

From Collaboration to Conflict

A Study of Environmental Scarcity in Lake Victoria

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Abstract

The worsening environmental degradation is a growing concern for politicians around the globe. Some scholars argue that there is a causal link between environmental degradation and violence, others say that collaboration is a much more likely outcome. Lake Victoria used to be a perfect example for those who criticized the link between environmental degradation and violence, because even though it suffered from severe environmental degradation there were only very few reports of violence. Today that is however not the case, because in 2004 Ugandan officials landed on the small Island of Migingo, where they hoisted the Ugandan flag. Kenya considered the Island to belong to their territory and in May 2009 the Kenyan parliament called for a military intervention to secure Migingo Island. This thesis seeks to understand this rapid shift from collaboration to conflict?

The theory of framing analysis, from the interpretive camp, will be used to construct different security framings in the environmental scarcity discourse. This thesis claims that the shift from collaboration to conflict is connected to a new dominant framing of the issue. The conclusions are drawn from interpretations of policy documents and the domestic media.

Key words: Lake Victoria, Environmental Scarcity, Framing, Security

Words: 9820

Map of Lake Victoria



(LVFO, 2001)

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1 Introduction

In 2002 Marielle J. Canter and Stephen N. Ndegwa authored *Environmental Scarcity and Conflict: A Contrary Case from Lake Victoria* in which they criticize the theory that environmental scarcity leads to violence. They show that even though the lake area fits almost all of the criteria in the theory there have only been very few reports of violence. Instead Canter and Ndegwa show in a convincing manner how Lake Victoria is a good example of how environmental scarcity could just as well result in collaboration (Canter, Ndegwa, 2002).

However, 2004 brought another decisive change; Ugandan officials landed on the small Island of Migingo where they hoisted the Ugandan flag. This was a provocation to Kenya, who considered the island to belong to their territory. In its reaction, the Kenyan government condemned the Ugandan behaviour as an act of aggression towards its national sovereignty. In 2008 and 2009 the dispute over the Island reached an alarming level, and in May 2009 the Kenyan parliament voted in favour of a military intervention to secure Migingo Island (Wekesa, 2010). Following this, Kenyan - Ugandan relationships have become frosty, not only in regard to Lake Victoria, but across policy fields.

The conflict is still unresolved but when it was at its peak in 2009 the Daily Nation, one of the major newspapers in East Africa, were reporting almost daily about the conflict.

1.1 Aim and Research Questions

The aim with this thesis is to understand the rapid shift from collaboration to conflict which has taken place in the Lake Victoria area. The degrading environment is obviously of importance but there are multiple ways to respond to a situation of environmental scarcity and the question is why the riparian countries first meet the challenge with extensive collaboration to later end up in a conflict involving the military.

Thomas Homer-Dixon introduced the environmental scarcity theory in his book *Environment Scarcity and Violence*. There he assumes a causal link between severe environmental scarcity on the one hand and violence on the other. Today the environmental scarcity theory is widespread but also heavily contested. The criticism often points out that collaboration is a much more common result to environmental scarcity than violence (Floyd – Richard, 2013, p.178). This thesis attempts to contribute to the understanding of why certain scarcity situations develop into conflict and why some do not. This issue is of great importance because environmental scarcity will be a growing concern in the future.

In the case-study by Canter and Ndegwa they argue that the riparian countries did not perceive the situation as a security issue which they meant could explain the lack of violence (Canter, Ndegwa, 2002). I argue that this depends upon the definition of security and that even before the Migingo row there were evidence indicating the presence of a security narrative, for example the extension and decisiveness of the collaboration. How the scarcity situation was perceived is of great importance because actions are not random. They have intentions which are shaped by once prior understanding, which is what I intend to study.

I will use the theory of framing analysis because that enables me to differentiate between the different security approaches. Using framing analysis to understand a case of environmental scarcity has as far as I know never been done before and can hopefully contribute to the environmental scarcity literature.

My hypothesis is that the shift from collaboration to conflict is connected to the appearance of a new dominant frame. This thesis therefor seeks to address the following major research questions:

What frames have been dominant during this period?

How does the frames relate to the shift from collaboration to conflict?

1.2 Limitations

I consider the Ugandan landing on Migingo Island in 2004 and the approval to send in military from the Kenyan Parliament in 2009 to be the two most crucial actions that signify conflict and I will therefor concentrate my analysis to those two events. The distance to the discourse, both geographically and culturally is a challenge and makes interpretation harder which will affect the certainty of the conclusions.

There are other theories that would address this issue in a different way. A possible approach would be to study power or the presence of common institutions. That is however not the intention of this thesis and the more traditional approaches are also problematic because there exist no universal understanding of what an institution is and certainly not what power is. Power or institutions only mean something because of our prior knowledge of them, because we give them meaning. Therefor we have to address meaning and context when we study phenomena. This thesis neither intend to find a causal explanation, because meaning and behaviour are constructing each other mutually and are therefore mutually interdependent.

2 Theory

There exist multiple interesting security schools and theories, the Copenhagen School has been one of the most influential during the post-cold war security debate.

Security is basically a speech act, or more precisely an illocutionary act [...]. Security is the sound coming forth when power-holders claim the need to use their special right to block certain development by reference to the security of the state (or political order); a special right to use extraordinary means going beyond their register in everyday politics; a special right grounded in the basic image of the modern state having the supply of security and stability as its primary task. (Wæver, 1997, p.157)

The quote is from *Security of Concepts* written by Ole Wæver one of the most central figures in the Copenhagen School. It describes very well the key ideas in the Securitization theory. Issues can be reconstructed into security issues; this process is called securitization and enables extraordinary means to be taken by the people in power (Wæver, 1997). Securitization theory moved the security debate into the constructivist camp and made an important contribution to international relations theory. The Copenhagen school made another important contribution with the Regional Security Complex theory in which they addressed the relative aspect off security and shifted the security scope from the nation to the region (Buzan, 1991, p.168ff).

Even if the Copenhagen school has made great contributions to the field those theories are insufficient to the issues that I want to address. Because in securitization theory, security is understood as a continuum, issues can be more or less securitized, similar with the regional security complex theory. I argue that the security concept is more complex and that environmental scarcity can be understood from multiple security approaches. Framing analysis is therefore a suitable theory because it can differentiate between the different security approaches.

2.1 Interpretive Theory

Framing analysis is part of the broader field of interpretive analysis. In interpretive analysis one focus on the study of meanings, the processes in which these meanings are communicated and how people respond to these meanings. Meanings form the foundation of social reality as it is expressed in the everyday

behaviour of people. It can be expressed through values, feelings and beliefs (Wagenaar, 2007).

In interpretive analysis an action is not viewed as neutral, it contains an inherent intention (Wagenaar, 2007, p.429). These intentions are viewed as the inner aspect of an action that always goes together with the outer aspect, the movement. We move because we have an intention to get a result and therefore an action has a meaning. Actions are therefore not understood from causality but from their intentions from which meanings can be interpreted. (Wagenaar, 2011, p.430f).

There are also several approaches to framing analysis; this thesis will be conducted from the hermeneutic approach. The hermeneutic approach is one of the most common approaches, both in framing analysis and in interpretive analysis as a whole (Wagenaar, 2011, p.42). The hermeneutic approach is a text-focused approach which makes it especially suitable because this thesis will focus purely on the analysis of texts (Yanow, 2006, p.15f).

The hermeneutic approach is very influenced by phenomenology. Phenomenology consists of two basic assumptions; the world appears to us through our perceptions and these perceptions are shaped by our consciousness. This means that perceiving is not a passive act. Our consciousness is always trying to make sense of our perceptions in a certain way. "The world is as much part of our consciousness as our consciousness is part of the world" (Wagenaar, 2011, p.42). In phenomenology the idea is that if one are very aware of one's own consciousness one will be able to perceive the world in a new way and observe the pure perceptions.

There are three important implications of phenomenology. Ordinary everyday events are the primary object to study, these ordinary events refers to larger intersubjective meaning structures and it is through understanding the individual that we get knowledge about the world.

What's been problematic with phenomenology is how to get from individual perceptions to these intersubjective meanings (Wagenaar, 2011, p.45).

This is where the hermeneutic approach makes an important contribution with the hermeneutic circle. One can only understand the part from the whole, and the whole is explained by the part. So to understand an action one has to understand the larger context that the action is taking place within and at the same time one gets information about the larger context through the action.

The underlying assumption that carries the hermeneutic approach is that there exist collective understandings of social phenomena, and that these can be understood by accessing multiple understanding through the careful use of methods. This view of meanings is sometimes criticized because it puts some distance between the interpreter and the meaning that is being interpreted (Wagenaar, 2011, p.46-48). I consider the assumption of collective understandings of social phenomena to be a reasonable one but I also acknowledge the researcher influence on the material. To tackle this one has to be observant of one's own presuppositions especially when making the leap from individual interpretation to collective understandings.

2.2 Framing Analysis

Framing analysis was constructed as a tool to solve policy controversies. A policy controversy is a policy dispute in which the actors cannot reach consensus no matter what argument or scientific result that is presented (Wagenaar, 2011, p.82f). Martin Rein gives three answers to why policy controversy occurs. First, different groups have competing interests as there is no general will of the people. Second, many policy issues are very complex and filled with uncertainty. Third even if we take different interest and complexity into account, we still have the problem that all arguments and scientific results are interpreted from a certain framework, and different frames create different interpretations (Rein, 2006, p.103). If a frame conflict exist an agreement will be hard to find, because the actors will perceive the world in different ways, especially if the different frames include strong normative conflicts (Rein, 2000, p.89f).

Martin Rein and Donald Schön mention four definitions of frames. These are not contesting but rather complementary ways of understanding the concept of frames. First one can understand a frame as an underlying structure; this implies that an issue includes some extent of continuity and some resistance to change. Second, a frame can function like a boundary, one frame a sequence of happenings in such a way that they are possible to analyse “as in framing a picture” (Rein – Schön, 1996, p.88f). Third, a frame can function as a scheme of interpretation as they enable one to organize experience and guide actions. In the fourth definition frames are understood as general and powerful narratives. The frame influences both the processes prior to the action and the way we understand the action. This thesis will mostly work with the third and fourth types of frames because they are in this case the most useful.

When we study frames as narratives, we can identify two important elements of the narratives *framing devices* and *reasoning devices*. Framing devices are prescriptive, they suggest how to understand an issue what should be included and what should be excluded. Reasoning devices are diagnostic and suggest how to handle the issue, what actions are appropriate and which are not. Frame-narratives are the background story that underlines each policy controversy. In these narratives there is a *core package* the central meanings which could be represented in texts as metaphors, exemplars, visual images and so on (Rein – Schön, 1996, p.88f).

All frames have actors who support them, these actors are called sponsors. A sponsor could be for example officials or recognized interest groups, the frames influence depends to a great extent to the influence of the sponsors (Rein – Schön, 1996, p.95).

Frames are not just there for us to study, they have to be constructed in order to be studied and to do this we have to use evidence. There are two different types of frames which belong to different policy contexts. These are *rhetorical frames* and *action frames*. Rhetorical frames are those that are present in the context of debating the policy issue in which the major actors are the frame sponsors or critics. The action frame takes place within the context of creating and

implementing policy. The most significant difference between the two frames is the evidence from which they are constructed.

The rhetorical frames use evidence from texts that play an important role in the policy discourse for example op-ed articles or speeches. These texts which are part of the context of debate are often persuasive or try to justify a certain point of view. When one is interpreting texts one is especially looking for what gives the text its appearance of coherence, persuasiveness and what makes it normative (Rein - Schön, 1996, p.90f).

The primary evidence from which the action frames are constructed is observations of action patterns. These actions must be performed from within the specific policy area. The primary focus is on what gives these patterns of actions a feeling of coherency. These actions can be both the design of a policy (policy documents, programs, laws and so forth) and the actual behaviour of enacting the policy (Rein - Schön, 1996, p.91).

Which frame that is dominant in a discourse can change over time. Changes in the surrounding context can affect the frames in two major ways. It can either support a contesting frame or it could force the dominant frame to adapt to the new circumstances (Rein, 2000, p.90). But the dominant framing can also change due to an active process called reframing. The goal of reframing is to solve policy controversies and reach a pragmatic solution (Rein - Schön, 1996, p.101). To make this possible we have to first make the frame explicit which enables us to describe and criticize the assumptions, intentions and beliefs that constitute the frame (Wagenaar, 2011, p.82f).

The first step is to identify the different frames inside a policy discourse and their *sponsors*. The second step is to locate the forum in which these frames are occurring. The most common forums are the civil society, media, political parties, legislation and the academic disciplines (Rein – Schön, 1996, p.95f). Now we can try to understand which frame is dominant and how it came to be in a dominant position.

3 The Security Discourse

The different narratives that are present in the environmental scarcity discourse will be investigated in this chapter.

A narrative is in this context a framing of an issue that is prescriptive and diagnostic. There are multiple security narratives active in the security discourse more than can describe here. The intention with this chapter is not to make a full-scale account of the security concept, more a brief introduction to the general characteristics of the most common narratives which is enough to conduct this analysis.

3.1 National Security

The national security approach is as old as the nation state and has been greatly influenced by the realist school which belongs to the field of international relations (Barnett, 2001, p.37f). Jack Goldstones has made a useful definition of the national security concept.

A "national security" issue is any trend or event that (1) threatens the very survival of the nation; and/or (2) threatens to drastically reduce the welfare of the nation in a fashion that requires a centrally coordinated national mobilization of resources to mitigate or reverse (Goldstone, 1996).

It is obvious from this definition that the state is the primary reference of security in the national security approach. Security is here understood as freedom from threat, and threats are something that prevents the state from maintaining its functional integrity and independent identity (Buzan, 1991, p.37). But it is also the only provider of security (Amouyel, 2006, p.16). Which makes addressing global issues from a national security perspective troublesome, because not many states has the capability to by themselves handle such major problems (Buzan 1991, p.118).

Since the end of the cold war there has been a debate about what types of threats that should be included in the national security concept. Today there are roughly two major approaches, the traditional one that are focused on protecting the states territory from military attack, and the extended approach that advocates a more inclusive concept of security (Allenby, 2000, p.9).

3.1.1 Traditional Security

The traditional security approach was built upon the assumptions of the absolute sovereignty of the state and a bipolar world order. Security issues are primarily dealt with by military means and the focus is on protecting the states territory from military threats (Allenby, 2000, p.9).

Politics among Nations written by Hans Morgenthau is one of the most influential works on security in the realist school. He argued that military power is the only way to ensure security and it should therefore be maximized. The amount of military security that is available to a nation depended upon the scope of its national economy, territorial size, technological development and self-sufficiency in resources (Morgenthau, 1993). Because the major threats to states are primarily other states, security is understood as relative. Relative power is problematic because it easily results into zero-sum logic where one states aspiration for safety leads to other states insecurity and this cause *the national security problem* (Buzan, 1991, p.260).

The national security problem creates two dilemmas, the defence dilemma and the power security dilemma (Buzan, 1991, p.218). The defence dilemma is caused by fear of war. When fear of war increase it motivates more resources being put into a military defence, because a military defence is considered to be the primary mean to protect the nation. But there are many situations where a military defence is a useless tool for protection, for example the Swedish army can't do much about the Euro-crisis. The risk with the defence dilemma is that military threats are exaggerated on the behalf on other more pressing issues. Because more resources being put into the military means less resources being put into for example development aid, education or mitigating of emissions which also could be contradictive to the national security (Buzan, 1991, p.218f).

The second dilemma is the power security dilemma which is caused by fear of defeat. In the power security dilemma there are two explanations to why conflict between states occurs. First is the *power struggle* states are hostile and are constantly consciously competing with each other. The second struggle is the *security struggle* states do not consciously compete but conflict arises because of misunderstandings or uncertainty. The dilemma lies in the impossibility to determine if the states behaviour derives from the power struggle or the defence struggle, if they intend to alter the military balance or only uphold the current status quo. (Buzan, 1991, p.234-236). An attack is for example often an effective way to prevent a future threat, and many weapons could be used both for defensive or aggressive purposes which makes it hard to determine the intention (Buzan, 1991, p.246). The danger of the power security dilemma is that it might exaggerate the threat which triggers the search for more powerful weapons, which increases the insecurity and trigger an arms race (Buzan, 1991, p.246ff).

The environment and damage on the society caused by the environment is understood as random events and part of the fight between humans and nature and is therefore not part of the security agenda which is more focused on the conflict between humans (Buzan, 1991, p.117).

3.1.2 Extended National Security

Many view the traditional security approach as too limited for today's world. Other threats are too severe to be overlooked and should therefore be included into the security concept.

Barry Buzan is one of the advocates of a more inclusive concept; he is one of the central figures in the Copenhagen school which has been very influential in the post-cold war security debate. In his book *People, State and Fear* he argues that apart from military threats the concept should also include political, societal, economic and environmental threats (1991, p.107-119). I will focus on the environmental dimension of the extended national security approach because it is of most relevance to this thesis.

It is important to point out that even though the extended national security narrative does address the environmental issue, it only does so if the threat is severe enough to be a threat to the state (Dalby, 2013, p.122). It could be a question of biological security, the maintenance of critical biological systems especially food systems like crops, livestock and fisheries are of utter importance to the nation (Allenby, 2000, p.15f).

Environmental scarcity is probably the most debated environmental security threat. The understanding of environmental scarcity as a national security issue is inspired by Malthusian theories where the most famous advocator is Thomas Homer-Dixon. Homer-Dixon stress that there is a causal link between severe environmental scarcity and violence. He means that there are three causes to severe environmental scarcity: depleting renewable resources, increased demand and increasing uneven distribution. He argues that environmental scarcity can lead to constrained economic productivity, migration, social segmentation and state weakening which in the long run could result in insurgencies, urban riots but also more severe types of violence (1999, p.177f). To prevent further environmental degradation, the country has to decouple itself from the resource or at start using it more wisely. This could be done with for example economic incentives (Ibid, p.107). Environmental threats are often unintentional and more of a structural nature which makes them different from other issues usually dealt with by the national security approach (Buzan, 1991, p.118).

Even if the extended approach are not as focused on relative gain as in the traditional approach *People, State and Fear* written by Barry Buzan begins with stating that "states seems unable to coexist with each other in harmony" (1991, p.25). This indicates that there is still a big emphasis on the anarchic structure that the states exist in, and also that relative security still has a role to play (Ibid, p.104). This means that the power security dilemma also applies to the extended national security narrative.

To decrease the amount of threat there are two major options, first the states vulnerability to a specific threat could be reduced, and second the source of the threat can be eliminated or at least reduced. Examples on how to reduce vulnerability could be increased self-reliance or building up forces to cope with the potential threat, military forces if the threat is military but it could also be other kinds of forces, depending on the character of the threat (Buzan, 1991,

p.260f). Another problem with the national security approach is that the traditional national security community is often conservative and used to military solutions; therefore there is always a risk for militarization of previously non-military issues (Allenby, 2000, p.13).

An important characteristic of the national security approach is that it is exclusionary, because it is only those that live inside the state that are protected by the state. Those that live outside the state on the other hand are often representing *the other*, the threat. Creating dichotomies is common in both national security approaches where simplifications like us/them and friend/enemy are common (Barret, 2001, p.30).

3.2 Human Security

The human security approach was first presented 1994 in the *Human Development Report* by the United Nations Development Program (Kaldor, 2007, p.182f). The human security approach was presented as a criticism to the traditional state focused security approach. One of the strongest arguments was that less wars were being fought between countries but there were still a lot of people who didn't feel safe and their insecurity were not addressed by the national security approach (Kaldor, 2007, p.190f).

The human security narrative has the individual as the ultimate referent of security instead of the state (ibid, p. 183). The Human security approach has four important characteristics. First, it is universal; it concerns everyone because everyone has the right to feel secure. Second, issues of security are interdependent, a situation of insecurity is not isolated by state borders and it concerns and affects everyone. Third, preventive measures are better than intervention. This also goes for certain schools in the extended security approach, but in the human security approach these preventive measures are to a higher degree non-military. If an intervention is unavoidable, a security force should be used that consist of civilian, police and military personal (Kaldor, 2007, p.192). And last, the human security approach is people centred; the focus is on ordinary people and the insecurity in their daily lives (UNDP, 1994, p.22f).

The perspective of the state has also changed, from being the only provider of security to also being viewed as a possible threat to its citizens. This also means that the human security approach does not view the state as the only provider of security. Instead there are multiple providers of security, for example the UN, NGOs, empowered individuals but also states (Amouyel, 2006, p.16f).

All advocates of the human security approach focus on the protection of the individual but after the publication of the Human development report there was a debate about what threats that should be included in the concept. The report stated that the concept should include both freedoms from want as well as freedom from fear, but the opinions differed (UNDP, 1994, p.22-25).

The concept developed into two directions the Canadian approach that is a narrower version and then the Japanese approach that is a broader version, more

similar to the perspective that was advocated by the 1994 Human development report (Amouyel, 2006, p.13).

3.2.1 The Narrow Human Security Narrative

The narrow human security narrative also called the Canadian approach only includes the freedom from fear, and got its name because it was adopted by the Canadian government. Freedom from fear includes threats to people's lives, rights and safety (Amouyel, 2006, p.13).

Focus is on human induced violence (Human security report, 2005, p.VIII). That means that it is only personal security, community security and political security are included from the original seven security issues that was presented in the *Human development report*. Of the original four characteristic's it is only the first, that security is universal and the last, the people centrist that is still relevant in the narrow approach (UNDP, 1994, p.22-25). The narrow approach focuses on the individual but the threats are physical and military. Issues that are prioritized in the narrow approach are protecting civilians, conflict prevention, peace supporting operations, political accountability and public safety. This makes the Canadian approach less useful when it comes to addressing environmental security, because it only partly addresses the environmental issue. Climate migrants could be addressed, but only if they become victims to human induced violence. It is important to note that the advocators of the narrow approach do not mean that freedom from want is irrelevant, but they often argue that it is a question of development not security (Amouyel, 2006, p.13f).

The positive aspect of a narrower approach is that it has a more distinct definition and clearer limitations which the advocators of the narrow approach means makes it more useful in policy analysis (Human Security Centre, 2005, p.VIII). The criticism towards the narrow approach is that the major threats of today are not military, so why should the military be a prioritized institution. Another criticism is its lack of holism, because it does not help to have a sharp analysing tool if it does not analyse the real world (Amouyel, 2006, p.14f).

3.2.2 The Broad Human Security Narrative

The Broad approach or the Japanese approach got its name because it was adopted by the Japanese government (Amouyel, 2006, p.13).

In the human development report they define human security as follows:

Human security can be said to have two main aspects. It means, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life whether in homes, in jobs or in communities (UNDP, 1994, p.23).

The Broader definition covers seven categories of security issues that are of primary concern. These are: economic security, food security, health security,

environmental security, personal security, community security and political security (UNDP, 1994, p.22-25).

If the national security approach focuses on dichotomies us and them and friend and enemy, the threat in the human security are more diffuse in term of origin and they are also to a greater extent addressing threats that are not caused by humans. Michael Renner researcher at the Worldwatch Institute argues that the problem of economic and social inequities and environmental degradation are all connected to each other and to the process of globalization. He argues that globalization undermine traditional sustainable economic systems which leads to overexploitation of resources and displacement of people. Renner means that environmental degradation is first and foremost a question about poverty which is a product of the global economic system (Dalby, 2013, p.124f). An important conclusion is that many people are insecure, not because of an intentional action but rather because of unfortunate circumstances caused by environmental problems and macroeconomics. These circumstances could cause disruptions in the daily life of people where the once with resources and properties are less vulnerable then the poor. The human security approach is about minimizing people's vulnerability to these disruptions (Dalby, 2013, p.127f).

The big advantage with the broader concept of human security is its interdisciplinary nature. Interdisciplinary policy analysis and design tries to improve the coordination between different areas and find *root causes*. Root causes are threats that cause multiple problems, solving a root cause therefore creates positive externalities in other sections which are often overlooked in other types of analysis (Amouyel, 2006, p.15). Example of actions that could create positive externalities is better education and improved healthcare, which also leads to empowerment which is an important concept in the narrow approach (Amouyel, 2006, p.18).

Policies that are promoted in a crisis are international collaboration and humanitarian assistance. These policies are not just aiming to stabilize a situation of insecurity but also to address the source of the insecurity. Focus is on creating public security which involves having sufficient laws and means for law enforcement. To create public security it is important to create sufficient institutions that enable development, the existence of legitimate ways to earn a living is also important to prevent criminality, (Kaldor, 2007, p.190f). Other ways to lessen insecurity is creating or maintaining a good infrastructure; which prevents isolation and economic vulnerability (Ibid, p.194).

4 Methodology

There are two methodological principles that have to be followed in the interpretive approach. The first one is procedural transparency, which goes for all methods. The most crucial texts to the analysis has been quoted in order to simplify an intersubjective reading, the accessing and interpretation of data will also be discussed in this chapter. The second principle is reflection on philosophical tenets, in the interpretive approach this is emphasized to a greater degree than in more traditional methods. This thesis is taking a hermeneutic point of view, which has been discussed further in the theory chapter (Yanow, 2006, p.xiv).

4.1 Accessing Data

Meaning is not something that is expressed directly, it has to be discovered or constructed. One way is in the study and interpretation of artefacts. An artefact is the material manifestation onto which the creator has projected his or hers values, beliefs and sentiments. An artefact is a representation of embedded meanings and their relationship is a symbolic one (Yanow, 2006, p.15ff).

To read texts in an interpretive way it is a necessity to address the context, because it is only within its context that the text can be understood. To do this one has to move back and forth from the text and the context, which is an approach inspired by the hermeneutic circle (Yanow, 2006, p. 16).

It is preferable to use both high data (used by elite institutions) and low data (available most people in their everyday lives) because it is more likely to catch a broader spectrum of meanings. This thesis therefore includes both policy documents, which are the primary sources from which evidence will be generated, but also news articles from four different newspapers as well as TV news (Yanow, 2006, 178ff). The sources will be read both as representations of the discourse but also as artefacts from which data can be generated.

This thesis include all major available policy documents relating to water, environment or security from Uganda and Kenya, some documents that relates to Tanzania will also be included.

The four newspapers are Daily Nation, The East African, The Monitor and The Independent, where the two first are Kenyan and the last two are Ugandan. These were selected because they were either mentioned as the major newspapers in the region (or because they were referred to in earlier academic work (Africa research bulletin, 2009; Canter - Ndegwa, 2002). I have read articles relating to Lake Victoria and Migingo Island from the 90s to 2013 with an emphasis on the articles

published in 2008 and 2009 the years in which the row had its most intensive period.

When generating data I have studied what type of meaning that security framing that's been represented in the different artefacts. On artefact could carry multiple meanings that belong to different frames. I will identify the dominant frame and discuss which meanings that are represented.

4.2 Interpreting Data

Because perception is active, we always bring with us our prior beliefs, assumptions and philosophical presuppositions that guide us when we organize the masses of information that we encounter (Wagenaar, 2007, p.46). In a way all research is therefore deductive and for that reason I argue that an interpretational scheme is a suitable tool. The interpretational scheme has two functions, first it makes my prior knowledge more explicit to the reader and second it helps me when I shall interpret the data, because it works as a framework also to me.

The scheme of interpretation has been generated from reading back and forth between secondary sources that relates to security and the relevant artefacts. The table represent the core packages of meaning that together form the different frame-narrative that are of relevance to this study. These core packages should be understood as reference objects and it is very seldom that the frame-narratives are represented in their pure form, especially the action frames are often blurry and could include meanings from more than one frame-narrative (Rein – Schön, 1996, p.88ff).

The two tables consist of the core packages from which the frame-narratives are constructed. The tables are divided where the first consist of the *framing devices* the element that makes the narratives diagnostic and the second table consists of the *reasoning devices* the element that makes the narratives diagnostic. Both elements is usually present in the frame-narratives, regardless if it is a rhetorical frame or an action frame because the core packages are present in both types of evidence. For example if a rhetorical artefact is representing framing devices from the traditional frame, say a speech in which a politician argue that military threats are the primary security threat, then that could be used to construct a rhetorical frame. If on the other hand a policy document is created with the same motive then we can use that evidence to construct an action frame.

In table 1 I have added food security to the extended national security threats. Buzan does not describe it as one of the major threats; instead it is included in the economic and the ecologic threats (1991, p.112-119). But in this case several sources treat it as one of the major security issues of the extended national security frame and I have therefore made it explicit. When discussing the different threats it is important to point out that the categories shall not be understood as fixed, they are more a continuum where the traditional security approach is the narrowest approach, then the narrow human security approach followed by the

extended security approach and ending with the broad human security approach which is the broadest interpretation of the concept.

What separates the development approach to environmental scarcity from the human security approach (table 2) is the willingness to use extraordinary means. To separate security from development I will look at to what extent they refer to urgency or the need of these extraordinary means. This relates to securitization theory briefly introduced during the introduction.

Finally, saying that external threats to territory or population are not considered to be a security threat does not mean that they often coincide, but that is not a necessity which is the point.

TABLE 1. Framing Devices

	National Security		Human Security	
	<i>Traditional</i>	<i>Extended</i>	<i>Narrow</i>	<i>Broad</i>
General understanding of threats	Fixed Categories	Categories & interdependent	Interdependent	
Addressing resource scarcity	Development	Making someone accountable Increasing surveillance Military intervention Economic incentives	Development	Collaboration Create institutions Create employment Health care Education Contraception Empowerment
External threats to territory	Military intervention	Military intervention	Not a security threat	
External threats to population	Not a security threat		International collaboration Intervention of security force	

TABLE 2. Reasoning Devices

	National Security		Human Security	
	<i>Traditional</i>	<i>Extended</i>	<i>Narrow</i>	<i>Broad</i>
Security for whom?	States territory & functions		The individual	
What types of threat?	Military	Political Social Environment Economic Military Food	Personal Community Political	Personal Community Political Environment Economic Health Food
Provider of security	The state		Multiple actors	
Cause of threats	Others	Others & Structures	Structural explanations Lack of human resources The global economy	
Security scope	National	National Transnational	National Transnational Global	

5 Interpreting the Lake Victoria Case

In the following chapter I will in chronological order go through the development from collaboration to conflict in the Lake Victoria area. I will construct the different frames and compare their influence over time. I will also vary between the individual sources and the context in an attempt to understand the situation in the context and in the same process construct the context.

5.1 Environmental Degradation and Cooperation

Lake Victoria is the second largest freshwater source in the world. It is fairly shallow, with an average depth of 40 meters and a coastline of about 3,500 km (LVMP, 1996, p.5). There are three riparian countries, Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya and they control; 45%, 49 % and 6% of the lakes surface. The lake has a rich biological fauna with many different species of fish. (Wekesha, 2009, p.335f). The lake is an important source of food, energy, drinking and irrigation water. The catchment area has a gross economic production of about 3-4 billion US\$ annually and support an estimated population of 25 million (LVMP, 1996, p.5f). The Lake is also of great strategic importance as the main source of the Nile (Canter, Ndegwa, 2002, p.44).

The nutrition input has increase threefold since the 1950 which has caused a fivefold increase in algae. The growing amount of algae has caused deoxygenating which has increased sickness amongst both humans and animals. The lake has also suffered from other types of pollution due to lack of sufficient waste treatment facilities.

The introduction of exotic species like the Nile perch has greatly decreased the biodiversity in the lake which has increased the lakes vulnerability and favoured the growing fish processing and exporting industry on the expense of the local fishing communities (Nzirabyu, 1998, 127-130). Since 1991 the landings of fish has declined due to overfishing and unappropriated fishing methods (Abila, 2003). The lake has also been infested by a fast growing weed called water hyacinth (Nzirabyu, 1998, 127ff). The worsening conditions around the lake in combination with a rapid population growth and an increasingly unequal distribution has worsened and segmented the poverty around the lake to an alarming level (Canter, Ndegwa, 2002, p.46f).

But in 2002 Marielle J. Canter and Stephen N. Ndegwa concludes in their case-study that even though the situation in and around the lake must be categorized as severe environmental scarcity only a few reports off violence have been registered and none of them has been intergovernmental (2002, p.48-50). Instead the three

riparian countries signed a tripartite agreement in 1994 in which they agreed to collaborate in order to save the lake (LVEMP, 1996, p.6). The major project is the *Lake Victoria Environmental Project* (LVEMP) which has a number of overall objectives.

(a) maximize the sustainable benefits to riparian communities from using resources within the basin to generate food, employment and income, supply safe water, and sustain a disease-free environment; and (b) conserve biodiversity and genetic resources for the benefit of the riparian communities and the global community. In order to address the tradeoffs among these objectives which cut across national boundaries, a further project objective is to harmonize national management programs (LVEMP, 1996)

I interpret the source as emphasizing the lakes importance for the global and local community, but in a different section it also stresses the lakes importance to the national economies which represents meanings of the national frame-narrative (LVEMP, 1996, p.12). The implementation should also to a great extent be carried out by the state which means that even though the individual is the security referent the provider of security is the state (LVEMP, 1996, p.86f). When studying the LVEMP project document, there is clear lack of *others* instead they discuss structural problems.

They do on several different times refer to the need of urgent action (LVEMP, 1996, p.10). The decisiveness in which such a comprehensive institution has been created and the many remarks of urgency indicates that the creation of the institution is in fact influenced by the security narrative. The wide security scope that is presented and the methods that are proposed in the source indicate the domination of the human security narrative in the creation of the LVEMP.

Another task of the LVEMP was to create *The Lake Victoria Fishing Organisation* (LVFO) in order to ensure that the local fisheries were operating within a regional framework for environmental action (LVEMP, 1996, p.10) The objectives of the LVFO is similar to that of the LVEMP, but more oriented towards the fisheries and the implementation and coordination of policies and research. The strategic vision of the LVFO is:

A common systems/resource management amongst the Contracting Parties in matters regarding Lake Victoria, with the goal of restoring and maintaining the health of its ecosystem and ensuring sustainable development to the benefit of the present and future generations. (LVFO, 1999)

The lakes importance to the local communities is often stressed and the LVFO has a very positive attitude towards collaborations with national institutions, NGOs and other actors (LVEMP, 1996, p28ff).

In the *Lake Victoria Fisheries Management Plan* they bring up the question of food security on multiple occasions.

The purpose of developing a Fisheries Management Plan (FMP) is to sustain the livelihoods of the communities who depend on the fishery resources of Lake Victoria, and to reduce poverty, food insecurity and unemployment. It is believed that establishing a viable system for the management of the lake fisheries and

restoring the ecosystem will contribute to the development of sustainable fisheries.
(LVFO 2001, p.vi)

My interpretation of the source indicates that the lake is becoming more of a security issue. But the primary referent of security is still the people living around the lake. In order to implement the listed objectives the project will have an interdisciplinary approach, combining both social- and environmental science.

Just the fact that these common institutions were created shows that the riparian countries emphasized collaboration in front of conflict. The way both institutions were constructed indicates the dominance of the broad human security narrative.

All three riparian countries also created their own *National Environmental Action Plans* as well as other national water and environmental policies. Tanzania adopted in 1997 a *National Environmental Policy* which attempted to create a necessary framework to enable the different policy areas to include the environmental aspects to a satisfying degree. The policy stresses the importance of local participation and collaboration both globally and locally (Vice President office, 1997).

There is also a big emphasize on stopping the environmental degradation that occurs, which is stated explicit in one of the overall objectives:

[...] to improve the condition and productivity of degraded areas including rural and urban settlements in order that all Tanzanians may live in safe, healthful, productive and aesthetically pleasing surroundings. (Vice Presidents Office, 1997, p.9)

They connect the prevention of environmental degradation to the safety of the Tanzanians which also indicates the presence of the human security narrative.

The Kenyan National Environmental Action Plan is also an interesting source of data.

Realizing the fast growth in Kenya's population, expected to reach 35 million by the year 2000, and given that less than 20% of the land area is arable, food insecurity, malnutrition and famine are the most serious threats facing the nation; objectives are to achieve self-sufficiency in basic food and livestock products; provide food security for all; maintain strategic food reserves; and generate crop and livestock products to sustain a growing domestic agro-industries and for export. (Kenya NEAP, 1994, p.63).

Food security is in this case framed as a national security threat. They also attempt to address the issues in a more holistic way; they do for example recognize the conflict between the need for an expanding agriculture and the prevention of environmental degradation (Kenya NEAP, 1994, p.64).

Even if the importance of participation is stressed the Kenyan NEAP represents marginally more meanings associated with the extended national security frame, the crucial point is that the state seems to be the ultimate referent of security. (Kenya NEAP, 1994, p.137)

The Ugandan NEAPs overall policy objective is to create a sustainable socioeconomic development. It is very influenced by the Human security

narrative also in the way it emphasize participation and collaboration (Uganda NEAP, 1995, p.3ff). It also addresses the fisheries in particular:

Fisheries and other aquatic resources constitute an important resource and contribute greatly to the nutritional welfare of the people while providing employment to thousands. This sector also makes significant contribution to the national economy. (Uganda NEAP, 1995, p.39)

It associates the fishing sector to the national economy but also to the welfare of the people. The document provides twelve strategies to conserve and manage sustainable fisheries and the last on emphasize the importance of collaboration with neighbouring countries (Uganda NEAP, 1995, p.39f).

The environmental scarcity discourse where during that time mostly influenced by the broad human security narrative. There were also other important actions taking place during this period that signified a strong dedication to intergovernmental collaboration. For example the decision to create the African Union in 1999 (AU1) and also the creation of the East African Community in 1999, this was a direct initiative from the three riparian countries who up until 2007 where the only members of EAC (AU2).

Both Kenya and Uganda had an environmental security approach that was inspired from both the human- and National security narrative where Kenya leaned more towards the national and Uganda more towards the human. But sources from the beginning of the 21s century indicates that Uganda where starting to take another path.

First Uganda adopted a new *Security Policy Framework* in which they continue to have a broad approach but are now leaning distinctly more towards the extended national approach.

In the document they define security as follows:

Security encompasses freedom from threats, intimidation and other pressures, from whatever source, that would undermine the basic rights, welfare and property of our people, the territorial integrity of our state, and the functioning of our systems of governance. (Uganda security policy framework, 2002, p.7).

Their definition shows still a broad understanding of the security concept but the importance of the nation has increased and from further reading I interpret that the ultimate referent of security now has to be the state, even if the wellbeing of the people is stressed. They also refer to shared resources as one of the most important security issues where Lake Victoria is mentioned as one example (Uganda security policy framework, 2002, p.10).

Other sources that indicates a shift in perspective is the two sources that concern food security, first *Ugandan Food and Nutrition Policy* that was adopted in 2003 and then *The National Food and Nutrition Strategy* that was adopted in 2005.

The economic burden of malnutrition on the household has far-reaching national effects as the preventable problem of malnutrition results in reduced intellectual

capacity and general human capital erosion, which translates into reduced aggregate economic productivity. Malnourished individuals require more costly care and increase demand for health services. (Uganda: The National Food and Nutrition Strategy, 2005, p.1)

I interpret the data as a shift in perception, where the issue of food security now is more dominated by the extended national security frame.

One of the reasons for this shift could be the creation of the *Ugandan Security Council* in 2000. The Council has the responsibility to advise the President in security matters, and the group includes many ministers, for example ministry of defence, security, foreign affairs and officers from the military. But the ministers of environment, water and agriculture are not included (The National Security Council Act; Chapter 301). This has probably lessened the influence from those frame sponsors and can explain why the extended national security frame became dominant in Uganda.

At the same time there is sources that indicates that Kenya is moving away from their national approach, in *The National Fisheries Policy* from 2005 the focus has moved from the fisheries as a national resource to how can the fishing industry benefit the Kenyan people (Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries Development, 2005)

[Kenyan National Fisheries Policy objective, my note] Create an enabling environment for a vibrant fishing industry based on sustainable resource exploitation providing optimal and sustainable benefits, alleviating poverty, and creating wealth, taking into consideration gender equity. (Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries, Development, 2005, p.4)

5.2 The Migingo Row

The Migingo Island is less than an acre in size and is located in the southern part of the Kenyan-Ugandan border. There are about 1000 habitants on the Island, mostly from the Luo tribe. The Island has been managed by the Kenyan government since the demarcation by the British in 1926, but in 2004 Ugandan officials arrived at the Island and hoisted the Ugandan flag (Wekesha, 2010, p.331-335). Uganda motivated the landing by the presence of pirates that threatened the Ugandan fisherman. The Island is of strategic importance to the fishing industry because it works as a platform to fish further out into the lake (Daily Nation 19/9-2009).

The Ugandan motivation to land on Migingo Island indicates that even though it is a border dispute, it clearly relates to the environmental scarcity discourse. The fact that Uganda did positioned stationary security personal on the Island instead of just raiding the Island indicates an intention to control the activities on the Island which is to great extent fishing. The militarization of the scarcity situation clearly indicates the growing influence of the national security narrative.

In 2008 more than 400 Kenyans where forced to leave the Island by the Ugandan authorities. The reason was refusing to pay 50,000 Kenyan shilling,

about 649 US-dollar, which Ugandan officials demanded as an annual operation fee (The East African 22/11-2008, Daily Monitor 27/10-2008). The incident got lots of media coverage in the domestic media, and from this point media has been an important arena for the environmental scarcity discourse.

The Kenyan government tried to solve the issue through diplomatic means and in 2009 the two countries assigned a joint survey group who were assigned to solve the issue and during that period the Island should be guarded by security personnel from both countries. There was widespread criticism from the Kenyan media of what they saw as lack of decisiveness from their President Mwai Kibaki.

The media were often influenced by the national security narratives.

No Kenyan wants a situation in which our sovereignty is threatened by militias and neighbours who claim to be friends. It is about time Kenya deployed troops on our Mingingo Island. (Daily Nation, 1/5-2009)

The joint survey group never reached an agreement and both sides blamed the other for the failure (The independent 25/5-2009; Daily Nation 10/7-2009). The situation drastically worsened after Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni made an announcement to BBC: "The island is in Kenya, the water is in Uganda. [...] But the Luos are made, they want to fish here but this is Uganda." (BBC 13/5-2009).

The announcement from the President caused fury all over Kenya, and MPs in the Kenyan Parliament urged the President to take military action and protect the members of the Lou tribe from the Ugandan harassment. The issue of sovereignty was also brought up in the parliament but the focus was on protecting the Kenyans living on the Island (NTV Kenya, 2009, Mp:s call for military action; NTV Kenya, 2009 Mingingo heats up parliament). On May 27 the parliament voted in favour of a private members motion that called for a military intervention. Later some MPs backed on their demand after a meeting with President Museveni was arranged (Wekesha, 2010, p.331; Daily Nation 20/6-2009).

The announcement from President Museveni indicates that the Ugandan landing on the island had the intention to control the fishing grounds and not the territory of the Island. The fury and the willingness to use extraordinary means indicate the presence of a security narrative. If it is the extended national security approach or the broad human security approach is harder to determine. Because in the debate they referred to both the safety of the Kenyans living on Mingingo but also to the violation of the Kenyan sovereignty, and the announcement from president Museveni could be understood as a threat to a certain community in Kenya but it could also be understood as a national insult. But the fact that Kenya started taking action first after people were forced off the Island indicates that the human security frame was marginally more influential in Kenya.

Both the Ugandan and the Kenyan media have often been nationalistic and urged for extended military presence. "These people use the island as point to carry out illegal fishing in our area and this is a violation of our territorial integrity" (Daily Monitor, 23/2-2009).

Future wars could be fought over lakes, rivers. [...]By 2006, the water levels in Lake Victoria reached an 80-year low, for which hydrologists squarely blamed Uganda for releasing more water to the Nalubaale and Kiira hydropower dams than allowed by the 'Agreed Curve' treaty between that country and Egypt. (Daily Nation, 21/1-2010)

In this case, water is understood as a resource vital enough to cause war, that together with the fact that Uganda are made responsible for the degradation makes me interpret also this source as greatly influenced by the extended national security narrative. The rhetorical frame constructed from the domestic media is to a large extent dominated by the national security.

The row has been going on for almost ten years; even if the conflict is not as alarming as in 2009 a flare is all that is needed for the row to once again reach alarming levels. For example in 2012 voter registration was carried out on the Island. When Kenyan fisherman started protesting towards the presence of the Ugandans personal, the Ugandan security forces pointed their guns on the protesters which resulted in panic (Daily Nation, 5/12-2012).

Today the extended national security frame seems to be more dominant than ever in the environmental scarcity discourse. And the Kenyan NEAP from 2012 is much more influenced by the national security narrative than the one from 1994.

Fisheries contribute a significant portion of Kenya's GDP. It also plays an important role in ensuring food security. A large population depends on fisheries both directly and indirectly for livelihood through fishing and linkages to fish processing and trade. In fact, the fisheries sector is now identified as one with great potential areas for value addition and provision of rural incomes in the country. [...] Other challenges include uncoordinated development approaches, low investment, inadequate aquaculture development, weak linkages between research and management, and cross-border conflicts. (Kenya National Environmental Policy, 2012, p.20)

The fact that LVFO now has published two reports one about monitoring and surveillance of the fisheries in the Lake and the other on how to prevent and eliminate illegal unreported and unregulated fishing indicates that the extended national security frame has got a stronger influence also in the LVFO (LVFO RPOA-IUU, LVFO MCS Strategy).

6 Discussion

I have studied the development of the framings in the environmental scarcity discourse and how it relates to the shift from collaboration to conflict that has occurred. From interpreting the case I conclude that the extended national security frame has replaced the human security frame as the dominant framing. Even if both frames are present before and after the Migingo row the dominance has clearly shifted. The shift in Uganda can at least be partly understood because of a shift of influence amongst the Ugandan security sponsors which made the extended security frame the dominant one.

The change of dominant frame in Uganda together with the nationalistic tone from the domestic media triggered the changes in the rest of the region. Because the national security approach is still holding the state to be the ultimate referent of security, it is also still a victim to the national security problem. The problem with the national security approach is therefore that its search for security actually creates insecurity. The national security problem has been triggered by Uganda and has stimulated the national security frames in the other countries through the power-security dilemma. Because the increase in military threat makes the sponsors of the traditional security approach more influential. The increasing threat has also crippled the human security sponsors, because of decreasing funds, which is a result of the defence dilemma.

The troublesome implications of a dominant national security frame is that the risk for future violence is imminent, which would fuel the power-security dilemma and the national security frame even more.

There are always many uncertainties when interpreting a discourse which is very different from one's own. A field study containing interviews would therefore be a good way to extend this research.

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