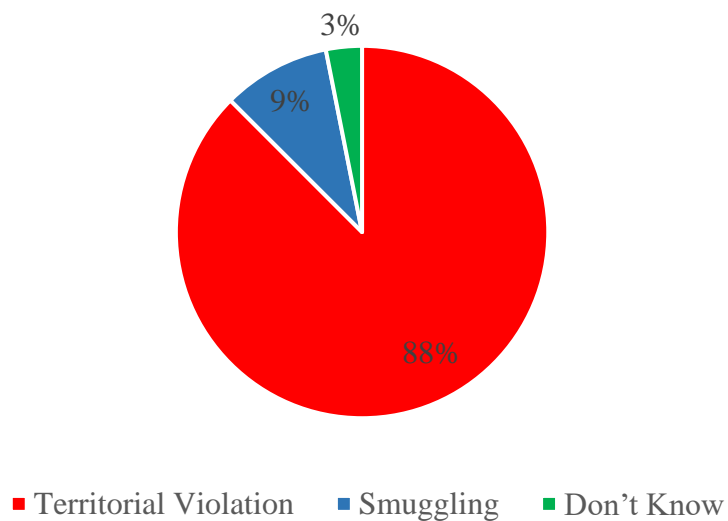
4.4 Contribution of Territorial Integrity Issues to Kenya-Uganda Econo-Political Relations

Raw data from questionnaires showed that majority of respondents confirmed territorial integrity issues are a factor that influence econo-political relations between Kenya and Uganda. A total of 97 questionnaires were issued and 64 respondents returned their responses. Out of 64 respondents interviewed by questionnaires, 56 respondents affirmed that territorial integrity issues lead to military arrest, harassment of fishers, and

confiscation of fishing gear. Military presence also contributes to deterrence of free crossborder movement of fishers in Lake Victoria. This bulk of respondents formed 88%. A total of 06 respondents confirmed incidences of insecurity and illegal fishing or smuggling of fish in the lake. This cluster of respondents formed 09%. On the other hand, 02 respondents provided 'Don't know' response on territorial integrity issues and this formed 03%.

Questionnaire data from BMU officials, fishers, and fishmongers is represented by the piechart shown below.

Fig. 4.2: Territorial Integrity Issues on Kenya-Uganda Relations



From the analysis, territorial integrity issues led to Uganda's deployment of UPDF in Lake Victoria to restrain illegal fishing by Kenyans from its territorial waters. Increased security surveillance by the military led to arrests, harassment and confiscation of fishing gear from Kenya fishers. Territorial integrity issues contributed to loss of jobs or livelihood to most Kenya fishers since they were not able to access rich fishing grounds in Uganda territorial waters. That is why 88% of fishers, fishmongers, and BMU officials

link territorial violations to decline of their revenue returns in the fishing sector. 09% of respondents affirmed the premise that territorial integrity issues influenced deployment of the military by states, thus enhanced security in the lake. Initially, there were incidences of robberies around Alur Island. Therefore, deployment of the military by Uganda led to improved security monitoring. 03% of respondents who were interviewed by questionnaires about territorial integrity issues gave 'Don't know' response. This comprised a small portion of respondents.

Based on the application of political realism theory, the goal of the state is power and protection of its national interests. That is why both Kenya and Uganda have different policies governing exploitation of fish resources in Lake Victoria. Each state is focused to benefit more from Lake Victoria resources. Competing national interests led to deployment of security forces especially UPDF that has served to crackdown on Kenyans who fish in Uganda territorial waters.

This subsection examined the contribution of territorial integrity issues on interstate econo-political relations. Territorial integrity issues in this study were analyzed in the context of use of force by a given state on the territory of another state. Article 2(4) of the United Nations Charter stipulates that 'All members shall refrain in their international relations from threat or use of force against territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations (Libarona, 2012).

The contextualization of territorial integrity issues in global politics is based on preservation of national security and political autonomy of a given state. Nearly every other goal that countries have in mind for their role in international politics starts with

national security. State security architecture is a key stake to safeguard national unity and avoid division of its territory (Weber, 2015; Bingxin, 2011).

Most governments strive to achieve and ensure that there is law and order to guarantee stability. The safeguarding of nationals' lives and property, and ensuring that the country's borders are secure from external aggression is essential for existence of the state. The idea of territorial integrity emerged as a fundamental tenet of international law. It was developed by A. W. Heffer in 1844 in his work on international law of the European Union, where the author focused on the territorial principle that protects integrity of states and guarantees the right to integrity. In 1856, the ratification of the General Treaty for re-establishment of Peace between France, Austria, Turkey, Great Britain, Sardinia, Prussia, and Russia, caused the principle to be adopted into official practice (Marxsen, 2015).

4.4.1 Deployment of Security Forces to Neighbors Frontiers

A fisher at Mulukoba BMU at Port Victoria and who is also knowledgeable of the islands in Lake Victoria stated that:

[I]slands in Lake Victoria on the Kenyan side have been invaded by Ugandan armed forces. The islands are: Mizingo, Sumba, Remba, Khanete, Mageta, Kibwogi, Kiwa, Takawiri, Alur, Rapondo, and Ngodhe. The islands are of strategic importance to both countries because they are just a short distance from Lake Victoria's rich fishing spots (Respondent 014, 2018).

Concerns raised by the respondent were also reinforced by Muchege (2017) that historically, eight islands in Lake Victoria that had previously been a part of Kenya were seized by Uganda government. According to the author, in the 1970s Uganda's head of state President Idi Amin infiltrated some islands in Lake Victoria. Following Amin's

annexation, the Kenyan government did not express any diplomatic disapproval. Territorial integrity remains a fragile issue to any state as far as preservation of its national security is concerned. A sovereign state endeavors at all times to guard its borders from external intrusion. The concept of territorial integrity therefore covers state protection of its borders.

Whereas the concept of territoriality remains a fragile and delicate factor to comprehend, studies in international politics indicate that states have a strong attachment to geographical space, resources and populations that occupy territorial space. Once all these are in place and then there is a governance structure, the state is in place. States strive to control human populations and regulate their activities.

Most Islands in Lake Victoria are predominantly occupied by Kenyans. The populations of Siro, Wayasi, Hama, and Sigulu Islands are mostly Kenyan at 90% and Ugandan population stands at 10%. These islands are administratively controlled by Uganda. Most of the Kenyans on these islands were naturalized to become Ugandans and are registered voters in Uganda. They have representatives in Eastern Uganda districts of Samia Bugwe and Namayingo, as well as other local administrations. Some of them have been elected to local councils and national assembly in Uganda (Muchege, 2017).

As illustrated here, the quest for more territory by states in anticipation to access natural resources, unification of ethnicities, and acquisition of strategic areas is a common phenomenon in international relations. The quest for more territories has led to violation of the principle of territorial integrity. The problem of territorial expansion leads to annexation of territories. Territorial disputes have been a major contributor to outbreak of wars between different countries.

When a state deploys its forces to the frontiers of its neighbor to safeguard its national interests or for security concerns it becomes a matter of territorial integrity issue. The perpetration of violence by external forces threatens real existence of the state and its territorial integrity. Territorial integrity in the context of this study is preservation of the state against annexation, split, and destabilization by foreign forces (Fabry, 2014).

4.4.2 Smuggling of Fish

A revenue collection officer based at Uganda Revenue Authority (URA) at Maninga BMU stated that:

[S]ome Kenya fishers engage in illegal fishing, smuggling and poaching in Uganda's Lake Victoria territorial waters. They cross into Uganda waters without acquiring required licenses, and use illegal fishing gear. Others collude with Ugandans and hire Uganda registered boats for fishing at night to evade payment of license fee. They also transport fish directly to Kenya's BMUs instead of going through mandatory Busia border point as spelt out by Uganda regulations for fish stocks valuation and documentation (Respondent 034, 2018).

Arising from the analysis of field data, fishing sector in Lake Victoria remains a complicated economic activity that requires a multi-sectoral approach to its management and sustainable exploitation. Given that fisheries resource in Lake Victoria is a shared economic opportunity for Kenya and Uganda, there is need for both countries to have a common approach. However, when Uganda took a unilateral approach to deal with 'illegal' fishing and security related issues on its own, there emerged a conflict of interest leading to territorial disputes between the two states.

Under normal circumstances regional political stability enhances steady economic growth between states through improved bilateral trade. But if there is weak security surveillance at border points, bilateral trade will be affected by smuggling of goods. Like for the case

of US, the country's policy makers have argued that protection of borders and ports pose mammoth challenges. This challenge is posed by high number of people crossing the border each year. Also, the length of the border and commercial activities along the same border are a big challenge to security enforcement agencies of the country (Bodenheimer, 2003).

Accordingly, as stated by Bodenheimer (2003), It is important to strike a balance between the demands for open trade and border control. Congress gave the country's security department the responsibility of protecting the nation's borders as well as ensuring quick, smooth, and efficient flow of legal traffic and commerce in recognition of the significance of foreign trade to the US economy. This can be achievable when there is a joint approach on border management with neighboring states. Kenya and Uganda cannot be an exception to this approach since border security is a complex and dynamic issue.

The problem of border management between Kenya and Uganda is not unique as observed from challenges encountered by the US and its neighbors although countries encounter those challenges in different contexts. The US has an advanced economy, and its level of technology is far advanced in terms of border security surveillance compared to both Kenya and Uganda. However, Lake Victoria border conflict between Kenya and Uganda revolves around resource control by the two states. Uganda has cited the problem of smuggling fish to Kenya as a key factor leading to her deployment of the military into Lake Victoria to deal with the problem. Fish smuggling is micro level economic venture that has caused enormous ramifications to Kenya-Uganda economic and political relations at the macro level.

An official at the Department of Fisheries in Kenya based at Sori BMU observed factors that contribute to smuggling and sale of fish to Kenya by Ugandans as follows:

- i) High demand and good price of fish in Kenya as compared to Uganda.
- ii) Kenya's affordable costs of fuel and proximity to market.
- iii) The chance to purchase additional goods from Kenya for reselling in Uganda, given that Kenya has a wide range of industrial products compared to Uganda.
- iii) Most fishers in districts bordering Lake Victoria in Uganda are Kenyans.

National security is aimed at the protection of resources of national territory from another country's invasion and occupation. It also protects national wealth which is in the supreme interest of its citizens from another country's exploitation. Overall, states concentrate on national defense and national security as a priority to protect their interests. The construction of a modern national defense has to be supported by advanced technology and a strong economic power. National security is essential to protect the country's wealth locally and internationally (Bingxin, 2011).

At the international perspective, some powers have laid territorial claims and occupied strategic areas linked to future economic importance in anticipation to secure the region's vast natural resources (Stimson, 2013). A critical observation shows that territorial integrity issues between Kenya and Uganda emerged out of desire to protect national economic interests. As quoted from a respondent who is a security officer at Muhuru Bay Marine Police Station:

Uganda's deployment of troops on the lake was to safeguard that country's economic interests by restraining or preventing fishermen from

Kenya from entering her exclusive fishing grounds. Uganda's military unilaterally occupied strategic islands such as Migingo, and several others that are perceived to be Kenya's territory to deter Kenyans from fishing in Uganda. Although these islands are in Kenya, they are adjacent to the productive fishing grounds of Uganda's territorial waters of Lake Victoria (Respondent 036, 2018).

Therefore, Uganda intensified her marine surveillance on Lake Victoria to deter Kenya fishers from trespassing into her waters for fishing. Military deployments done at national level is macro political move that was motivated to intervene at micro level economic venture to regularize fishing activities in Lake Victoria. The country deployed the military and Uganda Revenue Authority officials, to patrol the lake and operate at major border points. Uganda also introduced Special Revenue Protection Service (SRPS), which is now overseeing prevention of other items and fish being smuggled into Kenya. SRPS co-ordinates its work very closely with UPDF which has however helped to reduce insecurity on the lake.

Acts of insecurity threatened and endangered the welfare of fishers. Criminal acts result in loss of life, physical harm of fishers, and disruption of commerce leading to increased costs to consumers. Border patrol agents are vital to deal with unauthorized crossborder movements. Territorial integrity issues had implications on the flow of fish from Lake Victoria on the Kenya side as demonstrated by the graphs in Fig. 5.1 and 5.2. It is evident from the graphs that Uganda's move to protect her borders from Kenya fishers' intrusion affected Kenya's fishing economy in Lake Victoria at the micro level. Some fish processing factories in Kenya closed down or resorted to imported fish to mitigate the shortage. Thus, from the argument in this study territorial integrity issues at micro level econo-political aspects negatively affected Kenya's fish sector leading to closure of some

factories. Fish processing factories like East Africa Sea Food discussed in this study, contribute towards Kenya's GDP at the macro economic level.

4.4.3 Internal Political Dynamics in Uganda

According to a key respondent based in Uganda:

[M]ilitary deployments are meant to protect Uganda's interests but also in disguise, to divert the military attention away from home problems and exhaust their idle energy elsewhere. Uganda's internal dynamics, especially the country's political instability in the north where the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) under Joseph Kony fought the government for many years in their attempt to secede has also contributed to the country's aggressive foreign policy. Internal dynamics in Uganda, based on the problem of political instability of that country affected its relations with neighbors. Uganda's security concerns make the country to engage its soldiers to be busy through deployment in Lake Victoria, South Sudan, DRC, and Somalia (Respondent EXP01, 2018).

Analysis of views presented above show that Uganda's policy of militarization in Lake Victoria can be contextualized in the perspective of national security concerns. This also, informs why Uganda has sent its security forces in neighboring states that have encountered political instability with justification to deal with the spillover effect. That is why Uganda deployed its forces in South Sudan to support Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), against the Government of Sudan which wanted to spread Islamism in the region. With the declaration of self-determination of South Sudan, Kampala's interests in the Sudan have changed from security concerns to economic. Uganda has economic interest in South Sudan because of that country's huge oil reserves that can be accessed under political stability of President Salva Kiir. Kampala desired commercial relations with a flourishing South Sudan, especially with the Equatoria region, which shares a border with Uganda (International Crisis Group, 2019).

As it is, Uganda believes that major strategic decisions taken in Juba should be influenced by it. The long-standing defense partnership between Kampala and the SPLA, which permits Ugandan military crossborder interventions, is a reflection of Kampala's strategy. Uganda's intervention in DRC has made the eastern region of that country to remain unstable. Also, Uganda has its military in Somalia, and Lake Victoria.

Most of the regional conflicts in East Africa are motivated by desire for rulers to control resources. The dispute between Kenya and Uganda is as well connected to resource control. Ruling elites have been motivated by the control of strategic resources to cause conflict in the region for personal or sectarian gains. Political realism gives a basic explanation to contextualize the vicious circle of disputes in Eastern Africa region. This is based on a situation whereby the ruling class controls certain resources at the expense of the masses leading to acute shortage.

National security concerns can also be analyzed from perspectives of geopolitics. It addresses the problems of national stability, and power relations among competing interests of the state. According to a key respondent from Interior Ministry,

[T]he terrorist attack at a club in Kampala during the World Cup in 2010, contributed to the kind of tight security surveillance meted by the country in Lake Victoria. One of the masterminds of the terror attack was captured in Lake Victoria while on escape en route to Kenya. Kenya-Uganda borders are porous and can be used by subversive elements to threaten national security. UPDF surveillance in Lake Victoria is a security operation (Respondent EXP09, 2018).

Borders are prone to be used by terrorists to transit to their target sites of attack. Porous borders in Africa are conduits of unlawful immigration and crossborder movement. That is why European Union (EU) member states place the utmost significance on efficient border monitoring and control in Europe (Essendorfer & Monari, 2016). USA has also

maintained high level border surveillance by deploying the military along the border with Mexico. USA has approved this as necessary and attributed it as an important dissuader for impending batch of migrants who can pose security threat to the country.

Uganda's deployment of UPDF has assisted to deter access and illegal crossborder movement of Kenya fishers in her territorial waters. The principal strategy was to deny migrants any alternative but also to make them go through designated border crossings (Shinkman, 2018). Uganda military operation in Lake Victoria is meant to guarantee the country's security from subversive elements and also to secure its economic interests with regard to the fishery in Lake Victoria.

Territorial conflicts that go unresolved significantly raise corruption concerns among the security sectors. Increased military spending, lower transparency, emergence of legal gray areas, and the presence of uncontrolled paramilitary formations are the main variables that raise the danger of corruption for defense and security organizations in regions with unresolved territorial disputes. Due to high levels of popular support for the military and the resulting concept of national survival, corrupt behavior is accepted as the price of maintaining national security (Fluri, 2010).

Fluri argues that increased spending on the military substantially increases the opportunity for corruption, particularly where features of renewed conflict overshadow the case for transparency. Increased budgets in militarized situations surrounding disputes tend to reduce transparency in defense institutions. Justifications are made in terms of security threat that faces the country, and therefore military procurement can be closed to scrutiny due to national security reasons.

Uganda has strengthened monitoring, surveillance and control on Lake Victoria with a view to protect fish resource in its territorial waters. This made it more difficult for Kenya fishers to fish in Ugandan waters, and also made it difficult for Uganda fishers to smuggle fish into Kenya. The main complaint from Kenya fishers at Sori BMU is that these measures were implemented without giving them prior notice to prepare and adjust their operations accordingly. Secondly, both Kenya and Uganda fishers indicate that arrests and confiscation of property by Special Revenue Protection Service (SRPS) of Uganda typically uses excessive force to extract money from fishers. Along with being tormented, fishers are made to consume raw fish.

The territorial dispute between Kenya and Uganda along Lake Victoria is represented in a different light, focusing mostly on the struggle for resources. When Ugandan authorities began to harass Kenya fishers, the Migingo Island dispute was brought to the public's attention through media attention. After 'eradicating robbers' on Lake Victoria, UPDF abdicated its role of security enforcement and turned to extortionist activities. Kenya fishers had to pay undocumented taxes in order to be allowed into Uganda waters. The military took bribes from fishers, failure to which their fish was confiscated and fishing gear impounded.

4.4.4 Dispute Escalation

Territorial claims by both states triggered Uganda to deploy its military on Migingo Island. Kenya followed by posting a small contingent of marine police to maintain law and order on its territorial waters (Mac' Ouma, 2019). Military posturing by states in Lake Victoria are forms of political interaction that are a display of power. It is a display

of the states' preparedness to guard its territory. The cardinal responsibility of the state is securing its territory.

After Ugandan forces invaded the island and removed the Kenyan flag, tensions rose once more. The Ugandan troops, according to a Kenyan resident of Migingo Island, took the flag down again when Kenya Marine Police attempted to raise it. Kenya's handling of the situation has drawn criticism from several lawmakers from Nyanza region. After reports of a disturbance in voter registration on Migingo Island surfaced, authorities have also charged the Kenya government with complacency and indecision. In advance of the 2017 general election, personnel from the Kenyan electoral agency were registering voters when Ugandan military intervened, seized the machinery, and forced a halt to the process. For beating up and detaining Kenyan police, Uganda military has also drawn criticism. The lone pre-school on the island was shut down by Ugandans, who went to great lengths to do so (Mac'Ouma, 2019).

Uganda has always pursued the policy of military coercion if not aggression on its disputed border with Kenya in Lake Victoria. Analysts contend that the degree of anarchy in the international system allows governments to use varied levels of force or coercion in their interactions. Self-help continues to be one of the most potent tools at the disposal of states for their protection or assertion of their rights and interests because there is no strong system to implement global legislation, no centralized agency for the enforcement of international law, or any obligatory authority for the arbitration of international disputes. A variety of means for using force against others are typically available to most states, and they can be divided into four distinct groups: ideological, diplomatic, military and economic (Louise, 2007).

4.4.5 Harassment of Fishers by Security Forces

Uganda's national economic interests are threatened by Kenya's regional economic dominance, and by extension the country's benefits from fish resources in Lake Victoria. According to a respondent who is a researcher at KMFRI, Kenya fishers are very aggressive and it is common that they cross into Uganda waters.

Kenya's decision to deploy the marine police on Lake Victoria was a measure to enforce three main objectives: to control illegal fishing, and enforce safety of fishers on the lake, especially to ensure that they use lifejackets, and provision of the general security or maintain law and order. As a country Kenya has the right to protect its borders. So, the move was also meant to monitor Uganda military activities and gather intelligence on national security (Respondent EXP10, 2022).

According to the conventional practices on border security and coastal surveillance, the minimum requirement for a modern state is that the country's border security should be fully scrutinized or checked. That a functioning state cannot afford periods of reduced readiness on matters border security. National security agencies should at all the time guard against illegal crossborder movement, migration, smuggling, and terrorism. The focus of state security should demand and therefore depend on the all-day, all-night, and under all circumstances long-range threat detection and affirmative identification of possible threats. The task of protecting national borders is difficult for a variety of reasons, but the size of the region that must be successfully watched and patrolled ranks as one of the most significant (Flir, 2016).

Uganda's enhanced surveillance in Lake Victoria has contributed to a drastic drop in the landing fish stocks at the Kenya beaches by a huge margin. Falling stocks or fish shortage on the Kenya side has led to increased use of illegal fishing gear. This has led to

increased hostility between fishers and law enforcement authorities who have intensified efforts to deal with the menace of illegal fishing (Okumu, 2010).

A respondent who is a local administrator at Muhuru Bay observed:

[H]arassment of Kenya fishers by Uganda authority triggered Kenya to deploy her marine police at strategic points of the lake shores as a deterrent measure against Uganda militarism in Lake Victoria. On the other hand, Kenya's parliament petitioned the government to deploy troops on Lake Victoria in order to protect Kenyans. But it seems Kenya's security presence was a response to safeguard its territorial integrity (Respondent EXP10, 2018).

Intensive patrols and marine border surveillance by Uganda military has caused various economic implications. Some Kenya fishers and fish traders have relocated to Uganda because they are not able to access fish from Uganda side of the lake. They bring fish to Kenya by road through Busia border point. That has contributed to high cost of production in terms of transport and taxes, pushing the cost price of fish especially tilapia and Nile perch to be very expensive.

Marine police also ensures that only licensed boats operate on the lake. On the Kenya side of the lake marine police, fisheries department officials and BMU officials work closely to ensure regulations are followed. This is to say Kenya fishers who attempt to thrive on illegal fishing face a double predicament. Whenever they illegally cross to fish into the Uganda waters they are harassed and arrested by Uganda military. If they are lucky to escape Ugandan authority and land their fish stock in Kenya, then Kenya authorities arrest them for illegal fishing or smuggling (Okumu, 2010).

Findings at the official BMUs showed that fisheries department takes record of daily landing fish stocks at the BMUs. They also ensure the use of right fishing gear or nets that are recommended to avoid overfishing, which leads to depletion of fish. The

department also protects fish breeding grounds in the lake which are mainly located on the rivers that flow into Lake Victoria on the Kenyan side of the lake.

4.4.6 Commercialization of Fish

Crossborder interactions between Kenya and Uganda have become intensive and the governments' effort to regulate them has led to the dispute. This problem can be conceptualized under political realism theory as illustrated in this thesis. The dispute arises out of high competition among fishers and government agencies to control fishing grounds for commercial extraction of fish. A fisher at Pier BMU explained about an existing dispute in Lake Victoria:

[T]he disputes arise between fishers on their own, fishers and own government authorities, fishers and the government of a neighboring state and now it has turned to the governments themselves. Disputes among fishers arises out of theft and destruction of fishing gear especially where there is use of the 'long-line' or drift net. In some incidences, Kenya fishers take the role of law enforcers by arresting Uganda fishers whom they transfer to Kenya where they are fined KES 20,000/= before they are released. This has been very common at Remba Island where Ugandans are found using illegal fishing gear such as gill-nets (Respondent 038, 2018).

An examination of this response indicates that there is intense competition for fish resource in Lake Victoria between crossborder fishers themselves, and the governments. Resource scarcity as posed by high demand for Nile perch has transformed the fishing sector to be a lucrative economic venture. Crossborder extraction of fish by Kenya fishers in Uganda territorial waters leads to their arrest by UPDF. This takes place at the micro level economic relation. Fishers' outcry leads to involvement of the government of Kenya by addressing to protect its citizenry. These kinds of interactions have influence on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations. They contribute to tensions and mistrust between the two states.

The presence of large trucks waiting to be loaded with fish at Sori BMU indicates the importance of fishing sector as a commercial enterprise. The trucks are fitted with coolers to preserve fish before it is accessed to markets or factories. Fish stocks are weighed to determine value by fishery officers. According to officials at the Fishery Department at Sori BMU, the most popular fish both domestically and internationally is Nile perch.

Fishing of tilapia, dagaa and Nile perch are important sources of income for rural populations and fishers in the area. It helps to provide food security among locals. It is a major financial driving force of the lake economy, and it has a big influence on crossborder migration especially from Kenya to Uganda. This is because a little chunk of the lake is under Kenya's sovereignty and in most cases dwindling stocks has made Kenya fishers to migrate seasonally in pursuit of Nile perch during the dry season in the deep and cool territorial waters of Uganda (Mac'Ouma 2019).

Encroachment of Uganda military on the lake has landed Kenya fishers in trouble. Arbitrary arrests, heavy penalties and confiscation of their fishing gear, makes fishers from Kenya to fear from going into deeper waters for fishing expedition. This challenge has been exacerbated by a mobile natural resource, fish which does not know manmade boundaries and move or migrate between different jurisdictions indiscriminately. The Nile perch migrate according to seasons. Exponential growth of the economic value of Nile perch and high demand in the export industry and international market, has contributed to the concept of resource ownership in Lake Victoria thus making it a thorny issue (Karanja, 2018).

As Karanja puts it, the main economic and dietary resources of fish, which were formerly under the hands of small-scale fishers, have been supplanted by expansion of huge

commercial fisheries for export market. Small scale fishers used to process fish for local hotels and other outlets that rely on eating of seafood. Local fishers now virtually and exclusively sell their fish catches for export as commercial fishing has grown, which leaves local communities with a restricted supply of fish, therefore contributing to the current wave of high demand for fish. Locals have eventually turned to purchase of carcasses, popularly known as '*mgongo wazi*' from fish processing plants after filleting.

Some of the thorny issues that have emerged and affect crossborder interactions between Kenya and Uganda are:

- i) local fishers who are fishing in another state's territorial waters.
- ii) local fishers land fish in waters under the jurisdiction of another state while fishing legally in their own waters.
- iii) customers who travel across international borders to buy fish and bring it to processing companies in their home countries, particularly in Kenya, either directly or through agents (Karanja, 2018).

Until the time when Uganda military intensified patrols on the lake, Migingo Island fishers did not put much importance on international borders. Apart from fish another driver of crossborder migration between Kenya and Uganda is education. Many Kenyans join secondary and other institutions of higher learning in Uganda since it is affordable and studies are completed in stipulated time. Kenya benefits more on regional migration based on the country's advanced technology and large capital flow in other East Africa states (Nyaoro, 2018).

4.4.7 International Terrorism

The discourse around international terrorism is analyzed as a geopolitical issue that affects the entire world. Comprehending territorial spaces and the dynamic nature of humans is hard. According to a respondent at the Interior Ministry:

[T]he terrorist attack at a club in Kampala during the World Cup match in 2010 contributed to the kind of tight security surveillance meted by the country in Lake Victoria. One of the masterminds of the terror attack was captured in Lake Victoria while on escape en route to Kenya. Kenya-Uganda borders are porous and can be used by subversive elements to threaten national security. UPDF surveillance in Lake Victoria is a security operation (Respondent EXP09, 2018).

Analysis indicates that terror attack on Kampala had both domestic and regional or international ramifications. After the attack the government of Uganda took stringent measures to guard its territorial borders including deployment of heavy security around Lake Victoria to deal with illegal fishing and insecurity as a result of the border's porousness.

Terror attack led to Uganda's close surveillance of Lake Victoria, thus contributing to crackdown on illegal crossborder movement. Terrorism is a world problem and that illustrates the decision by Pentagon to create a separate African command for security analysis. The USA military and other government agencies view Sub-Saharan Africa as a growing Islamic terrorist threat. This threat is posed by expanding Islamic networks in East and Southern Africa regions. Sub-Saharan Africa has a weak central government in general and a high level of corruption, making it simpler for terrorist groups to operate there. Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Somalia, and Sudan are among the continent's most vulnerable nations and may act as havens for terrorist organizations and a fertile ground for organized crime (Worcester, 2018).

According to Roell (2018), there is need to understand the basic situation at national, regional, and international levels, in order to counter terrorism. Countering terrorism will depend on good governance (effective administration), the rule of law, a functioning private sector, and development of a strong civil society. Counter terrorism should be an effort that requires a diverse approach to deal with. Terror attack on Kampala in 2010 caused stress to national security leading to intensive surveillance by UPDF in Lake Victoria as part of remedial measures to address the problem of insecurity.

Terrorism is a heinous act that is perpetrated to kill or seriously hurt civilians or non-combatants with intent to terrorize or intimidate a populace or coerce a state, government, or international organization into refraining from carrying out specific tasks. Continuous wars have plagued the Horn of Africa, which is one of the world's conflict-prone regions. It is impacted by a slew of ongoing political unrest, a large number of migrants, internal displacement, clandestine migration, humanitarian crises, and maritime insecurity (Gatuiku, 2016).

Somalia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Uganda, Kenya, South Sudan, and Sudan are countries in the Horn of Africa that have witnessed protracted political unrest brought on by local and national grievances, identity politics, and interstate rivalry in the region. Highlights show the extreme form of violence in the Horn of Africa include the rise of Union of Islamic Courts in Somalia. Ethiopian invasion of Somalia to usher in President Abdullah Yusuf, and US bombing raids against suspected al-Qaeda members are efforts that have been committed to neutralize al-Shabaab terrorism in the region (Gatuiku, 2016).

Practically every country in East Africa has had terrorist attacks, it is the most prone to the entire Sub-Saharan Africa regions. Kenya has been worst hit by terrorist attacks. Majority of the targets have been extra-national or extra-regional objectives, such as Western installations in the area.

The catastrophic terror attacks on Kampala caused loss of life and property destruction. Eastern Africa region is vulnerable because of conflicts, weak governance, and collapsed state institutions. Porous borders in Lake Victoria also allow extensive and uncontrolled migrations and illegal fishing (Kimunguyi, 2011). International terrorism is a major challenge that threatens both Kenyan and Ugandan security. Kampala terror attack in 2010 during the World Cup final match intensified security patrols in the lake.

Kenya has experienced several terror attacks that have led to loss of lives and destruction of property. Terrorism affects both Kenya and Uganda, and the entire Horn of Africa region. That is the reason for both countries' deployment of their military in Somalia to fight *al-shabaab* terrorists. The countries' military in Somalia operates under the banner of African Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). Uganda's military deployment in Lake Victoria is partly to check and counter terrorist infiltration in Uganda through the lake.

Security operations on Lake Victoria affected activities of Kenya fishers who cross to Uganda territorial waters or use illegal means of fishing. The arrest and harassment of Kenya fishers contributed to reduction of fish landings at the Kenya BMUs. The security situation also led to Kenya's intervention by its deployment of Kenya Marine Police.

In brief, an assessment of territorial integrity issues of the state concerns preservation of national security. Every state has the right to protect its borders from external invasion or

intrusion. The deployment of Uganda military in Lake Victoria, to the proximity of Kenya's frontiers depicted acts of aggression, thus, raised security concerns for Kenya. Frequent arrests of Kenya fishers by Uganda military, and the hoisting of Uganda Flag on Migingo Island raises territorial integrity issues as examined in this section. Uganda's deployment of her security forces on disputed territories in Lake Victoria led to arbitrary arrests and harassment of Kenya fishers and impounding of their fishing gear. Consequently, Uganda's military actions in Lake Victoria affected Kenya's fishing economy thereby triggering Kenya into initiating diplomatic frameworks to amicably settle the dispute. The formation of a JTC by both countries was one of the efforts that were initiated by both Kenya and Uganda for purposes of reaching an amicable solution to the problem. Arising from the discussion, findings of the study indicate that micro econo-political relations play a central role that influence Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations at macro level.

4.5 Effect of Political Agency on Kenya-Uganda Econo-Political Relations

This subsection interrogates the effect of political agency by focusing on objective four of the study. The analysis of political agency is dynamic but best suited in geopolitical realms where a leader can position his country's interests but at the same time preserving personal political survival. The discourse revolves at the political leadership and its decision-making process for both Kenya and Uganda, and how it affects the two countries' political and economic connections. Despite the fact that both nations are independent sovereign political entities, a significant factor affecting state relations is political leadership of each nation. The phenomenon of political leadership is centered on the heads of state and government, such as presidents, prime ministers, monarchs, or

dictators, who are said to have a particularly strong impact on their political system, whether that influence is positive or negative. Even if they have a high position in society, political figures are still people. The individual traits of each one of them also differ. These differences may have an impact on a leader's beliefs, judgment, or performance (Simonton, 1995).

4.5.1 Influence of Political Leadership on Foreign Policy

According to a key respondent:

President Yoweri Museveni is a shrewd and tactful politician who can use both coercion and diplomacy to protect his country's interests but also to position himself as East Africa's regional hegemonic center of power. This strategy has enabled him to preserve his personal political interests locally, regionally, and globally. His hold on power in Uganda is not in favor of Western states. President Museveni uses Eastern Africa regional security crisis to deploy UPDF for security enforcement in troubled countries as a bargaining chip to deflect western pressure from his administration (Respondent EXP08, 2018).

The political establishment of a nation has a significant impact on that nation's foreign policy. Political leaders are major decision-making component of the state and decisions they formulate shape the country's foreign policy. As an individual a political leader has personal interests which drive one to make decisions that eventually affect interstate economic and political relations.

Institutions of the state are occupied by personalities who hold responsibility of decision making. The decisions or policies that are made and implemented by such individuals are perceived to be of the state and not personalities that occupy institutions. When analyzing the political agency, one has to focus on the legal frameworks under which the concerned leaders operate from. Therefore, in this regard, political agency is a multi-sectoral component of the state that ranges from the overall leadership of the state and its

institutions (Morgenthau & Thompson, 2004). Territorial dispute settlement depends on the nature of diplomatic design that a country's leadership adopts, and it is either soft diplomacy or coercive diplomacy. Since it has been highlighted as a component of national power, diplomacy is of utmost importance. Therefore, diplomacy's primary objectives are divided into four categories:

- i) The power that is actually and theoretically available to pursue these objectives must be taken into consideration while determining the organization's goals.
- ii) The goals and influence of other nations must be evaluated through diplomacy.
- iii) National goals and its compatibility with other states must be ascertained through diplomatic means.
- iv) achievement of national goals requires diplomacy to use appropriate methods.

In this context national leadership can promote co-operation or hostility with other states based on political ideology of an individual leader. Failure to comprehend the above tasks outlined by Morgenthau (2004), interstate relations may jeopardize the success of foreign policy and world peace. When diplomacy misjudges goals of other countries and the power at their disposal, war breaks out between them.

Therefore, foreign policy designers should comprehend that the country's armed force is an instrument of war, whereas diplomacy is an instrument of peace. However, both instruments serve national interests. Since diplomacy doesn't proceed by removing barriers in its path, it is relative and conditional. Diplomacy carefully employs persuasion, negotiation, and pressure (Morgenthau & Thompson, 2004).

The political leadership of a state may adopt a military design to further its foreign policy based on a number of calculations. The country's military strength is a measure of national power which is used to serve as an impression of its military preparedness in the event of an eventuality.

The United States has occasionally dispatched warships to ports in Latin America to serve as a reminder to the countries concerned that American naval strength is unmatched in the Western Hemisphere. The comprehension of international politics is that military display by world powers in such a manner is that in future, mobilization for war will require total preparedness at all times. That is why some states utilize such military displays to demonstrate their military preparedness for war and also to serve as a deterrent measure to other nations from going to war or pursuing certain policies (Morgenthau & Thompson, 2004).

From the above analysis, one can argue that Uganda's foreign policy towards Kenya with regard to Lake Victoria is of military design. The purpose of this approach is meant to check on Kenya's resource exploitation in Uganda territorial waters and protect its interests in Lake Victoria. Uganda placed a huge military presence in Lake Victoria in order to prevent Kenya fishers from exploiting fish resources in its territorial waters. A country may opt to apply military strategy to protect its economic interests as it is the case of Uganda towards Kenya. However, the most conflicting idea is that to what extent is a country supposed to adopt such a mechanism in foreign affairs especially where there exists long historical and cultural bonding between the states as it is the case of Kenya and Uganda?

An examination of international relations system, shows that the main challenge facing public authorities in charge of implementing foreign policy has been to attempt to develop a thoughtful judgment on crucial matters of diplomacy. Developing foreign policy that encourages co-operation with other states should take strategic thought into account. The type of foreign policy that one country pursues has an impact on foreign policy of another one. How does foreign policy of one country affect that of another has long been a topic of discussion in international politics. The other question is if that country intends to alter the current balance of power or just considers making minor tweaks to it. Co-operation among nations is vital for regional economic development. From this analysis a co-operative foreign policy promotes internal stability among nations.

In foreign policy, a give-and-take, or compromise, strategy can effectively address status quo policy that seeks adjustment within the current general power distribution. An imperialist nation's aggressiveness, expansion, or disruption of the status quo must be stopped, according to foreign policy, which must be decisive (Morgenthau & Thompson, 2004).

The ongoing disagreement over disputed territories in Lake Victoria was motivated by the desire to control economic resources. African states need to have a reasoned approach on how to exploit common resources without use of threats. The territorial dispute over exploitation of fish at micro level has influenced the contact of Kenya-Uganda economic relations at the macro level. This can be illustrated by military deployments by the two states and high-profile engagements between them.

From the above observation, the country's foreign policy is very much influenced by its leadership political orientation. Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni came to power when the National Resistance Army (NRM) triumphed over Tito Okello's government after a costly bush war (Aseka, 2006). That is why Museveni's perspective and approaches to dispute resolution is by use of the military.

Going by this analysis Uganda was faced with political turmoil shortly after independence up to the time when President Yoweri Museveni took over power through military action. Uganda encountered serious economic decay during the period of political turmoil as compared to Kenya and Tanzania that have steadily progressed economically because of relative political stability that was enjoyed (Aseka, 2005).

4.5.2 Bilateral Trade Ties

According to a key respondent based in Nairobi:

[B]ilateral or multilateral trade deals with exports and imports, and it is relating to three types of regulations: documentation compliance, domestic transportation and border compliance. Access to international market is important to all economies. Although international trade has a central role in national economic development, it comes with certain limitations to the local small-scale traders. Imposition of trade tariffs by states are still among important policy instruments used to promote or restrict trade. Cumbersome border procedures and standards are major hurdles for small scale traders and have become a recipe for tax evasion (Respondent EXP38, 2021).

The analysis of how the decision undertaken by the leadership of a country influences the economic affairs with its partners and has ramifications at both micro and macro levels. It examines how friendly or unfriendly relations between the two countries influence the economics in Lake Victoria. Personality of a leader counts in determining interstate relations and has far ranging implications on the volume of trade between the states. But

there are also other factors such as international economic system that influences state economic policy decisions.

The political leadership of a given country focuses more on economic progress of the country and welfare of its people (Giovanni, 2014). A sound economic policy will enable the state to raise funds for provision of essential services to citizens. That is a factor leading to border restrictions or surveillance to deal with security and trade issues across states. Cross-border movements of people have led to a growing interest in the study of welfare of concerned people. It has also led to implications in international trade and remittances of revenue or accrued income by migrant labor providers to their respective families in their resident countries.

Analyses of crossborder trade or fisheries resource exploitation between and within countries like Kenya and Uganda indicate that there is always an impact on the host country as well as the country of origin in terms of economic progress at both micro and macro levels. Free movement of people across nations contributes to worker heterogeneity and improved worker productivity due to varied skill exchange (The World Bank, 2020). The process also helps to promote co-operation of citizens of the two states at micro level.

Giovanni (2014) appreciates crossborder movement of people as an essential phenomenon in interstate relations because it enhances transfer of skills across nations. It is also a vital activity that contributes to financial enhancement of people and generally for the countries involved. This argument points at the outcome of crossborder movement of people and goods between Kenya and Uganda through Lake Victoria.

The above arguments indicate that crossborder movement of people contributes to an increase in market size, and the range of varieties. The process widens the range of varieties both for consumption and international market. Therefore, Kenya-Uganda crossborder movement in Lake Victoria could translate into positive economic progress for both countries if well managed. However, any obstruction of free movement of people between countries has negative implications to econo-political interactions at both micro and macro levels.

A political leadership choice, crafted by the nation's political organization, led Uganda to place its armed forces in Lake Victoria. The country's leadership is referred to as the political agency and it is considered as the driving engine of the state. The intervention of Uganda military in Lake Victoria contributed to the drop of fish landing stocks on the Kenyan side especially the Nile perch and tilapia species. The most affected species was Nile perch which has high demand in international market. Before Uganda military occupation of Migingo Island, Kenya was making an annual catch of between 1.7 and 1.6 metric tons of Nile perch. This translated to about KES 430 million during that time. Following Uganda's military intervention, annual revenue turn-up from Nile perch in Kenya dropped to KES 85 million as demonstrated in Table 4.2

Kenya's international market for the Nile perch is countries such as Netherlands, Israel, Spain, Italy, Hong Kong, Australia, USA, Japan, and Britain. Israel is the largest importer of Kenya's fish since it accounted for almost 75% of all fish exported from Kenya. Some African countries, especially those from Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) states also provide a good market for Kenya's fish export (Fisheries Department: Kenya, 1996).

4.5.3 Militarization of Regimes and Politics of Survival

According to a key respondent based at Sigulu island:

[M]ilitary deployments are meant to protect Uganda's interests but also in disguise, to divert the military attention away from problems and exhaust their idle energy elsewhere. Uganda's aggressive foreign policy was influenced by its internal dynamics, particularly the political unrest in the north of the nation, where Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) waged a protracted war against the government in an effort to secede. Internal dynamics in Uganda, based on the problem of political instability of that country affected its relations with neighbors. Uganda's security concerns made the country to engage its soldiers in Lake Victoria, South Sudan, DRC, and Somalia (Respondent EXP01, 2018).

Perspectives of a leader or personal interests determine the country's foreign policy issues. The adoption of military strategy by the state to protect its national interests is determined by its leadership. Military deployments take place on orders of political leadership. Therefore, political leadership traits impact on econo-political relations of states.

Soldiers gain rewards and other incentives from the war. Uganda military get well paid as compared to when they are stationed in their home country. In Uganda the lowest paid soldier is paid around \$120 per month. If one opts to fight in Somalia, for instance, the earnings are more than \$1,000 per month. Uganda troops are in Somalia because of regional politics. Unstable Somalia destabilizes Kenya and if Kenya is unstable then Uganda is unstable (BBC, 2012).

Based on account of the above analysis, Uganda's military interventions in the regions is based on the long stay in power of President Yoweri Museveni. National Resistance Movement (NRM), the party in power, does not want hundreds of soldiers to idle in their barracks. Since he has been in office for long, President Museveni's support is dwindling.

From the government's perspective, it is preferable to deploy military officers elsewhere to avoid restlessness.

The political agency and its influence on interstate relations is also reflected by President Museveni's attitude. He is shrewd and does not care much even if Uganda's relations with Kenya go sour. These views were raised by a key respondent based in Nairobi:

[D]espite the fact that Uganda is land-locked and largely relies on Kenya to access international trade, the country has an alternative route through Tanzania. That one is a clear indicator as to why President Museveni abandoned the LAPSET project by claims that the Tanga route is cheaper and affordable than through Lamu port in Kenya. Uganda's political leadership decided to act coercively with regard to the way in which the dispute in Lake Victoria was handled. Uganda was not concerned with the outcome of its military activities in the lake (Respondent EXP27, 2018).

Kenya's political leadership seems to make accurate assessment to assist itself by avoiding awkward foreign policy declarations that may lead to war whose consequences are adverse. When both sides believe they can use force to achieve political goals at acceptable costs or when both sides believe they can win by a clear margin, disputes turn into war. There haven't been many win-win war situations in the world. Countries that fight wars pay a disproportionate price in terms of lives lost and resource destruction (Beckley, 2010).

Disputes over limited resources more frequently trigger new institutional evolution processes and implementation of new policies. Approaching institutions as regulated patterns of behavior that are continually created and reconstructed by individuals' behaviors that result from underlying structures is more acceptable. Actors involved look for practical and innovative solutions to problems like disputes over water supplies, and

this may involve parts of formal policy, conventional law, and common practice (Lecoutere, 2011).

The search for solutions on a given societal challenges lead to organically evolving governance institutions. Institutional evolution has been as a result of *ad hoc* processes, and these contexts are characterized by legal and institutional pluralism that eventually generate greater opportunity for emergence of institutions (Lecoutere, 2011). That is considered to be part of the state response and intervention to working out possible resolutions for peaceful coexistence.

That is why there have emerged several regional institutional frameworks to deal with emerging issues in Lake Victoria for sustainable management of resources. Again, the political agency through its good offices and *ad hoc* programmes, has been instrumental under EAC to ratify specialized agencies or protocols with specific objectives to harmonize joint management and utilization of Lake Victoria resources. Establishment of institutions such as LVFO is part of an effort by EAC member states to co-operate in areas of sustainable resource management on the lake and to resolve disputes amicably as they may arise.

A respondent based at EAC observed:

Both Kenya and Ugands are members of EAC. Uganda has no problem as far as kenya fishers' extraction of fish is concerned. The problem is violation of the law by fishers with regard to evasion of tax, lack of fishing permits, and use of wrong fishing gear. Policy differences on fishery development by the two countries has contributed to the problem of illegal fishing (EXP22, 2021).

The EAC protocols are meant to promote cooperation and integration of the East African states. Uganda's concerns are the protection of its national interests. Uganda has accused

Kenya fishers of using wrong fishing gear to capture fingerlings in its territorial waters, thus breaking Uganda law on fisheries management. Under the EAC treaty, member states are left on their own to develop their fisheries policy. There exist differences in laws of the two countries on the size of nets and fishing gears that are used in Lake Victoria. The differences in national policy designs are decided by political leadership aspects that eventually influence Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations.

It is not uncommon for the regional or international organization or agency to be unable to implement its policy programs given the diverse and competing national interests. Apart from national interests, political elite interests become a factor that shapes econo-political relations among states. This is part of institutional flaws that characterize such regional or international organizations. The failure by EAC to mediate on territorial disputes between Kenya and Uganda in Lake Victoria is a problem of political leadership in the region. Leaders have their own personal interests which can be pursued through national or regional institutions.

The protocol of LVFO is institutionalized under EAC established by riparian states. It cooperates with European Union (EU), Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), and the World Bank (WB) to facilitate common resource management system with the goal of restoring and maintaining long-term health of the lake's ecosystem. LVFO assists local fishers by monitoring sanitation at landing sites and enforcement of policy, or harmonization of regional fisheries regulation (Sida, 2004).

LVFO is more specific and focused on Lake Victoria fisheries, which is an intractable issue leading to the current impasse between Kenya and Uganda in the lake. An examination of the purposes of LVFO illustrates the agency as a policy implementation

or enforcement organ. However, a critique of the functions of LVFO is the problem of political leadership in East Africa that has manipulated and weakened the institution. According to the protocol BMUs are supposed to be managed by fishers from respective states of EAC. In Uganda, BMUs were put under the management of Uganda Marine Police by orders of political leadership.

Despite the fact that agencies are complementary in management of national affairs, the principle of separation of roles should prevail to avoid confusion and wastage of public resources. LVFO has a weak institutional framework that is subject to manipulation by competing national interests by member states. That justifies the rationale for the persistence of territorial disputes between Kenya and Uganda in Lake Victoria, which is precipitated by the struggle for control of fish resources.

4.5.4 Marine Security

Leadership of the country is at the heart of its policy decision making. The political agency would have a great influence on the states security policies. Marine surveillance and security deployments in Lake Victoria are concepts that can be understood in the context of the countries' leadership, as well as national interest of each. Leaders influence policy making processes based on national interest. According to a key respondent from Uganda:

[T]he presidents of Kenya and Uganda are heads of state and government as well as the commanders-in-chief of the armed forces of their respective states. This is to say that any military deployment is done with the full approval of the head of state or otherwise ordered by him. By no doubt Uganda's military deployment on Lake Victoria is President Museveni's political strategy to be a regional hegemony (Respondent EXP01, 2018).

The analysis alluded by the respondent can be narrowed down and analyzed in two dimensions. The political agency of the state decides the nature of security operations on any part of country. Secondly, for Uganda its leader has been in power for quite many years and there is a possibility for an attempt to extend that influence on the entire East African region especially with anticipation to form East African Federation. President Museveni is the longest serving head of state and government in the entire eastern Africa region.

Uganda's military activities in Lake Victoria are influenced by the political agency. The presidency is a powerful institution in both Kenya and Uganda thereby it plays a critical role in the design and execution of foreign policy of a country. It is essential to understand the political orientation of a leader of a given state to comprehend the way a given country relates with others. The political background of an individual leader is important for analysts to comprehend interstate relations.

The political leadership in Uganda focused more on marine border surveillance in Lake Victoria. This has been accorded significant attention by state given econo-political benefits of such areas. That explains the reason for Uganda's leadership strategy that ordered military deployment in Lake Victoria. However, the nature of security surveillance varies from one state to the other based on its economic capabilities and levels of technological innovations. The level of investment by the developed world in marine surveillance is far superior compared to the developing world. However, security challenges encountered in both cases are common.

As a regional economic hub, Kenya is economically endowed compared to Uganda. This consideration has made Kenya's leadership to be more strategic in regional and global

affairs compared to her East African partner states. Political leadership in Kenya has always preferred soft diplomacy as a strategy to advance its regional economic interests. Going by arguments propagated by political realists, a country with strong economy is entitled to transform its economic power into military and political power. Military capacity of the state is relevant and vital for the defense and expansion of its economic power. This argument contradicts Kenya's policy in Lake Victoria. Both countries are concerned with the preservation of national interests. Territorial claims over islands and deployment of the military in Lake Victoria by the two states impacts on their economic-political relations.

4.5.5 Power Balance in East Africa

Balance of power is given various interpretations by international relations scholars. For purposes of this study, the states put themselves into checks and balances. In an effort to prevent one state from dominating the group, they work toward a balance of power, whether consciously or unconsciously. It is also assumed that states put their own interests first, including the very survival of the state. Therefore, states must increase their own power to counter actual and potential threats from others (Morten, 2018).

The analogy propagated above is that each state is driven by national interests in its relations with others. National interests in interstate relations are economic and political entrenchment. The concept of balance of power between Kenya and Uganda could also be at play. First, if the countries declare war against each other the economic loss and political damage will be disastrous to the entire region presumably based on interdependence nature that is long standing between the two countries.

Both Kenya and Uganda are politically equal though economically not. Second, both countries have a symbiotic relationship. The quality of military training among states is different. Kenya is considered to have the best professional military in Africa in terms of training and specialization. That gives an illustration as to why the country's military has not been engaged to cause regional instability.

Military departments of the state are linked to the office of heads of state and government (Morten, 2018). The military is at the heart of state leadership. Kenya's and Uganda's annual military expenditure are equal although the quality of personnel is different. Kenya's military expenditure is placed at 1.8% of the total GDP. Similarly, Uganda's military expenditure stands at 1.8% of the country's total GDP. The countries' military establishment is as follows:

a) Kenya Defense Forces:

- i) Kenya Air Force
- ii) Kenya Navy
- iii) Kenya Army

In total Kenya's military personnel averagely standards at 29,000 officers. On the other hand, Uganda military establishment is as follows:

b) Uganda People's Defense Forces

- i) Land Forces (includes Marine Unit)
- ii) Uganda Air Force

Uganda's military personnel averagely stands at 47,000 (CSES, 2018).

Based on the analysis, Kenya's military intelligence is superior and its leadership provides appropriate strategy to apply in the country's defense and protection of national interests. A well-trained military relies on adequately researched intelligence. National Security Advisory Council provides updates to political leadership as to when and where to take military action. Kenya's political leadership has focused on regional stability.

4.5.6 Political Institutions

The conceptual analysis of political agency attempts to understand how political institutions affect the way policies are made and the bearing of such decisions on people. An institution is important in aggregating national preferences and supply of policy. States have institutions manned by individual leaders. Apart from domestic institutions, interstate relations and structures of international system affect domestic choices on trade. Some models explain that trade policy has focused on pressure group politics that lead to protection by government (Milner, 1999).

The political leadership of any state has to be responsive to aspiration of its people. Policies formulated by leaders serve national interests. National interest therefore, affect interstate relations. One cannot ignore grievances of fishers in Lake Victoria from both sides of the two countries in terms of how those shapes relations of states in the lake.

Governments bow to pressure from powerful interest groups to provide protection. The political agency intervenes because of domestic economic pressure to protect livelihoods, markets, and economic mainstay of local communities (Milner, 1999). The analogy raised by Milner is that under certain circumstances when a livelihood of citizens of a country is threatened, leadership of the state is bound to intervene and protect it from

foreign competition. This provides an explanation on UPDF deployment in Lake Victoria.

Deployment of UPDF in Lake Victoria was ordered by the state. Kenya fishers who cross to Uganda territorial waters are arrested or deterred by Uganda military; thus, declining fish returns on the Kenya side. For instance, Kenya fishers from Nyandiwa and Remba Islands move to Ugandan waters in pursuit of Nile perch between January and May. This leads to arrests of fishers by Uganda military (Okumu, 2010).

4.5.7 Military Crackdown on Illegal Fishing

There are certain efforts which were committed by the leadership of both countries to resolve the problem surrounding disputed territories in Lake Victoria. Political leadership of a country is a critical component in the resolution of disputes. They can converge for a summit under a regional organization to address problems affecting them and also chat the way forward. Regional organizations provide a forum through which states can resolve their disputes. They have structures through which it is possible to harmonize various policies for their common good.

Military presence on Lake Victoria is a political leadership problem that has immensely brought about the upsurge of the conflict in the lake to the extent of raising territorial integrity violations. Uganda's dispatch of its military by orders of the state was to eradicate illegal fishing. Military crackdown has caused artisanal fishers to lose their lives, livelihood and homes. In Uganda President Museveni disbanded locally elected beach management units and replaced them with Uganda Marine Police, allegedly to eradicate corruption that is linked to illegal fishing (Jacobson, 2019).

Deployment of the military in Lake Victoria by President Museveni contributed to the exacerbation of the dispute in two ways. First, is the dispute between local Uganda fishers against UPDF crackdown to control illegal fishing. Then secondly, is the dispute between Uganda and Kenya in Lake Victoria over Uganda's occupation of strategic islands, notably Migingo Island. Then, there is also a dispute between fishers from both Kenya and Uganda linked to theft of fishing gear and fish catches. These disputes, as explained under the econo-political processes on Lake Victoria, revolve around the control of fish resources.

In an effort to stop illegal fishing, UPDF has destroyed hundreds of nets and boats. People that rely on artisanal fisheries for a living and a source of food could suffer terrible effects as a result of this. Fishing at night to evade notice and capture by the military is one of the riskier coping mechanisms that desperate fishers have adopted (Mudliar, 2018).

There is no scientific evidence to demonstrate that deployment of UPDF on Lake Victoria has in any way assisted to increase fish stocks in the lake given the military's purported duty to abolish 'illegal' fishing. The military largely caused tension between Uganda and Kenya thus jeopardizing chances of resolving the dispute amicably. Fishers have also adopted crude methods of fishing at night in order to escape military arrests and harassment for economic survive (McComell, 2009).

There is absence of political commitment to resolving territorial disputes between Kenya and Uganda. A presumption of this analogy can be drawn from the aloofness, declarations, and utterances of top political agencies of the two states. It is also evident that national interests reign high in this dispute and therefore the two states cannot

resolve the dispute on their own in the absence of a third party. The territorial dispute in Lake Victoria revolves around the control of fishing grounds between the two countries. Introduction of the Nile perch and tilapia in Lake Victoria succeeded in creating a valuable commercial fishery but there are problems of joint policy on its utilization by member states (Jacobson, 2019).

Jacobson (2019) gives a highlight on the role of the state in resource allocation and sustainable exploitation. Whereas the Nile perch was introduced in Lake Victoria for economic reasons, there was an underestimation on political ramifications.

In brief, the subsection on political agency focused on objective four which interrogates the influence of political leadership on interstate economic-political relations. Foreign policy designs are decided by political elites of a given state. The personality of a leader counts in decision-making process. President Yoweri Museveni's political socialization thrived from the military. That is why his political imaginations are based on exploitation of the military strategy to achieve personal and national interests, rather than negotiation. The perspective taken by President Museveni has brought about deployment of the military in neighboring states to secure the country's national interests.

There is a relationship between leadership of a country and the exercise of its foreign policy. Uganda's leadership is abrasive thus, the country's coercive diplomatic approach. Kenya's approach has been soft diplomacy to avoid war by all means. Uganda's intervention in Lake Victoria led to a drop in the Nile perch landing stocks in Kenya at the micro level, thus affecting fishers' income. The drop in fish landing stocks affected Kenya's revenue from the fish industry and this can be analyzed at the macro level.

The political agency has been instrumental in ratification of specialized agencies under the EAC protocol. For instance, LVFO is part of an effort by member states of EAC to ratify and co-operate on how to share the lake resources sustainably without resorting to war. These are econo-political structures between EAC states to address micro level changes stemming from Lake Victoria. The territorial dispute in Lake Victoria presents challenges to EAC regionalization efforts. With specific reference to Lake Victoria management, EAC treaty places an emphasis on sustainable use and protection of natural resources.

Whereas power relations of a given state towards the other has arguably been said to be determined by its economic endowment, and how best the country can transform that into protection of its national interest, Kenya's approach is quite different from this established perspective. The perspective was asserted by political realists that military power of any state is determined by its superior economic development based on the country's quantity of resources and sound defense planning. Political realism theory applies in analyzing political leadership by emphasizing military power as a direct product of material resources often measured in terms of the size of the state's defense budget. The display of state power is based on military forces, recruitment and training (Beckley, 2010).

4.5.8 Summary

This chapter analyzed data drawn from both qualitative and quantitative approaches that were utilized by the study. Analysis of data was linked to research objectives of the study. The study affirmed that disputed territories in Lake Victoria between Kenya and Uganda affect the countries' micro econo-political relations. Dynamics of territorial

disputes are felt at the micro level econo-political relations involving ordinary citizen activities.

From the research findings, the study confirmed the objective which intimated that territorial dispute between Uganda and Kenya in Lake Victoria is resource based. The struggle for control of fish resources, especially Nile perch which has a lucrative local and international market is intractable. Fish resource struggle has a bearing on the conduct of Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations in Lake Victoria.

Research findings also indicate that national sovereignty has influence on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations. Territorial claims between Uganda and Kenya on Migingo, Remba, Mageta, Wayasi, and Sumba islands is about national sovereignty whose dynamics impact on the countries' econo-political relations. The claims of sovereignty are reinforced by the presence of security agents, revenue collection officers, and local administrators, and state institutions at the micro level. They co-ordinate functions of the state at the grassroots level which in this context is micro level econo-political relations.

Territorial integrity issues concern national security of an independent state. From research findings, the study confirmed that every state has the responsibility to protect its borders from external intrusion or threat. Uganda's deployment of its military, UPDF on Migingo Island raised territorial integrity issues. According to international conventions, Uganda's move became a security threat on Kenyan frontiers of Lake Victoria. Kenya responded quickly by deploying its marine police to monitor Uganda's military activities.

The political leadership is central organ of foreign policy design and implementation. The ruling elites safeguard national interests but at the same time they protect personal

political interests. Internal political dynamics of the state in Uganda is shrouded by personal political survival tactics. This has been adequately propounded by the nature of coercive diplomacy it exercises in Eastern Africa region.

Data for analysis was drawn from both qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitative data was obtained by use of interview guides, and was applied to four objectives of the study. Quantitative data was obtained by use of questionnaires. This was applied on objective one and three of the study. Questionnaires were used to collect data from fishers, fishmongers, and BMU officials.

Findings show that territorial disputes impact on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations in Lake Victoria. Research findings in this study adequately connect with theoretical framework. The study utilized political realism, as illustrated by desires of the state to enhance its power and protect national interests. Political realism propounds that the ultimate goal of the state is power and to preserve national interests. Research findings fall within theoretical realms of the study as illustrated. The next chapter is going to examine summary of research findings, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of the Findings

Lake Victoria territorial disputes have a bearing on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations. Territorial claims on strategic islands in Lake Victoria are caused by: the desire to control fish resources, national sovereignty, territorial integrity issues, and political agency. Attempts have been made by states to resolve the dispute amicably but the process floundered out of vested national interests. Intractability of transboundary resource exploitation in Lake Victoria has caused escalation of territorial claims by Kenya and Uganda on strategic islands. The islands are: Migingo, Mageta, Sumba, Remba, and Wayasi. These islands are in close proximity with rich fishing grounds especially the Nile perch. Commercialization of the Nile perch was caused by lucrative market locally and internationally, thus an illustration of the competition posed by both countries.

Secondly, territorial disputes between Kenya and Uganda over Lake Victoria are about national sovereignty. Unclearly demarcated border between the two states in Lake Victoria escalated the dispute. Each state aims to control territory, population, and resources which in the context of this study are the attributes that define the state. National sovereignty is manifested by institutions of the state such as UPDF, Uganda Marine, Kenya Marine Police, administrators, revenue collection officers, and relevant state institutions. Institutions or personnel are used to implement policy of their respective states. Enforcement of policy by state institutions curtailed Kenya fishers from accessing Uganda territorial waters to extract fish. Uganda authorities also imposed heavy taxes thus locking out Kenya fishers from fishing in Uganda territorial waters.

Thirdly, the dispute is about territorial integrity issues. It is caused by territorial violations by Kenya fishers to extract fish in Uganda territorial waters without permits, smuggling of goods, the emergence of insecurity or subversive elements. Uganda's deployment of UPDF in Kenyan territory of Lake Victoria is an aspect of territorial integrity issue. Territorial integrity issues raise national security concerns between the two states. The emergence of insecurity in Lake Victoria posed by robbers, and terrorist groups that bombed a club in Kampala during the World Cup Championships are issues that relate to territorial integrity. Territorial integrity caused Uganda's enhanced military surveillance in Lake Victoria. As a result, there was a crackdown on Kenya fishers who strayed to Uganda territorial waters for fish extraction. The crackdown affected small scale fishers as they lost a livelihood, thus the impact on micro econo-political relations.

Lastly, the political agency refers to leadership dynamics and personality traits of an individual leader. Leaders play a critical role in influencing domestic and international policy. As leaders promote national interests, they also harbor personal interests for their political survival. President Yoweri Museveni has been in power for long and would use every available opportunity to extend his influence on the entire East African affairs. Uganda has always kept its military busy in the struggle against subversive elements in Countries such as Somalia, Sudan, DRC, and deployment of UPDF in Lake Victoria is not unique. The country uses regional insecurity to keep its military busy away from home and also as a bargaining chip to enable President Museveni extend his power. This explains Uganda's adoption of coercive diplomacy in Lake Victoria, yet both countries are members of EAC which promotes cooperation and regional integration. Political

leadership dynamics in Uganda has helped to escalate the territorial dispute thus causing adverse effect on micro econo-political relations between the two states.

5.2 Conclusions

The territorial dispute between Kenya and Uganda in Lake Victoria is a complex issue vested in intractability of resource exploitation, national sovereignty, territorial integrity issues, and political agency or leadership dynamics on how they influence econo-political relations of the states. The imperial line drawing that split Lake Victoria region into western and eastern spheres between these two powers had econo-political implications to the African societies then and now. The partition of East Africa has made natural geography to be a recurring human subject of disputes between Kenya and Uganda without a lasting solution.

5.2.1 Intractability of Transboundary Resource Exploitation

It was established that territorial dispute between Kenya and Uganda in Lake Victoria is as a result of the struggle for control of fish resources. Since the main resource in the lake is fish, especially Nile perch which is on high demand in both domestic and international markets the two countries are keen to exploit it for economic gain. Kenya controls a small portion of Lake Victoria compared to both Uganda and Tanzania. However, research findings demonstrated that Kenya's annual revenue in the period prior to 2009 from fish was higher compared to Uganda. The struggle for control of Nile perch in Lake Victoria is at the heart of the territorial dispute.

The Nile perch is a non-native fish species that was introduced in Lake Victoria by Uganda Game and Fisheries Department to bolster the fishing sector (KMFRI, 2022). Nile perch has no clear pattern of migration although during the rainy season it is closer

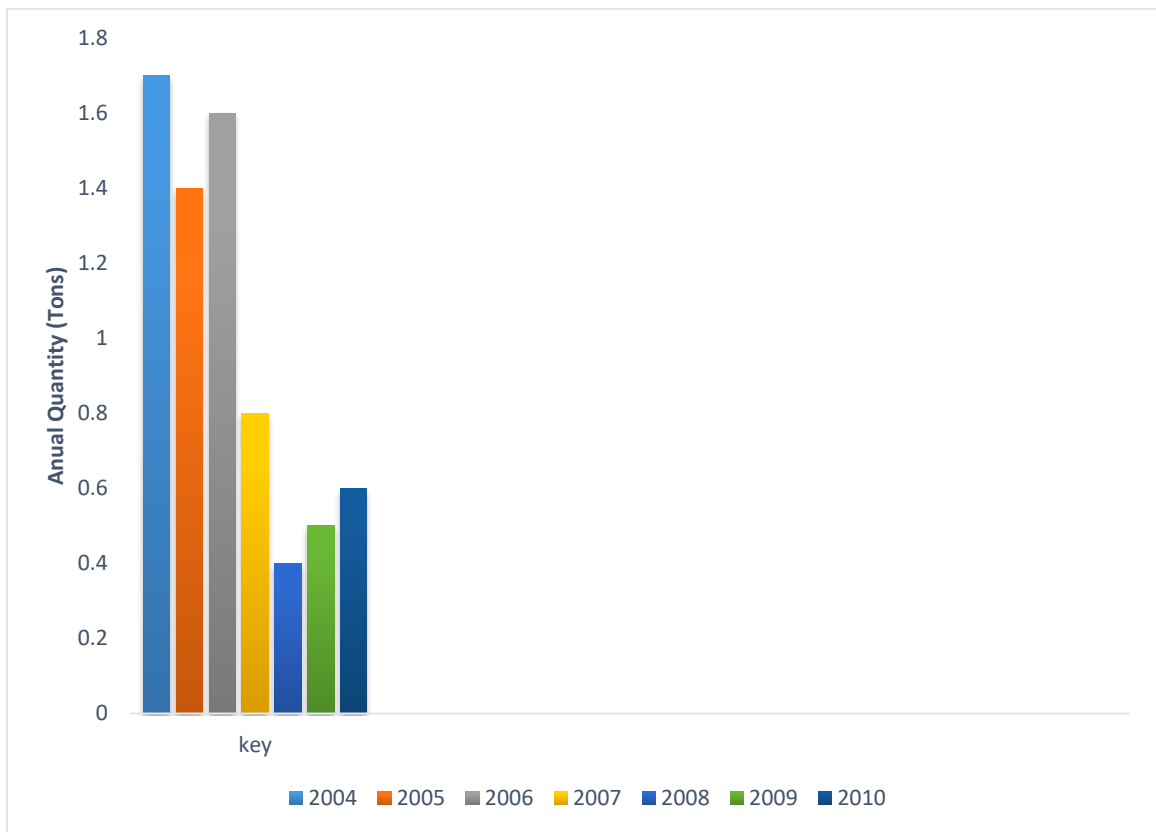
to the shores. In the dry spells it is off-shore since the fish moves to deeper layers of cool water in the lake. It moves into deeper waters during the full moon as opposed to the dark nights when it is closer to the surface. Kenya fishers follow the Nile perch stocks on its seasonal movements especially during the dry season up to Uganda territorial waters. This makes fishers to engage in illegal crossborder movement and fishing without permit in Uganda.

Economic activities of fishers in the context of this study are micro economic activity. Seasonal movement of the Nile perch into deep waters in Uganda's Lake Victoria makes fishers to cross international waters, leading to territorial disputes between the two countries. There has been a sharp decline and high demand for the Nile perch fish in both domestic and international market. High demand contributes to drastic increase in the fishing effort, whereby tens of thousands of fishers are joining the sector from other sectors. Evidence shows that there has been an increasing number of fishing boats on Lake Victoria. For instance, the number of fishers in the lake stands at 120,000. The large number of fishers in Lake Victoria leads to intensive micro economic interactions between the two states in Lake Victoria. This in turn motivates state organs to take intervention measures. Uganda military forces were deployed to control illegal fishing in its territorial waters to protect national interests.

A number of fishers claimed that Kenyans had over 100 boats on the Uganda side of the lake. This factor enabled Kenya to earn higher annual returns of the Nile perch and tilapia, especially during pre-dispute years between 2004 and 2006. The fishers' micro level economic activities have influence on econo-political relations between states as illustrated by Kenya-Uganda relations with regard to developments in Lake Victoria.

From the findings, there was a sharp drop on annual returns of Nile perch and tilapia during the dispute years of 2007 and 2010 on the Kenyan side. This drop is linked to Uganda military intervention in Lake Victoria to protect her frontiers from Kenya fishers. UPDF presence in Lake Victoria led to arbitrary arrests, harassment, and confiscation of fishing gear. Fishing expedition is a micro level economic relation that motivates UPDF, a macro level political relation to intervene for control. This can be demonstrated by the following graph.

Fig. 5.1: Graph Showing Nile Perch Landing Stocks from Kenya’s Lake Victoria during the Pre-dispute and Dispute Period



Source: Author, 2018

The graph in Fig. 5.1 shows a sharp drop in the annual Nile perch fish landing stocks from Kenya between 2007 and 2010 as compared to the pre-dispute years of 2004 and 2006. The remarkable drop between 2007 and 2010, almost by half of the total tonnage comparative to the pre-dispute years of 2004 and 2006 was attributed to a number of variables:

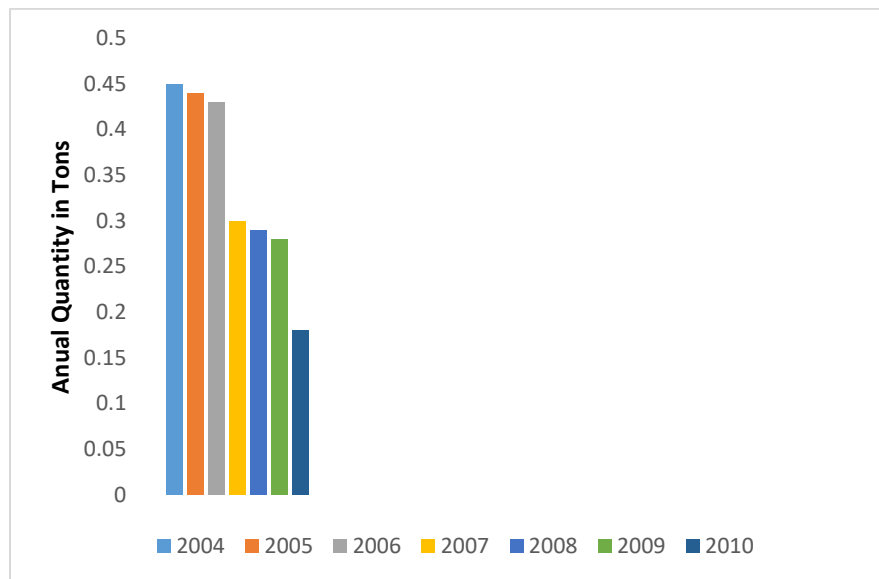
- i) The drop was mainly because of Uganda military intervention in Lake Victoria thereby disrupted fishing activities. Kenya fishers were frequently arrested by Uganda military forces, tortured and their fishing gear impounded. Activities of this nature led to intimidation of fishers making them to avoid fishing on the Uganda side of the lake. This therefore contributed to the drop demonstrated by the graph in Fig. 5.1
- ii) Uganda's militarization of the lake curtailed Kenya fishers' access to large fish species available in the deep waters which is controlled by Uganda. That is why there is a sharp drop for the Nile perch in comparison to other fish species. The Nile perch survives well in deep waters of Lake Victoria which is under Uganda jurisdiction.

It was argued that Kenya fishers follow the Nile perch stocks on its seasonal movements into deeper and cooler waters in Uganda during the dry seasons. During the rainy season, the Nile perch breed mainly in Kenyan waters before dispersing into open and deeper waters of Uganda. Therefore, ecologically Kenya is disadvantaged given that it only serves as a breeding ground for the Nile perch but thereafter fish moves to other parts of the lake with deeper and cooler waters. Kenya's portion of Lake Victoria is small in size and also shallow.

Nile perch's habitat is in deep waters of the lake given that it grows to a large size. Rich fishing grounds for the Nile perch species are in Uganda's deep water of Lake Victoria. That is why in most cases Kenya fishers' trespass to Uganda territorial waters in pursuit of the Nile perch, leading to their subsequent arrests and mistreatment by Uganda authorities.

Annual tilapia fish stocks turnover in Kenya from Lake Victoria dropped although it was not adversely affected as for the Nile perch. This is illustrated in Fig.5.2 by the graph showing landing stocks during the pre-dispute (2004-2006) and dispute (2007-2010) period. Tilapia is a medium sized fish species which is not very much found in the deep waters of the lake as compared to the Nile perch.

Fig. 5.2: Graph Showing Tilapia Landing Stocks from Kenya's Lake Victoria during the Pre-dispute and Dispute Period



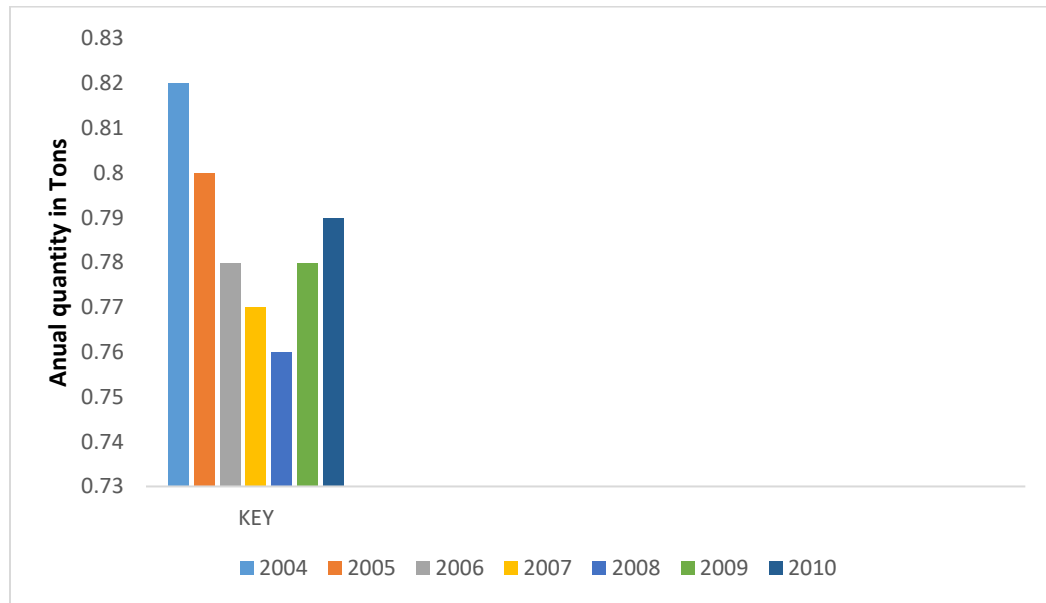
Source: Author, 2018

Annual tilapia fish landing stocks on the Kenya side of Lake Victoria dropped during the disputed period compared to the pre-disputed period. Comparatively, annual quantity for

tilapia dropped but the annual revenue increased as opposed to the Nile perch whose annual quantity dropped sharply while at the same time recording a corresponding sharp drop in the annual revenue during the same period. The drop in annual quantity of tilapia was not adverse as for the case of the Nile perch going by statistics in Tables 4.2 and 4.6. The variable behind this is attributed to the fact that tilapia does not very much accustom to deep waters. Therefore, at most Kenya fishers continued to access tilapia from Kenya side of Lake Victoria.

Annual stock turnover for *dagaa*, popularly known as *Omena* remained relatively stable throughout the two phases of pre-dispute and dispute period. A look at the graph in Fig. 5.3 shows negligible variation or drop. This implies that *dagaa* fishing is not within the range of disputed territorial waters. Most Kenya fishers concurred that *dagaa* fishing is done closer to Kenya's shores of Lake Victoria as compared to other fish species.

Fig.5.3: Graph showing *Dagaa* Landing Stocks from Kenya’s Lake Victoria between 2004 and 2010



Source: Author, 2018

The graph in Fig. 5.3 shows that there was a negligible drop in *dagaa* fishing annual tonnage stock turnover during the pre-dispute and dispute period. The catch was not affected by Uganda’s military activities in the lake. *Dagaa* does not require deep waters and could be accessed even on the Kenyan side of the lake. The slight variation in *dagaa* is linked to ecological factors and government of Kenya control measures to minimize overfishing.

Intractable resource-based territorial disputes adversely affect micro economic activities leading to loss of livelihoods for local communities. This has an impact on inter-state econo-political relations at macro level. Uganda’s military activities in the lake affected fishing industry on the Kenya side and have far reaching economic repercussions to local people following closure of businesses linked to fishing sector.

Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations are dependent on Lake Victoria territorial disputes. The struggle between countries over fish resources, escalated the territorial dispute between the states eventually leading to military deployment in Lake Victoria. Uganda's deployment of the military on Lake Victoria is an indicator that each of the country is on its own. Both Kenya and Uganda were not able to maintain a joint security patrol on Lake Victoria. This argument is anchored in the applicability of political realism theory that the aim of every state is to enhance its power and protection of national interests.

5.2.2 Influence of National Sovereignty on Kenya-Uganda Econo-Political Relations

Research findings demonstrated that national sovereignty influences Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations. The concept sovereignty is considered supreme power that is indispensable so as to free the state from both internal and external control. National sovereignty determines how a given sovereign state decides to relate with its partners in a community of nations. Whereas an independent state has the right to decide its friends, this decision is highly influenced by econo-political factors. National sovereignty defines real existence of the state and its recognition in the community of nations.

National sovereignty was analyzed by the application of political realism as a theory which interrogates geographical space or territory, resources contained in such a territory, and the population that resides on such a territory. The economic value does not lie on the islands or disputed territories parse: it is that they serve as launch pads for fishers to access fish in the surrounding deep and fish-rich waters of Lake Victoria. The territorial dispute between Kenya and Uganda has made Uganda to adopt gunboat diplomacy to protect her economic interests against Kenya fisher's exploitation.

Kenya was considered to benefit heavily from fish resources in the lake because of the ecologic factors. Although Kenya controls a small portion of the lake, about 6% of the total, it contributes the largest volume of water that flows into Lake Victoria. Approximately, 75% of rivers that feed Lake Victoria originate in Kenya. The mouth or rather the entry points where these rivers pour into the lake provide a conducive environment for fish breeding. Kenya fishers easily access fish during breeding season as various fish species become concentrated on the Kenya side of Lake Victoria compared to the Uganda side. Therefore, political ecology of frontiers to a large extent influences interstate econo-political relation. The territorial influence on interstate econo-political relations is felt at the micro level where local communities draw their livelihoods.

Kenya enjoys favorable bilateral terms of trade with Uganda at the bilateral level or macro economic level in the context of this study. Kenya's economic interests over Uganda have made the country to ignore Lake Victoria territorial disputes to the detriment of micro economic activities. That is why Kenya has never threatened to declare war against Uganda's military activities in the lake, despite the country's continuous harassment of Kenya fishers.

There was adoption of appeasement policy by Kenya towards Kampala in order to secure her economic and geostrategic interests in the entire Eastern Africa region. The main reason as to Kenya's adoption of appeasement policy is that Lake Victoria dispute does not so much affect the country's macro economic relations with Uganda. However, Lake Victoria problem is not conducive at the micro level and is why there is outcry by fishers.

It is evident that Kenya enjoys favorable terms of trade with Uganda, and even the entire EAC regional market. Based on this, Kenya would want to protect her macro level

economic interests above everything else. This provides a basis for this study to argue that every state is concerned with power and national interest according to political realism. Kenya has placed strategic considerations on the benefits it gains from regional trade, and that is why the country approaches Lake Victoria territorial disputes cautiously.

Therefore, Kenya's adoption of appeasement policy towards Uganda is well calculated to attain its vested economic interests. Kenya has to a great extent appeased Uganda's military activity in Lake Victoria without taking a decisive political action. This policy lapse at the bilateral or macro level as exercised by Kenya has great effect on loss of livelihood at micro level. The purpose of Kenya's soft or benign diplomacy towards Kampala is to maintain regional stability, and to protect her regional economic interests. This manifests itself at the macro level econo-political relations of the two states. This policy has an adverse effect on the fishing industry of local communities of Kenya's Lake Victoria.

However, the establishment of specialized agencies under the EAC protocols to guide the utilization and management of the Lake Victoria resources is part of the effort made by partner states to mitigate emerging territorial disputes. Kenya and Uganda launched a joint technical committee of experts to survey and determine actual ownership of disputed territories in Lake Victoria. High profile engagements between the heads of state of Kenya and Uganda were to address macro level econo-political issues that were influenced at the micro level. JTC process collapsed when Uganda pulled out based on national vested interests. Most of the dispute mitigation efforts in Lake Victoria between

the two states are done on *ad hoc* basis, whereby local administrators are involved to come up with workable solutions that are short term.

National sovereignty also espoused balance of power politics in Kenya-Uganda economic-political relations. The Great Lakes region is regarded as the home of violent and prolonged disputes that have caused untold suffering and blocked any meaningful economic progress. The economic-political crisis affecting one country can rapidly spread to other countries and even the entire region. It is owed to close links existing between peoples of the Great Lakes region. This conflict situation in the Great Lakes region manifests itself at the micro level before it spreads to other countries leading to complex regional security issues at the macro level. The issues to the conflict in the Great Lakes region are also diverse and overlapping. Kenya and Uganda find themselves in this quagmire of conflict diversity.

Uganda's military activities in Lake Victoria are justifications that the country has opted to use a coercive approach as the only alternative available in order to secure an economic equilibrium with Kenya. Direct engagement of states in high-profile arena of their economic-political relations is the macro level aspect. The case of Kenya-Uganda relations in Lake Victoria is motivated by micro level economic-political activities discussed extensively in this study. The micro economic-political relations in Lake Victoria are fish resource exploitation, crossborder movement of people, and other trade activities such as food stuffs and house hold items. The interaction of local administrators and BMU officials' network across the borders in trying to mitigate disputes that arise between the two states is also a micro aspect of interstate economic-political relation.

Although Kenya and Uganda are members of EAC, whose main purpose is to promote cooperation and regional integration, the failure to attain amicable settlement of the dispute revolves around national sovereignty. The autonomy of EAC is limited and curtailed by actions or failures by member states. EAC member states ignore or refuse to adhere to formal rules of regional organization. Policy manipulation has weakened the desire to achieve regional integration in East Africa.

EAC has established good policy frameworks but the problem is at the implementation stage. The establishment of protocols under the auspices of the EAC to promote regional integration is considered as a key framework under which member states can resolve their disputes amicably. The EAC specialized agencies that deal with specific issues related to sustainable utilization and management of Lake Victoria resources by partner members. Research findings confirmed that member states sidestep the mandate of established institutions in order to satisfy their national interests. It is the problem of national sovereignty that such institutions like EAC and its elaborate policy frameworks, and other protocols cannot resolve territorial disputes between Kenya and Uganda in Lake Victoria. National sovereignty supersedes regional integration and international co-operation.

The establishment of LVFO which has its headquarters in Jinja, Uganda was to assist harmonize policy on sustainable utilization of fish resources through local networks of fishers and other stakeholders. In the context of this study the formation of LVFO is a manifestation of micro level interstate econo-political relation. The core objective of LVFO is to foster co-operation among partner member states to harmonize national measures for sustainable utilization of fisheries resources of the lake. LVFO is made of

fisheries and aquaculture management and research institutions from partner member states, BMUs, fish processors, and fish exporters. BMUs are organizations of fishers, fish traders, boat owners, fish processors, and beach stakeholders who have depended on beach fisheries for their livelihood. However, Uganda dispanded its BMUs management and placed it under the military wing manned by Uganda Marine Police.

This study confirmed research premise that national sovereignty has influence on the Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations. Uganda's policy on the management of Lake Victoria territorial dispute has been coercive, especially with regard to harassment and arrest of Kenya fishers at micro econo-political level. These actions lead to escalation of territorial disputes between the two countries and weaken their diplomatic relations, thus it affects macro level econo-political relations between Kenya and Uganda.

5.2.3 Contribution of Territorial Integrity Issues to Kenya-Uganda Econo-Political Relations

The principle of territorial integrity as established under international conventions, provides for that nation-state should not attempt to promote secessionist movements or to promote border changes in other nation-states, nor impose a border change through the use of force (Tiersky, 2020). Territorial integrity emerged on the basis to guarantee state's obligations to guard its borders. This concept deals with the responsibility of an independent state to secure its borders from external intrusion. The concept deals with the state's obligation of maintenance of law and order, and national defense against external threat. Territorial integrity in the context of this study examined the states' defense strategies and how to deal with dynamic national security issues, with regard to securing its borders. Uganda's deployment of UPDF on strategic islands in the lake was tactfully responded to by Kenya when it positioned the marine police. This was considered as a

precarious move mainly to enable the country to monitor security situation in the country's territorial waters. Kenya's decision to deploy a weak military organ was to facilitate and maintain balance of power in order to secure the country's regional economic interests.

Crossborder movement of Kenya fishers to exploit fish in territorial waters of Uganda leads to violation of territorial integrity issue. If Kenya fishers cross to exploit the Nile perch in Uganda territorial waters without obtaining requisite trade licenses, then it is a violation to protocols on crossborder movement of people. This has led to frequent arrests and harassment of Kenya fishers by Uganda authorities. It has contributed to escalation of territorial disputes between Kenya and Uganda, thus affecting economic activities at the local level. Crossborder movement of people between states to extract fish resources is a micro level econo-political relations activity. This affects Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations at the macro level based on escalation of territorial disputes that arise out of the fishers' activities.

Emergence of terrorism and other related security threats against national stability led to intensive monitoring by UPDF in Lake Victoria. This was followed by terror attack on a club in Kampala during 2010 World Cup Champonships. One of the terror suspects was arrested in Lake Victoria while on escape enroute to Kenya.

Respondents' account at Mugabo BMU, affirmed that Uganda deployed its contingent of forces to neutralize robbers who had become a threat to fishers in Lake Victoria. Later, Uganda military began to coerce Kenya fishers to purchase special permits in order to be allowed to fish in Uganda territorial waters. Complaints from Kenya fishers prompted the

government to dispatch the first contingent of marine police to provide security on Migingo Island.

The emergence of robbers on Lake Victoria was advantaged by poor security surveillance on the vast lake. Fishers at Sori BMU asserted that suspected robbers originated mainly from Tanzania side of Lake Victoria, and took refuge on Alur Island as a safe haven. Although, the problem of insecurity in Lake Victoria caused state intervention to protect civilians, it later turned to be an operation against illegal crossborder movement of fishers.

Uganda's diplomatic approach to territorial dispute in Lake Victoria closely relates to the gunboat diplomacy that refers then to colonial rivalries in Morocco between the French and Germans from 1905-1911. Emergence of gunboat diplomacy on Lake Victoria was demonstrated by the use of limited naval power by Uganda to achieve its economic and political objectives. Uganda's deployment of its military arsenal in Lake Victoria under the watch of UPDF is an illustration of the gunboat diplomacy as propounded in global politics.

Uganda military patrols in Lake Victoria led to arbitrary arrests and harassment of Kenya fishers, consequently, affecting the quantity of Nile perch and tilapia fish stocks on the Kenya side. Territorial disputes led to tightening of security operations in Lake Victoria by Uganda thus had adverse effect on livelihood of artisanal fishers. This has affected micro economic aspects of Kenya-Uganda relations in Lake Victoria. The decline of fish catches especially the Nile perch has led to poverty, crime, and HIV/AIDS prevalence in fishing communities.

Uganda's deployment of its military in Lake Victoria was to check on Kenya's regional economic expansionism and to protect her national economic interests. Uganda's military activities certainly led to enhanced marine border surveillance in Lake Victoria to curtail Kenya fishers' extraction of the Nile perch. Migingo Island's proximity to the Kenyan shore decisively enables the country to control economics of fish industry in Lake Victoria. Majority of inhabitants on the island are ethnic Luo from Kenya.

The analysis of security issues as illustrated above provides insights on the application of political realism. As a theory, political realism presupposes that power and national interests determine the nature of state relations as demonstrated by both Kenya and Uganda. Each of the state has strategically laid territorial claims on islands and deployed security to protect national interests. Political realism contents that the ultimate goal of the state is power and national interests. The engagement between Kenya and Uganda in Lake Victoria is about economic and political power. Exploitation of fish resources in the lake enhances each of the countries' economic power. The Nile perch has become the main economic resource on focus because of its lucrative price in both local and international markets. It is all about how fishing becomes a source of national economic power by contributing towards national gross domestic product. The hardening economic interest between Kenya and Uganda in Lake Victoria has made it difficult for the countries to resolve territorial disputes.

The study confirmed the premise that territorial integrity issues contribute to Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations by enhanced marine border surveillance. Uganda's deployment of the military in Lake Victoria unleashed a crackdown on Kenya fishers, ostensibly to stamp out 'illegal' fishing. UPDF crackdown led to a reduction of fish

landing stocks on the Kenya side of the lake. This has adverse effect on micro level econo-political relations between the two countries.

5.2.4 Effect of Political Agency on Kenya-Uganda Econo-Political Relations

Political agency in the context of this study refers to leadership and organs of the state that derive policy and oversee its implementation. Under normal circumstances the political leadership of a state has the monopoly of power through a constitutional framework or even without and can design or decide foreign policy issues that affect econo-political relations of states. Political leadership is cardinal in matters of formulation and implementation of policy.

The political interests or attitude of an individual leader matters on the design of foreign relations the country exercises. The leadership of Uganda has pursued aggressive policy in engaging with Eastern Africa regional dynamics. The individual leader's approach on how to deal with emerging issues is micro level aspect. The authority wielded by the leader of a country influences its foreign policy translating to macro level econo-political relations. Uganda's deployment of UPDF in countries such as DRC, South Sudan, and Somalia is basic illustration on how the countries' leadership has influence on foreign policy. Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations are therefore influenced by the countries' leaders. The sanction for deployment of military in Lake Victoria can only take place under orders of the head of state and government.

Political leaders have personal interests which can be pushed through national agenda. From the findings it is evident that every leader is concerned about personal political survival. The domestic dynamics of the country would influence its foreign policy. Uganda is always concerned with its national security thus, the country's leadership

adopted aggressive foreign policy to engage the military and exhaust its idle energy away from home. This is premised on the country's past political upheavals.

Attempts to resolve territorial disputes through high profile diplomatic channels collapsed. Local Administrators from both sides of the countries engage each other to tackle crossborder security issues, illegal fishing and related disputes to fisheries extraction. Grassroot leadership has been instrumental in the mitigation of territorial disputes arising from Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations in Lake Victoria. It was noted that representation of fishing communities at these meetings was poor. At times resolutions reached after such mediations are not well disseminated to fishers.

Uganda's adoption of coercive diplomacy in dealing of Lake Victoria issues with Kenya led to a dispute based on exploitation of fish resources between the states. The dispute contributed to a sharp drop in Nile perch landing stocks in Kenya from Lake Victoria. The shortage has contributed to Kenya's importation of exotic fish species from China to mitigate the crisis, especially for fish processing factories in Kisumu.

This study confirmed research premise that political agency affects economic and political relations by undermining dispute settlement efforts. Challenges of settlement of the dispute between Kenya and Uganda in Lake Victoria are as a result of regional econo-political dynamics. Kenya is a regional economic hub for eastern Africa region and has been advancing this policy to remain dominant. Econo-political activities made at the micro level have an effect on the macro level relations of the states, thus directly affecting interstate economic and political relations.

5.2.5 Overall Conclusion

Research findings established that dynamics of Lake Victoria territorial disputes adversely affect Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations. The impact is felt more at local levels, thus referred to as micro level econo-political relations of states. Causal factors of Kenya-Uganda territorial disputes in Lake Victoria are: intractability of fish resource exploitation, national sovereignty, territorial integrity issues, and political leadership dynamics. These factors adversely affect micro econo-political relations of states.

This study contributes to the body of existing literature by adding new knowledge on micro econo-political activities as frameworks of analysis in the study of interstate relations. Most of the existing literature on interstate relations dwell on macro economic and political levels thus, putting to periphery the role of ordinary citizens in interstate relations. The study will also contribute to policy by adopting new approaches that would involve track 3 or citizen diplomacy in territorial dispute management like for the case of Kenya and Uganda. This study uniquely departs from the rest of available literature and examines micro level econo-political dynamics on Kenya-Uganda relations in Lake Victoria.

The study will contribute adequately to policy formulation at the county, national and regional levels with regard to sustainable management and shared utilization of Lake Victoria resources. It will provide insights on the importance of micro level approaches to foreign policy formulation to capture real dynamics in order to understand interstate relations. The study provides a paradigm shift from traditional approaches of foreign policy formulation that focuses on macro level issues of the state with total disregard to micro level issues that influence interstate econo-political relations.

5.3 Recommendations

The following recommendations are based on specific objectives that were used by the study. The recommendations are a brief version of the study objectives. They are captured through the following themes.

5.3.1 Intractability of Fish Resource Exploitation

Kenya-Uganda territorial disputes in Lake Victoria have adversely affected crossborder fishing that involve local communities. This study recommends states to establish joint policy on the management and utilization of fish resources in order to avoid disparities that have led to the dispute. The study recommends harmonized policy on size of nets, taxation, and fishing permits across the countries. These would help to defray fears that Kenya had benefited more from Lake Victoria's fish over the years, yet the country owns a small portion of the lake.

5.3.2 National Sovereignty

The study recommends that the people of Kenya and Uganda should be involved in formulation of policy with regard to dispute management around fish extraction in Lake Victoria. This should take track 3 approach of diplomacy. Taxation system between Kenya and Uganda should also be well structured and harmonized by the two states. Fishers should be engaged in policy formulation and sustainable management of Lake Victoria resources. The two states should also demarcate the boundary in Lake Victoria so that fishers can know which side of the country they are fishing whenever in the lake.

5.3.3 Territorial Integrity Issues

Territorial integrity issues contributed to violations of established practices for preservation of national stability. The study recommends joint security patrol and sharing of intelligence between Kenya-Uganda security agencies to effectively deal with security challenges in Lake Victoria. It recommends establishment of joint security bases that would assist de-escalate mistrust between the states.

5.3.4 Political Leadership Dynamics

The study recommends that there should be regular engagement between leaders across the divide to share ideas on fish resource utilization in Lake Victoria. The states should strengthen operations of LVFO and empower fishers with financial resources and skills to develop the fishing sector. The study recommends that Uganda Marine Police should be removed from the management of BMUs in the country, so that their role be limited to provision of security to avoid conflict of interest.

5.3.5 Overall Recommendation

The study recommends that further research should be conducted to assess how ecological factors have affected the decline of Lake Victoria's fish stocks and their contribution to interstate relations. Ecological research factors should focus on: industrial pollution, waste disposal from agricultural activities, refuse disposal from urban centers around Lake Victoria, and other human activities outside the scope of this study. This would assist to create more knowledge on the subject matter of Lake Victoria territorial disputes. On matters dispute resolution, the study recommends that a neutral arbiter be engaged to assist the countries to demarcate the boundary. Citizen diplomacy especially local communities around Lake Victoria should also be involved in the process.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Research Tools

Interview Guide

Objective One

To evaluate the impact of intractability of resource-based disputes on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations.

1. In which way does the intractability of resource-based disputes in Lake Victoria affect Kenya-Uganda volume of trade?
2. How does the intractability of resource-based disputes in Lake Victoria influence Kenya-Uganda political relations?
3. To what extent does the intractability of resource-based disputes in Lake Victoria lead to marine border surveillance and control between Kenya and Uganda?
4. How does the intractability of resource-based disputes in Lake Victoria affect Kenya-Uganda cross border migration?
5. In which way does the intractability of resource-based disputes in Lake Victoria influence Kenya-Uganda dispute settlement?

Objective Two

To examine the extent to which national sovereignty influences Kenya-Uganda ecoco-political relations.

1. How does national sovereignty influence Kenya-Uganda volume of trade in Lake Victoria?
2. In which way does national sovereignty influence Kenya-Uganda political relations on the Lake Victoria territorial disputes?

3. How does national sovereignty affect Kenya-Uganda marine border surveillance and control on the Lake Victoria territorial disputes?
4. To what extent does national sovereignty impact on Kenya-Uganda cross border migration in the Lake Victoria territorial disputes?
5. How does national sovereignty contribute to Kenya-Uganda dispute settlement on the Lake Victoria territorial disputes?

Objective Three

To determine the contribution of territorial integrity issues to Kenya-Uganda economic and political relations.

1. How does territorial integrity affect Kenya-Uganda trade volume on the Lake Victoria territorial disputes?
2. Establish how territorial integrity influences Kenya-Uganda political relations on the Lake Victoria territorial disputes?
3. In which way does territorial integrity contribute to Kenya-Uganda marine border surveillance and control on the Lake Victoria territorial disputes?
4. How does territorial integrity affect Kenya-Uganda cross border migration on Lake Victoria territorial disputes?
5. To what extent does territorial integrity determine Kenya-Uganda dispute settlement on Lake Victoria territorial disputes?

Objective Four

To establish the effect of political agency on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations.

1. How does the political agency influence Kenya-Uganda volume of trade in the Lake Victoria territorial disputes?
2. In which way does the political agency affect Kenya-Uganda political relations in the Lake Victoria territorial disputes?
3. To what extent does the political agency contribute to Kenya-Uganda marine border surveillance and control on the Lake Victoria territorial disputes?
4. How has the political agency affected Kenya-Uganda cross border migrations in the Lake Victoria territorial disputes?
5. What attempts has the political agency put in place to resolve the Kenya-Uganda territorial disputes in the Lake Victoria?

Research Questionnaire

Objective One

To evaluate the impact of intractability of resource-based disputes on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations (select one of the responses and insert a tick in the box)

1. How does the intractability of resource-based territorial disputes affect Kenya-Uganda volume of trade?
 - i) Led to reduction of fish stocks in Kenya
 - ii) Led to closure of most fish business by Kenya fishers
 - iii) Don't know
2. In which way does the intractability of resource-based territorial disputes affect Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations?
 - i) Escalation of the dispute
 - ii) Led to formation of JTC to resolve the dispute
 - iii) Don't Know
3. To what extent does intractability of resource-based disputes contribute to the Kenya-Uganda marine border surveillance and control in Lake Victoria?
 - i) Deployment of security personnel to the lake led to enhanced security
 - ii) Presence of Security personnel cracked on illegal fishing
 - iii) Don't know
4. How does the intractability of resource-based territorial disputes affect Kenya-Uganda crossborder movement?

- i) Uganda authorities imposed permits to allow Kenya fishers in its territorial waters
 - ii) A large population of fishers move across the border in search of fish and markets
 - iii) Don't know
5. In which way does the intractability of resource-based territorial disputes affect Kenya-Uganda dispute settlement?
- i) Led to formation of Joint Technical Committee
 - ii) *Ad hoc* committees were used to mitigate the dispute
 - iii) Don't Know

Objective Two

To examine the extent to which national sovereignty influences Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations.

6. How does national sovereignty affect Kenya-Uganda volume of trade in the Lake Victoria territorial disputes?
- i) Uganda imposed strict regulations on net size and permits for kenya fishers
 - ii) Uganda military arrests Kenya fishers in Lake Victoria to protect the country's national intersts
 - iii) Don't know
7. In which way does national sovereignty affect Kenya-Uganda political relations in the Lake Victoria territorial disputes?
- i) Local adminstrators meet regularly to mitigate the territorial dispute
 - ii) Both countries have established protocols to address the territorial dispute

iii) Don't know

8. How does national sovereignty influence Kenya-Uganda marine border surveillance and control in Lake Victoria territorial disputes?

i) Military deployment in Lake Victoria led to control of illegal fishing

ii) Military deployment in Lake Victoria led enhanced security operations

iii) Don't know

9. To what extent does national sovereignty affect Kenya-Uganda crossborder movement in Lake Victoria territorial disputes?

i) Presence of UPDF in Lake Victoria stopped Kenya fishers from Uganda territorial waters

ii) UPDF arrest Kenya fishers who cross to Uganda waters

iii) Don't know

10. In which way does national sovereignty influence the process of Kenya-Uganda dispute settlement on Lake Victoria territorial disputes?

i) States are not able to settle Lake Victoria dispute because of vested national interest

ii) National sovereignty led to ratification of protocols for dispute settlement

iii) Don't know

Objective Three

To determine the contribution of territorial integrity to Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations.

11. To what extent does territorial integrity issues influence Kenya-Uganda volume of trade in Lake Victoria territorial disputes?

- i) Violations of territorial integrity by security forces adversely affect fishing in the lake
- ii) Illegal fishing and smuggling in the lake affect Kenya-Uganda bilateral trade in the lake
- iii) Don't know

12. How does territorial integrity affect Kenya-Uganda political relations in Lake Victoria territorial disputes?

- i) Territorial violations in Lake Victoria led to escalation of disputes
- ii) Territorial violations in the lake led to arbitrary arrest of fishers
- iii) Don't know

13. In which way does territorial integrity influence Kenya-Uganda marine border surveillance and control in Lake Victoria territorial disputes?

- i) Emergence of insecurity in the lake caused Uganda to deploy its military
- ii) Heavy security presence in the lake has led to extortion and harassment of fishers
- iii) Don't know

14. To what extent does territorial integrity affect Kenya-Uganda crossborder movement in Lake Victoria territorial disputes?

- i) UPDF obstructs kenya fishers from accessing Uganda territorial waters for fish
- ii) Territorial integrity violations by security forces undermine the spirit of regional integration
- iii) Don't know

15. How does territorial integrity impact on Kenya-Uganda dispute settlement in Lake Victoria territorial disputes?

- i) Incessant skirmishes between Kenya-Uganda security forces contribute to collapse of dispute settlement process
- ii) Arrests of Kenya fishers by Uganda security forces contribute to escalation of the dispute
- iii) Don't know

Objective Four

To establish the effect of political agency on Kenya-Uganda econo-political relations

16. How does the political agency affect Kenya-Uganda volume of trade in Lake Victoria territorial disputes?

- i) Leadership dynamics of the country influences its econo-political policies
- ii) Political elite interests contribute to coercive policy in the management of Lake Vitoria resources
- iii) Don't know

17. In which way does the political agency influence Kenya-Uganda political relations in Lake Victoria territorial disputes?

- i) Political leadership in both Kenya and Uganda are not fully committed to the mitigation course of the dispute due to personal interests
- ii) Political leadership formulate policy based on national interests, thus making it hard to reach amicable settlement of the dispute
- iii) Don't know

18. How does the political agency influence Kenya-Uganda marine border surveillance and control in Lake Victoria territorial disputes?

i). Political agency order security deployment in the lake to protect national interests

ii). Political agency formulates national fishing policy to regulate size of fish catch based on domestic law

iii). Don't know

19. To what extent does the political agency affect Kenya-Uganda crossborder movement in Lake Victoria territorial disputes?

i) The political agency regulates crossborder movement to fishers by issuance of permits

ii) The political agency enforces tax measures to fishers to regulate border movement

iii) Don't know

20. How does the political agency affect Kenya-Uganda dispute settlement in Lake Victoria territorial disputes?

i) Political agency established frameworks under JTC to resolve the dispute

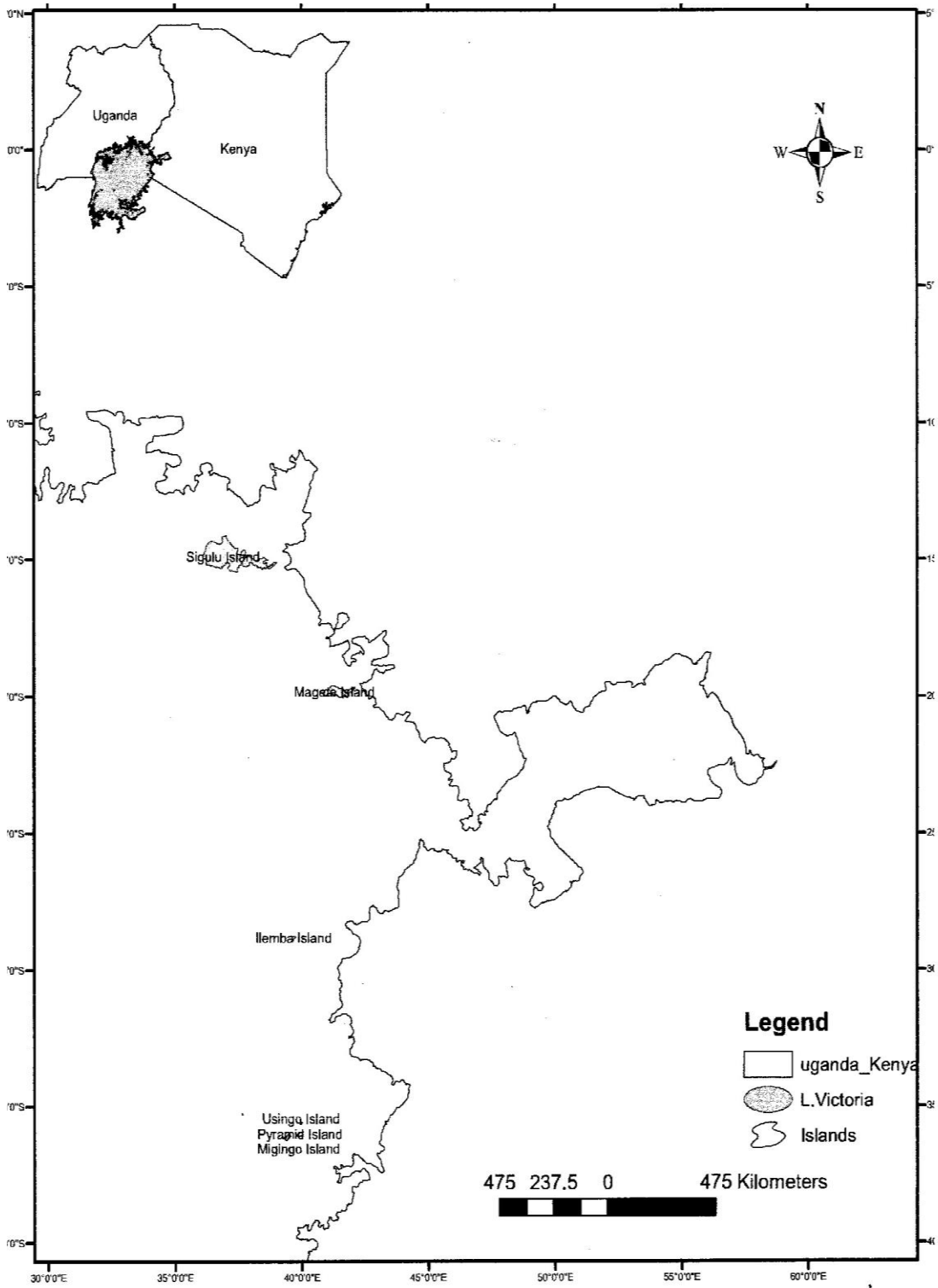
ii) Political agency deploy security forces in the lake thus escalates the territorial dispute

iii) Don't know

Appendix II: Budget

ITEM	KSH
Tuition Fees.....	620,000/=
Travelling and Accommodation for field research (60 days)	300,000/=
Library Research (30days) @2,500/=.....	75,000/=
Research Assistants (two) @ 700/= per day for 60 days.....	84,000/=
Internet browsing and photocopying	65,000/=
Typing	
Services.....	25,000/=
Thesis Defense at school	30,000/=
Printing and Binding of Thesis (10 copies)	45,000/=
Miscellaneous.....	30,000/=
TOTAL.....	1,244,000/=

Appendix III: Map of Kenya-Uganda Borderland on Lake Victoria



Appendix IV: Plate 4.1: Photograph of fishers and fishmongers on Kenya's Shore of Lake Victoria at Pier Beach, Homa Bay



Influence of Eastern Africa Territorial Integrity Issues on Kenya-Uganda Economic and Political Relations

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Abstract: This Article Analyzes Territorial Integrity Issues In The Context Of Violations Caused By Military Interventions And Illegal Cross-Border Movements By State Or Non-State Actors. The United Nations (UN) Charter Requires States To Refrain In Their International Relations From Threat Or Use Of Force Against Territorial Integrity Of Any State. The Contextualization Of Territorial Integrity Issues In The Study Of Interstate Relations Is Based On Preservation Of National Security And Political Autonomy Of A Given State. National Security Is Prerequisite For Almost Anything Else That Nations Want To Achieve In World Politics. State Security Architecture Is One Key Stake In The Preservation Of Territorial Integrity. Governments Strive To Achieve Law And Order To Guarantee Stability. In Eastern Africa Territoriality Remains A Fragile Factor To Comprehend Given Regional Dynamics At Play. History Of Modern Polity Informs That States Have Strong Attachment To Geographical Space, Resources, And Populations That Occupy It. Vulnerability To Violation Of Territorial Integrity Between Kenya And Uganda Has Been Posed By Unclearly Demarcated Or Porous Borders, Trans-Boundary Resource Conflicts, And Weak State Institutions. Violation Of Territorial Integrity Of States Leads To Regional And Local Insecurity, Collapse Of Diplomatic Channels, Border Closures, And Decline Of Bilateral Trade Ties, Smuggling, And Terrorism.

Key Words: Eastern Africa, Territorial Integrity, Regional Integration, Military Intervention.

I. Introduction

Triggers To Violation Of The Principle Of Territorial Integrity Are Complex And Dynamic. These Variables Are Motivated By National Desires To Expand And Retain Geographical Space, The Problem Of Porous Boundaries Or Unclearly Demarcated Borders, And Struggle For Resource Control. Transboundary Movement Of Populations, Military Interventions, Weak Institutional Capacity, And External Interference Are Also Causal Factors. As Illustrated In This Article, These Triggers Have Adverse Influence On Interstate Economic And Political Relations. Violation Of Territorial Integrity Principle Among States Relapses Into Transboundary Resource Conflicts, Insecurity And The Emergence Of Subversive Elements, Collapse Of Diplomatic Channels, Border Closures, Declining Trade Ties, And Smuggling.

Territorial Integrity Itself Is Fragile In Trying To Concretize The Dynamic Nature Of Eastern Africa Politics. The Nature Of African States Is Subject To Harsh Or Extreme Poverty That Has Served To Undermine National Unity. The Problem Of State Formation As Shrouded In Political Elite Interests Has Strangled And Limited State Capacity To Serve Interests Of The Citizenry. Political Elites Have Strategic Interests To Attain Within State Power Relations. Kenya-Uganda Relations Hang On The Above Dictums That Serve As Triggers To Violation Of Territorial Integrity Principle Leading To The Countries' Delicate Bilateral Relations.

As Provide For In The UN Conventions, The Principle Of Territorial Integrity Stipulates The Avoidance Of Use Of Force Or Threat By The State On The Territory Of Another State. Acts Of Intrusion By Subversive Elements Threaten National Security Of A State Thus Amounting To Violation Of Territorial Integrity Principle. International Conventions Require Nation-States To Promote Regional And International Cooperation. Through Established Channels Of Diplomacy States Share Security Intelligence In Order To Maintain Stability Locally, Regionally And Globally. Secessionist Movements Or The Desire By States To

Appendix VI: Journal Article II

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Original Article

Open Access

Influence of Political Agency on Kenya-Uganda Interstate Relations



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Abstract

Political agency in the context of governance structures of a country is derived as the personality traits of an individual leader in the exercise of state power. It has a huge influence on determination, design and execution of foreign policy, which in this context has a bearing on the conduct of state relations. Political elites are central in the preservation of national political and economic interests at any given stage of international politics. This article analyzes political agency as a concept in the perspectives of the political behavior of the leader under institutional frameworks of the state and leadership styles in view of democratic or dictatorial political systems. It examines the importance of political agency as key to the guiding principles of national foreign policy design and interstate relations. The political elites are considered as custodians of national interest, but as politicians they also harbor personal interests which have a bearing on national interests as prescribed in the normative ideals of the state. This article used the theory of the state in trying to understand the nature of the state as constituted in Kenya and Uganda. Data for this study was drawn from field work in border regions between the two countries and, library and internet sources. The article concludes that political agency is a key factor in determining interstate political and economic relations between Kenya and Uganda.

Keywords: Political agency; National interest; The state; Economic and political relations.

1. Introduction

Political agency as conceptualized in the study of modern polity refers to political behavior of the ruling elites and how they influence the country's foreign policy. Political leadership operates under institutions of the state to discharge its mandate. Institutional frameworks of the state can either be democratic or dictatorial political systems within which the leader operates. The political leadership of a country is the custodian of national interests. They act in the interest of the state as formulators and implementers of domestic and foreign policy. However, personality traits and political behavior of the individual leader cannot be underestimated in the conduct of interstate economic and political relations. Political agency is a key guiding principle in understanding national foreign policy formulation and implementation.

The process of state formation in Africa in the early 1960s and 1970s can be comprehended adequately with analysis of the colonial state in Africa. Contemporary states in Africa emanated from the colonial territories (Aiden, 1974). Modern states evolved as a rationalized legal administration and the rise of extractive capacity by a central

Appendix VII: Research Permit



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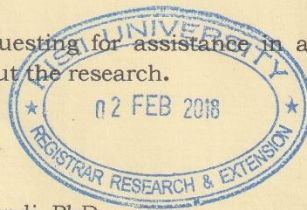
The above mentioned is a student of Kisii University currently pursuing Doctorate of Philosophy (PhD) in Political Science in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. The topic of his research is, ***“Implications of the Lake Victoria Disputed Territories on Kenya-Uganda Economic and Political Relations”***.

We are kindly requesting for assistance in acquiring a research permit to enable him carry out the research.

Thank you.

f Prof. Anakalo Shitandi, PhD
Registrar, Research and Extension

**Cc: DVC (ASA)
Registrar (AA)
Director SPGS**



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DYNAMICS OF LAKE VICTORIA TERRITORIAL DISPUTES ON KENYA-UGANDA ECONO-POLITICAL RELATIONS

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